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TANGANYIKA NOTES AND RECORDS

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MARCH
1959

PRICE: TWELVE SHILLINGS

No. 52

THE JOURNAL OF THE TANGANYIKA SOCIETY

Tanganyika Notes and Records

Editor: MRS. E. H. LESLIE

Editorial Board:

T. W. CHALMERS, C.B.E.

M. LUNAN, B.Sc., A.I.C.T.A.

W. WENBAN-SMITH, C.B.E., M.A.

A. D. B. WYLIE, O.B.E.



MARCH 1959

Number 52

PUBLISHED TWICE YEARLY FOR THE EDITORIAL BOARD
AT DAR ES SALAAM

EDITORIAL NOTE—THE KINLOSS PRIZE

The small number of African and Asian contributors to *Tanganyika Notes and Records* has long been a matter of concern to us, but now a practical step has been taken which, we hope, will improve the situation.

Dr. Freeman-Grenville and his wife, the Baroness Kinloss, are generously offering a Prize, to be called the Kinloss Prize, of £5 a year for the next five years, for the best article submitted to *Tanganyika Notes and Records* by an African or Asian writer. In addition the Committee of the Tanganyika Society are offering each year five subsidiary prizes of a year's free membership of the Society. Details of the conditions of entry for these prizes are set out below.

The competition is being publicised with the assistance of the Public Relations Department and the Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation, and a notice has appeared in the Press. However, in matters of this kind we feel the personal approach is likely to be by far the most effective, and so we hope that every reader in this Territory will co-operate with us by telling his Asian and African friends about the prizes and encouraging them to write.

The only limitations regarding subject matter are that articles should concern Tanganyika, and should not be such as to give rise to political or religious controversy. Tribal history, the early history of immigrant Asian families, native customs, religion, medicine, dances, societies, music and crafts, are some of the more obvious themes, but others will no doubt occur to readers, and nearly every locality has its special points of interest which may be worth putting on record.

The conditions of entry are as follows:—

Articles should be addressed to The Hon. Editor, P.O. Box 511, Dar es Salaam. Articles must be in English, typewritten in double-spacing, on one side of the paper only. They should be between 2,000 and 10,000 words in length.

Articles, which should not previously have appeared in print, will become the property of the Tanganyika Society, and the Editorial Board will reserve the right to make any use they think fit of material submitted to them. The award will be announced in December each year in respect of articles submitted during the previous twelve months.

THE TANGANYIKA SOCIETY

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1958

Officers

On relinquishing the Governorship of Tanganyika Sir Edward (now Lord) Twining ceased to be the Patron of the Society and consented to become an Honorary Vice President. The new Governor, Sir Richard Turnbull, kindly accepted the office of Patron of the Society. The Committee also invited Sir Harold McMichael, to whose efforts the existence of the Society's journal is due, to become an Honorary Vice-President.

At the Annual General Meeting held on the 12th March, 1958 the following officers were elected:—

<i>President</i> ...	...	W. Wenban-Smith, C.B.E.
<i>Vice-President</i> ...	...	A. H. Pike, C.M.G., O.B.E.
<i>Editor</i> ...	...	Mrs. E. H. Leslie.
<i>Secretary/Treasurer</i>		Mrs. M. Clifford.
<i>Committee Members</i>		J. K. Chande.
		Mrs. R. L. Paterson.
		S. Nizamuddin.
		E. G. Rowe, C.M.G.
		A. D. B. Wylie, O.B.E.
		Miss J. Harding, Curator, King George V Memorial Museum (<i>ex Officio</i>).

Mr. A. E. G. Markham was co-opted as an additional member of the Committee. Mrs. Miller kindly took over the duties of Editor during the absence of Mrs. Leslie from August until the end of the year.

Committee Meetings

The Committee met eleven times during 1958.

Membership

A drive for new members was carried out during the year, as a result of which 244 new members were enrolled. The drive continues and new applications are still coming in well. During the year there were 9 resignations, 3 deaths and 56 cases of non-payment of subscription without notification of resignation. At the end of the year there were 832 fully paid up members on the books, of whom 53 are life members. There are also 43 exchange members.

Rules

A number of minor alterations to the Society's rules were made at the Annual General Meeting held in March, 1958 and copies of the amended rules were distributed to members.

Finance

The drive for membership resulted in an improvement in the Society's finances and in view of the continued excess of ordinary income over ordinary expenditure no further approach was made to Government for a subvention. The improved financial

situation enabled a telephone to be installed in the Secretary/Treasurer's house and certain much needed equipment, including a typewriter and two filing cabinets, to be purchased. Arrangements were made during the year for the insurance of the Society's equipment and stock of journals.

"Tanganyika Notes and Records"

The following numbers were published during 1958:—

No. 46, March, 1957 (88 pages).

Nos. 47 and 48, combined number for June and September (125 pages).

No. 49, December, 1957, Burton and Speke Centenary Number (100 pages).

No. 50, June, 1958 (156 pages).

With the publication of the December, 1958 number in February, 1959 the hope expressed in the Annual Report for 1957 that the publication of the Journal would be brought up to date may be said to have been virtually fulfilled. The Committee proposes that in future the Journal should appear twice yearly in March/April and September/October and that a new series of numbers should be started in 1959, dividing the Journal into a series of volumes containing two numbers each.

Meetings

Eleven meetings were held in Dar es Salaam during 1958, as follows:—

Jan.: Dr. A. C. Evans—"How research helps the Tanganyika Farmers."

Feb.: Mr. E. G. Rowe, C.M.G.—"Bird Study in Tanganyika."

March: Annual General Meeting followed by coloured slides of Tanganyika shown by Mr. J. G. Cowap.

April: Mr. B. J. J. Stubbings—"Kilimanjaro and its People."

May: Mr. C. C. Harris, O.B.E.—"Dick Whittington comes to Dar es Salaam."

June: Mr. R. H. Gower—"Swahili Slang."

July: Mr. H. N. Chittick—"Archaeology in Tanganyika."

August: Mrs. L. A. Haldane—"Butterflies of Tanganyika."

September: Mr. R. Gorbould—"Coloured Slides of East Africa."

October: Mr. A. H. Pike, C.M.G., O.B.E.—"The History of Diamonds in Tanganyika."

November: Mr. K. S. Hocking—"What the Colonial Pesticides Research Unit does."

Acknowledgments

The Committee wishes to thank all those who have assisted the Society in any way during 1958, by contributing to the Journal, by giving talks or by giving donations. The Committee is especially grateful to the Director of Audit and his officers for their ready response to the Society's request for advice and assistance in connection with its accounts, and to the management of the *Tanganyika Standard* for their co-operation in finding space to notify members of meetings.

THE TANGANYIKA SOCIETY

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1958

1957		EXPENDITURE		Shs. Cts.		1957		INCOME		Shs. Cts.	
Shs. Cts.		<i>Personal Emoluments and Allowances:</i>		Shs. Cts.		Shs. Cts.		<i>Subscriptions:</i>		Shs. Cts.	
2,400 00		Honarium to Secretary/Treasurer ...		4,800 00		16,057 80		Ordinary ...		19,409 96	
—		Petrol Allowance—Hon. Editor and Secretary/Treasurer ...		960 00		5,760 00		Life ...		900 00	
11,480 50		<i>Printing, etc.</i>		4,322 50		2,054 80		Donations ...		43 70	
10,000 00		Printing ...		12,322 50		3,516 70		Sales of Journal and Separates ...		7,009 84	
1,480 50		Less Reserve 1957 ...		8,000 00		765 00		Advertisements ...		—	
1,852 15		Cost of Blocks ...		1,545 94		375 00		Interest accrued on Investment ...		518 00	
1,980 30		Purchase of back numbers of <i>T.N.R.</i> ...		453 10		—		Net addition to stock during year ...		97 50	
800 00		Printing of Maps ...		1,725 00		8,046 54		Balance, being excess of expenditure over income ...		931 67	
4,012 95		<i>Sundry Expenses:</i>		1,021 48		—					
362 00		Stationery ...		590 00		—					
90 00		Binding of Volumes ...		1,016 10		220 40					
629 00		Bulk Postage ...		1,121 10		16 16					
416 50		Routine Postage ...		930 19		—					
747 45		Miscellaneous ...		125 76		—					
91 99		Bank Charges ...		135 00		5,333 72					
—		Hire of Hall ...		394 09		—					
—		Telephone ...		—		—					
—		<i>Depreciation:</i>		—		—					
—		Office Equipment ...		—		—					
150 00		<i>Interest:</i>		—		—					
2,531 26		Interest on Government Loan ...		—		—					
		<i>Bad Debts:</i>		—		—					
		Amount written off relating to the years 1956-1958 ...		4,825 85		—					
		Less Charged to Reserve ...		450 00		—					
		<i>Transfers to Reserves:</i>		—		—					
94 00		Income Tax ...		148 00		—					
8,000 00		Printing Journals ...		5,000 00		5,148 00					
3,364 15		Excess of Income over Expenditure ...		—		—					
22,889 30				28,910 67		28,910 67				28,910 67	

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1958

The above Balance Sheet and the attached Income and Expenditure Account have been examined. I have obtained all the information and explanations that I have required and I certify as a result of this audit that in my opinion they are correct.

W. WENBAN-SMITH, *President*
M. CLIFFORD, *Hon. Secretary/Treasurer*

W. J. D. COOPER,
Director of Audit

5th March, 1959

THE TANGANYIKA SOCIETY

MINUTES OF THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY HELD IN THE WOMEN'S SERVICE LEAGUE LOUNGE, OCEAN ROAD, DAR ES SALAAM, ON WEDNESDAY, 11th MARCH, 1959 at 8.30 p.m.

*19 Members were present when the President took the chair. Over 50 were present by
the time the Meeting ended*

Copies of the Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting, the Report of the Committee and the Audited accounts for 1958 were given to each Member present.

1. MINUTES.

Proposed by Mr. Miller, seconded by Mr. Chande that the Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting be adopted. Carried *nem. con.*

2. REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

The President said the Report acknowledged with appreciation the support given by Members to the Society and its Journal. He now took the opportunity of thanking the Committee, in particular, Mr. Wylie, the Government Printer for his unfailing co-operation in helping to produce the Journal; Mrs. Clifford the Secretary/Treasurer, and Mrs. Leslie and Mrs. Miller, who had carried the burden of editing the Journal, which, for the first time was up to date.

Proposed by Mr. Rowe, seconded by Mr. Miller that the Report of the Committee be adopted. Carried *nem. con.*

3. ACCOUNTS.

The President explained the necessity for provision made in the accounts for bad debts. These bad debts were mainly subscriptions owed by past Members who could not now be traced. In addition, some advertising bills remained unpaid. The drive for new Members continued. He proposed to send invitations to join the Society to some 200 members of the U.S. African Studies Association.

Proposed by Mr. Markham, seconded by Mr. Stubbings that the accounts be adopted. Carried *nem. con.*

4. ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

The following were elected:—

<i>President</i>	...	...	...	Mr. W. Wenban-Smith, C.B.E., re-elected. Proposed: Mr. Wylie, Seconded: Mr. Miller.
<i>Vice President</i>	...	...	...	Mr. A. D. B. Wylie, O.B.E. Proposed: Mr. Rowe, Seconded: Mrs. Molloy.
<i>Hon. Editor</i>	...	...	...	Mrs. Leslie, re-elected. Proposed: Mr. Miller, Seconded: Mr. Rowe.
<i>Hon. Secretary/Treasurer</i>	...	...	...	Mrs. Clifford, re-elected. Proposed: Mr. Markham, Seconded: Mr. Tenraa.

COMMITTEE MEMBERS.

The following members were proposed:—

<i>Committee Members</i>		<i>Proposed by</i>	<i>Seconded by</i>
Mr. J. K. Chande	...	Mr. Miller	Mr. Singh.
Mr. S. Nizamuddin	...	Mr. Stubbings	Mr. Chande.
Dr. J. Liston	...	Mr. Wenban-Smith	Mr. Wylie.
Mr. Lunan	...	Mr. Rowe	Mrs. Miller.
Mrs. Paterson	...	Mr. Wylie	Mr. Pike.
Mrs. Miller...	...	Mrs. Wenban-Smith	Mr. Wylie.

As six Members had been proposed a ballot was held, and Mrs. Miller, Mr. Chande and Mr. Nizamuddin were elected. Mrs. Paterson, Dr. Liston and Mr. Murray Lunan each received the same number of votes; on a show of hands Mrs. Paterson and Dr. Liston were elected.

5. APPOINTMENT OF AUDITOR.

Proposed by Mr. Wenban-Smith, seconded by Mr. Pike that the Director of Audit should be asked to continue as Hon. Auditor of the Society. Carried *nem. con.*

6. OTHER BUSINESS.

Hon. Vice Presidents.

The President stated that during the year the Committee had invited Sir Harold MacMichael and Lord Twining to be Hon. Vice Presidents. Strictly speaking this was outside the competence of the Committee, Rule 18 provided that Hon. Vice Presidents should be elected at a General Meeting. Proposed by Mr. Pike, seconded by Mr. Wylie that these appointments should be confirmed. Carried *nem. con.*

Proposed by Mr. Pike, seconded by Archdeacon Capper, that Sir Eldred Hitchcock should be elected an Hon. Vice President. Carried *nem. con.* Proposed by Mr. Wenban-Smith and seconded by Mr. Pike that Mr. Moffett, who had contributed much to the success of the Society in its early years should be elected an Hon. Vice President. Carried *nem. con.*

SALE OF JOURNALS.

It was suggested by Mr. Chittick that the rarer numbers of the Journal, which, he understood, were at present being sold to Institutions at more than the published price, should be made available to ordinary members at the published price.

The President explained that, as many back numbers of the Journal were in very short supply, the few the Society were able to buy went towards making up Complete Sets. Sets comprising Nos. 1 to 45 could be sold for 50 guineas, and were a valuable source of income to the Society. There was a waiting list for Complete Sets and at the moment none were available.

It was suggested by a member that rare numbers should be reprinted. Mr. Wylie, whose advice was asked, said, apart from the difficulty in obtaining blocks required for the illustrations, this would not be a practical proposition from a financial point of view.

It was suggested by Mr. Markham that Mr. Chittick should be invited by the Committee to attend a meeting of the Committee when the position regarding the sale of back numbers of the Journal could be explained more fully.

There being no further business the meeting closed at 9.35 p.m.

TANGANYIKA NOTES AND RECORDS

JOURNAL OF THE TANGANYIKA SOCIETY

This Society came into being on 8th August, 1947. Its objects are to promote the study of ethnology, history, geography, natural history, and kindred sciences in relation to Tanganyika; to co-operate with the King George V Memorial Museum to this end; and to encourage and facilitate the publication of records and studies in these subjects.

A major activity of the Society is the publication of *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, which was founded in 1936. The journal is issued twice yearly, and is priced at Shs. 12/- to non-members.

A lecture by an authority on some aspect of Tanganyika is arranged each month by the Society, to which members and their friends are cordially welcomed.

The Society enjoys the hospitality of the King George V Memorial Museum as its headquarters and members are privileged to use the Museum Library; in return the library is enriched by the exchange journals and reports donated by the Society.

The subscription rate for ordinary members is Shs. 20/- per annum, and Shs. 200/- for life membership.

For further particulars write to the Honorary Secretary/Treasurer, P.O. Box 511, Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika, East Africa.

THE TANGANYIKA SOCIETY

Patron: His Excellency Sir Richard Turnbull, K.C.M.G.

Hon. Vice-Presidents: Sir Harold MacMichael, G.C.M.G., D.S.O.
Mrs. E. Gillman.
Sir Bruce Hutt, K.B.E., C.M.G.
Lord Twining, G.C.M.G., M.B.E.
J. P. Moffett, C.M.G.

OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1959/60

<i>President</i>	<i>Vice-President</i>
W. Wenban-Smith, C.B.E., M.A.	A. D. B. Wylie, O.B.E.

Committee

The President.	The Hon. Sec./Treas.
The Vice-President.	The Hon. Editor.

J. Carbonell, M.A. (representing Board of Trustees
of King George V Memorial Museum).

Dr. J. M. Liston, C.M.G., M.B., Ch.B., D.T.M. and H., D.P.H.

Miss. J. Harding, F.G.S., F.M.A. (Curator,
King George V Memorial Museum).

Mrs. M. P. Miller, B.A.
S. Nizamuddin.

J. K. Chande.
Mrs. O. Paterson, B.A.

Hon. Editor—Mrs. E. H. Leslie.
Telephone 67451.

Hon. Sec./Treas.—Mrs. M. Clifford.
Telephone 67494.

Editorial Board

T. W. Chalmers, C.B.E.
M. Lunan, B.Sc., A.I.C.T.A.

W. Wenban-Smith, C.B.E., M.A.
A. D. B. Wylie, O.B.E.

WANTED URGENTLY BY THE SOCIETY

The Society is very anxious to obtain *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, Numbers 6, 12 and 14, for which it will pay Shs. 20/- each, or else exchange for any of the following numbers:—

3, 4, 7, 11, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21 and 23.

If any Member has any of the following numbers which they do not want, the Society would be pleased to buy them at published price:—

1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18,
19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 30, 31, 32, 33, 46, 47/48.

The Society is also interested in buying complete sets of the Journals in good condition,

P.O. Box 511,
Dar es Salaam,
Tanganyika

OBITUARY—SIR ELDRED HITCHCOCK, C.B.E.

The Tanganyika Society learnt with deep regret of the death on 6th April, 1959, of Sir Eldred Hitchcock. Sir Eldred had long been a supporter of the Society and had been elected an Honorary Vice-President at the last Annual General Meeting, on 11th March, 1959. He made a generous donation of £100 to the Society in 1957.

We are indebted to the Tanganyika Sisal Growers Association for permission to reprint "The Sisal Industry of East Africa" which was written by Sir Eldred Hitchcock in 1957, and appears on pages 4-17 of this number.

The Editor of the London *Times* has kindly permitted us to reprint the following obituary notice which appeared on 7th April, 1959.

"Sir Eldred Hitchcock, C.B.E., the principal figure in the East African sisal industry over the past 20 years, died yesterday at Tanga after a heart attack. He was 71.

His career was one of astonishing diversity. In his youth he had been Warden of Toynbee Hall, but later went into business and during the Second World War built up the Tanganyika sisal industry to a point where it became one of the most important producers of strategic raw materials in the sterling area. He was as active in the international marketing of the product as he was in growing it. He was one of those who through their control of an essential primary product became a political almost as much as a commercial figure. The industry under his guidance became the largest single source of revenue in Tanganyika: and he organized it with due regard for the interests not only of the shareholder but of the labour force and the territory as a whole.

He took a keen interest in all aspects of African development, was a staunch champion of multi-racial policy and served for a number of years as an unofficial member of the Tanganyika Legislative Council. He was a keen amateur of the Arts, and his fine collection of Islamic pottery was recently exhibited at Bluett's. Hitchcock was a man of unrelenting energy with friends in all walks of life and among all races. He had also the critics which are the lot of all powerful individuals. With a Puckish spirit of mischief he combined deep personal kindness.

Eldred Frederick Hitchcock was born in 1887, the son of Eldred and Louie Hitchcock, and went to school at Burford Grammar School. From there he went to Oxford, where he obtained a diploma in Economics in 1910. In his early days he was interested in left wing politics and he numbered among his friends several who later became prominent in the Labour movement. Shortly after leaving Oxford he became secretary of Toynbee Hall, to which he returned as Warden after the armistice.

Hitchcock formed his first association with the industrial world during the 1914-18 War, when he worked as a Government wool statistician and was finally Deputy Director of Wool Textiles at the War Office. During this period of life he first showed his aptitude for business and he got to know prominent persons in the textile world. Thus it was that after a period as Warden of Toynbee Hall he decided to go into business himself. In those days he engaged in a multiplicity of activities, including a travel agency and monumental sculpture. His business interests took him to central Europe and Russia.

In 1926 Hitchcock became a shareholder in the firm which is now known as Bird and Company (Africa). From this time dates his interest in sisal. But it was not until 1937 that he settled in Tanganyika. Sisal had first been introduced by the Germans, and in common with most colonial primary commodities had suffered badly as an industry in the 1930s through the prevailing low world prices.

During the Second World War it was a controlled material; and in the immediate post-war years Hitchcock emerged as a brilliant bargainer with the Board of Trade on behalf of the whole industry, which he continued to represent after Government sale of sisal was ended. In 1949 he formed the voluntary selling organization known as the Tanganyika Sisal Marketing Association which is now one of the principal forces in the sisal world. It is at present marketing more than two-fifths of the Tanganyika and Kenya sisal production. Besides being chairman of the association Hitchcock managed on behalf of Bird and Co. (Africa) a chain of sisal estates round Tanga, and showed the way in establishing better working and social conditions for his African employees.

It is a measure of his effort that during his time in Tanganyika sisal production increased from 94,000 tons to 243,000 tons a year.

Hitchcock was always a keen innovator, and during the later years of his life extended his interest and indeed his enthusiasm to the production of tea in the Usumbaras, where he found traces of tea estates which had been abandoned by the Germans decades before. The rate of development in country which had to be cleared from bush astonished the experts.

Hitchcock's contribution to Tanganyika ranged far beyond production and commerce, great as these were. He lived, as he said, "over the shop", figuratively as well as physically. His offices were in a white colonial structure dating from German days, overlooking Tanga harbour, which he worked so hard to develop. Not for him the aloof bungalow of the modern colonial tycoon. He slept, worked and entertained in the flat on the first floor, surrounded by Arabic and African objects of art so lovingly collected. Hither in a steady stream came Tanganyikans of all conditions with their schemes and troubles, not to mention constant visitors from overseas.

In the earlier period he adopted the traditional business man's stance of embattled opposition to government. He was opposed to the groundnut scheme, which he regarded as both unsound agriculturally and as competing unfairly with the particular, and in his view much more beneficent, interests of the sisal industry. But with the advent of Sir Edward (now Lord) Twining as Governor he threw his weight behind the new policy of political evolution based on racial parity. His sponsorship of multi-racialism was no political pose. It arose out of a spontaneous overflow of human feeling. Sometimes it led him unfairly to decry the achievements of his own people.

He accepted office as a nominated member of the Legislative Council. He was instrumental in the formation of the United Tanganyika Party, an unsuccessful venture aimed at keeping race out of politics. Rather quizzically, since he was something of a Tanganyika nationalist and looked with suspicion on attempts to link the territory with Kenya, he accepted service on the East African Commission's transport committee—he was, after all, one of the ports and railways major users. He secured the services of Mr. Claude Guillebaud in the effort to organize trade unionism on a proper basis in the industry. All these activities were sandwiched in between frequent and lightning journeys to Britain,

the United States, and Brazil in the interests of selling and organizing the sale of the sisal crop.

He married in 1915 Patricia Lorie, a New Zealander, and the bereavement which he suffered in 1956, together with a serious operation undergone about the same time, visibly affected his health and vigour. But he refused seriously to modulate his way of life. He leaves a daughter and a son. He was created C.B.E. in 1920 and was knighted in 1955."

Dr. G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville writes:—

May I add a word about Sir Eldred Hitchcock? His wife carried me in her arms when I was a baby, and like myself he was an Oxfordshire man. But I did not know him as a friend until 1953, when we found many interests in common, and the doors of his hospitable house were ever open when he was in Tanga.

In 1954 James Kirkman came to stay in our house. His book on Gedi had just been published, and we had lent it to Hitchcock, who was no less thrilled by it than ourselves. He turned his mind, which was of extraordinary range and speed, over our dinner-table where he met the Kirkman's, to the determination that Kilwa, and the Tanganyika coast, no less than Gedi, must be fully explored and excavated. Within a brief space he had made up his mind that Sir Mortimer Wheeler and Dr. Gervase Mathew should be invited out to Tanganyika to explore the matter: and that Dr. Mathew's suggestion of a British School of Archaeology and History in East Africa, first made in a report to the British Academy in 1951, and adopted, with acclamation at the Conference of African History and Archaeology at the School of Oriental and African Studies in 1953, must not only be implemented, but implemented in Tanganyika. It is sad that he should not live to see the fruition of his work, now proposed in the British Budget announced just after his death, and have seen it in being.

To many Burford, the North Oxfordshire town where he was born, is one of the most beautiful of small Cotswold towns. He belonged to that Cotswold tradition in which every smallest cottage is an opportunity for a creation of beauty. Sir Eldred had a remarkable and deep instinctive feeling for all the visual arts and for history, without which the arts are not truly intelligible, and his rapid mind immediately rejected dross. His collection of medieval Islamic pottery was probably the best in private hands, and this, with many suggestions from himself, and an introduction of genuine sensitivity, was published by Arthur Lane in 1956. His flat in Tanga contained the most representative collection in existence of the Chinese porcelain imported into East Africa, much of it from Lamu. The eighteenth century was the best represented. He was not less knowledgeable in the recondite field of African art, and his collection of carvings, masks and figurines was more comprehensive than many museums.

Many saw him only as a man of affairs, and did not realise him as a man of the acutest artistic sensibility. His conversation indeed could hide as much as it revealed. He was a deep man, and he abhorred the superficial. He had the humility of the scholar, and knew and appreciated his deep-seated doubts. He enjoyed informed talk, but he spoke his mind only cannily, a true countryman, after due deliberation. He never ceased to be ready to learn, and in this was his true greatness. He detested idleness. He was ever anxious to add to human knowledge, which he possessed in a most remarkable range and degree. If his departure leaves his friends with a crushing sense of personal loss, it is also an overwhelming loss to the study of East African history and archaeology, for which he strove with all his strength to provide the means for advance.

THE SISAL INDUSTRY OF EAST AFRICA

By Sir Eldred Hitchcock, C.B.E.

CENTRAL AMERICA THE HOME OF SISAL

Sisal—one of the “hard fibres”—is indigenous to South and Central America, and was known there centuries ago as a fibre suitable for twine and cordage; it was prepared by hand, and at a later date in the 18th Century by means of a simple machine called a Raspador after a Jesuit priest of that name.

In 1836 the sisal plant was introduced into Florida through Mexico in an attempt to found there a marine cordage industry. It is a crop which needs considerable experience. Sisal can withstand severe drought conditions; it is intolerant to too much or too little moisture, and as a commercial crop only thrives in special tropical conditions. The experiment in Florida failed, and there is now only some random wild sisal in the coastal islands.

HENEQUEN

Henequen was first planted as a crop in the State of Yucatan in Mexico in the 1870's. It is of the same family as sisal, but an amaryllis, not a daffodil, as is sisal. Although a weaker fibre than true sisal, it was adequate for such purposes as binder twine. Production increased up to 180,000 tons until the revolution in Mexico in 1934. The henequen estates were taken over by the peons or *ejidatarios*, and as a result there was a rapid deterioration of areas, equipment, etc., which was disastrous from the point of view both of production and of quality. Later, the factories together with some adjacent land were returned to the owners, the rest of the land being unevenly and inefficiently worked by the peons under a loose supervision of the Department of Agriculture. The return of the owners improved the situation, but henequen production is now only half of what it used to be. The peon labour now worked on their own and had to depend on their own efforts. They were no longer supported by the capital and organisation of the hacienda owners. Owing to the low standard of life of the peons henequen constitutes a serious competitor in agricultural twines in the United States market to the superior sisal produced in East Africa. A case was recently put to Congress by the American spinners for protection by means of import quotas from this low priced twine produced in Mexico, but was not conceded. The issue is still being pursued.

True sisal will not grow in Yucatan and in other parts of Central America such as Cuba, but it has been successfully grown in Haiti.

MANILA

Manila—also a “hard fibre”—a species of banana, is a complementary fibre to sisal, and is used for special purposes mainly in rope. A dollar-produced crop, the product is used chiefly in the U.S.A. Before the last war production totalled about 170,000 tons, all produced in the Philippines, of which about one-third was produced there and consumed by the Japanese. During the war an attempt was made by the United States Government to grow manila, referred to as abaca, in five Central American States, but, although heavily subsidised, it proved uneconomic. World supply is now down to about 130,000 tons, sisal having become the main competitor, even in rope in the United Kingdom and the Continent. The British Admiralty led the way before the war after intensive trials in substituting sisal for manila in naval ropes and cordage.

SISAL AND MR. CHAMBERLAIN

Towards the end of the last century Joseph Chamberlain when on an ocean cruise was persuaded by a misinformed Governor of the Bahamas that sisal could be successfully grown in those islands. His son Neville spent five years of his early twenties and some £50,000 of the family money in a grim and unsuccessful attempt to establish it there. The experiment had to be abandoned and later the enterprise was sold for £500. No wonder that during his first and only visit to East Africa when Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Neville Chamberlain asked to see a sisal estate, and on his return to London made it his business to support a 10 per cent Imperial Preference for East African sisal.

INTRODUCTION OF SISAL TO EAST AFRICA

Sisal plants were introduced from Florida into German East Africa now called Tanganyika in 1892 by a German, Dr. Hindorf. One thousand plants were sent and only 62 precariously survived, being finally carried, it is reported, in the folds of a large coloured umbrella in order to evade delay by the customs, and particularly by the plant quarantine regulations of the Agricultural Department. The industry was established, as it were, by the skin of its teeth. The romantic epic of its introduction to East Africa has some parallel with that of rubber—in both of them Kew played a notable part. Here is Dr. Hindorf's account of the matter:—

“After visiting the Far East including New Guinea, Java and Sumatra, Australia, and India, investigating scientifically the selection and planting of tropical plants I arrived in Tanga, then German East Africa, in 1891. I was concerned to find a plant suitable to the conditions in the semi-arid plains of the Tanganyika coast. In the course of my scientific work I kept in touch with the work of Kew, England, and in the Kew Bulletin No. 62 of February 1892 I saw an article referring to sisal in Mexico. I followed up this matter, but discovered that the export of sisal planting material from Mexico was prohibited. The Kew Bulletin had mentioned that in 1836 the American Consul at Campeche in Mexico had sent sisal plants to Florida in order to found there a marine hemp industry, which however did not succeed. I therefore wrote to Reasoner Bros., plant dealers in Florida, requesting them to send me sisal plants and they sent me 1,000 plants to Hamburg. When I examined them I found that 80 per cent had died. I repacked the remaining 200 and they arrived well in Tanga, 62 surviving. These plants founded the sisal industry of Tanganyika”.

Fifteen years later, planting material was supplied to Kenya, where a sisal industry was established although under less favourable natural conditions. A small industry was also established in Uganda.

The first export of sisal fibre took place in 1898 to Hamburg, and when the first World War started export had reached 20,000 tons a year. When the British armies entered German East Africa the estates were placed under a Custodian of Enemy Property, and were let on short term cutting leases on a royalty basis mainly to local Greeks who were then and still are the largest local European community. The price of sisal was fixed at £99 a ton. The estates were reduced in due course to their bare bones, and in 1920 were sold by auction, mainly to local residents including Greeks, Asians, Swiss, Dutch, and some British. Then commenced a period of rehabilitation. In 1924 the Germans

were allowed to return to Tanganyika, and a number re-acquired their previous properties with the financial help of the German Government. When in 1939 the second World War broke out, these properties were again placed under a Custodian of Enemy Property, who leased them on a royalty basis, and as far as possible they were maintained to assist production. After the war the estates were vested in the Tanganyika Government who sold them on leased terms of 99 years for a total sum of £2,500,000 to growers competent to manage and finance them, chosen by a Government Committee set up confidentially for the purpose. These monies were ultimately allocated mainly for public education in Tanganyika.

East Africa is now the largest hard fibre producing area in the world, producing, in 1956, 225,000 tons, more than half the world's sisal. It is the only industry of its kind and size within the British Commonwealth, and indeed the sterling area. Tanganyika produces over 80 per cent of the total East African production, and during the last thirty-five years its sisal exports have more than equalled in value all other exports, including diamonds and gold. The Germans referred to sisal as "the White Gold of Africa".

DESCRIPTION OF THE INDUSTRY

A fully grown sisal plant (*agave sisalana*) weighs about 300 lbs. and looks like a giant pineapple. It is a clone, and therefore always breeds true to type. The great fleshy leaves of about half the total weight of the plant, grow from a central bole up to 5 or 6 feet. The plant is built up by a rapid process of photosynthesis with the aid of the fierce rays of the African sun—a sun which at the same time destroys humus and reduces any cleaned exposed soil to its inorganic content, and at 82 degrees or over destroys even the bacteriological action upon which the fertility of the top soil depends. The life cycle of the plant varies according to where it is grown in the world; in East Africa it is about 10 to 14 years, of which the first two to five years are immature, and give no revenue. In Central America the life cycle of henequen is 25 years, of which the first four to seven are immature. At the end of its life the plant sends up a pole 12 to 15 feet high on which there are 2,000 young plants known as bulbils; selection of these is planted in nurseries for a year and then planted out in the field. The plant will also reproduce itself by sucker growth, but seed is rare. The art of sisal growing is to secure a proper balance between mature and immature areas and in yields, and to reduce the heavy capital cost of frequent replanting.

The plant bears over 200 leaves, which grow outwards from the centre of the bole. The centre leaves contain 13 per cent of fibre lying lengthwise. As they incline downwards the leaves increase slightly in length and expand by the formation of fleshy cellulose and colloids amounting to 13 per cent, the rest being water, with a final fibre content of 3 to 4 per cent. These outer leaves are cut on a cycle of about 12 months. The leaves are bundled and transported in trains drawn on estate railways by diesel locomotive to a factory which may be miles off towards the centre of the estate; there the leaves are decorticated.

The decorticators are heavy machines consisting of two separate drums in which phosphor bronze or stainless steel beaters are fixed, revolving at 300 to 500 revolutions a minute. About 8,000 gallons an hour of water under pressure assist the process of washing and separating the flesh from the fibre. The wet fibre is spread on drying lines and dried and bleached in the African sun. It is then

brushed, sorted, graded, and baled under pressure up to 70 cubic feet or less a ton, with four bales to the ton. Sisal production continues throughout the year without interruption except during the rainy season.

Sisal production, to be fully economic, must normally be on a large scale and highly capitalised, for, apart from the agronomic side, considerable and expensive transport and factory installations are required for processing. Further, a modern well-organized sisal estate has to be virtually a self-contained community of upwards of 1,000 persons, in which the employer provides housing for staff and labour, roads and railways, bridges, godowns, and storehouses, factories, engineering shops, markets, medical assistance, churches and mosques, water supplies, anti-malaria schemes, etc. Food also has to be grown or provided. All this involves heavy building programmes, stores departments, accounting services, and considerable movements of cash.

The industry is fortunate in having inherited from the Germans the metric system. Its land operations are conducted in hectares (about $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres), and its accounting and costing is done in shillings and ten ten-cent pieces to the shilling.

Sisal areas in Tanganyika cover 1,529 square miles out of a total land area of 342,000 square miles, or less than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The total land area for all purposes in non-African occupation is 1.4 per cent. Even in the oldest and most intensively settled province, that of Tanga, all land occupied for non-African agriculture, including sisal and tea, is 689 square miles out of a total of 13,803 square miles, or under 5 per cent. If the sisal industry had not brought water supplies to these areas neither the sisal estates nor the considerable African settlement which has grown up alongside could have been sustained. Moreover, the port of Tanga, which is now the greatest sisal port in the world, would have languished and remained undeveloped.

The industry in Tanganyika was built up by many nationalities and races, its ownership today in terms of output being:—

Production 1956					Tons	%
Greek	...	...	...	...	59,549	32.05
British	...	...	...	...	58,173	31.32
Asian	...	...	...	...	44,698	24.06
Swiss	...	...	...	...	16,137	8.69
Dutch	...	...	...	...	3,866	2.08
Italian	...	...	...	...	1,546	.83
African (random sisal)	...	...	...	...	1,021	.55
German	...	...	...	...	772	.42
Total					185,762	100.00

Unfortunately, the only African sisal estate owner died a few years ago and found no African to succeed him. He was a Muslim and employed a very large number of relatives, and successfully defied most of the regulations of the Labour Department with the full acquiescence of his labour force. He delivered leaves to a neighbouring European estate which had the machinery and organisation to convert the leaves into the finished baled fibre, but it was not a very satisfactory arrangement for either side. The African production today consists of random sisal which is mainly processed by hand. Cotton and food crops better suit the African economy which is a short term one requiring small initial cost. When sisal prices are relatively high African production tends to increase but substantially decreases as the price falls.

Production in Kenya and Uganda totalled 40,223 tons in 1956, mainly by British growers.

During the last war sisal met the major needs of the rope, cordage, and twine requirements of the Allied Nations, and as a strategic commodity, has since the war been stockpiled by the American Government. At a critical time in the war, Mr. Averell Harriman, the American Lease-Lend Administrator in London, cabled directly to the East African industry saying that its estimates of production, unlike many other producing areas, had always proved correct and that East Africa was the mainstay of Allied supply.

JAVA SISAL

No reference to sisal would be complete without some reference to Java. During the years from 1900 up to the second World War sisal production in Java and Sumatra had reached 90,000 tons of a very superior quality. The capital employed was double per ton that available to the East African industry, and the labour employed was equally superior by comparison, half consisting of small women who did all the cutting, the men doing the bundling and carrying. The wage rates were a little lower than in the East African industry, but owing to more sustained and more efficient work, the wages earned were two to three times those in East Africa.

Java is a tropical country with agricultural conditions dissimilar from those of tropical East Africa, mainly due to the difference in rain distribution. To apply to the sisal areas of East Africa the techniques established as sound in Java would be almost as disastrous in terms of soil fertility as would the application of the practice of temperate agriculture learnt at Rothamsted. Since the war, the Java industry has greatly declined, its place being taken by Brazil, and more effectively by Africa, including the British, Portuguese, and French colonies.

WORLD DISTRIBUTION OF EAST AFRICAN SISAL

East African sisal is exported to all the main industrial countries of the world, the general pattern of distribution being:—

	Year 1956			Year 1955		
	Tons		%	Tons		%
North America (including Canada) ...	8,436	...	4	20,735	...	11
United Kingdom ...	65,300	...	32	65,980	...	34
Continent ...	84,800	...	41	71,421	...	37
Commonwealth ...	18,101	...	9	15,271	...	8
Other ...	28,927	...	14	19,799	...	10
	205,564	...	100	193,206	...	100

In the immediate post-war years as much as 40 per cent was sold to America, but this has gradually declined owing to Mexican and Brazilian competition and to a lesser degree to the cessation of stockpiling. The demand for binder twine gradually fell between the wars and is now static, but baling twine for hay, flax, and other crops, more than made up for this decline. Moreover, a variety of uses subsidiary to these main uses have been established, such as shop and tying twines, especially the stronger ones needed for newspaper parcels, as a reinforce-

ment for building board, for carpets and rugs, for shoes and sandals, bags, hats especially for the Chinese market, for industrial purposes such as burnishing wheels for metals. The short fibre known as tow is in great demand for pads to steel springs in the mattress and motor car upholstery trade especially of America. The *Queen Mary* was upholstered with steel springs and sisal pads; it is less heating and more lasting than foam rubber. Paper, even cigarette paper, can technically be made from sisal, and a large potential use may be opening up in plastics.

HISTORY OF PRICES

Since it was established the East African sisal industry has produced over 4m. tons of a total East African port value of £210m. or including overseas freight, insurance, etc., of £250m. Sisal has thus made a very important contribution to the economy of East Africa, and particularly to that of Tanganyika, to which over the last quarter of a century it has contributed an export value equal to all other exports including gold and diamonds.

During this period there have been great fluctuations in price, and growers have faced not only the risks inherent in tropical agriculture, but market uncertainties and fluctuations unknown today to the agriculturalist or industrialist in the United Kingdom.

The course of sisal prices normally corresponds with the contraction or expansion of world trade activity and less with the supply and demand of the commodity. The sisal price curve has shown little relation to that of production. The long term demand is what the economists call inelastic, responding, save in particular short-term conditions, not so much to price, but to the size of world harvests and transportation and shipping programmes. Moreover, the cost of sisal twines, cordage, or rope used in these activities, is a relatively small factor in their end cost. Before the war, merchants held only meagre stocks and since the war these have been virtually non-existent, sales being made direct to consumers through the merchants acting as agents; spinners and manufacturers have tended to reduce their stocks as a result of uncertain prices. This has created problems of finance and marketing for growers. Since the war 70 per cent of the Tanganyika growers, producing 55 per cent of the Territory's production, including the largest British group and the largest Asian group, voluntarily founded a Sisal Marketing Association, and a Sisal Finance Corporation, in an endeavour to introduce some greater stability in the industry. Its policy has always been not to hold stocks but to meet the market, and never in any year has the production failed to be sold. Moreover, shipments are never made unsold. The marketing and financing of the 45 per cent balance is handled mainly by half a dozen different agency houses who also finance sales and production.

After the first World War and up to the great depression of the early 'thirties, the price of sisal at East African port averaged £36 15s. per ton. When the depression arrived the price was halved; up to the second World War it averaged £15 17s. per ton, the range of price during this period being from £36 down to £9. The industry had become sub-economic, but it is a long term crop, and no rapid change in production is possible. It was kept alive agriculturally by means of controlled sucker growth, a system of agriculture which has much to commend it when properly managed.

Before the last war there was no income tax in Tanganyika, public revenue being raised by indirect taxes, a taxation system which encouraged earnings to be ploughed back to the fullest extent possible into development, and proved a wonderful stimulus in conditions of a young and pioneering country. If the present basis of profit assessment and rate of tax on producer income, which can amount to as much as 70 per cent of "assessed" profits, had existed before the war no sisal industry of the dimensions attained could have been built up in Tanganyika, and the country would have been denied its greatest export asset.

THE TRAGEDIES OF SUB-ECONOMIC PRICES

These prosaic price figures masked many human tragedies. New ownership by foreclosure generally meant less efficiency of management. Some who had ventured all, and had worked unremittingly for the best part of their lives in difficult and unusual circumstances in the heat of the tropical sun, were reduced to penury in their old age, without a buyer for assets which may have cost £100,000 and a lifetime's work to build up. Moreover, all those employed in the industry were affected, although regular employment was little affected, for the industry was maintained through good times and bad, and wages were the first priority. Sisal is not a seasonal but a long term crop and production continued at a loss in the hope of better times to come. But the low and uncertain price of sisal made impossible proper provision for old age or retirement including the Europeans in the industry. Low and unstable prices inevitably depress the living conditions and standard of life of all concerned, and uncertainty with regard to the future causes a reluctance to increase costs, and costs include wages which it may be difficult to reduce later when prices fall below production cost. Nevertheless, it was a time of solid experience the lessons of which only bad times can give and instil, and about which the younger generation to their detriment know little.

During the period from 1922 to 1936 only two East African sisal companies were quoted on the London Stock Exchange. Their dividend record during the period was:—

				<i>East African Sisal Plantations</i>		<i>Bird and Co. (Africa) Ltd.</i>	
1921	...	...	...	Nil	...	Nil	
1922	...	...	...	Nil	...	Nil	
1923	...	...	...	Nil	...	Nil	
1924	...	...	...	Nil	...	5%	
1925	...	...	...	Nil	...	7½%	
1926	...	...	...	Nil	...	Nil	
1927	...	...	...	Nil	...	Nil	
1928	...	...	...	Nil	...	Nil	
1929	...	...	...	Nil	...	Nil	
1930	...	...	...	Nil	...	Nil	
1931	...	...	...	Nil	...	Nil	
1932	...	...	...	Nil	...	Nil	
1933	...	...	...	Nil	...	Nil	
1934	...	...	...	Nil	...	Nil	
1935	...	...	...	Nil	(Capital reduced by 50% owing to capital losses)	Nil	(Capital re-orga- nisation through a holding Company owing to capital losses)

In spite of these disappointing results from the point of view of the investor, the period was one of wide experiment and important consolidation.

In 1934 a well laid out and modern twine and cordage mill with machinery from Northern Ireland and Scotland was established on a sisal estate near Tanga. Workers were sent by the machine makers to train the African and Sikh staff, and a good standard of production was gradually established, and a Secondary industry was added to the Tanganyika economy. The project however was not well received by the United Kingdom spinners—important customers of the East African sisal industry. Moreover, the British Government were faced with a serious unemployment problem. The undertaking in consequence received official opposition and was effectively killed; and the investor again lost his capital. Japan received most of the machinery at scrap prices. Thus ended a minor tragedy. Later, in Kenya, a small factory was established mainly for making bagging for the East African market. It was of great value during the war and has now developed on a wider scale.

On the outbreak of war in 1939 the price of sisal was fixed by the British Government on the basis of £19 c.i.f. U.K. port for No. 1 grade and later increased to £26. In Britain a Hemp Controller was appointed to deal with all hard fibres and the British Government made all purchases for their French Allies. In June 1940 however, with the fall of France, the Continental market for East African sisal was cut off save for a few navicerts for Spain and Portugal. An endeavour was made by the British Treasury to interest the United States Treasury in building up a sisal stockpile, but without success. The British Ministry of Supply then agreed to purchase the East African annual production, on the basis of £19 per ton East African port, but on condition that a 10 per cent Restriction Scheme was put into operation. This restriction in its results operated very inequitably, but payments on account were made monthly and this was greatly appreciated by the growers.

When in January 1941, the Philippines and the Dutch East Indies fell, their annual production of 260,000 tons of hard fibre—manila 170,000 tons and sisal 90,000 tons—ceased to be available. East Africa was then urged to do everything possible to increase its production and some increase in the price was agreed. When the war ended the average price f.o.b. East African port for all grades of sisal was £27 12s. per ton and Government Purchase continued up to the end of 1948. In 1946 the growers put a case for an increase of £18 9s. per ton to meet annual recurring capital costs which had not in principle been accepted nor indeed understood during the war by the Government. After protracted negotiations this figure was agreed by the Ministry of Supply with the growers. Thereafter, prices were based on the world market, and by the end of Sisal Purchase in December 1948 the price was £86.

The British Ministry of Supply were persuaded partly by the American authorities, to finance a scheme, out of our sisal funds, for growing *Sansevieria* in the Bahamas. The project received the enthusiastic support of the then Governor the Duke of Windsor. "Experts" were employed on the engineering as well as on the agronomic side. Everything about the scheme proved abortive; the writer visited the Bahamas after the war to investigate; and from this fiasco, turned to the nearby area on the island of Andros, the scene of the earlier fiasco by the Chamberlain family. Nobody had learned in the meantime.

In Haiti where sisal production was already established under efficient private management, the United States Authorities during the war endeavoured themselves to operate a scheme for increased sisal production. It suffered, as too many Government schemes do, from too many "experts" and too high overheads. It poured money in without getting much out, and was both technically and economically a failure.

During the war the United States Government purchased hard fibre production elsewhere in the world including the sisal of Portuguese East Africa, which adjoins Tanganyika, at about double the price paid by the British Government to British East Africa. An agreement between the American and British Governments by which each made available to the other primary commodities on the basis of price paid to their respective producers was not a very favourable arrangement from the point of view of the East African sisal industry. Nevertheless, there were more general war considerations which caused the industry to accept this unsatisfactory situation.

In 1936 when the price went above £35 per ton, three public companies were registered in London with Stock Exchange quotations. Thereafter the dividend records up to the end of Government Purchase were:—

				<i>E.A. Sisal Plantations</i>		<i>Bird and Co.</i>		<i>Consolidated Sisal</i>		<i>Central Line</i>		<i>Arusha Plantations</i>
1936	...	...	...	2%	...	Nil	...	Nil	...	Nil	...	Nil
1937	...	...	...	7½%	...	Nil	...	Nil	...	Nil	...	Nil
1938	...	...	...	Nil	...	Nil	...	Nil	...	Nil	...	Nil
1939	...	...	...	Nil	...	Nil	...	Nil	...	Nil	...	Nil
1940	...	...	...	Nil	...	Nil	...	Nil	...	Nil	...	Nil
1941	...	...	...	Nil	...	Nil	...	Nil	...	Nil	...	Nil
1942	...	...	...	Nil	...	Nil	...	Nil	...	Nil	...	Nil
1943	...	...	...	Nil	...	Nil	...	Nil	...	Nil	...	Nil
1944	...	...	...	5%	...	Nil	...	4%	...	Nil	...	Nil
1945	...	...	...	7½%	...	Nil	...	5%	...	Nil	...	Nil
1946	...	...	...	7½%	...	6%	...	7%	...	Nil	...	Nil
1947	...	...	...	7½%	...	6%	...	10%	...	Nil	...	Nil
1948	...	...	...	20%	...	10%	...	15%	...	10%	...	7½%

POST-WAR PROSPERITY AND THE REVERSE

An all too short period of comparative prosperity then followed although with heavy fluctuations, as the following East African export figures show:—

				<i>Tonnage</i>		<i>Value</i>		<i>Average price per ton East African Port</i>
						£		£
1949	...	...	...	166,805	...	14,031,179	...	84·12
1950	...	...	...	154,794	...	15,907,924	...	102·76
1951	...	...	...	182,201	...	30,842,780	...	169·28
1952	...	...	...	194,476	...	26,322,794	...	135·35
1953	...	...	...	207,457	...	15,339,345	...	73·94
1954	...	...	...	202,235	...	12,920,419	...	63·88
1955	...	...	...	209,907	...	11,963,921	...	57·00
1956	...	...	...	224,151	...	13,118,334	...	58·50
				<u>1,542,026</u>	...	<u>140,446,696</u>	...	<u>91·07</u>

During the years 1950, 1951, and 1952 a sum of over £3,000,000 was levied on the industry by means of a sisal export tax, in addition to normal taxation which was already excessive; this seriously depleted the reserves which for the first time were being built up to strengthen the Industry.

During 1952 the sisal price was quoted on one occasion as high as £256 per ton c.i.f. New York. The actual average figures for the year show how small the quantity of sisal sold at this figure was. Nevertheless, stimulated by this price quotation, a fibre glass baler twine was manufactured and one million feet issued free to farmers in the United States. In fact it was inferior to the natural product and was a failure. Nylon twine and cordage was also produced, and is still used on a small scale, but its elasticity and high price—over £2,000 a ton—does not make it a serious competitor save for specialised requirements.

The average price of sisal today is only a little above £50 per ton f.o.b. East African port. Taking into account the depreciation in the purchasing value of money, this corresponds to about £16 which is the average price during the sub-economic pre-war period. Other commodities exported from Tanganyika such as cotton and coffee, have maintained their price, and sisal exports in value are now under 30 per cent instead of 50 per cent of the Territory's export economy in spite of a steady increase in the tonnage. The industry is being paid less for larger output.

CAPITAL

To establish an economic sisal estate needs large capital and long-term views. Whereas a farmer or a manufacturer in the United Kingdom or elsewhere has to look ahead for a season and take the risks involved, the sisal grower in the tropics has to look ahead for at least ten years, during the first three to five of which his crop will be immature and non-producing. He sells in world markets and quotes a firm c.i.f. price for delivery for a firm date ahead and to a stated port overseas. He has to bear any cost increase which may occur after he accepts the contract. On the other hand, when he buys goods from the United Kingdom he is quoted a price which may be automatically varied as a result of wage or other cost increases and for a delivery date which may also be varied at the will of the seller. Both agriculture and industry in the United Kingdom are thus protected, and the series of wage and other cost increases are passed on to the colonial producer. These conditions favour and promote the inflationary spiral in the United Kingdom to the detriment of the colonial producer of raw materials and all employed in colonial production.

The industry has been built up on short term finance advanced by banks and especially by agency houses who sell the sisal; but the main source of capital has been the ploughing back of earnings. The capital of the sisal industry is one of the most economically applied of any industry within the Colonial Empire. Its sales since the war have created dollar and sterling balances within the Commonwealth which unfortunately it has not been allowed adequately to utilise for its own long term benefit or to the benefit of the territories concerned. The same also applies to many of the transferred funds such as the currency fund, various commodity funds, colonial earnings taxable under United Kingdom law, monies held by the Crown Agents and in a variety of other ways. Access to the capital markets of London or New York has been difficult, for, in spite of the few remunerative years, the steady decline in the price and the bad and uneven

dividend record of sisal concerns is such that the raising of capital receives little encouragement. For this type and scale of capital finance there is moreover a serious gap in the financial market machinery, not only in London but in other financial centres.

The Government sponsored finance corporations such as the Colonial Development Corporation, the Commonwealth Finance Corporation, the International Finance Corporation, make little contribution to this problem, while the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund is used for special Government purposes largely of a social nature.

The yields obtainable in the London financial market on established tea, rubber, and other primary commodity shares, are as high as 25 per cent or more, part of this probably discounting political risk. Unless the sisal industry can compete in the security and yields it can offer the overseas investor it cannot obtain permanent equity capital. That is a very serious position for East Africa.

It should also be noted that the share capital of East African sisal companies on which the rate of dividend is quoted is generally much lower than the actual capital employed in the business. For example, in 1956, one company paid 17½ per cent on an issued share capital of £750,000; the capital employed in the business was however £3,021,386. The share quotation on the London Stock Exchange was valued to return about 9 per cent and owing to the increase in the Bank Rate the price of the share is now lower and the yield higher.

In discussing the capital needs of East Africa, the Report of the East African Royal Commission referred to the use by Government of "the high sounding term 'development' as 'unnecessary and potentially misleading'," and went on to say that "the most important economic expansion of East Africa occurred independently of these (Government) plans", i.e. by private enterprise, "and owes nothing to them. . . . What is important is not that there should be such plans but that there should be capital resources available to promote expansion".

While there is much concern over the provision of the £250m. needed for "development" by the East African Governments in the near future, there appears little appreciation of the capital requirements of private enterprise upon which the true economic expansion and prosperity of East Africa mainly depend.

RESEARCH

On all sisal produced in East Africa an export cess is levied for research and the general protection of the industry and its members. A permanent research station is established at Mlingano near Tanga and a smaller High Level Station in Kenya. This cess was first levied by the industry following the dark days of the industrial depression of the early 'thirties. Through good and bad times the industry has financed its own research in East Africa and overseas and its general organisation.

After the war, in addition, a special levy was made, bringing the total amount raised to £500,000. Over the last 25 years mainly agronomic research has been conducted. The industry has also financed economic research, and in 1951 established, and still finances and owns under the auspices of the London Economist Intelligence Unit, a quarterly statistical journal called "Hard Fibres" which is now the world authority on the subject. Work on the utilisation of sisal for new purposes and for the exploitation of its by-products has also been done elsewhere. Experiment is proceeding in various directions; hecogenin

produced from sisal juice provides the basis for a series of important hormones; while pectates, with the possibilities of a wide industrial use are obtainable from the flesh of the leaf. A superior wax can also be produced. The exploitation of these processes would require considerable capital. There is, however, a long lag between what is technically possible and commercially justifiable, and false hopes should not be raised.

A promising and it is hoped expanding field for sisal is in the realm of plastics, where it is introduced to diminish the brittleness of plastic materials.

LABOUR

It is not always realised that of Tanganyika's total African population of 9,000,000, not more than 430,000 at any time are employed or seek work. Traditionally, migrant labour comes from long distances within Tanganyika and from all adjacent territories (included in the 430,000). The industry provides regular and not seasonal employment to almost one-third of all labour employed in Tanganyika, and no one genuinely seeking work need fail to find it. There is a general chronic shortage of labour throughout the Territory in spite of some special problems of unemployment in townships. £1m. has been spent by the industry through the Sisal Growers Labour Bureau (known as Silabu) to protect and care for migrant labour; in addition, individual estates and groups of estates contribute further large expenditure on the care, recreation, and welfare of labour. On the average, 70 per cent of the labour of the industry consists of settled labour on or adjacent to the estates, and the policy is further to build this up. All races and many nationalities are employed. Many have their own "shambas" or agricultural holdings; their main allegiance is to their tribal institutions and they are based on a rural as well as an industrial economy.

The high rate of indirect expenditure on African field labour is at present inevitable owing to the inadequate response by many Africans to money incentives by means of higher wage rates related to output. It is a country where leisure counts far more than cash and workers have not experienced economic pressure. The great majority set a money target which meets their simple needs and beyond which they have no further interest in money income, nor do they generally allow their women to take employment even in domestic service. But many Africans can be very adaptable and there is no industrial colour bar. A growing margin, at present about 5 per cent, respond to money incentives, and are increasing their skills and desire for sustained work, but it is a very slow process in spite of the encouragement given throughout the industry and by Government. There is still a grave lack in Tanganyika of sufficiently competent "know-how" for doing the ordinary jobs of work, and supervision for carrying on the progressive economy of the country. The solution is by no means easy, but many of the difficulties are gradually being overcome. Meanwhile the country must still rely for some time on immigration at all levels, not necessarily only Europeans.

In Kenya, labour conditions differ from those of Tanganyika. As a result of the Mau Mau troubles, supply exceeds demand; although there are peculiar difficulties where Mau Mau indoctrination has taken place and the problem of security is ever present, it is not an exaggeration to say that the Kikuyu are among the more intelligent and hard working tribes of East Africa. The industry still rates as the third most important export industry of Kenya.

In Cuba, where the henequen estates are owned largely by important sugar interests, production is virtually closed down because of the intransigent demands of the labour unions.

Labour costs in the East African sisal industry are an important factor. The mechanisation of the processing side of the industry is well advanced but although many attempts have been made, no mechanical method of cutting sisal has been discovered. On the field side of clearing and cultivation, mechanisation, on a considerable scale has been tried, but to a large extent discarded so far as the really heavy implements and machines are concerned, on the grounds chiefly of destruction of soil fertility and also on economic grounds. What is sound technique in temperate climates is often fundamentally wrong in tropical agricultural conditions. Under these conditions the capacity and condition of the soil to absorb and retain moisture is a primary consideration of fertility, and the pulverising effect of heavy machinery is fatal from this point of view. The employment of hand labour is therefore likely to remain on a considerable scale. A higher and more stable level of the price of sisal is an outstanding necessity if the general level of prosperity of those employed within the industry is to be improved.

In considering tropical rates of pay it has to be remembered that East Africa has to be compared not with the conditions of the industrial West, but with the economies and conditions of adjacent tropical countries such as the Belgian Congo and Portuguese Mozambique. In his book "Beyond the Mexique Bay" Aldous Huxley poses the following question. If coffee and tea grew in Western Europe and had to be picked by people drawing European wages, the cost to the consumer of these commodities would be many times what it is at present; which means that the consumer simply could not consume. "The cups that cheer and not inebriate" will continue to cheer only so long as tropical labour costs are relatively low; otherwise tea and coffee become luxuries beyond the reach of all but millionaires. In an economically equitable world we would have to depend for our stimulant on the chemist rather than the farmer—a bleak outlook for African agriculture!

THE OUTLOOK

It has already been indicated that demand for sisal is likely gradually to expand. There is little indication of an appreciable expansion in future world production, but on present account there is a small surplus of world production over consumption. This, together with a special and intractable form of competition from Brazil and Mexico has artificially depressed the world sisal price and to this has recently been added the fall in commodity prices due to the "credit squeeze".

In recent years considerable expansion has taken place in Brazil, but heavy subsidies both by the Federal and the State Governments have been necessary. Prices for Brazilian sisal exports are regularly fixed through the Banco do Brazil, and the utilisation under Government permit of unofficial exchange has made it possible for Brazil exporters to under-quote other world producers, thus evading the ordinary operations of supply and demand. For the last three to four years this has had a cumulatively depressing effect on the sisal price, which as a direct result of these factors is out of line with world commodity prices and of allied fibres such as manila and jute, which are both today about double the artificially depressed price of sisal. It is not, however, so much the Brazilian grower who is

reaping the benefit of this exchange manipulation, but the exporter; as a result the output of sisal in that country is tending to fall. At the moment, however, the artificial encouragement given to the Brazilian sisal industry is doing serious injury to the price structure of sisal throughout the world and is preventing a desirable expansion in the standard of living of the people of Tanganyika.

Mexico has also played a part in depressing the price. Although its henequen is inferior to sisal, the low cost of its labour and cheapness of its products have to a great extent undermined the twine business of the United States. The American spinners have put a case to their Government for quotaing such imports and the argument still proceeds.

The agriculture, transport, and shipping of the world, which need twine, cordage, and ropes, on the whole expand, especially with the lifting of artificial trade barriers with the East. Functionally, the new world of plastics may be of increasing interest to the future of sisal. It may also be affected by changes in the Common Market in Europe which in any case will be a protected market. But it is a multilateral industry, beside being a multi-racial one, and its product will be absorbed in the future wherever in the world it can be most economically processed.

TANGANYIKA IN THE 'TWENTIES

THE ERA OF BYATT AND CAMERON

By Professor K. Ingham, M.C.

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At the end of the first World War Tanganyika had been a German Protectorate for nearly thirty years. More than half that time had been occupied in military operations to put down tribal risings. In spite of the German Administration's anxiety to develop the economic resources of the country it was not until the first decade of the twentieth century that its efforts, coupled with the restoration of order and the establishment of a civil administration, began to bear fruit. Then, almost immediately, the outbreak of war brought desolation to Tanganyika and resulted in the establishment by the conquering British forces of a temporary administration under Mr. (later Sir Horace) Byatt.

The two most pressing needs after the war were the re-establishment of an effective administration and the reconstruction of the country's economy. Both were seriously delayed by the lapse of time between the cessation of hostilities and the international decision on Tanganyika's political future. It was not until the signing of the peace treaty at Versailles on 28th June, 1919, that Germany formally renounced her rights over her overseas possessions. Although it was then agreed that the victorious nations should retain their conquests, the Order in Council constituting the office of Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Tanganyika was not issued until 22nd July, 1920, and the actual terms of the Mandate under which Britain was to administer Tanganyika were only promulgated on 20th July, 1922.

Sir Horace Byatt, the first Governor, was a modest man, both prudent and patient. Faced with the statement in Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant to the effect that the well-being and development of the mandated territories should be regarded as a sacred trust of civilization, he was, not surprisingly, anxious to avoid sweeping changes for which the African population was not ready. The effect of the war had been to weaken the hold of the central administration established by the Germans and there had been a natural reversion to older systems of control. Byatt, therefore, thought it reasonable to try to encourage the revival of genuine tribal authority. For the time being, however, it was deemed necessary to retain the services of the experienced African *Akidas*, or agents, formerly employed by the Germans, but their status and privileges were to be gradually reduced.¹

Byatt's cautious approach was inadequate for restoring life to a system which had been so violently disrupted. Some stronger force was required to exert a unifying influence on the policy of the District Officers in the twenty-two former German districts. The retention of the *Akidas*, who were rarely natives of the districts over which they exerted authority, inevitably militated against the revival of tribal authority.

The slow rate of advancement in the field of administration caused little comment. The delay in the economic rehabilitation of the country on the other hand gave rise to continuous criticism from the handful of energetic and

¹*Tanganyika Annual Report from the Armistice to the end of 1920*, p. 37.

vociferous European traders and settlers in the country. At first their feeling of frustration found an outlet in attacks upon the delay in deciding Tanganyika's future. By the terms of the peace treaty all Germans, missionaries as well as settlers, were required to leave Tanganyika and surrender their property. Their estates, upon the quick recovery of which the immediate revival of Tanganyika's economic prosperity might well have depended, were left vacant. There was nothing in the treaty to suggest that the land formerly alienated to German settlers should be restored to tribal ownership. It was, therefore, with considerable annoyance that prospective buyers with capital to develop the former German sisal estates learned that no German land could be alienated until the Tanganyika Order in Council setting up the Mandate had been published. Because of this Tanganyika was unable to benefit from the post-war boom. Conversely, the would-be settlers and investors escaped the sharp slump which followed the boom, but it would be expecting too much of human nature, and particularly of energetic, pioneering human nature, to imagine that Tanganyika's Europeans would assess the situation so philosophically. Instead, although they grudgingly accepted Byatt's opinion that there was no place in Tanganyika for the settler with limited capital, they roundly condemned the tardiness with which the Governor set about framing legislation to control the distribution of land.² There was no doubt in the Europeans' minds that the best means of benefiting the African population was to increase the demand for labour, thereby, as they argued, putting money into the Africans' pockets, food into their stomachs and clothes on their backs³. It was, therefore, with the gravest consternation that they learned of a speech by Sir Horace Byatt to the London Chamber of Commerce on 22nd May, 1922, in which he was reported to have said that the future of Tanganyika lay in developing native cultivation.⁴

In fact, there was little in Sir Horace Byatt's actions to suggest that he was pursuing an agricultural policy which justified the description of him as a "negrophilist" by the Editor of the *Dar es Salaam Times* on 3rd June, 1922. Although a number of former German estates were withdrawn from an auction in the Arusha area on 27th March, 1922, on the ground that the land was to be reserved for Africans, in the long run only 12,000 out of 479,154 hectares of German land were ever restored to African ownership.⁵ More likely to cause annoyance to the European settlers was a decision contained in the Land Ordinance of 1923 to prohibit further alienation of land in what are now the Central, Northern and Tanga Provinces, the areas where settlement had previously been most popular. Furthermore, the Administration began to encourage the cultivation of *Arabica* coffee by the Chagga people on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro. The settlers had no objection to Africans growing what they believed to be suitable peasant crops such as groundnuts and cotton and they did not criticise the Government for importing cotton seed from Uganda to distribute among the native population. But they regarded coffee as a European crop, and Sir Horace Byatt himself had at one time stated that, with the exception of the African grown *Robusta* variety, coffee was essentially a European product.⁶

²*Dar es Salaam Times*, 31st December, 1921.

³*Dar es Salaam Times*, 1st April, 1922.

⁴*Dar es Salaam Times*, 3rd June, 1922.

⁵Leubuscher, C., *Tanganyika Territory*, O.U.P., 1944, p. 15.

⁶*Dar es Salaam Times*, 17th November, 1923. During the years immediately preceding the war the greater proportion of the coffee crop of German East Africa was *Robusta* coffee grown by Africans in the Bukota District.

The idea of encouraging Africans to grow *Arabica* coffee originated in the British period from Mr. (later Sir Charles) Dundas. Closely packed as they were on the mountain slopes there was little room for the Chagga to grow anything except food, which mainly consisted of plantains. There was, therefore, little opportunity for them to earn money except by working in the European-owned plantations and much of this type of work could be done by children. In 1916, however, Dundas had noted a reference in a German report to coffee growing by a few of the Chagga, coffee being a crop which could be satisfactorily grown beneath the plantains without requiring extra space. Enquiring further after the war Dundas discovered that the land occupied by the Chagga was probably more suitable for coffee growing than the lower mountain slopes from which the Germans had driven them. The handful of Chagga coffee growers, however, had abandoned their plantings because they had been unable to sell their very limited crops. Encouraged by Dundas they now began to clean and prune their bushes and soon produced a good quality coffee. The next step was to make the crop an economic proposition by persuading more people to grow it. A union of coffee growers was formed with the title of the Kilimanjaro Native Planters' Association. Crops were pooled and presently it was possible to put up for local sale a considerable quantity of native-grown coffee of good quality. Faced with this challenge the settlers professed to fear the outbreak of coffee disease among the African-grown crop owing to the laziness and carelessness of the growers⁷. Exasperated by the Governor's policy they began to flirt with the idea of transferring the Kilimanjaro area to Kenya where, they thought, their interests would be better protected and there would be a livelier administration. More cautious counsels ultimately prevailed, but the fact that the settlers were prepared to contemplate negotiating with the powerful Lord Delamere indicated a very high degree of dissatisfaction with their own administration.

Another important source of discontent was the Governor's policy of publishing legislation without first consulting public opinion either on the advisability of the principle involved or on the likely effect of the details of the new ordinance. In one connection, however, this practice may have had unexpectedly beneficial results. That was in regard to the Indian Question. Relations between Indians and Europeans never became exacerbated in Tanganyika to the extent that they did in Kenya. In 1922 certain Europeans expressed disgust at the introduction of racial issues into Tanganyika when they learned that Indians had closed their shops in Dar es Salaam as a protest against the arrest of Gandhi in India and were attempting to organize a boycott of British goods.⁸ But tempers never ran high, and in 1923 there was a feeling of relief at the return to normal when, the Indians having again closed their shops in protest against the terms of the recent Trade Taxation Ordinance, unofficial opinion could transcend racial divisions in a united attack upon the Administration for having failed to consult the public before publishing the new law.

It might perhaps be considered that Sir Horace Byatt wasted the numerous advantages which the situation in Tanganyika offered. For the mandatory system left the administering power with a very free hand to design its own policy. This was still unashamedly a colonial era and the leading signatories of the peace treaty were all colonial powers. It was not, therefore, their intention to impose

⁷*Dar es Salaam Times*, 18th and 25th March, 1922.

⁸*Dar es Salaam Times*, 17th November, 1923.

too close a restraint upon the experienced colonial rulers. The latter were simply expected to carry on their customary systems of colonial administration in the mandated territories. Furthermore, to assist economic reconstruction it was agreed that the territories should be taken over free of all public debt. In addition, the British administration in Tanganyika was able to acquire the central railway for the nominal price of £33,995. Although it was admittedly derelict, its actual value was probably nearer £6 million. In the first two years of civil administration, from 1920 to 1922, Tanganyika also received three grants from the Imperial Treasury amounting to £408,109⁹, and from 1922 to 1926 further sums amounting to £3,085,891 were received as loans from the same source. From 1926 onwards the country's revenue was adequate to cover the expenditure envisaged. The Imperial Government, however, exercised a very close control over expenditure and consequently over policy so that Byatt had not nearly so much freedom as he might have wished in spite of the steady increase in revenue from rather more than half a million pounds in 1919-20 to over a million in 1923-24, the last year of his governorship. There were further limitations, too, upon the right of mandated territories to borrow money. Fortunately, though not in Byatt's time, the British Parliament agreed to guarantee the debt charges on certain approved loans for a limited number of purposes of which transport was one, but schools and hospitals were not included¹⁰.

Nearly three-quarters of the country's revenue came from hut and poll tax on the one hand and customs duties on the other in the ratio of about 4:3 until 1929 when the income from these two sources was, for the first time, about equal. Almost the whole of the hut and poll tax was paid by Africans. Of the customs duties about 40 per cent was raised on cotton piece-goods, imported in the main for African use, and much of the rest came from kerosene, cigarettes, tobacco and hardware of which Africans purchased a major share. In this respect, therefore, the European population occupied a favoured position. But it did not in any sense restrain their criticisms of the Governor and an editorial in the *Dar es Salaam Times* of 1st December, 1923, denounced the way in which apologists for what it described as Tanganyika's "spineless administration", attributed all difficulties to the terms of the mandate.

Mr. John Scott, who acted as Governor from April, 1924, until the arrival of Sir Donald Cameron, Byatt's successor, was a relatively new arrival in Tanganyika. He was welcomed by the European community with the enthusiasm inevitably due to any successor of Byatt. But he was understandably limited in his activities by his lack of acquaintance with the territory and by his position as a *locum tenens*. Already, therefore, when Cameron arrived in 1925 there were signs of a revival of the earlier discontent.

In Cameron, Tanganyika gained a Governor who was at once the disciple of Lugard and a lively individualist. In the latter capacity he pursued his independent policy in what he believed to be the best interests of Tanganyika and in spite of criticisms from Kenya. As a disciple of Lugard the foundations of that policy rested upon his faith in the system known as Indirect Rule. This system had, in fact, already commended itself to some of the senior officers of the Tanganyika Administration even before Cameron's arrival. At a conference convened to review the administrative situation the officers had recommended that the

⁹Tanganyika Annual Report for 1926, p. 34.

¹⁰Cameron, Sir Donald, *My Tanganyika Service*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1939, p. 69.

country should be divided into provinces so as to facilitate the introduction of a more uniform policy of administration. In addition, they had recommended that native administration should be based upon principles of indirect rule and that a Secretary for Native Affairs should be appointed to supervise the introduction of this policy.¹¹ The essence of indirect rule was that administration should be carried on through traditional native authorities and according to customary law, the latter being adapted as proved necessary to suit more modern requirements.

Cameron's attention was drawn to the need for a reappraisal of the system of native administration soon after his arrival in Tanganyika, and seeing an opportunity for reorganization along the lines of his own choosing he turned to the project with considerable zest. The problem as he saw it was to make secure the future of the African population not only as producers but also as members of the state. He did not consider that they were competent to take part in the central government nor did he think it desirable that they should do so in the near future. He feared that the sort of Africans who would take an interest in political affairs would be an educated and rootless minority rather than the traditional leaders of the people. The alternative, he felt, was to subject the African population to a system of law which they had inherited and which they understood rather than to a system of detribalization accompanied by the introduction of a system of European law. The native law and custom could then be gradually adapted to suit changing requirements and the people would have an opportunity to regulate their own affairs. There would be no breakdown in discipline or authority and the economic and social policy of the Government could be promoted through the agency of the traditional chiefs and councils whom the people recognized and accepted. In this policy Cameron saw the strongest safeguards against unfriendly race relations and the surest means of enlisting the African population on the side of law and order.

The agents of the policy were to be native authorities with executive powers based on the Native Authority Ordinance of 1926. The strength of the native authorities would lie in their threefold power, executive, judicial and financial. Basically the executive powers consisted in maintaining the peace, but as the authorities grew more efficient they would be granted additional powers ranging from the control of the manufacture of intoxicating liquors to the encouragement of the cultivation of food crops.¹² In order that these powers might be effective the native authorities were given judicial powers under the Courts Ordinance of 1920. A further important step was taken in 1929 when a Native Courts Ordinance was passed which removed the native courts from the supervision of the High Court and placed them under the control of the provincial administration. This latter change was the keystone of Cameron's policy of reviving traditional authorities of which an integral part had been the administration of justice.¹³ It was a step, however, which met with considerable opposition from both Europeans and Indians who, although approving Cameron's policy in principle, mistrusted the idea of removing native courts from the control of the High Court. The Native Courts Ordinance only became law by virtue of the unanimous vote of the official majority in the Legislative Council. All the unofficial members, both European and Indian, voted against it.

¹¹Dundas, Sir Charles, *African Crossroads*, Macmillan, London, 1955, pp. 132-3.

¹²Cameron, Sir Donald, *op. cit.* p. 171.

¹³*Tanganyika Annual Report for 1929*, Col. No. 46, pp. 16-7.

The introduction of the third aspect of Cameron's native policy, the devolution of certain financial powers upon the native authorities, also called for considerable reorganization. The native authorities, instead of the European District Officers, were required to collect the hut and poll tax. Out of this revenue a portion was remitted to them by the Treasury and further sums from native courts' fines and fees also augmented their income. The officers and servants of the local administration were paid from these funds and the balance was spent on works and services which would benefit the community concerned.

The implementation of Cameron's policy was not always easy. Along the coast it was an impossible task. In the late nineteenth century the Germans had imposed their rule upon that area with ruthless strength. For generations before that Arab traders and slavers had dominated the coastal tribes completely. It might well have been wiser, therefore, to make use of the corps of experience available in the *Akidas* who had held office in German times as Sir Philip Mitchell has suggested.¹⁴ But Cameron preferred to make a clean sweep, only agreeing after persuasion to retain the Liwalis in the important coastal towns. Inland, too, the Germans had in many cases destroyed the traditional sources of authority. But, spurred on by Cameron's enthusiasm, District Officers gradually sought them out and native authorities were steadily re-established.

Lest these authorities should be too small and consequently too poor to be effective, efforts were also made to induce the smaller units to join together voluntarily into larger federations. At the same time, the Governor was anxious to avoid any combination which was not based upon genuine tribal or clan foundations; nor was there any attempt to force them into a single pattern. The chiefs of Bukoba District provided one example of the weakness of small units although they possessed a long tradition of independent authority. Before the end of Cameron's governorship they were satisfactorily drawn together. Two sections of the Ngoni tribe near Songea also agreed to amalgamate in 1929. Experiments with the revival of paramount chieftainships in certain areas, notably in the Mwanza District, proved successful while simultaneously demonstrating the democratic features so frequently encountered in Bantu institutions. For the paramount chiefs proved to be no autocrats. They were simply the permanent heads of associations of lesser chiefs who deliberated with them and who were largely guided by their advice but who held their own office by hereditary right or by the will of their own people and not as nominees of the paramount chiefs.¹⁵

Sir Philip Mitchell, who was Secretary for Native Affairs in Tanganyika for eight years, of which the first part coincided with Cameron's term of office, had experience at a later date of a very different system of administration in Kenya but concluded in favour of Cameron's approach where the choice lay open. Mitchell was much too clear thinking to be led astray by the vague misuse of or an excessive reverence for the term "indirect rule." But he believed that Cameron's achievements proved that ancient tribal institutions could be vitalised by responsibility and could develop into modern forms of government which were all the stronger for having been built upon the old traditions and authority of each tribe.¹⁶

¹⁴Mitchell, Sir Philip, *African Afterthoughts*, Hutchison, London, 1954, p. 133.

¹⁵*Tanganyika Annual Report for 1929*, Col. No. 46, p. 12.

¹⁶Mitchell, Sir Philip, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-5.

But Cameron probably over-simplified the problem with which he was dealing. His hope was to satisfy the political aspirations of the African population by reviving tribal administration. Paradoxically, in most parts of Tanganyika where indigenous social systems were relatively primitive and democratic in character such an aim was probably justified. In areas where the hereditary powers of the chiefs were considerable, however, the chiefs themselves were likely to encounter some difficulty in modernising their administration so as to fit into the developing pattern of local government. More important still is the fact that Cameron could not be expected to have foreseen the speed with which the lead in political affairs on a territorial scale would be taken by the very men whose leadership he wished to check—the detribalized Africans or, rather, those whose education has led them to criticise the authority of the traditional chiefs.

Cameron's lively interest in the creation of native authorities did not mean that he was unsympathetic towards the idea of European settlement in Tanganyika. By nature he was perhaps more at home in an established Government hierarchy, which permitted him free expression of his talents in dealing with primitive peoples, than in the company of the ebullient type of pioneer settler who was trying to make his home in East Africa. Nevertheless, after the more cautious policy of Byatt, Cameron's enthusiasm and energy must have appeared to augur well for the settlers' hopes. Very soon after his arrival in Tanganyika, Cameron was met by a small advance guard of European settlers from Kenya with applications for land for farming in the vicinity of Iringa in the southern highlands. Like Byatt, Cameron was opposed to the idea of introducing small-scale European farmers without adequate capital. But he was fully alive to the limitations of African farming and of African capital. While, therefore, taking care to protect both present and future African requirements in land he considered it was in the interests of the country to admit European capital and enterprise. He was particularly anxious that British settlers should have the first opportunity of taking up land, but when Germans were permitted to return to Tanganyika late in 1925 he offered no objection.

Cameron was confident that in his attitude towards settlers he had the support of the Colonial Office. He was surprised, therefore, when he received instructions from London requiring him to discourage applications for land in the southern highlands at least until a railway had been built or was nearing completion. He appreciated the importance of the ruling regarding the provision of adequate transport facilities to evacuate produce. But, so far as the existing applications were concerned, he considered that they should be viewed primarily in the light of African requirements in the area. The outcome of his enquiries on the subject was that sixteen parcels of land totalling 39,940 acres were put up for auction in August, 1926.¹⁷

In the meantime Cameron had attended the first conference of the Governors of East and Central Africa which was held in January and February, 1926. At this meeting the Governors had endorsed a resolution of an unofficial conference of settlers called by Lord Delamere at Tukuyu in October, 1925, which expressed the view that "there are large areas of Tanganyika territory, Northern Nyasaland, and the northern part of Northern Rhodesia, eminently suitable for European settlement without encroaching upon native interests."¹⁸

¹⁷*Tanganyika Times*, 19th July, 1926.

¹⁸*Tanganyika Times*, 27th February, 1926.

In January, too, Cameron had informed the Dar es Salaam Chamber of Commerce that the Government was willing to admit settlers.¹⁹ In doing so he may have created a wrong impression regarding his policy among Europeans in Tanganyika. For these latter saw in large-scale European settlement the only hope of escaping the retarding influence of a predominantly African society. In fact Cameron never had any intention of creating large blocks of European settlement. In an address to the Caledonian Society of Tanganyika at its annual dinner in 1927 he once more affirmed that in his view the Europeans were the experimental factor in Tanganyika, not the Africans,²⁰ an opinion which he also expressed before the Permanent Mandates Commission in the same year.²¹ In December, 1929, following upon the Colonial Development Fund Committee's comment that the Tanganyika Government should open a fund to assist settlement, he did indeed appoint a committee to advise upon a scheme of this nature. The committee, which included Lord Delamere as well as European and Indian unofficial members of the Legislative Council, recommended, not surprisingly, that a settlement scheme was essential to the development of the territory. Nevertheless, their further recommendations were in agreement with Cameron's oft-stated view that the possession of a reasonable amount of capital was essential to successful farming.²²

In general it would appear that Cameron's attitude towards settlers won the approval of Europeans in Tanganyika. One area proved an exception to this statement. That was the Kilimanjaro district. His pursuit of Byatt's policy of closing the older settled areas to further alienation had, indeed, resulted in a shift of emphasis to the newer areas in the south. More annoying to the Kilimanjaro settlers was his apparent approval of the encouragement given by Byatt to coffee growing by Africans on the mountain. Early in 1926 Cameron was approached by representatives of the Moshi settlers with the suggestion that he should issue an order prohibiting the cultivation of coffee by Africans. Cameron could see no justice in this proposal. While prepared to withhold Government encouragement until steps had been taken to check the possibility of coffee disease he would go no further in spite of the example set by Kenya where Africans had been forbidden to grow coffee. Indeed, Cameron was considerably impressed by the enterprise shown by the Chagga growers. The latter, during Cameron's first visit to Moshi, had asked permission, although it was not necessary for them to do so, for the Kilimanjaro Native Planters' Association to export their own coffee since the Indian merchants through whom they had previously sold their crop were offering a paltry price for the new coffee which was about to be marketed.

Cameron's attitude created a body of European opinion which opposed the Governor virtually throughout his career in Tanganyika and became critical towards the end of 1928. The cause of the dispute which arose in that year appears to have been a misunderstanding arising out of the inaccurate interpretation of the Government's land policy by the Chagga growers. The settlers, meanwhile, were convinced that the Government was showing favouritism to the Chagga growers and thereby fostering an anti-European feeling which might result in a breach of the peace. It is interesting to trace the origins of

¹⁹*Tanganyika Times*, 19th July, 1926.

²⁰*Uganda Herald*, 25th December, 1927.

²¹Leubuscher, C., *op. cit.*, p. 30.

²²*East African Standard*, 19th May, 1930.

these misconceptions. In mid-1927 the Chagga chiefs had expressed concern lest the practice of one native selling land to another should become so common that it would lead to the accumulation of land in the hands of individuals and consequently to the restriction of the area for allotment to the rising generation in accordance with tribal custom. They, therefore, wanted to prohibit such sales of land completely. While considering this problem the Provincial Commissioner and District Officer came to the conclusion that they should also extend their enquiries to the allied question of how much land should in future be allotted by chiefs to the rising generation. News of these discussions caused the Chagga to conclude incorrectly that it was the Government's plan to reduce the size of existing holdings which were based upon tribal custom. Any such interference would be greatly resented.

In these uncertain circumstances the District Officer took it upon himself to consider the status of the K.N.P.A. in relation to the more recently established native authorities. This involved consultations with the Acting Provincial Commissioner and the chiefs to whom the District Officer proposed that the K.N.P.A. and its funds should be absorbed into the native administration and that the Association should then disappear. This purely personal suggestion was interpreted by the K.N.P.A. as having emanated from the Government and, coupled with the concern over the security of their land, aroused considerable excitement. Meetings were held and the leaders of the Association drafted a petition to the Government. Cameron himself was very far from wishing to abolish the Association, the only agency through which he could enforce the regulations for the chemical spraying of the African-grown coffee bushes contained in the Coffee Industry (Registration and Improvement) Ordinance which had been passed in 1928 in response to the settlers' request for measures to check any outbreak of coffee disease.

At this crucial moment, when the settlers were extremely anxious about the possible outcome of the disturbance among the Chagga, the Governor decided to transfer the District Officer to another area. His action was due to a dispute over an entirely different problem between the District Officer and his Provincial Commissioner and the decision was taken before ever the Chagga issue was brought to the Governor's notice. But to the worried settlers it appeared that Cameron was unaware of the serious nature of the troubles on Kilimanjaro and was weakly attempting to placate the Chagga. Two settlers, Mr. J. de la Mothe and Mr. Sinclair, sent a telegram to the Governor on 15th November, 1928, alleging agitation on the part of the K.N.P.A. against all Europeans, the Government and the Native Administration. On 19th November, a meeting of settlers was held at Moshi at which similar allegations were made and were later published in the Press. Although these accusations of disloyalty aroused resentment among the Chagga the arrival of Mr. Charles Dundas, Secretary for Native Affairs, on 22nd November effectively quelled their uncertainty since they trusted him completely. But this was no satisfaction to the settlers who saw in the arrival of Dundas, the virtual founder of the K.N.P.A., and in his negotiations with the Chagga still further evidence of the Governor's partiality for the Africans. A further meeting of settlers took place on 6th December, 1928 and the demand was made for a commission of inquiry. This was rejected by Cameron who did not think the circumstances when clearly understood merited such action. He further considered that to institute inquiries was more likely to stir up feeling between Europeans and

Africans than to smooth it down.²³ So, in murmurs of disapproval the matter gradually subsided and, indeed, from the early 1930's relations between the Chagga coffee growers and the settlers began gradually to improve.

Nevertheless, Cameron took care in 1929 to ensure that the settlers on Kilimanjaro should not feel neglected. The opening of the railway extension from Moshi to Arusha provided an opportunity for a suitable ceremony. In December of the same year the Budget Session of the Legislative Council was held in Arusha to the satisfaction of the European population. They would have been even more satisfied if they had been aware of the vast preparations necessary to transport the members of the Council, the furniture of the Council Chamber, the band and guard of honour of the King's African Rifles and the Governor himself to Arusha and to house them when they got there. For Tanganyika's system of communications, in spite of improvements, was woefully subject to the vagaries of the weather, while the accommodation of such large numbers of visitors to Arusha took the form of tents rather than of luxury hotels.

The creation of the Legislative Council was itself a step on the part of the Governor to associate the European public more closely with the actions of the Administration. In 1925, before leaving for Tanganyika, Cameron had taken the opportunity of discussing some of the affairs of the territory with the members of the Parliamentary Commission which, under the leadership of Mr. Ormsby-Gore (later Lord Harlech), had recently visited East Africa. From them he learned that they were considering including in their report a recommendation favouring the creation of a council with purely advisory functions. On his arrival in Tanganyika Cameron quickly became conscious of public resentment at the total exclusion of the unofficial European community from all policy-making. He therefore took immediate steps to introduce a Legislative Council with strong unofficial representation, similar in character to that introduced in Nigeria by the Legislative Council Order in Council of 1922. He was particularly opposed to the idea of a purely advisory council since he was anxious to ensure that members took full responsibility for their joint actions and advice. The unofficial members, however, would be nominated, not elected. It was Cameron's intention that the latter should be chosen for their fitness to advise the Governor rather than as representatives of any particular race or interest or public body.²⁴ In fact, he found it necessary to set this principle aside in selecting the first unofficial members in order to ensure unofficial support for the Council. Although, therefore, he planned to nominate up to ten unofficials his first choice was limited to seven, representing planting, commercial and banking interests and the Indian community. He did not consider that there was any Arab or African with sufficient command of English to merit appointment, but he did not regard this as a serious issue since African interests were adequately represented by the Secretary for Native Affairs, the Chief Secretary and the Governor himself.²⁵ In fact the omission may have been more serious than Cameron appreciated since it deprived his native administrations of the link with the central authority which might have narrowed the gap which was later to grow between the African politicians and the local authorities.

²³*Tanganyika Annual Report for 1928*, Col. No. 39, Appendix 1, pp. 87-91 and *Tanganyika Times*, 5th January 1929.

²⁴Cameron, Sir Donald, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-30.

²⁵*Proceedings of the Tanganyika Legislative Council*, 7th December, 1926, pp. 3-8. Address by Sir Donald Cameron.

To balance the unofficial members, and to make effective his opinion that a Legislative Council should not be too small, Cameron proposed to appoint thirteen official members. His recommendations duly received the approval of the Secretary of State and the first meeting of the Legislative Council in any form was welcomed as an indication that Tanganyika was not to be handed back to the Germans as rumour suggested. Nevertheless, it was not long before representations were made in favour of the nomination of unofficial members on the advice of established public bodies.²⁶

It would be leaving a great gap in the story of the 'twenties to overlook the issue of closer union. This subject called forth a variety of opinions from the Europeans and Indians of Tanganyika and the attitude towards it of Byatt and Cameron was characteristic of the personality of each Governor. The idea of closer union so far as Tanganyika was concerned originated even before the end of the war in discussions between L. S. Amery and General Smuts concerning the future of Germany's colonial territories. Amery appears to have already been formulating his "new era" policy which foreshadowed the Statute of Westminster and envisaged Britain's overseas dependencies linking together to form larger, more substantial units within a closely bound commonwealth as an answer to the economic challenge of America, Japan, Western Europe and possibly Russia. With this idea in mind the Tanganyika mandate was so worded as to make it possible for the former German territory to be linked in some way with Britain's other East African possessions.

Rumours of this possibility began to be heard in the early 1920's and were encouraged in public speeches by Amery and others. The first large-scale evidence of the reactions to this proposal in Tanganyika itself became available in September, 1921, when a mass meeting of European and other unofficial residents of Dar es Salaam agreed to send a resolution to the Secretary of State protesting against the assimilation of Tanganyika's finances and economy with those of Kenya.²⁷ The desirability of having a common currency for East Africa and a uniform customs tariff might seem indisputable but the Europeans of Tanganyika were extremely wary of domination by their neighbours. They received further grounds for their concern only a few months later when the railway expert, Colonel Hammond, after examining the railway system on the Kenya-Tanganyika border, recommended that the Voi-Taveta railway should be restored so as to make Kilindini the port for the Kilimanjaro area. The inland portion of the Tanga railway, he suggested, should be torn up and the rails used for re-laying the coastal end of the track. The implementation of this proposal would have amounted to the annexation by Kenya of a considerable proportion of the profits from the most productive area of Tanganyika, and the European population naturally urged the Government to forestall the proposal.²⁸ This, of course, was before their exasperation drove the settlers to look to Kenya for relief from their own Administration. During the next two or three years hostility to the colony gradually began to weaken, assisted no doubt by a growing appreciation of the similarity of interests between the two territories. There was, still, however, considerable caution in regard to the possibility of any federation which was likely to be dominated by Kenya.²⁹ And the opposition

²⁶*Tanganyika Times*, 19th February, 1930.

²⁷*Dar es Salaam*, 10th December, 1921.

²⁸*Dar es Salaam Times*, 14th January, 1922.

²⁹*Dar es Salaam Times*, 15th December, 1923 and 2nd February, 1924.

shown by Kenya to the extension of Tanganyika's central railway line from Tabora to Mwanza suggested that a federation might not always be in the interests of Tanganyika's prosperity. The railway project was dear to the hearts of the Europeans in Tanganyika for they were anxious that the produce of Tanganyika's lake region should no longer be shipped across Lake Victoria to be transported down the Uganda Railway to Mombasa for export. Lord Delamere and others in Kenya argued that to extend the Central Line would merely encourage unnecessary competition. Opinion in Tanganyika, on the other hand, maintained that there was enough produce to supply both railways and that in any case there was no reason why Tanganyika should suffer solely for the profit of her northern neighbour.

Sir Donald Cameron took up the cause of Tanganyika's railway as wholeheartedly as he came to oppose closer union. Though Byatt had given no lead in this matter Cameron was quite prepared to do so. In spite of a joint cablegram sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies late in 1925 by Sir Edward Grigg, Governor of Kenya, and Sir William Gowers, Governor of Uganda, urging that the Government of Tanganyika should be instructed to cease work on the railway extension Cameron maintained that his policy was justified and succeeded in getting the Colonial Secretary's approval for it.

But it was the threat of closer union to his native administration policy that really confirmed Cameron in his opposition. The Ormsby-Gore Commission, which had been sent to East Africa in 1924 to investigate the possibility of some sort of co-operation between Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Zanzibar, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, had met with little enthusiasm and had, therefore, made only limited recommendations. On the fall of the Labour Government, however, Amery had become Colonial Secretary and, when appointing Grigg as Governor of Kenya, had instructed him to do all in his power by conference and argument to secure agreement for closer union.³⁰ Cameron, who was a Labour Government appointee, appears to have been unaware of these instructions and his opposition and methods of promoting his point of view became some of the chief problems with which Grigg was faced. Returning to England in 1927 to attend a Colonial Office Conference Cameron learned that another conference was also to take place in the Secretary of State's room to discuss closer union. After hearing the views expressed there Cameron became convinced that the policy which the Secretary of State appeared to favour would deny him freedom of action in Tanganyika. He therefore threatened to resign if the theme were pursued further.³¹ In the event, the only result of the conference was the appointment of the Hilton Young Commission to investigate the matter further. By now, however, so many problems had become involved that there could be no clear-cut consideration of the merits of closer union. The political claims of the Kenya settlers, the status and rights of Indians and the varied policies with regard to the administration of the African population all helped to complicate the issue and heighten the tempers of witnesses. In addition, the divergent characters and interests of the members of the commission and their difficult terms of reference destroyed all hope of a unanimous report. Nor, indeed was a unanimous report made, for the chairman himself submitted a minority report.

³⁰ Altrincham, Lord, *Kenya's Opportunity*, Faber and Faber, London, 1955, p. 71.

³¹ Cameron, Sir Donald, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-5.

In these circumstances it seemed unlikely that any further progress could be made. But Amery was persistent, and Cameron, to his annoyance, was summoned to England once again towards the end of 1928 to discuss the Hilton Young Report. But now he was strengthened by the belief that in opposing closer union he had the support of the Labour Party and of some of the members of the Conservative Party also. He did not hesitate to canvass members of the House of Commons, a proceeding which aroused the distaste of Sir Edward Grigg,³² and once again he threatened resignation. But nothing emerged from the discussions beyond the decision to send Sir Samuel Wilson, Permanent Under-Secretary, to attempt to redeem something from the wreck of the Hilton Young Commission. Able negotiator though Wilson undoubtedly was, the situation was virtually insoluble. The European population of Tanganyika was now more favourably disposed to some sort of closer union at least between Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda. But the Indians, with memories of Kenya's Indian Question still warm, preferred to cling to Tanganyika's autonomy.

The proposals which Wilson made were, in fact, not very different from those eventually accepted in 1947. But they came too late. Lord Passfield, the new Labour Colonial Secretary, decided to appoint a Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament to hear evidence. The European settlers in Tanganyika were prepared to accept Wilson's proposals and accordingly selected three representatives to put forward that view in London.³³ The African representatives were carefully selected by the Secretary for Native Affairs, Philip Mitchell, and when called upon to give evidence stated that they were fully engaged in trying to develop their own institutions and therefore wished to remain under the control of the Secretary of State and Parliament, acting through their own Governor, for as long as they could foresee.³⁴ The report of the Committee, produced rather hurriedly in view of the imminent over-throw of the Labour Government which appointed it, stated that there appeared to be no grounds for pushing the question of closer union further, and there the matter rested, disturbed only from time to time in the 1930's by recommendations in its favour from the Europeans of Kenya and Tanganyika and by the fears aroused among the Indian community by the amalgamation of the Posts and Telegraphs Services.

The end of the campaign for closer union in effect marked the end of Cameron's career in Tanganyika, and the end of an era in the Territory. Cameron's vigorous policy had earned him some opposition and criticism, but at least he could not be accused of inactivity. Although the Europeans, and particularly the settlers, in Tanganyika, believed that he was pursuing his native administration policy too rapidly they had no fundamental quarrel with the lines he had adopted. Above all, they were impressed by the steady increase in the prosperity of the country reflected in the upward sweep of the graph of exports and imports and of the country's revenue. The African population, in so far as its voice could be heard, also seems to have approved of what Cameron was trying to do, while the Indian population never had to face the extremes of racial conflict witnessed in Kenya. If the size and inadequate communications of Tanganyika made for peace they also increased the task of development. The fact that Tanganyika in the 'thirties survived a period of extreme financial stringency was not a little due to the firm administrative and economic foundations laid by Cameron.

³²Altrincham, Lord, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

³³*Tanganyika Standard*, 16th August, 1930.

³⁴Mitchell, Sir Philip, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-22.

WEIGHTS OF FIVE HELLER COINS MINTED AT TABORA IN 1916

By D. M. Phatak

In 1952 I acquired some 65 pieces of 5 heller coins. They are of varying thickness and are made of brass metal. A short description follows.

Obverse: Crown with streamers, the date 1916 and the letters D.O.A.

Reverse: Within a wreath the legend "5 Heller" and mint mark T.

I sorted out all the coins according to thickness, and weighed them separately on a chemist's scales. The following are the results:—

- (1) One piece weighed a little less than 3 grammes.
- (2) 44 pieces weighed between 3·4 and 3·5 grammes each.
- (3) 8 pieces weighed between 4 and 4·2 grammes each.
- (4) 11 pieces weighed between 5 and 6 grammes each.
- (5) One piece weighed 6·7 grammes.



Coins shown actual size

As a general rule, arising from the origin of coinage, great importance is attached to the accuracy of weight of a coin. The best immediate test of the genuineness of a coin is to check its weight. Usually the weight of a genuine coin is a few grains light, owing to wear. If it is too heavy the chances are that the piece is a forgery.

However, the above formula does not apply to these coins for the reasons given in the *Handbook of Tanganyika*, Edition 1930, Ed. G. F. Sayers, pages 184-193, in the Chapter "Currency", where it is stated:—

"As the thickness of the sheets (brass) varies, some of the 5 heller coins came out as light in weight as 3 grammes, the standard weight being 5 grammes. At first the German Governor was opposed to the stamping of coins from brass sheets on the ground that the counterfeiting of such coins was easier than in the case of coins made from the standard alloy, but when it became evident that sufficient smelting output could not be maintained for the production of coins from the standard alloy, he agreed to the stamping of 5 heller coins from brass sheets."

In the above-mentioned book it is also stated: "A certain number of coins were minted locally by the Germans during the war, but none of these coins was recognized by the British Government. They were as follows:—twenty heller (copper), twenty heller (brass) and five heller (brass)."

These pieces are very crude and the stamping on them is irregular. In one case on the obverse side of the coin the "A" of "D.O.A." is misplaced and on some pieces the border of the original disk can be plainly seen. As far as is seen, only one die was used for minting these coins.

On page 90 of the book entitled *The Art of Collecting Coins*, by Mr. Leonard S. Forrer, it is written:—"A collection of siege coins and emergency money is of the greatest interest; not all these are of unusual shape, for many pieces are round. But all of them point to the stress of unusual situations and the history these pieces represent is full of the hopes and fears of mankind. Of no other series can it be said in the same way: 'every coin tells a story'."

Whenever I look at these pieces I always remember the above words.

[Acknowledgement for the photograph is made to the Public Relations Department, Tanganyika.—Editor.]

A RUFJI EXPERIMENT

By Capt. P. R. Morgan, M.B.E.

In 1929 the African Wharfage Company (Messrs. Smith Mackenzie), having acquired a coaster and some lighters, had started a coastal service, collecting cargo for the deep-sea lines they served. Amongst other operations, they were anxious to run powered transport on the Rufiji River to collect the produce of the fertile Rufiji valley and take it down to the coast at the Delta mouth from whence it would go by coastal craft to the main East African ports. They had reconditioned a small ex-German stern-wheeler called the *Kitimondo* for this purpose together with two 25-ton lighters, but unfortunately in the produce season, which also happened to be the low-water season, there was not enough water in the river even for the shallow-draft *Kitimondo*.

The Rufiji River, from below the falls near Mkalinju, runs through alluvial soil to the delta. Over many years the bed of the river has had considerable changes but the yearly difficulty for navigation in the low-water season is the division of the stream in the current river-bed into many shallow channels between scattered sandbanks. If most of the available water could be persuaded into one channel, this channel would be deep enough for shallow draft powered river-craft.

A number of Indian rivers suffer from the same disadvantage as the Rufiji, albeit on a larger scale, and it was in India that a system of river training called "bandalling" was first developed. This system was also used on the Tigris in Mesopotamia in the 1914-1918 war. A bandal is a groin placed at an angle to the stream with the purpose of diverting water from unwanted channels into the chosen channel. In India it was constructed of bamboos and mats, but in the Rufiji it would be of mangrove poles and mats. Bandalling itself does not train the stream: it causes sand-banks to form below the groins and these sand-banks divert the stream. In view of my previous experience I suggested to African Wharfage, for whom I was then working that this system might be used here. They consulted the Tanganyika Government, and it was agreed to experiment with bandalling on the Rufiji, the Government supplying the material and the Company the boats and personnel.

It must here be admitted that the experiment in 1929 was not a success, but as the system has been successfully used elsewhere, it is necessary to look for the reasons for our failure. These are easy to find. Having been put in charge of the scheme, I had made arrangements to have all material ready for the commencement of operations on July 1st, the reason for this date being that during July and August the river level is falling rapidly and this is the only time suitable for bandalling, as the sand-banks formed by the bandals must show above water to be stable. A sand-bank below water is useless as it travels downstream at varying rates according to the rate of flow over it. I arrived at the river on July 5th to find that all the prepared mangrove poles were discards from the dhow trade, old, crooked and totally unsuitable. By the time these were replaced the critical period of falling river had almost passed and although promising results were obtained with isolated bandals, only piecemeal experiments were possible.

Again, I had never before performed the operation myself. I had only seen it carried out by others in Mesopotamia many years before when I had been officer commanding a river steamer on the Tigris. I had now much to learn of the construction and required strength of the bandals. Delays occurred in finding the right type of wood for mallets and the right sizes of mangrove poles for the different purposes. The correct angle at which the bandal should lie in relation to the stream was not known, and time was required to experiment. This angle is probably the most important point in bandalling as any attempt to force the stream is doomed to failure. However, much was learned that year and if the operation had been carried out the following year, there were excellent prospects of success.

During the operations of 1929 the experimenters observed that much of the available flow was lost around islands caused by the change in the river bed and it was considered that, if these island channels could be blocked in the low-water season by low-water weirs, much of the necessity for bandalling would be eliminated. It is important to note that *low-water* weirs are mentioned, as the escape of flood-water must in no way be obstructed. The value of low-water weirs is that they would probably be permanent, reclaiming much land, whereas bandalling is a temporary annual measure.

One further obstruction to navigation on the Rufiji is the large number of "snags". Snags are fallen trees in the river bed. They interrupt the true flow of the stream and can be dangerous. Their removal is essential and not too easy.

One serious factor against any development scheme involving considerable expense is the sparsity of population, said to be due to German action in and after the Majimaji rebellion. However, there may come a time when the full development of the Rufiji Valley may be considered again and the 1929 experiment not wasted after all.

BWANA SAKKARANI

CAPTAIN TOM VON PRINCE AND HIS TIMES

By Dr. Hans Schmiedel

Translated by Anne Wahmhoff

It was in 1936 that I read in a small leaflet the heading of a 3-page article: "Tom von Prince—a Prussian officer". These words struck me. How was it that a German officer came by the English Christian name of Tom—and the name Prince did not sound German either! So I read the article and was immediately thrilled by it, for here was the life-story of a great adventurer. Even to-day the name of Bwana Sakkarani has not been forgotten in Tanganyika, although he, the son of an English police officer, became an officer of the German defence troops in 1890, and fell fighting against the English at Tanga in 1914. To describe his life it is necessary to describe the time of the German occupation, colonisation and administration of Tanganyika from 1884 to 1914.¹

I

Tom's grandfather Henry, who was believed to have come from Scotland, served in one of the British regiments being trained on the island of Mauritius (which had belonged to Britain since 1814) for future service in India. After his death his son Thomas Henry, still a boy, had to care for two brothers who are said to have died in Australia and one who fell in 1855 at the battle of Sebastopol in the Crimean War. In 1854 he joined the Police, and died in 1869 as Superintendent of Police at the age of only 33, as a result of overstrain owing to his untiring efforts during a malaria epidemic. We still possess the detailed and laudatory testimonials of his superiors and of the newspaper of Port Louis, where a memorial was erected to him. His wife was widowed at the early age of 22. She was the daughter of German missionaries named Ansoerge from Liegnitz in Silesia who had first served with the Gossner Mission in Bengal and later with the Church Missionary Society in Mauritius, where their work was so much appreciated that Frau Ansoerge actually obtained a life pension from Queen Victoria. These Ansoerges had five children of whom William John (1850-1913) became the most famous, first as a professor in Mauritius and later as a traveller in Africa and an army doctor in Uganda. His son, the Rev. Gerald Percival, sent me very valuable information about his family. His sister Mary, the wife of Police Officer Prince, had three children: Emily, who died at the age of 21, Tom, the hero of my account, and May, who was Tom's playmate in Mauritius and Liegnitz. Later on she and her husband became his neighbours in Usambara, where she still lives today, aged 89. Mary, who was often ill after the early death of her husband, sought medical aid in England where May had also been born; she died, only 34 years old, in Mauritius and was buried next to her husband. In 1880 the three orphans, including Tom who was attending the Royal College, were taken by their Ansoerge grandparents to Liegnitz and there they spent their youth. Tom and May, however, continued for a long time to regard Nelson, Wellington and General Gordon, who had visited the Ansoerge

¹The chief literary sources are given at the end of the article.

family in Mauritius, as the heroes of their childhood. May now went to a German girls' college, while Tom attended the famous Ritter Akademie. Tom was known to be wild and obstinate, irrepressible and daring, but he was the most chivalrous and tender brother imaginable. Though only eighteen and a half, he regarded himself as engaged to the not quite fourteen-year-old Magdalene von Massow, daughter of a Prussian officer who was serving in Königsberg at that time. As Tom still had British nationality, he wanted at first to become an officer in a British regiment in Heligoland; but soon he decided to become a German officer and entered the service in Strassburg after having attended the Military School in Kassel, where in 1886 his future commander, Lettow-Vorbeck, was one of his fellow pupils. As the father of his "fiancée" did not want to have anything to do with him, he decided, in order to gain promotion more rapidly, to change over to the Hermann von Wissmann troop which at that time (1889) was to overthrow the Arab rising in the part of East Africa which had become German upon its rapid annexation by Carl Peters in 1885. Tom effected his exit from the German army in Strassburg with the aid of his British nationality. When he came to Zanzibar, he found the coastal traffic interrupted by the rising, but after much difficulty he found a dhow willing to take him to the African shore. However, in a heavy monsoon storm the boat capsized and all except Prince were drowned. After more than twelve hours' hard struggle with the waves and coral reefs he was found, naked and having lost all his papers, on the shores of Zanzibar. Apparently he obtained no assistance from the German Consul, but ready help was forthcoming from the British Consul, so that he soon arrived in Bagamoyo, where he was provisionally enlisted in the defence troops (Schutztruppe) till he received new papers from Germany. (17th January, 1890).

II

It was against the Arabs in East Africa that Germany had to fight her first colonial war. As is well-known, they had defended themselves against the damage to their slave trade caused by the "Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft von Carl Peters and Genossen", and had put to flight most of its defenceless agents. Wissmann, who had become famous through his two crossings of Africa, was ordered by the young Kaiser Wilhelm II and Bismarck to win at all costs! He recruited Sudanese soldiers in Egypt and Zulus from Portuguese East Africa. They were under the command of German officers and N.C.O.s. Instead of only twenty-five officers, fifteen hundred who wanted to escape the drill of the barrack-yard at home reported for duty. Wissmann, who was a competent and highly-talented officer of great character, soon managed to weld the coloured men into a united troop, and with them he conquered the Arab leaders Bushiri and Bana Heri. Prince had already fought against the latter in March, 1890, at Palamakaa near Sadani, and Wissmann, who had on this occasion remarked his fearless fighting, immediately admitted him to the Expeditionary Corps, an honour much sought after by all officers. The young officer soon learnt to value his lively and go-ahead Zulus, who loved singing, and they in their turn were willing to do anything for their just, humorous and cheerful lieutenant, although he sometimes expected them to perform almost impossibly hard marches. Later on he came to love the Sudanese, who were slower and more serious but perhaps more reliable, equally well. Punishment by beating was more or less abolished in his troop and he was often able to influence his Askaris by appealing to their honour. He was glad to get to know them better in their



MAGDALENE AND TOM

[Photographs reproduced by kind permission of Mr. Massow von Prince]

peculiarities, in their family life (it was usual for the wives and children to accompany the men even in war), in their conceptions of law and in their attitude to soldiering. On almost every page of his long book he gives a most humorous, lively and accurate account of his "children", whom he sometimes has to scold, but to whom he wants above all to be an example in all troubles and crises. Admiring or mocking natives give nicknames to all Europeans and soon Prince became "Bwana Sakkarani",² a name which does him honour: the restless, elated and unconquerable storm-trooper! It was said of him, as of Wissmann, "the man with the fortyfold judgment", that he was invulnerable and that he was able to look through the skin and heart into a man's innermost thoughts. And soon there was a Sakkarani song, which his Zulus were always singing.

After this initiation into warfare, Prince took part in the liberation of the coastal towns with the help of German cruisers and Wissmann's boats; before a battle he was always miserably sea-sick in the small boats. Much harder for him, however, was the jungle war against the former slave Machemba which took place round about Christmas, 1890. Here, in torrential tropical rain, Prince for the first time felt the full hardship of war in Africa. "It was a miserable defeat" which the German corps suffered under its able commander Ramsay, and Prince had so much been looking forward "to entering for the first time the longed-for wonderland, innermost Africa".³ Prince, who was warily covering the difficult retreat, was amazed at the lack of pain felt by the natives even during severe operations. Machemba who had also suffered heavy losses was ready to negotiate; and Prince, who had inadvertently been shot in the foot by his boy, became station commander in Mikindani.

Then followed Wissmann's last campaign in East Africa, on Kilimanjaro. The final decision had not yet been taken whether this mighty mountain should become part of German or English colonial territory. The tribal chiefs were still wavering as to which side they should submit themselves to. Chief Sinna of Kibosho had exchanged the German flag for that of the weak Sultan of Zanzibar, as he in fact wanted to remain independent. The Masai, whose dreaded might was dwindling on account of severe epidemics among the cattle, were also unreliable. Three companies, one of them under the command of Prince, pushed forward from Pangani to Lushoto. With delightful humour Prince describes the noisy departure of the companies, the farewell to the girls, the neighing of the officers' donkeys, and how he as "boss of the officers' mess" teased his older comrades by serving them curry and rice, which only he and Wissmann liked, for three days running. Not only he, but even his Askaris were enthralled by "the majesty of the fiery glowing summit of Kilimanjaro above the clouds in the light of the setting sun". But within sight of this great spectacle a stiff two-day fight ensued round Sinna's strongly-built fortress in the midst of a banana grove. Here, on 12th February, 1891, Prince with his Zulu company bravely fought through minor fortifications (bomas), traps and barbed wire, and nearly got shot at close range. However, when Sinna's gunpowder depot exploded, his resistance was broken and he surrendered. Much cattle was driven away as booty and was in part given to Wissmann's native troops. Soon Prince had to bid a sad farewell to Wissmann, who, in spite of all his merits, was recalled home on account of having exceeded the estimated cost of the Arab campaign; he had asked for two

²*Sakkarani* is a Sudanese word and means a warrior in a state of reckless exaltation.—Editor.

³Prince, T., *Gegen Araber und Wahehe*, p. 38. Schmidt, R., *Araber-Aufstand*, pp. 240-243. Machemba later fled to the Portuguese.

million marks but had spent eight million. An Englishman thought he had asked for two million pounds! Wissmann's officers were furious, but Wissmann himself bore his fate with composure and, as is known, returned to Africa once more as Governor (1895-1896), but as a sick man worn out by tropical diseases. But for Prince he was able to procure the only decoration awarded by Germany to officers for bravery in their battles against Sinna.

III

On 1st April, 1891, Freiherr von Soden, previously Governor in the Cameroons, took the place of Wissmann, who in his position as Reichskommissar had been both the political and military chief. His military adviser was at first Chef Rochus Schmidt, who had always helped Prince, and then Chef von Zelewski who had come to East Africa as commander of the Schutztruppe several years before Wissmann. Prince and his comrades accused him of laying more stress on garrison drill and barrack organisation than the cheerful and humorous, though also stern Wissmann; however they appreciated Zelewski as a careful and skilful leader, and his officers defended him stoutly when after his death there were rumours in Germany that he had undertaken the campaign against the Hehe carelessly and without due thought.

Since the campaigns of the Schutztruppe had so far only been fought along the coast and in the Usambara mountains and the region of Kilimanjaro, the central parts were unknown to the Germans, except for the Mpwapa station which had been founded by Wissmann, and a few small missionary stations. Only Graf Pfeil, who had accompanied Carl Peters on his adventurous first expedition in the winter of 1884, had reached the district of Kuierenga (Iringa), but in order to avoid military engagements, he and his few Askaris had turned back. Among many of the coastal negro tribes sinister rumours were spread and believed about the cruel Hehe who were unbelievably quick in their attacks and lived under the stern discipline of their great Sultan Mkwawa. (The Germans nearly always called him Quawa.) Wissmann had already wanted to fight them with the help of the Masai who were hostile to the Hehe, but he did not get an opportunity of doing so. Zelewski was to take over this task, although Governor von Soden was really a peaceable man. But he too wanted to put an end to the frequent attacks of the Hehe on their neighbours who, willingly or by force, had accepted German rule. All the responsible German commanders, officials and officers, including Prince, soon realised how little they knew of the Hehe, who sat proud and almost unassailable by natives or Europeans on their 5,000-foot plateau, separated from the coastal plain by the wild Uzungwa scarp, some 7,000 feet high. Haughtily they looked down on all their foes and also on the unknown Germans, but Mkwawa had sent out spies and traders to the coast to get an idea of the legendary strangers. On the other side Soden and Zelewski also wanted to get to know their future adversaries and Prince admits that the tall and proud Hehe messengers made an excellent impression.

As the Schutztruppe had up till then managed to conquer all the Arabs, even, after a fierce battle, the mighty Sinna, Zelewski did not think it at all too dangerous to march against the Hehe. He hoped to capture the capital, Iringa, without difficulty and half expected Mkwawa to capitulate in advance. Nevertheless Zelewski went ahead with his usual caution. He had the whole so-called expeditionary corps, consisting of four companies, with him, which for East Africa was a considerable force. His plan was first to attack the rapacious

Mafiti who were allies of the Hehe and lived south of them and then to enter Uhehe. Prince with his 8th Company was to have advanced with him, but to his intense disappointment Zelewski at the last moment decided to leave him behind in Ruaha, as he feared difficulties with the delivery of provisions. "Never mind, the chaps have only shields and spears", answered Zelewski when Prince had begged to be allowed to come too. As a "consolation" Prince was given the order to recruit more Zulus from their country far South.

It is well known, I presume, that on 17th August, 1891, three-quarters of Zelewski's troops were annihilated at Lugalo (Rugaro), about 15 miles north-east of Iringa, when the Hehe under Mkwawa's leadership swooped down on them in an exceedingly well-prepared attack. The Hehe had to jump out of the thick bush with great speed in order to escape the firing of the German guns which, however, for the most part were not loaded. So in a desperate close fight, in which many of the German leaders were stabbed to death, "the shields and spears" of the "chaps" were victorious after all. Only Lieutenant Tettenborn, who with his men was marching in the rear, escaped the horrible massacre, in which a large part of the expeditionary corps was destroyed within a quarter of an hour; he held out bravely for two more days in case he could pick up any scattered men of the troop. The Hehe did not attack or pursue the remaining Germans, partly because of their greed for booty and partly because of their own high losses. After difficult marches, mostly at night-time, the survivors finally reached safe areas and were able to tell of the horrible end of the campaign against the Hehe, which had begun so hopefully.

Zelewski can be accused, not of carelessness but, perhaps, of a great under-estimation of the unknown foe who had such excellent scouts working in relays giving information as to the direction, form and speed of the advance of the Schutztruppe. He knew nothing of the supremely severe discipline and the speed of the frugal Hehe. So it was no wonder that after the superior attitude of the German coastal inhabitants who had regarded Mkwawa as just a simple "nigger", there now followed great consternation and the fear that the Hehe might plan a campaign to the coast. Ever since then Mkwawa was known half admiringly, half mockingly, as the "black Napoleon". Rumours that the Hehe had mutilated the wounded were passionately denied by them, and Ernst Nigmann, an officer of the Schutztruppe who had lived seven years amongst them and had great respect for these proud men, some of whom reminded him of Roman senators,⁴ confirmed that the wounded had only been given a quick "stab of mercy".

It was four weeks later that Prince, who had escaped the disaster at Rugaro through his absence, heard the sad news when it reached Rochus Schmidt, Governor von Soden and Wissmann, who was making preparations to bring a steamer onto Lake Nyasa or Lake Tanganyika. There was of course no telegraph system in the young colony, nor even an efficient postal service. From the start the young officer regarded the death of his commander and his comrades as a personal humiliation and was determined to avenge himself on Mkwawa personally. In his book he stresses again and again that after Zelewski's death his only aim in all his commands was how he could use them to weaken Mkwawa's might. And finally after seven years of incessant and desperate fighting he conquered and destroyed the great Sultan.

⁴Nigmann, E., *Die Wahehe*, pp. 1 and 4.

IV

Prince was the first man to be sent by Governor von Soden to ascertain whether the Hehe really were planning an attack on the coast. He found out that the Hehe, probably partly because of their own high losses and partly for fear of a revenge attack by the Schutztruppe, in reality now so enfeebled, were thinking in terms of peace rather than war. They were even prepared to give back the captured rifles and guns. (They had not taken any prisoners, although some writers later maintained that they had). Prince met the Hehe delegates proudly in spite of the German defeat and told them that the Kaiser was able at all times to send a large reserve troop immediately, and the envoys whom he received "in audience" were to leave German territory without delay! From now on Prince, obviously sometimes against the will of the now cautious Governor, planned a war of aggression to surround the Hehe kingdom from the inland front hundreds of miles from the capital, Dar es Salaam. Through his energy and above all through his successes he gradually persuaded the Governor to accept his point of view. Prince felt it especially humiliating that the dead of Rugaro had been lying unburied on the battlefield for six or seven years because no German troop dared to enter the Hehe kingdom. A man who knew Prince well probably hit the nail on the head when he said "Prince used to say that his African rule was to attack fast and with all his might".⁵ But here he acted against the rule and did not give way to his temperament. Not that he didn't make a plan of action at once, but he marked his steps out first, never taking on more than could be achieved. And that was just the right way to win. He converted his glowing anger into cool tactics. Here the European, the Prussian, in him was at work. One step at a time he advanced the conquest of German East Africa. When playing chess he used to ask in advance "After how many moves and on which field do you want to find yourself checkmate?" He checkmated and "finished off" Mkwawa like a chessplayer.

He gradually set up strong German positions all round the Hehe kingdom which were able to help each other when attacked by the enemy. He even won over the mighty Sultan Merere far in the west and later on other Sultans who, under his leadership, were to conquer Mkwawa. Much patience was needed to train his troops to shoot faster and more accurately when suddenly attacked and to drill them to such outstanding feats of marching that they surpassed even the Hehe in this respect. At this time, Prince frequently suffered from severe bouts of malaria and the horrible blackwater fever; but with the help of huge quantities of quinine or wild rides he overcame the disease. He even put new heart into Zulus who had taken part in the disastrous battle of Rugaro, "and once brought a despondent Zulu company to reason" by cold-bloodedly giving an order to the Sudanese company standing nearby to shoot at "their brothers". Immediately, like Caesar's mutinous legions, they begged to be allowed to fight again under his banner against the dreaded enemy. He got quite close to the battlefield of Rugaro, but was called away, as a German force had been annihilated on distant Kilimanjaro. But Soden now sent him to Tabora, the Arab trading centre, where Sultan Sikki was harassing the small and ill-prepared German troop. With supreme patience Prince, who had only twenty-three soldiers with him, negotiated with the treacherous Arabs and the proud Sikki. But he was glad when the negotiations failed and might alone was to decide.

⁵Schwarz van Berk, H., *Tom von Prince (Die Unvergessenen, 1928)*, p. 270.

With a very small force he surrounded the fortress (Ikuru) outside the town of Tabora which was protected by huge walls and was manned by a superior force. He lined an approach trench with sandbags and although his Askaris were freezing in the pouring rain, the attack began at the first sign of dawn (no negro apart from the Hehe likes a battle by night as he fears evil spirits) with Tom von Prince, as usual, right in front. In spite of desperate resistance, the Germans broke through and the storming of the Sultan's palace had begun, when suddenly it flew into the air: Sikki, after slaughtering his eight wives, had blown himself up with all his treasures. Immediately all was quiet, the Arabs earnestly begged for mercy, which the victorious Prince accorded to them. Only very seldom did he pronounce a harsh judgment. He led a victorious campaign through Unyamwezi and Ugogo and returned home with rich booty. The new Governor, Freiherr von Schele, awarded him, in the name of the Kaiser, his second war decoration, but he did not receive the highest Prussian decoration, the *Pour le merite*, although his name was three times suggested for it, apparently because he was too young.

Now he went as "Reichskommissar" to the faraway Lake Nyasa to take over Wissmann's steamer. He met him there, and also his uncle Professor William Ansorge, the traveller through unknown parts of Africa. He travelled with Ansorge through practically unpopulated districts of Southern Tanganyika and in an essay⁶ describes a completely unknown Negro tribe with exemplary thoroughness. He did this although he had undertaken this journey (during which he praises the friendship and helpfulness of Portuguese and English officials and officers in Mozambique and Nyasaland) chiefly in order to win over Sultan Merere as a valuable ally in his plan to surround Mkwawa's kingdom. Governor Schele approved of Prince's measures because he, being also a commander of the Schutztruppe, had, like Wissmann, realized how important it was to find support against Mkwawa also in the west.

But before the great battle against the Hehe began Prince, who had at first refused to take any leave because "his task" had not yet been accomplished, was allowed to travel home, after having spent nearly five years in Africa. He was still just a lieutenant but now had two high decorations. At home, like many another German back from Africa, he had difficulty in adjusting himself, but in spite of having been forbidden to do so, he had been corresponding with his "fiancée", Magdalene von Massow. Now they met in Berlin at the home of one of Magdalene's relatives, and her father at last agreed to the engagement of his daughter to the "young windbag" whom he had up till then treated so haughtily.

V

His leave was not quite over when Prince hurried back to East Africa, as Schele was planning the great blow against Mkwawa's capital, Iringa, which had been strongly fortified against the German forces. Prince and his commanders were glad that Mkwawa no longer evaded them, as he usually did when there was acute danger. Schele's force in the autumn of 1894 was nearly twice as large as Zelewski's troop had been in 1891; German cruisers safeguarded the coastal towns against surprise attacks—and yet a small chief tried to take the port of Kilwa by surprise—the "old man who never got tired" (Schele) had organized everything excellently, including the follow-up, and in a few weeks the German

⁶Prince, T., *Geschichte der Magwangwara (Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden und Gelehrten aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten)* Mittler, Berlin, 1894, Vol. 7, pp. 213-224.

troop had reached Iringa. The Hehe had not dared to attack them. After two days, thanks to Prince's intrepid patrols up to the walls at night-time, the strong fortress was captured after a wild attack. Prince was again among the first, and was sorry that Schele and his reserve arrived a few minutes too late, so that Mkwawa and the most skilful warriors of the Hehe force were able to escape. But the victory was great. Prince destroyed huge quantities of gunpowder which had been foolishly sold to Mkwawa by the Government. The fortress was demolished, but on the way back to the coast Schele was attacked, in the presence of Prince, and lived through a fearsome quarter of an hour before Prince was able to extricate him. On the following day they crossed the battlefield of Rugaro, and Prince, holding the skull of his old chief, Zelewski, in his hands, renewed his vow not to rest until Mkwawa had suffered a similar fate. Prince was then ordered by Schele to go back to Iringa and later he founded Kilimatinde, where he was station commander. Here he also drew the large-scale map of Kilimatinde for the colonial atlas. Then followed his second home leave and the quiet wedding on 4th January, 1896, in Silesia, where his grandmother, with whom he had left Mauritius in 1880, still lived. The months in Germany he spent mainly in studying astronomy and topography, and his wife was later on often able to help him with the surveying of Uhehe.

VI

The new Governor Wissmann joyfully received the young married couple (Tom was 30 years old) in Dar es Salaam, and sent him to Perondo, south of Iringa, to set up the first small station in Heheland against Mkwawa. Prince's wife insisted on coming with him and not staying at the coast. Magdalene described in her diary almost daily the grave and gay experiences of safari and showed much lively understanding of the peculiarities of tropical natural history, of the natives, the Askaris, and the German officers and N.C.O.s; so that we can be glad that we possess the continuation of Prince's book *Gegen Araber und Wahehe* from the hand of his wife. From Perondo Prince soon advanced much closer to Iringa, which Mkwawa had built up again but where he now only seldom lived for fear of the Germans. He had decided, quite rightly, Prince thought, to return to the tactics of guerilla warfare. He was always afraid when white commanders appeared; (apparently this fear had originated at the tomb of his ancestors in Rungemba,⁷ in southern Uhehe, where he used to pray), but he did not hesitate to attack German troops under black leaders.⁸ Mkwawa had to tolerate the fact that not far from his old residence at Iringa Prince had built up the new German Schutztruppen station of Neu-Iringa; confidence in his strength was already so great that masses of men from the surrounding country and even coastal traders moved there, so that the town soon had a population of 3,000. In Dar es Salaam, however, this was not known for a long time. Yet another Governor, Liebert who had visited Wissmann as early as 1890, came after the latter's departure and, like Prince, was of the opinion that one should try by all possible means, whether by bribery or by threats, to attract Mkwawa's followers over to the German side. It seemed that the only possible way to put an end to Mkwawa's extremely skilful guerilla warfare and make him defenceless was gradually to win over his best men. But it was extremely wearisome work

⁷Stierling, J., *Die Königsgräber der Wahehe* (*Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen in Berlin*, 2. Jahrg. 1899, Spemann, Berlin, pp. 257-262.) (A translation appears in T.N.R. No. 46.—Editor.)

⁸Some of the Sudanese were commissioned officers, trained by the British.—Editor.



TOM von PRINCE

[in white without helmet, and his staff officers—Iringa, 1896-97]



En route from Mombo to Tanga—1902. Second from left, von Prince, then Frau von Prince and her Father.

needing much patience, which Prince, who was now commander of two companies of a hundred and fifty men each, had taken on. To the surprise of all the Germans, it now turned out that Mkwawa was not just a bloodthirsty tyrant, but that many of his subjects remained loyal to him from true affection, while others remained loyal from fear and superstition. It was said that he had a horn on his forehead (this phenomenon was actually caused by a wound from a spear) and that he was invulnerable and could stab five men running with his spear. And Prince had the difficult, almost degrading, task of tearing these loyal men away from their Sultan through enticements or brutal threats and making them traitors to their own people. In the course of the years of desperate battles, Prince and his wife gradually felt increasing respect for Mkwawa's tenacious and clever defence, but even more for the true loyalty of his followers. And yet, as for many years they possessed only small forces, they had to think of the German cause first, i.e., the conquering by all available means of the intractable and bloodthirsty Mkwawa. Prince finally proved to many of the Hehe that German rule was after all more just and peaceable than that of their proud ruler, who often capriciously demanded high sacrifices both of lives and possessions from his people. Of course there were also deserters among the Hehe, who wanted to shake off the hard discipline of their Sultan and who hoped to get advantages from the German conquerors.

At any rate Prince, with his constant warfare and small successes, achieved an ever-increasing separation of Mkwawa's kingdom from its former allies, so that the great "black Napoleon" was no longer the threat to the life of German East Africa that he had been at the time of Sultan Sikki of Tabora, who had even sent Mkwawa his daughter for his harem. It was now only a matter of time until Mkwawa and his followers would lose hope and give themselves up or perish. A third possibility was to give up the proud and fertile hill-fortress of Uhehe, which Prince, in a detailed essay, described, with all its advantages, as his future domain. Governor von Liebert was in full agreement with Prince's argument.⁹ And Arning, the doctor of the Schutztruppe, who knew East Africa especially well, went so far as to say that neither the coastal town of Dar es Salaam, nor Tabora with its decreasing trade, but Iringa, with its central position, should be the capital of German East Africa, once railway connections had been established to the coast.

Mkwawa seems seriously to have contemplated fleeing from Uhehe in order to escape from the tightening ring of the Germans. Prince wanted to prevent this at all costs, as he feared that Mkwawa would seek to form an alliance with the obstinate Magwangwara in the south, whose history he had described. Prince informed the Government about his future policy towards Mkwawa in three long reports: these and his dramatic report on the conquest of the Ikuru of Tabora¹⁰ are among the best things he has written, apart from his book. They are official reports, but are as thrilling to read as a detective story. For here the officer acts as diplomat and employs all sorts of ruses to bring about his opponent's downfall. He wins relatives of Mkwawa over to his side by force or by enticement, and finally has almost the whole extensive family of the ruler, including his favourite wives, in his power; these liked to visit Prince's wife and

⁹Prince, T., *Uhehe* (*Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 8. Jahrg., 1897, pp. 653-657.) Arning, W., *Die Besiedlung von Deutsch-Ostafrika* (*Jahrbuch über die Deutschen Kolonien*), Baedeker, Essen, 1. Jahrg., 1908, pp. 149-150.

¹⁰*Deutsches Kolonialblatt* (Tabora) 28.1.1893, 4. Jahrg., 1893, pp. 198-204. *Über Uhehe*, *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 20.9.1896 and 4.11.1896, 7. Jahrg. 1896, p. 773, and 26.1.1897, 8. Jahrg., 1897, p. 42 and pp. 260-265.

were treated as kindly by her as the distinguished wives of the Arabs in Iringa. He wanted to give Sultan Merere a part of Uhehe, in order not to let Mkwawa's brother, Mpangire, whom he had won over to his side, become too powerful; besides Prince wanted willing *Wasagira* (Mkwawa's lieutenants) to administer the land, immediately under him. "Divide and rule" was Prince's principle to destroy Mkwawa's might. He played off all against all, made promises, bribed, threatened and postponed decisions, saying the Governor alone could decide, though it often seemed that Prince only used the Governor as a pretext, or even played the part himself. A very shrewd observer¹¹ openly remarked that some natives accorded Prince the Sultan's greeting which they refused the Governor and that Prince, as conqueror of Mkwawa, was really the successor to the Sultan. And Prince saw himself so clearly as future master of Uhehe that he implored the Government to undertake no further unnecessary military raids but "to use these fine people and the fine country for the future service of the colony".

Before things got that far, however, there was the tragedy of the "viceroy", Mpangire, whom Prince had installed as ruler of the greater part of Uhehe with great celebrations at Christmas 1896. All who knew him had great respect for this slim, polite Hehe, who was so eager for knowledge, especially Magdalene von Prince, who at times mentions him almost daily in her diary, and Father Alfons Adams of the Benedictine Mission at nearby Tosamaganga.¹² But Prince was right when in one of his long reports he mentioned having slight misgivings as to Mpangire's loyalty. It turned out that the latter had remained under the almost legendary and uncanny influence of his brother even at a distance and had got in touch with him again, intending to return to him. However, he was captured shortly beforehand together with a few other distinguished Hehe who had joined the conspiracy. They were condemned to death by court-martial. Father Adams tried to get a reprieve for them, but in vain; they died steadfastly and almost cheerfully. "I wept bitterly, and even now I am mourning for the black gentleman, though my reason struggles against it. He could not betray his Mkwawa blood; Tom is quite upset too", wrote Magdalene Prince after the execution on 23rd February, 1897.¹³

It is understandable that Prince now pursued Mkwawa even more intensely. His subordinates Glauning, von der Marwitz and many others were sent on endless marches in pursuit of him; again and again Mkwawa escaped them, because his followers bravely supported him, hid him, brought him food and, of course, died for him.

At long last Sergeant Merkl, with the help of one of his boys who had deserted, found him on 19th July, 1898, and fired several shots at him. When he went up to him, however, Merkl found the body was already cold, for Mkwawa had shot himself some hours before with his last remaining gun. Prince used few words when informing the Government of this important event.¹⁴ None of the Hehe wanted to accept the 5,000 rupees' reward for Mkwawa's head; it was therefore allotted to Merkl and his men.

¹¹In a private letter from Berlin, 30.4.1955.

¹²*Im Dienste des Kreuzes*, St. Ottilien, 1899, pp. 15-87.

¹³Prince, Magdalene, *Eine deutsche Frau im Inneren Deutsch-Ostafrikas*, Mittler, Berlin, 1905, pp. 73-75, (2nd Edition).

¹⁴Nigmann, E., *Schutztruppe*, pp. 52-58. Sayers, G. F., *The Handbook of Tanganyika*, 1930, p. 70. *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 9. Jahrg. 1898, p. 588 and pp. 645-646, (Merkl's Bericht) cf. Prince, Magdalene op. cit., pp. 176-180.

Magdalene Prince tells of the "frenzied jubilation in Iringa" when news of the death of Mkwawa was heard; many of the Hehe too seemed relieved of a pressure which had lasted for years. Life had been terribly hard for Magdalene during these last years: her husband always hectically on the warpath, or dealing with *shauris* or at his desk; his life and hers periodically threatened by murder or arson; from home, anxious enquiries as to her well-being; mistrust even among seeming friends; self-reproach as to whether Mpangire's death was really necessary; serious illness without doctor or help; but she, "the first German woman in deepest East Africa", bravely overcame all troubles. She also bore her first child in Iringa and soon had to bury it there; but perhaps all these trials only served to strengthen her ties with Uhehe, so that it became her new home.

VII

The fight against the Hehe was the greatest and hardest in the life of Prince, and that is why I felt I had to describe it (from the German point of view and from German sources, which were almost the only ones at my disposal) in such detail.

The land of Uhehe found peace immediately after Mkwawa's death. It was the peace of exhaustion after seven terrible years of war. There were no further rebellions, and rumours that in 1904 sons of Mkwawa were sent to the coast because the Hehe were inaugurating mourning celebrations in memory of him, are not confirmed in any of the German reports of that time. On their long journeys through the land Prince and his wife noticed on the contrary that the countryside was developing in a peaceful and altogether satisfactory manner, trade soon began to flourish again, and the population increased.

Prince and his wife urgently needed recreation after these exciting years. Sometimes, even during the war, they had been able to rest for a few days on the plantation at Dabaga which they had cultivated themselves; now in peace-time they did some surveying, read books from home in the wooden house in Iringa which they had brought from Scotland, collected plants, animals and human skulls for German museums, and took pleasure in the company of their officers and N.C.O.s. while eagerly studying native customs. Unfortunately they also had to think of the future: Prince's health had suffered so much that he felt he would have to give up his beloved career as an officer in order to begin a new life as a farmer in "his" Uhehe. In November, 1899 his request for leave was granted and in August, 1900 he obtained his discharge.¹⁵ His send-off from Iringa was impressive, and his company was taken over by his tried lieutenant, von der Marwitz, followed later by Freiherr von Schleinitz, Nigmann and Styx.¹⁶ The march to the coast was like a triumphal procession, though the Princes, who had spent many years in healthy highland air, suffered severely from fever in the plain; everywhere old war comrades, black as well as white, came to meet them and there were memorable celebrations; they arrived in Dar es Salaam on the Kaiser's birthday (27th January, 1900), and on the very next day they boarded the steamer for home.

VIII

When they returned to Africa six months later (their second son, whom they named, after the mother's family, Massow Tom, was born in Berlin in June) they had brought with them a good deal of machinery with which to begin their new

¹⁵Prince, Magdalene, op. cit., pp. 198-199. *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 11. Jahrg., 1900, pp. 668.

¹⁶Nigmann, E., *Schutztruppe*, pp. 160-165.

life as farmers in Uhehe. This was not to be, however, for in Tanga they were told not to settle in Uhehe but to look for a new home in Usambara. Magdalene never mentioned in her book, which was dedicated to the Kaiser's wife, why this change took place; it was not till twenty years later that she gave the reasons to two men in Germany who were writing about the life of her husband.¹⁷ According to gossip in Dar es Salaam, Prince's influence in Uhehe had become too great and he was accused of having "Wallenstein manners" and of being overbearing and not willing to comply with official regulations. Actually Prince had regarded the levying of a hut-tax, which Governor Liebert had introduced after much thought, as too early for war-torn Uhehe and would have preferred to exact some labour service from the natives. But all who really knew Prince, especially his family, passionately denied that he ever acted against the law or the orders of authority; he was far too much of an officer to have done that. At any rate he and his wife put hard work in to building up their first farm in West Usambara about 20 miles from Lushoto. A large comfortable manor house was built to which they gave the proud name Sakkarani, and which to-day serves as a convalescent home. Here as well as in the adjacent plantations they worked industriously and not without some economic setbacks. Besides Massow, three other sons (two of whom were killed in the second World War) grew up and spent a happy childhood there, hardly disturbed by governess or tutor. In 1912 all except the youngest were sent to Germany for further education. Like their father they went to the Ritterakademie in Liegnitz and went through the first World War in the neighbouring cadet corps in Wahlstatt. Only in January, 1915, did they hear news of their father's death in the battle of Tanga.

In 1906 Magdalene's father, old Colonel von Massow, visited Sakkarani for three days when he, with members of the German Reichstag, made a six-weeks tour to East Africa for the first time. He was glad to see the estate of his children and later he acquired a small farm in the neighbourhood, as did also a brother of Magdalene's. One of her sisters spent two years there. Prince and his wife now went to Germany more often and their youngest son was born there. In 1905 the Kaiser's third son, Prince Adalbert, who was on a cruise from East Asia to Europe, visited Prince in Sakkarani and permitted him to name his new-born son after him. In the following year Prince received the hereditary title "von". Was it in gratitude for his military services or as compensation for the fact that he had not been allowed to settle in Uhehe? Whatever the reason, for all the Princes Usambara had now really become a new self-made homeland.

With lively interest they followed the mighty Maji Maji uprising in the southern part of German East Africa in 1905 and 1906 and noted with satisfaction that the Hehe with few exceptions remained quiet, thanks especially to Captain Ernst Nigmann and his able 2nd Schutztruppen Company. Had the Hehe taken part in the rebellion, the whole colony up to the Northern border would probably have been shaken, just as the simultaneous rebellions of the Hereros and Hottentots had affected German South-West Africa.¹⁸

Prince's neighbours in Usambara elected him Chairman of the Planters' Union, which represented the interests of the farmers, especially in the difficult

¹⁷Schwarz van Berk, H., op. cit., p. 276. Patera, *Der Weisse Herr Ohnefurcht*, pp. 206-207.

¹⁸Sayers *Handbook of Tanganyika*, 1930, pp. 75-79, states that word was sent by the Hereros to the East Coast natives, encouraging them to follow their example. The Headquarters report (Generalstabswerk) 2 Vols, 1906-1907, (Mittler, Berlin), mentions nothing of this.

question of native labour on the plantations, to the new State Secretary of the Reichskolonialamt, Dernburg, and to the able but seemingly rather rigid Governor von Rechenberg.¹⁹

In 1913 a volunteer defence corps, similar to others in East Africa, was formed in Usambara under the leadership of Prince. It was at first intended to ward off possible rebellions by the Masai, who lived on English and German territory. But soon those farmers who had had military training were convinced that with the increasingly threatening political situation in Europe they must also prepare themselves for a war against European neighbours, above all against the English in British East Africa. However, when the former Schutztruppen Captain Leue, who lived near Mount Meru and had founded his well-known settlements of Boers and Germans from the Caucasus there, demanded in a Government Council session that the Governor should also arm the farmers against foreign foes, he was greeted with jeers and scorn.²⁰ Governor Schnee, however, pleaded for the Defence Corps, as similar voluntary formations were being set up in the neighbouring British colonies, and he seems gradually to have overcome the aversion of the authorities in Berlin. At any rate when the new Schutztruppen commander, von Lettow-Vorbeck, took over his post in Dar es Salaam on 17th January, 1914, he immediately got into touch with the volunteer defence corps, especially in the northern border district. He found that his old friend and war-academy colleague, Tom von Prince, was an enthusiastic believer in the idea that "we East Africans, should there be a war against England, should not sit still, but should go ahead if there was even the slightest chance of relieving the war in Europe".²¹ Lettow on his exploratory journeys found an opportunity to visit the battlefield of Rugaro,²² where Prince had held the skull of his old commanding officer, von Zelewski, in his hand; then Lettow went to take part in the war which had by then also broken out in East Africa.

IX

There seems to have been speculation as to what Tom von Prince must have felt, as the son of an English police officer and, although a Prussian officer, himself having British nationality, when he had to fight against the English. But he does not seem to have had a moment's hesitation as to his duty as a German Schutztruppen officer.²³ It is true he had not been on active service since 1900, but soon he led not only his "European Company" consisting of planter volunteers from Usambara, but also "field companies" of Askaris who welcomed back their former captain with joy. Among the English he was well-known as

¹⁹cf. Methner, W., *Unter drei Gouverneuren*, Korn, Breslau, 1938, p. 253. Zimmermann, A., *Mit Dernburg in Ostafrika*, Schwetzsche, Berlin, 1908. Dernburg, Speeches in the *Budgetkommission des Reichstages*, 18.2.08. (*Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 19. Jahrg., 1908, p. 218) and other similar speeches in the *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 1907, pp. 1195-1207. I was unfortunately not able to get hold of a copy of the *Usambara Boten*.

²⁰Dobbertin, W., *Die Soldaten Lettow-Vorbecks*, 1932, p. 128. I have not been able to ascertain whether the records of the Government Council still exist. Winkler, C., *Freiwilligenkorps in Deutsch-Ostafrika* (*Deutsche Kolonial Zeitung*, 1912, pp. 519 and 552.) Richelmann, *Bildung eines deutschen Schützenkorps in Usambara*, (*Deutsche Kolonial Zeitung*, 1913, p. 281.)

²¹von Lettow-Vorbeck, General, *Meine Erinnerungen aus Ostafrika*, Koehler, Leipzig, 1921, p. 4.

²²von Lettow-Vorbeck, General, *ibid.* p. 14.

²³von Prince, Massow, *Mein Vater, der Bwana Sakkarani*, p. 73. Deppe, L., *Mit Lettow-Vorbeck durch Afrika*, Scherl, Berlin, 1919, p. 113.

the "redoubtable Bwana Sakkarani".²⁴ It is known that he took part in the occupation of the only English "town", Taveta, which the Germans were able to take during the war up to 1916. Furthermore, at the beginning of October, 1914, he with four companies wanted to explore the possibility of conquering the Tsavo valley.²⁵

However, a British attack on Tanga altered the whole situation completely. Today we are able to follow almost hour by hour the battle which took place from the 3rd to the 5th November, 1914, by comparing the English and German official and demi-official staff reports.²⁶ Prince went into battle with his 7th and 8th European companies, now known as "Schutzenkompanien", in the same train as Lettow-Vorbeck, after having said good-bye to his wife who had become a nurse in Moshi.

When on the afternoon of November 4th the attack of the "Lancs"²⁷ and the superior forces of certain Indian regiments had put the Germans in an extremely serious position, Lettow, who had already that morning given Prince full powers to attack even without orders, ordered him to repulse the "Lancs" who had already entered the eastern parts of Tanga. In a heavy battle he was able to do so, but he was killed, probably by a shot through the head, while fighting for the Ngoma, a spot in the centre of the town. His victorious advance and his death inspired the faltering Askaris. Soon Lettow with his weak forces was also able to help surround the southern British wing, as the British front had shifted too far north. This decided the battle.

At the head of the list of the dead engraved on the great memorial board, which was erected on the battlefield at Tanga, stands the name of Captain Tom von Prince. It would surely also have been in accordance with his wishes that beside the German dead the Askaris too, as true comrades in life and death, should be included. Thus on the Zelewski memorial which he had set up for the dead of Rugaro in 1898 he ordered the following inscription to be engraved in the Hehe language: "If you pass here, think of the brave soldiers who fell fighting with their commander in the war."²⁸ Commander Lettow as well as Governor Schnee and his wife sent Frau von Prince sincere letters of condolence.²⁹

Even today the name Bwana Sakkarani remains unforgotten among his old Askaris and the few Germans in the territory.

The finest commemoration, however, of "friend and foe" is the monument erected in Dar es Salaam on 4th August, 1957, by the Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge, in the presence of British officials and war veterans, in memory of the outbreak of war in 1914, with the inscription: "In remembrance of all who fell for their German fatherland in East Africa 1914-18".³⁰

²⁴Military Operations, East Africa, p. 32.

²⁵Boell, *Die Operationen in Ostafrika*, p. 54.

²⁶The Commander of the Loyal Regiment (North Lancashire) has sent me a short history of the Regiment with a detailed description of the Battle of Tanga.

²⁷Short for North Lancashire Regiment.

²⁸Mr. I. A. Greene, an official of the Town Council of Iringa kindly sent me this inscription in 1953, and told me all he knew about the memorial, which is still being regularly cared for. An illustration of the memorial can be found in Nigmann's book, *Schutztruppe*, p. 34.

²⁹*Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung*, 11.11.1914.

³⁰cf. *The Tanganyika Standard*, 6.8.1957. Lettow on the occasion of his flight to Africa in 1953 laid a wreath on the Memorial for the Fallen at Tanga. (Lettow-Vorbeck, *Afrika, wie ich es wiedersah*, Lehmann, München, 1955, p. 62.)

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Tom's eldest son, Massow von Prince, in Tanga, wrote *Mein Vater, der Bwana Sakkarani*, Neufeld und Henius, Berlin (collected works; *Heiss war der Tag*, 1933, pp. 57-73.)

In the years between 1953 and 1956 I received very detailed accounts, with family trees, of the life of Tom and Magdalene in Mauritius, Germany and East Africa from Massow von Prince and from Tom's 89-year old sister, Frau May v.d. Bussche-Lohe in Mlalo near Lushoto. Further accounts I received from Massow's son, Hanson, from Magdalene's sisters in Germany, from the Ansonge family in England and Germany, and from planter friends in Usambara.

From the archives in Mauritius (Port Louis) and Dar es Salaam I received valuable copies and photostats; Frau Doris Berg in Dar es Salaam copied out hundreds of pages of the *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* for me, which I had not been able to obtain in full in Germany. Here I found many of the reports which Tom had sent to his superiors.

The most useful book on the geography and economy of Tanganyika in German times is still that of Hans Meyer, *Das Deutsche Kolonialreich*, Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig and Vienna, Vol. 1, 1909.

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RAIN-MAKING IN TANGANYIKA

By David McCallum

It is interesting to note that among professional men today, the meteorologist represents one of the oldest professions. The witch-doctor, whose terms of reference included the control of the weather and, particularly, the manufacture of rain, was the earliest scientist, perhaps misguided or misinformed, but still the lineal ancestor of the Newtons and Einsteins of later days.

In primitive agricultural and pastoral societies, as indeed in all societies, water is of paramount importance and this is particularly so if the rainfall of the country as it is in East Africa, is seasonal and subject to prolonged droughts. Consequently the onset, the duration and the finish of the rains are matters of interest and importance to everyone in the country. It is equally significant that with the development of the country this interest becomes even more lively.

I should like for the sake of completeness to give a short résumé of the methods used by—if I may call them that—my witch-doctor predecessors. I have discussed these methods with a considerable number of my African meteorological assistants who represent a fair cross section of Tanganyika tribes. The methods used—I must say here I am no anthropologist—seem to fall naturally into three main classes: those which depend on magic alone, those depending partly on magic and partly on religion, and those depending on the religious aspect alone. I am of course open to correction here.

Among the Waluguru, Kingaru, a member of the ruling family, has been specially trained as a rainmaker. He operates in a specially constructed hut where he keeps the tools of his trade. These appear to be calabashes and several kinds of herbs and medicines. How he operates, my informant was unable to say. Apparently it is a professional and family secret. This method would appear to depend largely on magic. The second and biggest group, among which are numbered the Wasukuma, the Wagogo, the Wahehe, the Wanyamwezi, the Wangoni and many others, by and large, use the same kind of ceremony, although the person of the rainmaker may vary. In some cases he is a chief, or a specially chosen or trained *mganga*, or in other cases it may be a group of elders. Whoever he may be, he is clothed in black and sacrifices a male black animal—an ox, a sheep, a goat or even a fowl—at the grave of some famous chief or notability of the tribe. In some cases beer is also poured on the grave. The "rainmaker" usually prays to the Chief asking him to intercede with God to have mercy on his people and send them rain. It would appear that the insistence on black is part of the charm as black will darken the sky with rain clouds.

In some places, possibly under strong Arab influence, there are no special ceremonies for rainmaking. The people believe that Allah is punishing them for their sins and they decide to lead better and purer lives and trust to Allah to send rain. This would appear to be purely religious.

My informants gave evidence of many differences in detail, but they were fairly unanimous that no "rainmaker" would attempt to make rain in the dry season.

These methods in general are still being practised. Many of my readers will be more familiar with this aspect than I, but since 1950, what I may call "scientific rainmaking" has been attempted in East Africa. Much experimental work had taken place in America and Australia and these practical tests corroborated theory by showing that large clouds could be induced to rain when dry ice was dropped into them from an aircraft. Other techniques have since been developed and much popular interest in the work has resulted. It is, I think, gratifying to note that East Africa has not been left behind in this field and has indeed pioneered new techniques in their experiments since 1950.

If I may, I shall now give a fairly short and I hope not too technical description of the physics of clouds and how this affects whether a cloud will give rain or not. Clouds are composed of water droplets. Unless rain is actually falling these drops are so small that they are supported by the updraughts normally present within the cloud. The artificial stimulation of rain is based on the idea that by inducing the formation within the cloud of larger drops than average, these drops will fall out of the cloud under gravity against the resistance of upcurrents. Various hygroscopic nuclei, i.e. particles which attract water—as the seeding agents are called—are introduced into the cloud to create water drops of larger than average size within the cloud and it is then left to natural processes, to distribute these drops throughout the cloud. These larger droplets have a different rate of movement and will grow by a process of collision and coalescence with other droplets. Other processes such as splitting and turbulence may also take place. In this way a chain reaction is set up and if conditions are suitable the cloud may be seen to change its appearance and develop. In reality the "rain-maker" is only providing a trigger action to the cloud which then develops in a natural way.

The first attempts in America were made using dry ice (solid carbon dioxide). This technique requires the use of aircraft capable of flying above the top of the cloud, which in these latitudes may well be anything from 20,000 to 40,000 feet or more. The main objection to this method is the expense. A later method depended on using silver iodide, a chemical whose crystalline structure was very similar to that of dry ice. It was comparatively easy to disperse particles of silver iodide into clouds by burning charcoal impregnated with this substance in ground generators and allowing normal convection to carry it to cloud level. Silver iodide however is believed to be only effective at low temperatures and is rendered inactive by exposure to ultraviolet light. It therefore appears unsuitable for use in tropical countries and these limitations were disclosed by the first set of experiments carried out by the Department in 1950 and 1951 at Kongwa in collaboration with the O.F.C.

During the second series of experiments at Kongwa in 1952, sea salt was used for the first time as a seeding agent. Those of us who live on the coast know how easily salt attracts moisture. When sea salt is introduced into the cloud it provides the nuclei around which the large drops of water rapidly form. The Department has developed its own technique for introducing salt into clouds. The aluminium foil container for a 127 film is used. The lower portion of this little canister contains a charge of gunpowder to which is fitted a slow burning fuse. The upper portion is filled with very finely ground and highly dessicated salt and is then sealed. The "bomb" is carried aloft into the cloud by a balloon filled with hydrogen. Before releasing this assembly the upper winds have been measured and so the balloon can be, as it were, aimed at the target cloud. The

fuse is arranged so that the bomb explodes at a predetermined height and scatters the salt into the cloud. Experiments using this method were carried out at Kongwa in 1952 and Dodoma in 1954 at the request of the Public Works Department. Experiments were also carried out in other parts of East Africa, in Amboseli National Park in Kenya and several sugar estates in Uganda carried out trials with advice from the Meteorological Department.

The main difficulty of the balloon method was that of ensuring accuracy of aim. There was also some doubt as to whether the amount of seeding was sufficient to provide the best results. The Department therefore carried the idea a step further by developing in conjunction with the Admiralty and the Ministry of Supply, a method of seeding using rockets. The advantage of this method is that the rocket can be accurately aimed and fired either from a fixed point or from the back of a lorry and the operational range is greater. Naval 2" flare rockets were modified to carry aloft 1½ lb. of treated salt in the nose. The rockets are fired from a launcher and are initially fused to explode within the cloud up to a range of about four miles. Two sets of experiments were carried out in April and November 1956 at Kazima Dam, Tabora, at the request of the P.W.D. who provided extremely valuable assistance. A full report of these experiments is not yet to hand but initial impressions are that the experiments were well worthwhile. The main disadvantage of this type of rocket is that, as it consists mainly of a heavy metal cylinder, which remains in being after the explosion has taken place and the salt ejected, it reaches the ground at a speed of over 400 m.p.h. and could therefore be a very lethal missile. Fortunately at Tabora the rockets were fired into an area which was believed to be uninhabited. So far no complaints have been received. A lighter rocket manufactured in Italy and made of heavy cardboard is likely to be the answer and plans are being made to test it.

It is of course possible to disperse the salt by discharging it from an aircraft but this is usually an expensive method as demurrage costs on an aircraft which is not in use can be very high indeed. It has been employed privately by local farmers in Kenya and success has been claimed. Another method is to spray water droplets of the correct diameter into the cloud. This has not been tried in East Africa but success has been claimed for the method in Australia.

Such work as has been done by the Meteorological Department in conjunction with other organizations like P.W.D., O.F.C., etc., has been regarded as experimental although on occasions the purely scientific approach was sacrificed for immediate gain as at Kongwa and Kazima Dam, Tabora. It can be said, I think, that the present stage of our knowledge is that there is evidence to show that large cumulus clouds in a certain stage of development can be induced to rain when seeded with prepared salt. That is really all that is known so far. Knowledge is not yet sufficient to determine the economics of the problem. We cannot say for instance how much rain can be produced from any particular cloud nor is it possible to estimate the cost of producing a particular quantity of rain, assuming of course that suitable clouds are present. Until these answers are known rain-making can hardly be considered a practical proposition.

What of the future? Improvement in knowledge of cloud physics, instruments and techniques will almost certainly lead to more understanding of the problem and a better evaluation of the results. There is however little likelihood that any widespread modification or alleviation of climate will be

caused by artificial rainfall stimulation. The attempt can be made only when clouds of the proper type, i.e. large cumulus clouds, are present. Even when large cumulus clouds are seeded the method applies only to individual clouds which represent a very small part of the atmosphere. The attitude taken by the Meteorological Department is that the work cannot be used as a method of increasing rainfall over wide areas but as a means of providing some small measure of relief during periods of drought when suitable clouds are present. Such conditions are not infrequent in East Africa and indeed are quite common in areas of marginal rainfall.

One can never assert categorically that a seeded cloud would not have rained naturally, though a trained and expert observer can usually judge with a fair degree of accuracy. Experience has also shown that on occasions rain can be induced to fall somewhat earlier than it would have done, had the cloud not been seeded. This is effecting some measure of control and in certain circumstances could be very useful. There is however the danger that in this way one farmer's rain might, as it were, be appropriated by another. This is a serious problem and has caused several lawsuits in America. It may well lead to legislation in East Africa in the not too far distant future, to cover this contingency.

Undoubtedly the work will be carried on both by the Meteorological Department and by private companies and individuals. As far as the Department is concerned it will always be willing to give companies and individuals advice and assistance, but naturally it cannot commit either its staff or finances except in very special circumstances indeed.

In conclusion, I should like to express the gratitude of the E.A. Meteorological Department to the many organisations who helped in all these experiments and in particular to the Director of Public Works, Mr. F. H. Woodrow.

I should also like to express my thanks to the Director of the Meteorological Department, Mr. J. P. Henderson, for permission to publish this note.

COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES: A PROBLEM IN EAST AFRICAN HISTORY

By G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, B.Litt., M.A., D.Phil.

In the Zanzibar Museum there are two coins, one of Justin I (518-527) and one of Justinian I (527-565), both of which were most probably found on Pemba island⁽¹⁾. They may reasonably be taken to argue, with the other pre-Islamic coin finds on the island, and also in Kenya⁽²⁾, that Roman trade, which was passing through Arab hands in the time of the *Periplus of the Erythraean sea*, never wholly ceased, and that East Africa has long had a continuous connection with the Mediterranean world.

Between the *Periplus*, in the first century A.D., followed by Claudius Ptolemy in the second century, and the Arab traveller and geographer al-Mas'ūdī in the ninth century⁽³⁾, there is only one writer who so much as mentions East Africa.

In 547 A. D. Cosmas Indicopleustes, a retired merchant who had become a monk, wrote a work known as *The Christian Topography*⁽⁴⁾, with the intention of proving that all those would be damned who did not believe the world to be flat. His principal hypothesis is theological, and need not detain us here: it is an attempt to show, from the Old Testament, that the divinely inspired design of the Jewish Temple was a representation of the world in microcosm, an idea worked out in tedious and even grotesque detail.

For us the most valuable part of the work is a description of a trading voyage which he made to Ceylon in 525 A.D., during the course of which he visited the King of Axum in Adulis, the Adule of the modern Eritrea. At this time the Kingdom of Axum dominated not only much of modern Ethiopia and Eritrea, but also parts of Arabia, from which last it was only finally excluded in 579 A.D. by the celebrated Battle of the Elephant, in the year in which the Prophet Muhammad was born⁽⁵⁾. The Axumite power thus lay athwart the trade artery between the Mediterranean, Eastern African and the whole of the Far East, to which the land routes from the Mediterranean world were controlled by Persia. Cosmas Indicopleustes does not tell us precisely why he

(1) A full account of these coins, and others of the period, is given in G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *Coinage in East Africa before Portuguese Times*, *Numismatic Chronicle*, sixth series, Vol. XVII, 1957, p. 172.

(2) H. Mattingly, *Coins from a Site-Find in British East Africa*, *Num. Chron.*, 1932, p. 175.

(3) W. H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, New York, 1912; C. Muller, *Anonymi Periplus Maris Erythraei*, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, tom. i, Paris, 1855; C. Ptolemaei *Geographia*, 2 vols., Paris, 1883 and 1901; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa Ma'ādīn al-Jawhar*, text and translation by C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, *Les Prairies d'Or*, 9 vols., Paris, 1861 ff., esp. vols. I & III.

(4) Greek text edited by E. O. Winstedt, *The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes*, 1909; *The Topographia Christiana*, ed. & Trans., J. W. McCrindle, Hakluyt Society, 1897.

(5) Cp. P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, sixth edition, 1956, pp. 105-106. The Yemen was an Axumite colony, and there were Ethiopian settlers in Mecca.

visited Adulis, but no doubt it was a necessary staging point for an Alexandrine merchant who wished to pass through the Axumite zone of influence and reach Ceylon.

With this end in view he did not attempt to reach East Africa, but he certainly heard of it: the country he calls Barbaria is modern Somaliland, and was still so called when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Mogadishu in 1331⁽⁶⁾. The next country he calls Zingium, the same name that Claudius Ptolemy uses for what the Arabs were later to call the Bilād al-Zanj, the Land of Zanj. We need have no reservations about this identification.

But why was he so ignorant of it? Why is it that he makes no mention of the ivory trade, which was already important in the time of the *Periplus*? Or of that in tortoise-shell?⁽⁷⁾ Had trade between the north and East Africa declined in importance from that of earlier times? Why too, when there were "men of experience" on board, men presumably who had made the voyage to Ceylon before, did he hear nothing of the trade route along the East African coast? Was there, in fact, a local trade recession?

Here, at any rate, is what he has to say, in the translation made by J. W. MacCrindle, and published by the Hakluyt Society in 1897.⁽⁸⁾

"The pagans even, availing themselves of what Moses has (thus) revealed, divide the whole world into three parts: Asia, Libya and Europe, designating Asia the east, Libya the south, extending to the west; Europe the north, also extending to the west; and in this our part of the earth there are four gulfs which penetrate into it from the ocean as the pagans also say, and say with truth when treating of this subject namely, this gulf of ours, which entering from Gadeira in the west extends along all the countries subject to Rome; the Arabian Gulf called the Erythraean and the Persian, both of which advance from Zingium to the southern and more eastern parts of the earth from the country called Barbaria, which begins where the land of the Ethiopians terminates. Now Zingium, as those who navigate the Indian sea are aware, is situated beyond the country called Barbaria which produces frankincense, and is girdled by the ocean which streams from thence into both gulfs. The fourth gulf is that which flows from the north-eastern part of the earth, and is called the Caspian or Hyrcanian Sea. These gulfs only admit of navigation, for the ocean cannot be navigated on account of the great number of its currents, and the dense fogs which it sends up, obscuring the rays of the sun, and because of the vastness of its extent. Having learned these facts from the man of God (sc. Moses), as has been said, I have pointed them out as coincident also with my own experience, for I myself have made voyages for commercial purposes in three of these gulfs—the Roman, the Arabian and the Persian, while from the natives or from seafaring men I have obtained accurate information regarding the different places.

⁽⁶⁾Arabic text with French translation in C. Defrémery & B. R. Sanguinetti, *Les Voyages d'Ibn Battoutah*, 4 vols., Paris, 1862 ff., vol. II, pp. 179 ff.

⁽⁷⁾It should be noted that Cosmas does not mention a trade in slaves. These are mentioned in the *Periplus*, but not south of Rās Hafūn, in modern Italian Somalia. For the trade questions in general, see G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The Medieval History of the Tanganyika Coast*, forthcoming in 1960 in *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, ch. I.

⁽⁸⁾The Hakluyt Society have granted permission for this quotation to be reprinted. Ed.

Once upon a time, when we sailed in these gulfs, bound for Further India and had almost crossed over to Barbaria, beyond which there is situated Zingium, as they term the mouth of the ocean, I saw there to the right of our course a great flight of birds which they call Souspha (sc. albatross), which are like kites, but somewhat more than twice their size⁽⁹⁾. The weather was there so very unsettled that we were all in alarm; for all the men of experience on board, whether passengers or sailors, all began to say that we were near the ocean and called out to the pilot: "Steer the ship to port⁽¹⁰⁾ and make for the gulf, or we shall be swept along by the currents and be carried into the ocean and be lost".

* * *

"The region which produces frankincense is situated at the projecting parts of Ethiopia, and lies inland, but is washed by the ocean on the other side. Hence the inhabitants of Barbaria, being near at hand, go up into the interior and, engaging in traffic with the natives, bring back from them many kinds of spices, frankincense, cassia, calamus, and many other articles of merchandise, which they afterwards send by sea to Adule, to the country of the Homerites, to Further India, and to Persia. This very fact you will find mentioned in the Book of Kings, where it is recorded that the Queen of Sheba, that is, of the Homerite country, whom afterwards our Lord in the Gospels calls the Queen of the South, brought to Solomon spices from this very Barbaria, which lay near Sheba on the other side of the sea, together with bars of ebony, and apes and gold from Ethiopia, which, though separated from Sheba by the Arabian Gulf, lay in its vicinity. We can see again from the words of the Lord that he calls these places the ends of the earth, saying: *The Queen of the South shall rise up in judgement with this generation and shall condemn it, for she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon*—Matt. xii, 42. For the Homerites are not far distant from Barbaria, as the sea which lies between them can be crossed in a couple of days, and then beyond Barbaria is the ocean, which there is called Zingium. The country known as that of Sasu is itself near the ocean, just as the ocean is near the frankincense country, in which there are many gold mines. The king of the Axumites accordingly, every other year, through the governor of Agau, sends thither special agents to bargain for the gold, and these are accompanied by many other traders—upwards, say, of five hundred—bound on the same errand as themselves. They take along with them to the mining district oxen, lumps of salt, and iron, and when they reach its neighbourhood they make a halt at a certain spot and form an encampment, which they fence round with a great hedge of thorns. Within this they live, and having slaughtered the oxen, cut them in pieces, and lay the pieces on top of the thorns, along with the lumps of salt and the iron. Then come the natives bringing gold in nuggets like peas, called *tencheras*, and lay one or two or more of these upon what pleases them—the pieces of flesh or the salt or the iron, and then they retire to some distance off. Then the owner of the meat approaches, and if he is satisfied he takes the gold away, and upon seeing this its owner

(⁹)We are doubtful whether this bird can really have been an Albatross as the latter are usually thought to be confined to the Southern hemisphere. Perhaps some reader can help in the identification. Ed.

(¹⁰)i.e., along the coast of S. Arabia. If only this storm had not taken place, we might have been better informed.

comes and takes the flesh or the salt or the iron. If, however, he is not satisfied, he leaves the gold, when the native seeing that he has not taken it, comes and either puts down more gold, or takes up what he had laid down, and goes away. Such is the mode in which business is transacted with the people of that country, because their language is different and interpreters are hardly to be found. The time they stay in that country is five days more or less, according as the natives more or less readily come forward to buy up all their wares. On the journey homeward they all agree to travel well-armed, since some of these tribes through whose country they must pass might threaten to attack them from a desire to rob them of their gold. The space of six months is taken up with this trading expedition, including both the going and returning. In going they march very slowly, chiefly because of the cattle, but in returning they quicken their pace lest on the way they should be overtaken by winter and its rains. For the sources of the river Nile lie somewhere in these parts, and in winter, on account of the heavy rains, the numerous rivers which they generate obstruct the path of the traveller. The people there have their winter at the time we have our summer. It begins in the month Epiphi (sc. July) and continues till Thoth (sc. September), and during the three months the rain falls in torrents, and makes a multitude of rivers all of which flow into the Nile."

* * *

Sasu, then is presumably some province of modern Ethiopia abutting upon Somaliland. As to Zingion, in the second passage it has become the name of the ocean itself, and is no longer the country that lies beyond Barbaria. If we know better, it is perhaps because we have had the opportunity that Cosmas, for all his adventurous voyages, lacked, nor are we obsessed, as he, that all those will be damned who do not believe the world to be flat.

A TRIBAL MAP OF TANGANYIKA

By Dr. P. H. Gulliver

The compilation of a "tribal map" immediately raises the question of what is a tribe, or, more correctly, what can we conveniently and usefully designate a tribe. Most people have a general idea which for many practical purposes serves well enough. Indeed it might even seem preferable to leave the concept merely as a rather general idea without attempting precise definition; and that ultimately is perhaps what we are compelled to do.

A generalised definition of "tribe" is that it is a group of people, possessing a common name, who are and recognise themselves to be relatively distinctive and different from their neighbours in their traditions, their way of life, their social system, culture and values, and their language. Such a group is often maintained as a fairly well integrated unit by an indigenous political system with its established boundaries to the tribal territory.

It is not easy immediately to pick a tribe of Tanganyika which fits all these criteria together. A reasonable example, however, is the Hehe of Iringa District. These people have a strong sense of being Hehe and not members of any greater, inclusive group; they have their own more or less distinctive social system and culture and they know a common tradition; they have a unifying political system under their paramount chief and fairly clear territorial boundaries. Nevertheless the way of life and even probably the social system under which they live together are not quite the same for those Hehe living in the drier, eastern areas as they are for those in the western uplands areas—both environment and distance create differences. There is also a discernable affinity, culturally and linguistically, with their Bena neighbours to the south; but there is, however, a greater unity and identity amongst the Hehe than there is with any other group of people, both in fact and (more importantly perhaps) in the subjective feelings of the people themselves. Although the group is subdivided into lesser political, social and regional sections, yet there is a quite definite practical unity in the all-embracing unit, the tribe.

There are other similar examples in Tanganyika; but if we consider certain other particular cases the position is less clear. Are the Haya of north-western Tanganyika a tribe? The virtually automatic response is that they are because of their common traditions, social system, culture and language and their territorial identity. Yet the Haya are divided amongst several quite independent chiefdoms—independent, that is, in that the rulers and members of one have no authority over those of another. Here then political unity is not an essential part of tribal identity in the face of a wider kind of unitary homogeneity and a subjective feeling by the people of a significant similarity.

The same conclusion applies to the Nyamwezi and Sukuma; but here there arises the problem of distinguishing between these two tribes which are in so many important ways closely similar and each of which contains quite significant local variations within itself which are roughly correlated with independent political sections. These sorts of similarities involve also the Sumbwa. The

Nyamwezi, "people of the moon", seem to be the people of the south, and Sukuma literally refers to "the people of the north". In the rather vague borderland between the two tribes there are people (or at least there were in earlier days) known as Nyamwezi by those living to the north of them and as Sukuma by those living to the south of them. Such apparent confusion has largely disappeared nowadays following the closer definition afforded under modern administrative arrangements. Nevertheless some confusion, or rather range of choice, still exists. For example, a man born of a Sumbwa father and Nyamwezi mother now lives with his mother's people in a Nyamwezi area because his father never gave bridewealth for his mother. This man, who holds an important ritual office, continues to call himself a Sumbwa. Another man living in an accepted Nyamwezi area and calling himself a Nyamwezi had parents who were both Sukuma. To which tribe do we allocate such men? Do we ignore the first man's claim to be a Sumbwa and accept the second man's claim to be a Nyamwezi? It seems that we must, for both live and act as Nyamwezi and both have accepted allegiance to a Nyamwezi political group⁽¹⁾.

When there is no indigenous, centralised political system the problem is often a great deal more difficult for we are denied, on the face of it, one of the simpler and clearer criteria, especially as to boundaries. In the Southern Province, for example, there is a group of people whom I have termed "Ngindo" on the map. There are distinct sub-groups such as the Ngindo proper, Ndonge, Magingo, Hamba and others. A man will claim that he is an Ndonge, not an Ngindo, and will (quite correctly) assert that the Ndonge have their own geographical area, albeit without definite boundaries, and that there are quite definite social and cultural differences between the two groups. Yet it is not easy to see wherein the Ndonge have a recognisable unity. Neither they nor the Ngindo proper have any political unity; in some areas people of both groups have long intermarried. In such a case, and there are many in Tanganyika, it seems preferable to assert the genuine, close similarity and the general, underlying, common culture, language, etc., and therefore to classify the two together with some others as "Ngindo": but there could be a rather different decision in this case and for good reasons perhaps. There remains, that is to say, a certain arbitrariness in definition and this must be acknowledged.

A final example, from the dozens that could be given, of the difficulties inherent in the task of definition is given by the case of the Ndendeuli of Songea District. The original Ndendeuli people had inhabited much of the area which was conquered by the Ngoni of the Mshope Chiefdom in the middle of the nineteenth century. These Ndendeuli were enslaved and thereafter intermarried with the rest of the serf population of this chiefdom—a population whose origins lay in tribes from all over southern Tanganyika, north-eastern Rhodesia and northern Portuguese East Africa, and who were taken captive in Ngoni wars. "Pure" Ndendeuli have not existed for two or three generations. During this same time the serf population and their Ngoni masters came to establish a social life, culture and language which drew on many and varied origins but which became common to all. Under the exigencies of shifting cultivation and through certain modern political weaknesses, the former serf population of the eastern half of the chiefdom gradually moved away from the Ngoni centre and the chief's

⁽¹⁾I am indebted to Mr. R. Abrahams for information in a private letter on the Nyamwezi situation.

influence and authority weakened. During this period the eastern population accepted conversion to Islam, whilst the western people became Christians. When a political crisis occurred over the succession to the chiefship, this eastern group rallied under the "tribal" name of Ndendeuli and sought and finally achieved political independence. Some of their leaders, be it noted, were sons of men captured by Ngoni in areas far from the chiefdom and far from the original Ndendeuli country. Independent Ndendeuli political arrangements were an imitation of those of their erstwhile rulers, whilst socially and culturally there continued to be little more than minor local differences between the Ndendeuli and their former fellow tribesmen of the now shrunken chiefdom. There was, however, an intense feeling by these people of being Ndendeuli, even where genealogically this was not strictly true; there was the fact of Islam as against Christianity; there was a strong notion of being different even though it was difficult to see precisely wherein the differences lay. I have decided, perhaps arbitrarily, to call the present Ndendeuli a separate tribe and to follow the political boundaries of their tribal territory as established in 1954. Clearly however they are not the same tribe as the original Ndendeuli of the first half of the nineteenth century who might justifiably have been classified as a sub-group of the Ngindo.

Further examples might be interesting, and most persons with particular local knowledge will find problems of the definition of the tribe. The point is, however, that to be useful a working definition of "tribe" must be flexible. A list of the criteria comprising a definition—like those given on pages 69-71—should be so used that where most, but not necessarily all, are to be found together they will delimit the tribe. In some case a more or less arbitrary decision may be required and then such a decision will depend on the particular purposes of, classifying peoples by tribe.

Some anthropologists, despairing of formulating any definition that is at all stable and useful, have declared that the final, decisive factor lies in the subjective feelings of the people themselves. That is to say, it is their feeling of belonging to the group of largest unity, and their feeling of dissimilarity from neighbouring groups despite some recognised affinities, which delimits the tribes and its boundaries. This, though an extremely useful key, does not seem entirely adequate for such feelings are sometimes liable to change from time to time and in different contexts. To revert to a previous example: the Ndonde might well emphasise their distinctiveness with respect to the Ngindo, though in many respects they would agree to close similarity; they would, however, certainly emphasise their similarity to the Ngindo *vis-a-vis* their southern neighbours, the Makua and Yao. An outside observer may perhaps take a broader view than an Ndonde is able to do and decide to be swayed rather by the mass of similarities than by the relatively few differences.

It has been suggested that instead of "tribe" another term should be used, such as "ethnic group". This is mere quibbling and solves none of the problems though it may have the appearance of erudition. It is preferable to retain the older term, "tribe", for which there is often a fairly good synonym in African languages. The concept of classifying the African peoples of Tanganyika by "tribe" is suggested by palpably obvious facts of similarities, differences, names and territories. It affords a useful way of ordering the facts for certain purposes so long as there is proper recognition of its difficulties and defects.

THE NATURE OF THE TRIBES OF TANGANYIKA

It must not be thought that the tribes of the territory are all necessarily of great or equal antiquity, or that they have remained constant over a long period. Whatever may be the case elsewhere in the continent, Eastern Africa has been particularly a field of considerable human movement, intermingling and re-grouping. It is not usual that we can give even approximate datings to the histories of Tanganyika's tribes. Accounts of a people's origins and history are invariably an oral tradition which certainly cannot be accepted as it stands as factually true, both because of fallible human memory and because of conscious and unconscious modification of accounts to fit present facts and aspirations. Pre-literate and primitive ideas of chronology are notoriously suspect. Where a pre-historical legend is particularly strong we should of course give it weight; where the legends of several tribes show common features we should take due note. In no case however should we take them entirely at face value.

It is also important that we do not entertain ideas of a tribe being somehow a racial group with "pure blood". Just as the English are a bastard people comprised of a large variety of physical strains, so are most, indeed probably all, of the tribes of Tanganyika. It is true that at an impressionistic level we may perceive certain physical types pertaining to certain tribes; but such impressions are rarely entirely borne out by precise examination and they are often biased by emotional conceptions and by the appearances of modes of dress and decoration. For example, the Masai are sometimes asserted to be of distinctive physical type, and yet it is clear that for long the Masai have married Bantu women and have accepted Bantu immigrants into their tribe. The particular bearing and demeanour of these people, and their dress and habits, tend to give a general impression of a particular physical character. The Masai still very seldom give up their traditional style, but it is instructive to see a young Arusha man who, virtually indistinguishable from his Masai comrade, takes to shirt and shorts, cuts off his pigtails and eschews the use of red ochre: there is a remarkable transformation which seems to create a new physical character and the young Arusha becomes like many another African man⁽²⁾. Some Arusha alternate with rather startling rapidity between the old style and the new.

Nevertheless, having pointed out the dangers of impressionism and the falsity of correlating tribe with race or physical characteristics, there is no need to deny that certain individual physical traits are sometimes discernable regionally and associated with particular tribes. That is to say that such traits are rather more evident there than elsewhere.

Many of the present-day tribes of Tanganyika are known with reasonable certainty to be amalgams of peoples of diverse origins. To mention a few examples only: the Chagga are composed of the descendants of immigrants of Pare, Taita, Kamba, Kikuyu, Sambaa, Masai and other origins who settled on the lower slopes of Kilimanjaro many generations ago—differing combinations of these immigrants are at least partly responsible for the still-existing cultural and linguistic differences between the various parts of Chaggaland. The Gogo comprise the descendants of immigrants into the present tribal area from all sides and diverse origins are remembered locally. The Bondei comprise

(2) Commonly the Arusha does not cut off his pigtails but merely hides them temporarily under a trilby hat.

descendants of people of Sambia, Zigua and Digo origins and the tribe can scarcely have existed as such in the early part of the nineteenth century. The Ngoni of today are made up of people whose origins cover an area from the Indian Ocean to west of Lake Nyasa. The so-called Nyasa of the Songea District lake littoral are still stumbling towards some kind of unity and uniformity born of common economic pursuits, a clear geographical definition and modern political requirements. They are a mixture of immigrants to the area from several tribes, some matrilineal and some patrilineal, with varying traditions and ways of life. The case of the Ndendeuli has been mentioned already. Tribes are not permanent entities; they have changed considerably as far as we know, though for many the evidence is too indefinite for any conclusion. They will still change again under new, modern circumstances. Colonial administrators have notoriously tended to freeze the tribal pattern which happened to exist as they took over control and established boundaries and authorities on a tribal basis; but conversely they have tended to influence the federation of related neighbours, to permit large-scale shifts of population and to create the circumstances for the emergence of new tribal groupings.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE TRIBES OF TANGANYIKA

Using the flexible, working definition of "tribe", and recognising frankly that a certain arbitrariness remains in some cases, there are identified on the accompanying map 106 separate tribes; and in addition there are another three tribes (Hi, Karanga, Twa) whose areas are too small to be shown on the map. There are a further three tribes (Dorobo, Rongo, Taturu) which are nowadays scattered in other tribal areas but which still seem to retain a degree of distinctiveness, a remnant of tribal identity; and there are also some ill-defined groups such as Shirazi, Swahili and Tusi. Finally there are some non-Tanganyika tribes, fairly large numbers of which are scattered in the territory, e.g. Bajuni, Kamba, Manyema, Mawia. (See the alphabetical list of tribes at pages 70-72.)

It is useful in some ways to establish a simplifying classification of this large number of tribes; but it must be stated immediately that present knowledge is quite inadequate to permit an entirely satisfactory system. Ethnological and ethnographic data are still insufficient and unreliable for many parts of Tanganyika.

The commonest method of classification is on linguistic grounds, for this is simplest and here the greatest certainty exists. But there is no reason why people who speak related languages should necessarily be related closely in tradition, social organisation and culture, nor do such peoples themselves always perceive much similarity. Linguistic classification provides the categories of Nilotes, Nilo-Hamites, Click-speakers and Bantu, with one still unidentified category. The only representative of the Nilotes are the Luo of North Mara District, whose traditional home is in Kenya where the bulk of the tribe still lives. The Nilo-Hamites⁽³⁾ comprise the Masai, Kwavi and Barabaig. The Click-speakers are Sandawe and Hadzapi, though their languages are but distantly

⁽³⁾The term "Nilo-Hamitic" is now in some disrepute because of incorrect implications of "Hamitic". These languages are essentially very close to the Nilotic ones. Nevertheless the term is an old one and well known and I venture to continue to use it here.

related. The unclassified group contains the Iraqw, Burungi and Gorowa⁽⁴⁾. The remainder of the tribes of Tanganyika speak Bantu languages, and this alone indicates the rather slight value of this purely linguistic classification.

Quite apart from the unhelpfully large category of Bantu-speakers, even so small a group as the Nilo-Hamites shows little significant coherence. Masai and Kwavi are probably as similar in other ways as they are linguistically, but the Barabaig (as far as is known, that is) show relatively few similarities other than their strong, conservative attachment to pastoralism. The Barabaig language is in fact considerably different from that of the Masai and there is no question of mutual comprehension between the two peoples. Relating to this category too there are the Arusha who speak a dialect of Masai although physically they are predominantly of Bantu origin, whilst they have a particular combination of very close similarities socially with the Masai and equally striking differences. Neat classification in their case is impossible.

Amongst the large mass of the Bantu-speaking peoples, involving nearly 90 per cent of the area and well over 90 per cent of the people, there have in the past been conscientious efforts at further classification. In the main these efforts have been based on a somewhat indefinite compromise of similarities in language, tradition and present culture, with a strong element of geographical grouping where other data are inadequate. Such an attempt might produce something like the following:—

COASTAL BANTU:

Digo, Bondei, Sambia, Zigua, together with the Pokomo, Duruma, and Giriama of eastern Kenya.

Luguru group: Luguru, Ngulu and Kaguru (with their indigenous matrilineal system).

“HAMITICISED” BANTU:

North eastern group: Chagga, Meru, Pare, together with Kikuyu, Kamba and Taita of Kenya.

Rift Valley group: Iramba, Turu and possibly Irangi.

Gogo: the Gogo remain virtually unclassified.

INTERLACUSTRINE BANTU:

Ha, Haya, Subi, Hangaza, Rundi, Ruanda, together with the peoples of the Baganda and Western Provinces of Uganda.

WESTERN BANTU:

Nyamwezi: Nyamwezi, Sukuma, Sumbwa, and possibly some of the tribes of Kigoma and Mpanda Districts.

Rukwa: Fipa, Safwa, Nyiha and other small tribes of south-western Tanganyika.

North Nyasa: Nyakyusa, Ndali, together with Ngonde of northern Nyasaland.

East Nyasa: Kinga, Pangwa, Matengo.

Upper Rufiji: Hehe, Bena, Sangu, and possibly Pogoro.

⁽⁴⁾The languages of these tribes used to be tentatively termed Hamitic, but Dr. W. H. Whiteley, the authority on them, denies this classification.

ROVUMA BANTU:

Makonde, Makua, Matambwe, Yao (a second group of matrilineal tribes, but whether there are other good reasons for grouping them together is not clear).

Only the larger tribes have been mentioned in this tentative classification and there are some conspicuous absences through sheer ignorance of the facts. Perhaps unsatisfactory as it clearly is, it may yet offer a simplification of the large mass of separate tribes.

Any classification depends, of course, on the criteria used and the aims to be served. It would be possible, and useful for certain purposes, to classify by sociological criteria; e.g. the matrilineal peoples, those with centralised political systems, those with significant lineage systems, etc. Or classification could be based on economic considerations:—hunters, pastoralists, pastoral-agriculturalists, pure agriculturalists. Although it is more usual to attempt classification on the grounds of common tradition, language and geographical proximity, it is not necessarily the most profitable or illuminating scheme.

THE MAP

There have been previous attempts to show the tribal disposition in Tanganyika, notably in the *Atlas of Tanganyika* but also elsewhere. None have been entirely satisfactory and all have been inaccurate in part. One of the chief defects has been that hitherto maps have shown the whole territory neatly divided out amongst tribal areas such that there is no land which is not part of some tribal territory and, seemingly, no tribe has an ill-defined territory. This is, of course, patently not a correct reflection of the actual situation on the ground and this has been acknowledged; but the maps as they stand continue to give wrong impressions. Clearly there are in Tanganyika substantial areas which are quite uninhabited and have been so for many generations at least: other areas, now uninhabited, have become so in modern times. In some of these areas hunting and gathering rights are enjoyed by some tribes, but large tracts are scarcely claimed even in this fashion. Again in many areas, and they are increasing in number as ease and frequency of movement grows nowadays, members of two or more tribes are the local inhabitants—sometimes each tribe trying to retain its own identity, sometimes a new (perhaps composite) culture and allegiance emerging. In certain well-known areas of African employment (such as the Tanga region) erstwhile labour migrants from a multitude of tribes have settled on adjacent tribal lands, even locally outnumbering the local, indigenous inhabitants⁽⁵⁾.

In the map here presented a conscious effort has been made to show the following significant features:—(1) the main areas of residence, cultivation and pasture-lands of the various tribes, by a variety of hatchings; (2) the main areas where there is an intermingling of peoples of different tribes, by the interpenetration of hatchings; (3) the main areas which are currently uninhabited, by the absence of any shading; (4) the main areas which have been alienated to non-African peoples, by black shading. It may be noted that no specific

⁽⁵⁾Where the numbers of such immigrant settlers are important (at least about 15 per cent of the population) this has been noted in the Numerical List of tribes by suffixing a mark.* It is not possible to give the names of all the tribal origins involved in these cases.

boundaries are indicated, and also that virtually wherever two tribes adjoin there will in fact be a certain degree of intermingling of the peoples even where such is not especially shown on the map.

It is believed and hoped that this map is reasonably correct, but it is acknowledged that there may be some inaccuracies for it has not been possible to check fully the data for every region. Valuable assistance has been given by various people, as indicated in my acknowledgements. It must be recognised also that the relatively small scale of the map (1:3,000,000) has not made it possible to attempt to indicate every small, local detail; but, apart from the printing and publishing problems, it is doubtful whether a larger scale map would have increased its real usefulness. Some further refinement would have been possible, but the data is not available for all areas which would have been required for a larger scale drawing.

The hatchings have significance *only* in order to distinguish and differentiate adjacent tribal areas. The number of clear variations of black and white hatchings is necessarily limited and the fact that, on the map, two separated areas have the same hatching is of no significance at all. Similarly the numbering of tribes is purely arbitrary and for identification purposes only.

Territorial, provincial and district boundaries, the main rivers and the chief towns have been added to the map to assist geographical identification. Where hatchings are taken across the territorial boundaries, this indicates merely that the tribal areas concerned stretch across the boundaries. There has been no attempt to show the limits of such tribal areas in the neighbouring territories.

In two special cases the letter A has been appended to an identification number. This is my compromise solution to the problem of indicating a particularly close similarity between two tribes; i.e. between Makonde 43 and Mawia 43A, and between Haya 75 and Nyambo 75A. In each case there are good arguments for the inclusion of the second group within the first (Mawia as Makonde, and Nyambo as Haya) but common usage and certain significant differences seemed to compel differentiation in this way. In other cases, too, there has been room for doubt—whether some group of people are sufficiently like their neighbour to be reckoned as a single tribe together with that neighbour, or whether they are sufficiently different to be designated a separate tribe.

There are two features which the map does not show. It does not refer at all to the African population of the urban areas or of the labour camps on estates, farms and mines. Secondly, no reference to population densities is involved in the cartographical demarcation of tribal areas as contrasted with uninhabited areas: densities do in fact range from one or two people to at least 1,500 people per square mile in Tanganyika.

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TRIBAL MAP OF TANGANYIKA



W. Whiteley (south-eastern Tanganyika), and J. Woodburn (Singida District and the Hadzapi). To all these I am gratefully indebted and trust that I have used their information correctly.

The final version of the map has been drawn by the Department of Lands and Surveys, Dar es Salaam, to which grateful thanks are expressed.

LIST OF TRIBES

In the following lists, following conventional anthropological practice, linguistic affixes have been ignored in tribal names; e.g. "Zaramo" and not "Wazaramo". Where both singular and plural forms exist, the plural is taken; e.g. "(il) Masai" and not "(ol) Masinda".

The norm is to take the name which the people of a tribe use for themselves, but occasionally a name of long European usage has been preferred for the sake of clarity. The accepted spelling of some tribal names does not accurately reflect the phonetic form of that name, and again long usage has been allowed preference. Alternative names are given in brackets in the numerical list if such names are sufficiently well known or if they have been used in publications.

Lists of tribal names are given both in numerical order as they appear on the map, and alphabetically for easy two-way reference. Some explanatory notes are given to elucidate the two lists, and reference to these is indicated by roman numerals in brackets after the tribal name.

NUMERICAL LIST

An asterisk after a tribal name indicates that there are large numbers of African immigrant settlers in the territory of that tribe.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Luo | 24. Segeju |
| 2. Kuria | 25. Bondei* |
| 3. Suba (i) | 26. Zigua* (v) |
| 4. Kwaya (ii) | 27. Kwavi (vi) |
| 5. Jita (ii) | 28. Ngulu (sometimes known as
Nguu or Nguru) |
| 6. Kerewe (ii) | 29. Kaguru |
| 7. Kara (iii) | 30. Doe |
| 8. Shashi | 31. Kwere |
| 9. Zanaki | 32. Zaramo |
| 10. Ikizu | 33. Luguru |
| 11. Ikoma | 34. Sagara* |
| 12. Nguruimi | 35. Ndengereko |
| 13. Sonjo | 36. Rufiji |
| 14. Masai | 37. Kutu |
| 15. Arusha (iv)* | 38. Vidunda |
| 16. Meru (iv)* | 39. Matumbi |
| 17. Chagga | 40. Mwera |
| 18. Kahe* | 41. Machinga |
| 19. Arusha Chini* (own name:
Kuma) | 42. Ngindo (vii) |
| 20. Pare | 43. Makonde |
| 21. Sambaa (own name: Shambala) | 43A. Mawia (viii) |
| 22. Mbugu | 44. Matambwe (ix) |
| 23. Digo* | 45. Makua |

NUMERICAL LIST—(contd.)

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| 46. Yao | 75. Haya |
| 47. Ndendeuli | 75A. Nyambo |
| 48. Ngoni | 76. Ruanda (xii) |
| 49. Matengo | 77. Hangaza |
| 50. Nyasa (x) | 78. Subi |
| 51. Pangwa | 79. Rundi (xii) |
| 52. Bena | 80. Ha |
| 53. Ngoni of Mpepo (xi) | 81. Jiji, Rundi, Ha admixture* |
| 54. Pogoro | 82. Vinza |
| 55. Ndamba | 83. Tongwe |
| 56. Mbunga | 84. Holoholo |
| 57. Hehe | 85. Bende* (xiii and xiv) |
| 58. Gogo | 86. Konongo (xiv) |
| 59. Turu | 87. Pimbwe (xiv) |
| 60. Sandawe | 88. Rungwa (xiv) |
| 61. Burungi | 89. Fipa |
| 62. Rangi, with admixture of Wasi | 90. Rungu |
| 63. Barabaig (sometimes known as
Mangati or Tatog) | 91. Kimbu |
| 64. Iraqw (sometimes known as
Mbulu) | 92. Nyika (xv) |
| 65. Gorowa (sometimes known as
Fiome) | 93. Wanda |
| 66. Mbugwe | 94. Mambwe |
| 67. Hadzapi (sometimes known as
Kindiga or Tindiga) | 95. Nyamwanga |
| 68. Isanzu | 96. Nyiha (xvi) |
| 69. Iambi | 97. Wungu |
| 70. Iramba | 98. Safwa (xvi) |
| 71. Sukuma | 99. Sangu |
| 72. Nyamwezi | 100. Wanji |
| 73. Sumbwa | 101. Kinga |
| 74. Zinza | 102. Nyakyusa |
| | 103. Kisi (xvii) |
| | 104. Ndali |
| | 105. Malila |
| | 106. Lambia |

ALPHABETICAL LIST

Numbers after tribal names are map references; where no number is given the tribe is too small to be shown on the map. Alternative tribal names are included in this list.

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------|
| Arusha 15 | Chagga 17 |
| Arusha Chini 19 | Digo 23 |
| Bajuni (xviii) | Doe 30 |
| Barabaig 63 | Dorobo (xix) |
| Baraguyu 27 | Fiome 65 |
| Bena 52 | Fipa 89 |
| Bende 85 | Gogo 58 |
| Bondei 25 | Gorowa 65 |
| Burungi 61 | Ha 80 |

ALPHABETICAL LIST—(contd.)

- | | |
|----------------|--------------------|
| Hadzapi 67 | Mbulu 64 |
| Hamba 42 | Mbugwe 66 |
| Hangaza 77 | Mbunga 56 |
| Haya 75 | Meru 16 |
| Hehe 57 | Mwera (coastal) 40 |
| Hi (xx) | Mwera (Nyasa) 50 |
| Holoholo 84 | Ndali 104 |
| Iambi 69 | Ndamba 55 |
| Ikizu 10 | Ndendeuli 47 |
| Ikoma 11 | Ndengereko 35 |
| Iramba 70 | Ndonde 42 |
| Iraqw 64 | Ngindo 42 |
| Isanzu 68 | Ngoni (Songea) 48 |
| Jiji 81 | Ngoni (Mpepo) 53 |
| Kaguru 29 | Ngulu 28 |
| Kahe 18 | Nguru 28 |
| Kara 7 | Nguruimi 12 |
| Karanga (xxi) | Nguu 28 |
| Kerewe 6 | Nindi 50 |
| Kimbu 91 | Nyakyusa 102 |
| Kindiga 67 | Nyambo 75A |
| Kinga 101 | Nyamwanga 95 |
| Kisi 103 | Nyamwezi 72 |
| Konongo 86 | Nyasa 50 |
| Kuma 19 | Nyiha 96 |
| Kuria 2 | Nyika 92 |
| Kutu 37 | Pangwa 51 |
| Kwavi 27 | Pare 20 |
| Kwaya 4 | Pimbwe 87 |
| Kwere 31 | Pogoro 54 |
| Lambia 106 | Rangi 62 |
| Loikop 27 | Rongo (xxiii) |
| Luguru 33 | Ruanda 76 |
| Luo 1 | Rufiji 36 |
| Machinga 41 | Rundi 79 |
| Magingo 42 | Rungu 90 |
| Makonde 43 | Rungwa 88 |
| Makua 45 | Safwa 98 |
| Malila 105 | Sagara 34 |
| Mambwe 94 | Sambaa 21 |
| Mangati 63 | Sandawe 60 |
| Manyema (xxii) | Sangu 99 |
| Masai 14 | Segeju 24 |
| Matambwe 44 | Shashi 8 |
| Matengo 49 | Shirazi (xxiv) |
| Matumbi 39 | Simbiti 3 (i) |
| Mawia 43A | Sonjo 13 |
| Mbugu 22 | Suba 3 |

ALPHABETICAL LIST—(*contd.*)

Subi 78	Vidunda 38
Sukuma 71	Vinza 82
Sumbwa 73	Wanda 93
Swahili (xxv)	Wanji 100
Tatog 63	Wasi 62
Taturu (xxvi)	Wungu 97
Tindiga 67	Yao 46
Tongwe 83	Zanaki 9
Turu 59	Zaramo 32
Tusi (xxvii)	Zigua 26
Twa (xxviii)	Zinza 74

EXPLANATORY NOTES

(i) SUBA are reported as a people of mixed Luo and Kuria origins. The easternmost section, SIMBITI, are particularly closely related to Kuria.

(ii) KWAYA, JITA and KERWE are reported to be closely related, especially the first two who are probably a single people divided into two chiefdoms.

(iii) KARA are reported to be closely related to Jita.

(iv) African immigrant settlers in the ARUSHA and MERU areas are almost entirely confined to the lowest altitudes.

(v) African immigrant settlers in the ZIGUA area are confined to the coastal region in Pangani District.

(vi) KWAVI is a Bantu name given to the Nilo-Hamitic precursors of the Masai. They call themselves LOIKOP in the Handeni District and BARAGUYU in the Kilosa and Mpwapwa Districts, although they have a tribal unity. Another commonly used name for them is LUMBWA, the Masai term. They tend to occupy the hilly and less fertile areas adjacent to neighbouring Bantu peoples, Kaguru and Ngulu.

(vii) NGINDO is the recognised, overall name for the NGINDO PROPER together with the NDONDE (east of middle Mbenkuru river), MAGINGO and HAMBA.

(viii) MAWIA are a people of Portuguese East Africa, living to the south of the lower Rovuma river. They are part of the Makonde group. They have moved into all the main employment areas of Tanganyika as migrant labourers.

(ix) MATAMBWE live along both banks of the lower Rovuma river, and are related to the Makonde.

(x) NYASA is a recently coined name for the heterogeneous group of people, mainly fishermen, who live along the shores of Lake Nyasa in Songea District. They comprise the so-called MWERA immigrants from the south (Yao, Chewa, etc.) and NINDI, MATENGO, NGONI and PANGWA immigrants from the east and north. Although a notion of tribal unity is appearing there remain quite important cultural differences between the more northerly and the more southerly inhabitants of this littoral.

(xi) MPEPO NGONI of southern Ulanga District originated in a dynastic war and subsequent breakaway from the Mshope chiefdom of the Songea Ngoni in about 1880. In the main both people and culture are of Ndendeuli origin.

(xii) RUANDA and RUNDI are the commoner, agricultural class in the kingdoms of those names in Ruanda-Urundi, and are known there as HUTU. Large numbers have migrated across the borders into the Kasulu and Kibondo Districts (Ha area), Kigoma District and Bukoba District (Haya area), and large numbers have gone as migrant labourers to all the main employment areas of Tanganyika, where many have settled on adjacent African lands (cf. xxvii).

(xiii) The main area of the BENDE is around Mpanda township; but they are in a numerical minority there amongst immigrants from Fipa, Konongo, Pimbwe and other areas.

(xiv) BENDE, KONONGO, PIMBWE and RUNGWA have been compulsorily confined to certain cleared areas in the Mpanda Districts under the anti-sleeping sickness programme. Each group now inhabits one or more of these restricted areas, but formerly they lived thinly scattered in the extensive bushlands of that region. They still gather honey and hunt in the uninhabited lands.

(xv) NYIKA are reported scarcely to have a distinct territory of their own. In the northern part of the country they occupy there are large numbers of Fipa who are in the majority locally; in the southern part there are large numbers of Wanda.

(xvi) In NYIHA and SAFWA areas are numbers of largely unassimilated Nyakyusa emigrants from Rungwe District who comprise at least one tenth of the population in each case.

(xvii) KISI are a small tribe living on the Ikombe peninsular and on other, smaller peninsulars and tiny lake-side settlements around the northern and north-eastern shores of Lake Nyasa.

(xviii) Scattered, small numbers of BAJUNI live along the north-eastern sea coast, intermingled with Swahili. They originate from north-eastern Kenya.

(xix) Scattered, small numbers of DOROBO are found throughout Masailand, some living with the Masai and some in their own settlements. They are wandering hunters and gatherers and are also found in the forests adjacent to the Nandi-speaking peoples of Kenya. Other primitive hunters and gatherers such as the Hadzapi and Hi are sometimes wrongly designated as Dorobo.

(xx) HI (Sukuma name; own name not known) are a tiny group of click-speaking hunters and gatherers living near the south-western shores of Lake Eyasi. They appear to be closely related to the Hadzapi and number perhaps only 100 people.

(xxi) KARANGA are a small group in Kigoma District.

(xxii) MANYEMA are a people of the Belgian Congo, west of Lake Tanganyika. Numbers of them have settled in the Kigoma area, and as freed slaves and as labour migrants many of them have settled in coastal regions.

(xxiii) RONGO are a nomadic, Bantu people, notable as blacksmiths and hunters, who have now settled down as cultivators in the Geita District.

(xxiv) SHIRAZI are allegedly descendants of the ancient Persian migrants from Shiraz who established settlements in various places along the coast. Today, however, these people are intermixed with other Swahili peoples and are more correctly African in race, speech and culture.

(xxv) SWAHILI is a general term for coastal, detribalised Africans with a Moslem-orientated culture. Such people are the descendants of generations of slaves, war-captives, Afro-Arab half-castes and migrant labourers. Few men claim Swahili as a tribal name for it is preferred to use that of paternal or maternal forbears, as is most convenient. Because of its common application to detribalised Moslem Africans, the term is increasingly used also to refer to ex-migrant labourers who settle in or near employment areas, and to members of tribes anywhere who are converted to Islam.

(xxvi) TATURU are a small tribe scattered in Manyoni, Musoma, Nzega and Shinyanga Districts. Presumably tribal unity does not exist today.

(xxvii) TUSI are the aristocratic, ruling class of the Kingdoms of Ruanda and Rundi (cf. xii). They are pre-eminently cattle keepers as distinct from their agricultural subjects. They have migrated across territorial borders into the northern part of Western Province.

(xxviii) TWA are a tiny group of fishing people inhabiting the swamps of the Malagarasi region, and numbering less than 1,000.

THE STORY OF THE WAWUNGU

By Mwene Karolo Ilonga II bin Sasawata

Translated from the Swahili by F. G. Finch

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

Not many of the tribes of Tanganyika, especially the smaller tribes, can be fortunate enough to have a written history even of the most notable events in the tribal story. The original of the present work was written by Mwene Ilonga in 1951. It is a valuable record and I hope that readers of *Tanganyika Notes and Records* will find it as interesting and enjoyable to read as I have found it to translate.

Perhaps I should say a brief word about the Wawungu. They are the most important and numerous tribe in Chunya District. At the 1957 census their total numbers were 19,105. Although the tribal area is in excess of two thousand square miles in extent, the vast majority of the tribe live in the fertile plains to the south-east of Lake Rukwa. I hope the map will make this clear and show where the main actions of the story took place.

I am much in debt to Messrs. H. L. Foster and S. Whitmore whose initial work on the translation was of great assistance to me. An article by Mr. P. J. C. Ellis in issue number 47/48 of this journal gives a version of the tribal history by an Mbungu tribesman. This version is rather less full and detailed than the present history written by the Chief.

The usual difficulties of translation have been encountered. I must confess that much of the following may more correctly be called a paraphrase than a translation. However I have done my best to preserve some of the flavour of Mwene Ilonga's exciting Swahili version.

I would like to express my thanks to Mr. A. J. Michell of the Mines Department, Chunya, for his help in preparing the maps, and also to Messrs. C. B. Edwards and G. L. Coetzee of the Western Rift Exploration Company, Chunya, for taking and processing the photographs.

F. G. FINCH

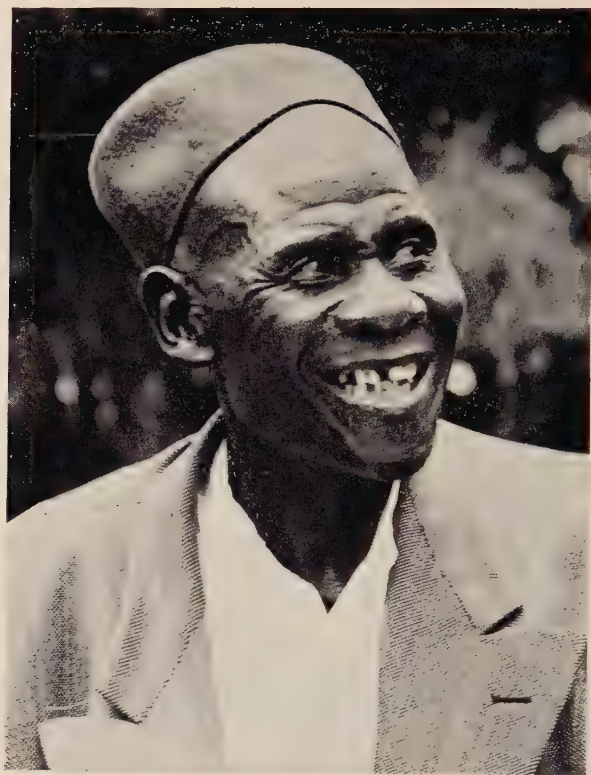
AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

All the stories that I have written in this work were told to me by my mother and father. Both my parents were very well known in the country of Uwungu and both were of the chiefly clan of the country and married within that clan. Both were famed for their knowledge of the history of their people and were fond of relating these happenings. The stories themselves have been handed down from generation to generation until the present day.

My purpose in writing this history down has been so that it should be of use and assistance to our Wawungu children who will come after us. From this work they will be able to learn how the Wawungu came to rule this country and how that rule has gone on and lasted to the present day.

MWENE ILONGA II BIN SASAWATA
4 December 1951

MWAMBANI, UWUNGU



Mwene Ilonga—the Author



View north from Mwambani village, showing the flat valley floor and the fall of the Rift

THE STORY OF THE WAWUNGU AND THEIR COUNTRY

CHAPTER I.—*The First Journey*

The Wawungu spring from the Wasagara tribe who live near the East Coast. A long time ago there lived in Usagara a great man whose name was Wangu and who was much respected. He was a great warrior and one day he summoned the men of his army and said "I am tired of this country. Usagara is no good for us, so I suggest we leave and travel far away until we find a fine piece of country that we can conquer and make our own." This was most acceptable to his audience who were overjoyed with the idea. They prepared for their journey, got together their weapons, which were spears, shields, and bows and arrows, and all, under Wangu set out towards the west. It is said that their journey took two years before they finally arrived in the area round Kipembawe and since the Chief of that country received them kindly, they made temporary quarters there.

For three years they remained, hunting wild animals and gathering honey, resting after their journey. They remained on very good terms with the Chief of Kipembawe, who seeing that they were giants at the art of war, had every hope that they would remain and become his allies in his conflicts with his enemies and protect his country from attack. He therefore helped them in every way he could.

In the course of their hunting expeditions these Wasagara went far afield and one day they saw in the distance a prominent hill which attracted their attention. So they decided to make for it since it looked a promising place for meat and honey. So they went on, and reaching it, climbed to the top. From here they saw before them country both expansive and inviting. It was covered with forest and there was plentiful water, and in the forest were trees producing latex. Then, looking towards the west, they saw a lake lying in the flat plain in the distance. As they liked the place, they made a more detailed examination. They went everywhere, into the forest, and along some small streams which ran down the hillside, and wherever they went they saw neither tracks nor any other sign of human habitation. Deciding, therefore that it was indeed uninhabited they elatedly recognized that they had found for themselves a country which they could rule without being the subjects of anyone else. So they at once set to and started to build a camp there for themselves and for their leader, Wangu.

Wangu was himself still at Kipembawe, and, as soon as they had finished building the camps, the hunters returned to him, bringing the great news of their discovery. They had set off with joy in their hearts and smiles of pleasure on their lips, and after a three-day march arrived back at Kipembawe. There, after resting for a little while, they went to their leader with presents of meat and honey. They were received in the customary way, and when they had seated themselves in front of him told him their news. Wangu was overcome with delight, and he jumped about, shouting with joy. He quickly called all the people, and, when they had assembled, told the travellers to tell of their discovery. This they did and afterwards there was so much shouting and rejoicing, so much dancing and noise that the Kipembawe people were quite overcome with fear and thought that perhaps their guests were planning a sudden attack on them.

Next day Wangu, with his elders, took presents to the Chief of Kipembawe and bade farewell to the dear friend who had received them with such kindness. Standing before him Wangu said "Beloved Chief, you know well that I and my army are travellers; we cannot stay in one place for ever and it is now five years

since we left our homes. Even here in your country we have only been resting, and now we must move on. Accept these small presents, and do not forget me. I, too, remembering all you have done for me will never forget you. Perhaps in the future, when I am tired of journeying, I may return here to your country, and then, I beg you, do not reject me." The Chief of Kipembawe was very sorry to part with the guests who had lived with him for so long without making any trouble. But he had no strength to prevent their departure and so they bade each other a joyful farewell.

CHAPTER II.—*Mwene Wangu*

When all the preparations for the journey had been made, Wangu gave the order for everyone to shoulder his load, and all, men, women and children set out, and after a march of four days, reached the hill. There, those who had been before showed them round and pointed out all the landmarks, specially Lake Rukwa at the bottom of the valley. Everyone was delighted with the place. Later, they started the business of building a village and a strong fort, and round them they dug a deep and broad ditch. When they had finished, Wangu called the village "Kwimba" and to this day it is still known by that name.

The food-relish which these Wasagara used at their new village was a large slug-like creature which was found to be plentiful on and around the hill. These were called *mawungu*.

News of the village soon spread and many people from different parts and various tribes came to live there. Thus the Wasagara decided to make their leader the ruler of the place, that is to anoint him with the fat of lions and to confer upon him the title of "Mwene" for, since their departure from their old home he had been no more than their military leader. This was agreed upon by everyone and the title conferred was "Mwene Wangu, the great ruler of Kwimba".

In those days the Wasagara used to wear garments made from the skins of wild animals; but their neighbours who lived in the Rukwa valley, the Wamembe and Wasanganzila, used to grow cotton⁽¹⁾ and weave clothes from it. So the Wasagara decided to barter their *mawungu* relish for cotton. This trade progressed over three years and so they were able to discard their old clothing of skins. It also brought them into contact with the Wamembe so much that they learnt their language and became friends. The Wamembe were at that time occupying the land round the shores of the Lake.

As time went by, Mwene Wangu became the ruler of many prosperous subjects but he removed his love of them from his heart. He would say "today I would like to kill someone" and with a loud voice would call for the man he wanted to kill to come to his house, which was built on the edge of the steep cliffs of the mountain. The victim would come and say "Mwene, oh Mwene, great Mwene" to which Wangu would reply "Come here, my son, draw closer, I have something to say to you." The man would do as he was ordered and Wangu would then seize him, pick him up and throw him over the cliffs. And his body would be dashed to pieces on the rocks below.

Mwene Wangu continued his cruel practices and oppressed his people for a long time. His elders begged him to change his ways, but in vain. Their complaints only increased his tortures and oppressions.

(1) Cotton was of course unknown. Mwene Ilonga here alludes to the tree cotton of the kapok. (Trans.

There was, however, at Kwimba, a man called Changwa, an Msichela by tribe, from the Iwanda country. One day Mwene Wangu chose him for the usual murderous treatment and called him—"Changwa, Changwa", and Changwa replied "Mwene, great chief, I am your servant, I come at your bidding". The chief went on calling for him, coaxing him with sweet words. Changwa answered again "Oh Mwene, just wait a little for me so that I may finish eating." Then he said goodbye to his wife and children and tucked his clothes carefully around him in a manly way, and went up to the chief. When Wangu saw him coming he was glad, and said, as usual, "Come, my son, draw near that I may speak to you". Changwa came towards him saying, "It is I; I have come." Thereupon Wangu grabbed him and dragged him to the edge of the cliff. But just as he was about to cast him over, Changwa seized him by the arms and not one, but both of them, rolled over to their deaths.

In the village the people bewailed Changwa's death and there was great mourning. But nearly everyone rejoiced over the death of Wangu. They praised Changwa for his great sacrifice and so revered was his name that until very recent times when people went to sacrifice on Mount Kwimba they would call on him, saying, "Changwa, Changwa, open for us the gate". And they made the spirit of Changwa the guardian of the gates of Kwimba.

CHAPTER III.—*The Devils Exposed*

After Wangu's death the people chose his son, who was called Uwangu Untite to be their new ruler. He was a good man and a very good chief. Soon people from many different parts of the country were coming to Kwimba to live as his subjects. So his domains flourished, peace reigned, and he was on such good terms with his neighbours that the language of the Wamembe was soon learnt by his subjects. The trade with the Wasanganzila in exchange for cotton also went on. Indeed so renowned were they for carrying loads of *mawungu* that the Wasanganzila would say "here come the Wawungu carrying *mawungu*". Eventually the name stuck and ever since the tribe has been known as the Wawungu. The old name "Wasagara" was no longer used.

The Wasanganzila were at this time stealthily preparing by underhand and cunning ways to rob the Wawungu of their treasure, that is, the *mawungu*. So it happened that whenever a party of porters carrying this food came into their area, the Wasanganzila would cover their faces with red paint and rush out on them, terrifying them with cries of "we are devils; we shall devour the Wawungu". The Wawungu would be so frightened that they would tremble with fear, drop their loads to be plundered by the raiders, and flee back to their own country. This went on for some time to the great loss of the Wawungu.

But one day the new chief grew furious about this and gave orders for everyone to assemble at the tribal meeting place. When it was overflowing with people, he said, "Listen, all of you; I have heard with great distress how the Wasanganzila are plundering you. Now I tell you that these people are not evil spirits: No, not at all. They are merely cunning men who have found a way of stealing from us. Take heart, for I have thought of a way to stop this. I want all of you to go into the bush and collect as many *mawungu* as you can and then dry them as usual. When you have done this, I will tell you what must then be done." All did as he had said and when all was ready they returned to him to hear what he would say.

All having reassembled the chief stood again and said "Now pay attention. I am fed up with all this trouble the Wasanganzila are causing us. When my father, Mwene Wangu, first took this country for us he had no inclination to expand or to make war. In fact he lived in peace until he started being cruel to his people. And since I have ruled I have had no desire for war. But now I am forced by the crimes of these Wasanganzila to make war on them although they are many and their country is large. But I will try to defeat them nonetheless. The outcome is known only to God. What do you say?" With one shout all agreed. "Oh chief—we are your people, have no doubt, we will follow your orders, we will go anywhere you say from this day, for you are our chief." Chief Uwangu was glad and replied—"Listen then, I will tell you my plan to beat these pretended devils. Today I shall choose sixty men. Ten will carry bundles of *mawungu* and fifty will be armed with their spears and bows and arrows. When these men begin to go down the escarpment, twenty of the warriors will hide in the long grass beside the track. The rest will go down into the valley, and at the bottom the thirty other warriors will hide also. The porters must then go on and when they are attacked by the painted devils they must not cast down their loads but run back with them until they have passed the nearest party of warriors in ambush. The Wasanganzila will then, I feel sure, fall into our trap and we shall see what sort of devils they are. If you ask me, they are just ordinary Wasanganzila." All liked this plan and praised their chief.

All was got ready as planned. The party marched for three days and then laid a double trap just as the chief had directed. The Wasanganzila, six or seven in number, fell into the trap and, in two days, so fast did they return, the party was back in front of Mwene Uwangu.

There was great rejoicing in Kwimba and everyone flocked to the meeting place until a great crowd was there, waiting to see the captured "devils" who had won so much plunder. The chief gave an order that their faces should be washed. When the people saw this done they cried out that they were not devils at all, but only humans like themselves. Then, on the chief's command the captives were speared to death and their bodies dragged out to be devoured by hyaenas and vultures.

CHAPTER IV.—*Conquest*

Then Mwene Uwangu after conferring with the elders, who were in complete agreement with him, gave orders that the great war drum should be beaten. There was great excitement among the army when they heard it and many war-dances were performed at the meeting place. There, the chief and his elders came out to them and they leapt up and down, praising him for his learning and leadership. The chief spoke to them—"Hear ye, warriors, tomorrow at dawn the war drum will sound and we shall all gather here with our arms and go out against our enemy, the Wasanganzila." So it happened, and after sacrifices had been offered, all marched out to war.

From Kwimba chief Uwangu marched for three days, camping the first night at Malamban'gombe and reaching the Luika river on the second. On the third night, in the small hours, they climbed down into the valley and at first light were near the villages.

They surrounded the first village in which the Wasanganzila were still sleeping. Then they rushed in, striking right and left with their spears and with a shower of arrows. So the village was captured. Now when this happened the head of the

next village said—"I am ruler here, let whatever is coming, come to us." Thus the Wawungu were able to subdue all the villages and country of the Wasanganzila without difficulty, for their enemy was disunited, each village-head being a petty ruler and refusing to co-operate with the others. Many perished and the rest yielded to the Wawungu, falling at their feet, and being captured.

When Mwene Uwangu saw that he had captured the whole country he sat down with his elders to consider what to do with it. He said to them—"Elders, my father, when he left the Usagara country, determined to get a piece of country for himself and to rule it. God did not abandon him and he found an empty territory and ruled and died there. And now I, his son, have gained this country by force of arms and by spilling of blood. How could I leave it? I shall not return to Kwimba; I shall choose a well-watered, fertile place here and build a town and a strong fort and live here and rule this area which I have won. What do you think?" And the old men rejoiced at these words and sang songs to praise their chief.

So the chief made a journey with his elders and his army to inspect the territory he had taken. Its extent was from Manda in the west, then Mpona, Totowe, Magamba, Mbuyuni, Kanga, Ifuko, Tete, Sawe, Mkoma, Galula, Iwambwe and Itindi. All these areas had previously belonged to the Wasanganzila. After his journey he chose a very fine place at Mbuyuni.

On choosing this site, the chief ordered the people of Kwimba to move so as to build the new town. They were glad to leave the hilly country. A few, however, were told to stay behind so that strangers, finding the area empty, should not move in and take it. These people left behind at Kwimba were given a Commander to guard the country and all the rest moved down to build the new town called "Iwungu".

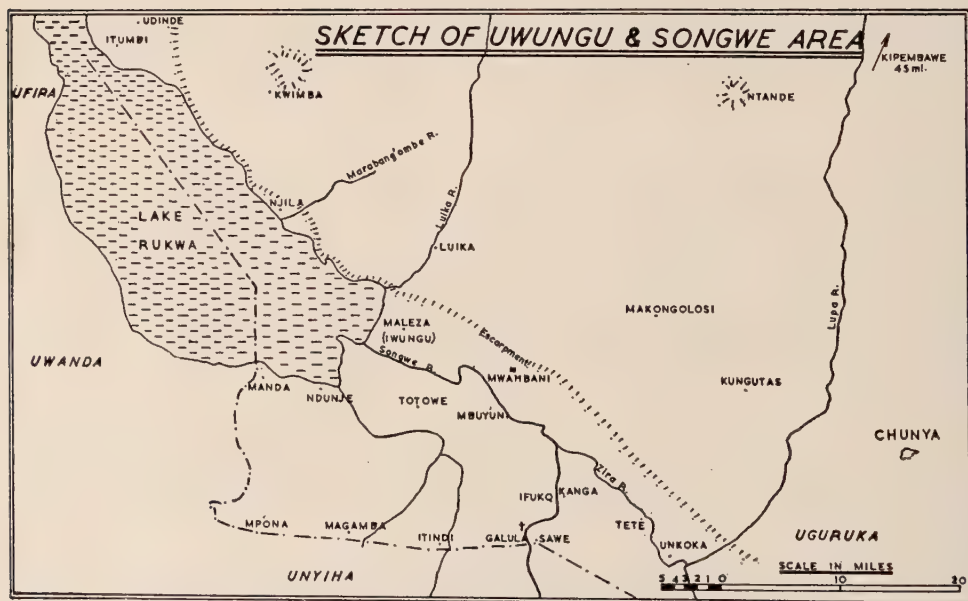
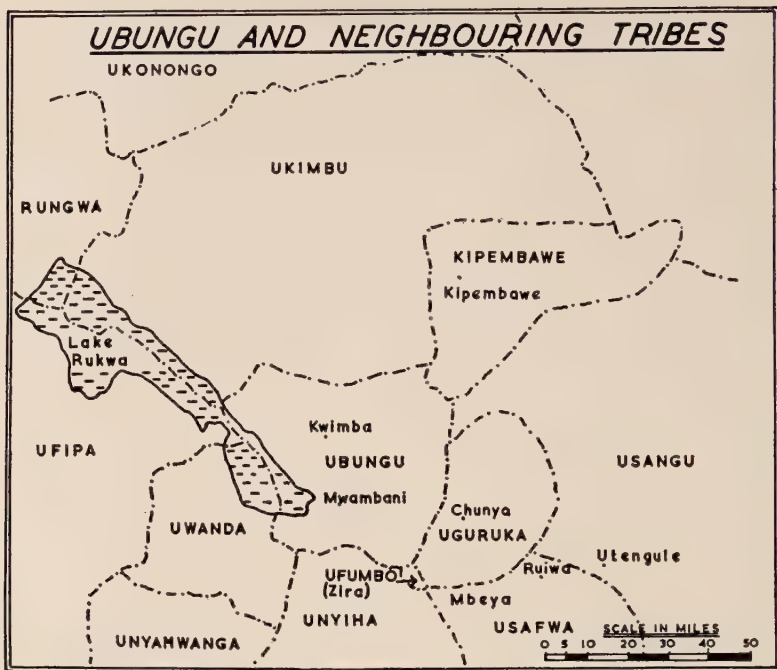
When the town had been built they made a very strong fort and built a wide ditch outside all. The chief was given a new title which was "Mwene Uwangu of Iwungu in Uwungu". The country prospered and the fame of Uwungu, which is what they now called the whole country, spread far and wide.

CHAPTER V.—*Settlement*

Before the conquest this and the neighbouring country had been inhabited by many different peoples, living here and there without any one chief. There were the Wasanganzila, Wamembe, Wakipindi, Wanjila, Wachuwi, Wambulwe, Walunga and Wapimbili. The Wasanganzila spoke a mixture of Kinyamwanga and Kinyika, the Wapimbili a mixture of Kikimbu and Kisafwa. The remainder had their own language, that is, Kimembe, with slight differences of pronunciation. The Wakipindi and Wambulwe had an accent which was a lengthening of the vowels.

When all these people saw the chief of Uwungu in possession and peacefully ruling his own tribesmen, even the Wasanganzila themselves were pleased to become his subjects, for he ruled lovingly and well. So all submitted to him of their own accord. Eventually all became known as Wawungu and all this enlarged area as Uwungu.

Now the boundary went from Manda in the west, where we border with the Wasichela, then, from Lake Rukwa we follow the stream called Miwona to the Unyiha hills where the Wanyiha have a common border with us. Then,



following the base of the hills to below Itega; across the River Songwe to the Zira, thence to the Lupa and up this river to our border with the Kipembawe country. Then the boundary turns along an *mbuga* (valley) to the Ikakati stream across which lies Ukimbu. Then on to the Kikamba river and to the hill Ilomwa and from below this hill to Lake Rukwa again.

Here is a list of the succeeding chiefs of Uwungu.

1. Mwene Wangu, the founder of Kwimba
2. Mwene Uwangu, the founder of Uwungu
3. Mwene Ungala
4. Mwene Ukasando
5. Mwene Ukatwitwi
6. Mwene Ukapangala
7. Mwene Uzelangulu
8. Mwene Uzelamalilinganya
9. Mwene Umbuyu Unkulu
10. Mwene Uchekumulamawe
11. Mwene Unkumbo
12. Mwene Usyeme
13. Mwene Unyawe Unkulu
14. Mwene Zunda Unkulu
15. Mwene Zunda Untiti.

CHAPTER VI.—*The Exiled Prince*

On the death of Mwene Zunda the Second the elders changed the line of succession and enthroned a man not of the royal blood. This was because Mwene Zunda had died leaving no heir of full age, but only babies. Hence the rule passed to a man called Mwachiluwi who had conspired with the old men and he was given the post of regent in spite of there being others of the true line of succession available for the post. After being enthroned, Mwachiluwi gave orders that all Mwene Zunda's children and all others of the royal descent should be killed lest, on their coming of age, they should wrest the rule from him and claim their right.

His envoys searched out these children and their relations and when they were brought before him they were speared or clubbed to death.

Now there was a young wife of Mwene Zunda who was called Leyi, and she had a male child called Nyawili. She herself was the daughter of the head of the Njila area. She knew that she could expect this infant to be taken from her by Mwachiluwi's messengers. So she determined to run away to a far-off country in order to save his life. So, crossing the Songwe, she headed north and walked all day without stopping and came to Itumbi near Udinge. The people there recognized her and since they were very good, took pity on her and gave her food and shelter.

The hirelings of Mwachiluwi had in the meantime been searching for her and it was soon discovered that she had fled. So, in obedience to their orders that she should be followed and killed with her child, they gave chase and coming across her footprints, were soon on the trail. They arrived next day at Itumbi, but the people there when they saw them coming took Leyi and hid her, with her baby, among some loads of grass which were stacked under a large tree.

On their arrival these pursuers questioned the head of the village and all the people, demanding that the fugitives be produced. But they denied all knowledge of them. All the houses and the fields were searched without result. That night the villagers smuggled Leyi from her hiding place and got her into a canoe which was rowed all night to reach the opposite shore of the Lake, Ufipa, next morning. Here they left the mother and child and returned to Itumbi.

The regent's messengers returned to him with the news of their journey and it was assumed that Leyi must have been killed by wild beasts in the bush, and this was a great relief to Mwachiluwi.

So Leyi and her child had arrived safely in the territory of Mwene Milanzi of Ufipa.

When she got to the village of Milanzi she told the people her story and they decided to take her before their chief who would know what to do in such a case. When he heard the news Mwene Milanzi was very distressed. He said that the chiefs of Ufipa and Uwungu had always been friends and had taken an oath of friendship, since when they had been as brothers. Thus he would receive the girl and her child and look after them in their trouble. Leyi was then given a house and provisions and so was able to rejoice at being delivered from the murderer of Mwene Zunda's children.

During the reign of Mwachiluwi there occurred a great famine in Uwungu. For a period of eight years the rains failed and the tribesmen were forced to go to nearby countries, Usafwa, Unyika, Umalila, Unyamwanga, Uwanda and Ufipa, to beg for food. One day a party had come to Ufipa. By now Nyawili was a youth. He had been taught songs of Uwungu by his mother and these he used to sing every night, accompanying himself on a ipango⁽²⁾. One night, at Milanzi this party was astonished to hear him singing out from his grief-filled heart the most beautiful songs in praise of his country and of the past deeds of its chiefs and his father, Zunda. At dawn they made enquiries about this singer and found a trustworthy person who told them the whole story. So they knew that they had found Nyawili the lost son of Mwene Zunda. But they wanted to make quite certain first by seeing his mother, Leyi, whom they had known before her flight. Their informant took them to her house where the recognition was mutual and immediate. Leyi even knew their names. The Wawungu were filled with rejoicing and wept for happiness, for, as they explained, their country had been punished for its impiety in elevating an usurper who had slaughtered the rightful heirs. For her part, Leyi told them that although they had been kindly received, they pined for their homeland, the country of their birth. She told them how she had brought up Nyawili to speak Kibungu and taught him all the customs of his own land. Next day they came again to take their leave of Leyi, who gave them food for the journey, and they left, full of joy.

On their return home it was night and so the travellers went from house to house gathering all the important men together and telling them their great news. All were thrilled and there was much discussion as to what they should do. One spoke up—"Why all this empty talk? We put Mwachiluwi on the throne illegally and, so doing, denied the lawful succession of its right. In spite of the killing of Mwene Zunda's children, one has survived. He is safe with his mother

⁽²⁾ The small musical instrument made by fixing pieces of metal of different sizes across a sounding-board. The music is produced by twanging the metal strips with the thun.bs.

although we thought they had been eaten by wild beasts. We must drive out Mwachiluwi, take from him the emblems of sovereignty, and have Nyawili in his place. Then, without doubt, our country will prosper as before when the real chiefs ruled us." Everyone agreed with him.

After this secret meeting great efforts were made to advise all the people to depose Mwachiluwi in favour of Nyawili. All were of one mind and so they began to collect, each according to his means, a hoard of axes, hoes, adzes, clothes and cotton. When all was ready they met again and chose ten elders and youths to take these goods to Mwene Milanzi of Ufipa. Their purpose was to hand over these things to him so that he would allow Nyawili to go with them without doubting that perhaps their intention was to take him away and kill him. One night, then, they set out and after six days came to Milanzi. Next day they sought out one of the local elders and begged him to take them before the chief. The elder took the news to Mwene Milanzi, who was at first very suspicious. He spoke of the cunning of the Wawungu and feared that they meant to kill Nyawili as they had killed his brothers. However, the elder reassured him. The Wawungu, he said, were genuinely sorry, for now they had no rest or peace in their country. The chief therefore called for the party to be brought before him. Taking up their loads they were led into his presence where they prostrated themselves. They were told to be seated and asked about their journey. They told the chief everything; how their wickedness had been punished by a drought which had dried up even Lake Rukwa, their chief natural asset, and of all the other hardships they were suffering. Still the chief was uneasy, but the elder pleaded on their behalf and told them to display the presents they had brought with them. On this, Mwene Milanzi was more content and sent for Nyawili and his mother.

On being informed of the Wawungu's request, Nyawili replied that since his father and ancestors had been chiefs of Uwungu, it was his duty to return. Even if he should be killed, this was no worse than had happened to his brothers because of their birthright. And that right he must now follow. Leyi, too, said that she was ready to go with her son. Then Mwene Milanzi replied that although he still had some doubts, if Nyawili was ready to go he would not prevent him. If he should be killed the guilt would not be his. But he would choose two elders who would go with him, and these would bring back the news, good or bad, as to what eventually happened. Two elders were then selected. Their names were Kalumba and Mwambila and they accepted the chief's orders without hesitation. Mwene Milanzi then accepted the gifts from the Wawungu, who, kneeling with their faces to the ground, saluted him with clapping of hands in gratitude for his consent. Next day they gave presents to the elder who had helped them and then all went to say goodbye to the chief. They thanked him for his care of Nyawili whom he had brought up as his own son and protected from all dangers of famine and sickness. The chief replied that he had cared for the exiles as well as he could and had now no desire to prevent their return since this would be to enslave them. He called Nyawili to him and blessed him by breathing spittle onto his chest and back and praying to God (Lezi) to guard him well and give him a peaceful rule. He then prayed the spirits of Uwungu to receive him well, for he was of the true blood and by right Ubungu was his. Then he gave Nyawili two spears an axe and a garment. To Leyi, also, he gave a hoe and a garment.

Thus they set out on their return journey. After four days they came to Manda where Nyawili made his camp beneath a baobab tree that to this day is called "Mwene Nyawili". The elders then sent two of their number ahead to Iwungu to tell the others secretly that Nyawili had returned. That night the people of Iwungu gathered together and rejoiced at the news. They took counsel as to how they should get Nyawili to Iwungu and depose Mwachiluwi. Twelve elders were eventually told to move secretly to Manda and come with the prince as far as Totowe where they should conceal him in a place of defence. Meanwhile the remainder would spread the news in great secrecy and arrange a day for all the elders to gather together at Iwungu for the deposition of the usurper.

All this was done and a plan was made whereby Nyawili could be made chief. This is what happened in fulfillment of the plan. One night an old man, known as a skilled orator, and who had a very loud voice, left his house in the middle of the night. He proclaimed that he had received a message from the spirits of Kwimba who had told him that Mwachiluwi should be woken to hear it. The elder then told Mwachiluwi that the spirits had ordered that next day there should be a great sacrifice. Everyone should gather with brooms to sweep the town spotless: the kitchen ashes should all be packed into old broken pots: and then Mwachiluwi should lead all the people to a place of sacrifice where they would carry all the refuse.

Mwachiluwi agreed to this. So next morning when all the sweeping had been done, they all went to him. He took a sheep and led the procession, and all the women followed behind carrying the rubbish. When they had got to the junction of the tracks between Ileya and Kanga, the chief, following the orders of the "prophet", prepared, in his ceremonial robes, to sacrifice the sheep while the women scattered the ashes all around. Just then the great drum of the chieftdom was heard thundering from the town. Amazed, Mwachiluwi asked the meaning of this, for only he could order the beating of this drum. For answer they all set upon him, striking him with sticks and crying— "Usurper, be off with you, now the rightful chief, Nyawili son of Zunda, rules. We renounce you and if we see you again we will kill you without mercy." Mwachiluwi fled, and all, leaping and shouting with exultation returned to greet Nyawili, who had been secretly brought into the town.

Mwachiluwi fled to the country of the Wamanda, near Gua, and later died there at Manda. Many of his descendants now live there under Mwene Chambo, and there are others at Udinde, Mwambani itself, Kanga and Totowe.

In the reign of Mwene Nyawili the country returned to its former richness. God sent good rain, the crops did well, and famine disappeared. Lake Rukwa became full again.

Nyawili had many children and they are still remembered. Their names were Njalaliko, Zenga, Ndunje, Shifikula and Teweale. It is said that Mwene Nyawili ruled for a long time and died in extreme old age.

CHAPTER VII.—*Ntimbwa*

On the death of Mwene Nyawili his son Njalaliko became the chief. He was a very good chief and followed the example of his father, loving the country and its people and taking pity on his subjects.

A story is told about his death. One day, Mwene Njalaliko left his capital of Iwungu and went on a tour to inspect his country around Manda. There he carried out his work, but, by ill chance, caught a severe fever. His followers therefore had to take him back to Iwungu and it is said that in those days they did not know how to carry a sick man in a *machila* (litter) but used to support him beneath the armpits, two men on each side. So they took him from his bed and started the slow trip back. When they got to the mbuga of Ndunje, at the side of Lake Rukwa, they met a traveller with his hunting dogs. This man was from Unyiha, from the country of Ng'amba. His name was Ntimbwa son of Zambi, or Vungwa. When he saw a crowd of men coming, he laid down his spears and greeted them. They replied courteously and in answer to his enquiries, explained that they were carrying their sick chief back to his capital. Now that man was very big and strong and so he asked them to carry his spears for him and to let him carry the chief on his back. This he did, and after a rest at Totowe, arrived with his burden in Iwungu.

Next day at dawn Mwene Njalaliko called his elders together and gave his last wishes to them. "Listen well", he said, "to my directions. I see that this sickness that is on me will not pass. I shall die. Do not forget the man who carried me home. I would have died in the bush like a beast if it were not for him. Now I am in my own house in an honourable way. So make him a good thank-offering". The elders and the chief's son promised to do so, and after a few days, the chief died.

He left many children, girls and boys. Those that are now remembered are Ilonga and his full brother Nkombe Zolowela. Their mother was Minda daughter of Nkomele.

Next to be raised to the chiefship was Ilonga. He did not forget the wishes of his father, and so, one day, he called all the elders together. On consulting them he found that they too had Mwene Njalaliko's last request in mind and had been expecting to be called to discuss the matter.

The chief then said that he had no concrete thing he could give to Ntimbwa, but that he thought he would raise him to be the overlord of a small area of the country and the part he had in mind was Songwe. This met with complete acceptance and so a day was chosen to elevate Ntimbwa to his new rank. This rank, called "Umwandandi" or "Isano", means literally "consort" or "queen". In effect it means that of all the headmen in an area, the Mwandandi is foremost.

In the old days the Songwe area had two Mwandandis, the first named Kunga and the second, Nkukwe. On the day that Ntimbwa was ennobled these two relinquished their position. When Ntimbwa died, the rank was inherited by his son, Mwanupili; then after him his kinsman, Ismambi, who was followed in turn by another descendant, Lyimbo, who died in 1927. On his death the rank was taken from the family and from then onwards the Songwe area has been divided among five headmen, those of Ifuko, Mkoma, Sawe with Galula, Iwombwe and Itindi. There was no longer an Mwandandi.

CHAPTER VIII.—Mwene Kilanga

Mwene Ilonga's successor was his son, Kilanga. When he acceded, his brother Kafwimbi, who was head of the Zira area which he ruled from his town at Unkoka, challenged him and made war on him. At that time Mwene Kilanga lived in his capital, Iwungu, now called Maleza.

The reason for this change of name is that Mwene Ilonga I died and was buried there, as was his brother, Nkombe. Now in Kibungu the name for the grave of a chief is "Ileza". That is how the town came to be called Maleza. The name for the graves of commoners is "Iwela", or, in the plural, "Amawela".

Now, to return, Kafwimbi prosecuted his war against his brother, Mwene Kilanga. It was in this war that Mwandandi Ntimbwa was killed at the village of Namkonya, or Galula. Also, during the intermittent fighting, Kafwimbi happened to capture the mother of one of the chief's brothers. She was called Namwene Ichiva. Kafwimbi killed her and cut her body into small pieces and packed them into a large pot for brewing beer. He also cut up a dog and put the pieces in the same vessel and gave orders that all should be cooked up together. This was done.

Then he returned to his village of Unkoka Zira. After a few days he came out again for the fourth time with his large army of Wasangu, to attack the town of Maleza, and this time he hoped to capture the town, kill his brother and rule in his place. It was very hot, the height of the dry season, and the grass was dried up by the strong sun. When Kafwimbi and his army had come down the escarpment into the valley, the Wawungu army divided up into two parts. One passed the enemy's flank into their rear and the other half then rushed out from Maleza bearing firebrands and set fire to the grass in front of them. Then the flanking party, in their turn, fired the grass. The army of Kafwimbi was in a sorry plight. They were horribly burnt. Many perished in the flames. Only a few were saved. Most were captured and put to the sword without mercy. By good luck Kafwimbi was pulled clear of the flames and made his escape with a few survivors. The Wawungu followed them up and so they were unable to halt at the village of Unkoka, but forced to flee to safety in Usangu Rwiwa. He lived there until he died. His grave is at Rwiwa.

After defeating Kafwimbi, Mwene Ilonga made arrangements to put someone else in to rule the Zira area. He and his elders saw that it was not desirable to give the post to another person of the royal blood, for they had seen that such princes often tried to seize the throne and to rule as despots without the consent of the elders and people. Hence a commoner called Mwanda was chosen to look after the area. And to this day a descendant of Mwanda is the chief of that area. After having installed Mwanda, Mwene Kilanga allotted to him defensive arms, that is, muzzle-loading guns and spears. Even now one muzzle-loader and two spears from these weapons are in the possession of Chief Mbwiga, son of Mwanda.

When the Germans came to Tanganyika and established their rule, Mwanda was written down as "Chief". Ever since then the ruler of that area has been recognized as an independent chief and not under the authority of the chief of Uwungu.

Mwene Kilanga is said to have been a great warrior. He carried war to other tribes and invariably defeated them. He conquered Unyiha, Unyamwanga, Uwanda, Ukimbu, Rungwa, Ukonongo, Kipembawe and Usafwa. During his wars he killed Mwene Nzowa of Unyiha and Mfumu Mkoma of Unyamwanga. Other chiefs subjected themselves to him bringing him tribute of their daughters to be his concubines. When he was sure of these chiefs, Mwene Kilanga began to think of making war on Mtwa Merere of Usangu to seize the many cattle there, so as to stock his own country.

During the reign many Arabs came to the kingdom and made friends with him. He invited them to his capital, Akandalamba⁽³⁾ (the impregnable town), and gave them a plot of land there near his house. There they stayed and rested. They built their own mosque and carried on their trade in slaves and ivory, hippo teeth and rhinoceros horn. It is said that in the end the chief became a Moslem together with all his children.

These Arabs stirred up the chief to attack the Wasangu since they wanted to buy as slaves all the enemy who should be captured. He listened to these new friends and made ready to attack. The Arabs gave him all manner of warlike stores, barrels of gunpowder, percussion caps and muzzle-loading guns. Eventually the expedition started out and the Arabs under their leader, Bwana Mnani, went with it.

When they reached Usangu there started the bitterest war of all Mwene Kilanga's many campaigns. However, the advance went on. Then the Wasangu permitted the army to penetrate to a large *mbuga* called Imalavanu near the great lake Ibalale. It was the dry season and there was not a drop of water on the *mbuga*. As soon as the army were onto the *mbuga* the Wasangu surrounded it and the battle was joined.

The Wasangu had collected reinforcements and the fight was fierce.

The Wawungu, however, were weakened by hunger and thirst and very many were killed. Some of them broke out and these made their way back to Uwungu.

Mwene Kilanga and his Arabs and some others were captured. The chief was put to death on the field of Imalavanu and, at the order of Mtwa Merere, his arms were cut off and taken to the capital of Usangu, Utengule. Then he gave orders that the body should be honourably buried in accordance with the custom for the burial of chiefs. Many guns were fired off, and there was much dancing at the funeral. Mwene Kilanga's grave is still there and even nowadays the Wasangu regularly sacrifice cattle and sheep at it in order to ensure good rains.

On his death Mwene Kilanga left many children, all still small, about six or seven years old. Their names were Saidi, Kibwana, Mohamedi, Abdallah, another Mohamedi and Sasawata (who did not become a Moslem since he was still very small). Other children were Zunda, Pembe, Silanda, Wayaga, Chiguma, Nzwale and Mwanandoda. These last also did not become Moslems.

Mwene Kilanga did not rule for long. He was still quite young when he died. The elders say it was he himself who shortened his days for he was too fond of war. He is praised by all the Wawungu because of his generosity to his people and there are many tales told of this. He is said to have been very merciful to the poor and sick and those in trouble and was always ready to help them in any way he could. He gave clothing, hoes and food to the old women and widows. To each he gave according to his need. There are still some old men living who knew him during his rule. They weep bitterly when they tell of his doings, and there is a saying in Kibungu—"He was a good chief, as good as food is delicious". Many songs about him are sung by us even nowadays at our dances.

(3) Near Kanga.

CHAPTER IX.—*Civil War*

There was a lot of trouble about the succession. From the origins of the tribe it had been a strict rule that the chief should be succeeded by a son of his own begetting. Succession by a brother or by a brother's child was forbidden. Now Mwene Kilanga's children were all too young to rule and so, after much fighting and dispute, the elders agreed together that they could do no other than break the rule. So they chose a brother of the dead chief, called Wangu, in place of the children. They made it a condition that after Wangu's rule, the succession should revert to Kilanga's line.

The new chief was installed as Mwene Wangu III. He was not like his brother but was one who went his own way. He was even cruel and oppressed his subjects, following in the pattern of his ancestor, Mwene Wangu I who hurled people to their deaths over the rocky cliffs of Kwimba. Some liked him, but mostly he was hated.

Now the children of Mwene Ilonga I (his father) who are still remembered were Kafwimbi, Kilanga, Mwamvongo, Wangu, and the youngest, Zunda.

Mwene Wangu III had nine children named Njalaliko, Lubapulo, Ngelezya, Ngafulwa, Maswamaswa, Barabara, Pandisha, Miyombe, and one other.

The new chief did not live with his brothers for they hated him. Zunda, the youngest brother, had been made the ruler of the Udinge area, but when he saw the disputes between the older brothers he fled from the country for he feared he might be killed.

Zunda and his men went off to the country of Mtemi Nyungu at Kiwele. On arriving there he told Mtemi Nyungu who he was and why he had left his own country. The chief took pity on him and received him kindly.

He stayed there for three years, not in idleness, but going with the chief's armies and showing so much courage in battle that Mtemi Nyungu loved him well. When the three years were up he went to the chief and begged him with tears to let him take an army and return to his country and fight his brother Wangu III, and if he should succeed, depose him and rule in his place. This request was granted and so Zunda set off with the army.

For some time past the Wawungu, because of their dislike of Wangu, had been coming to Zunda, begging him to come and assuring him that none would oppose him. So when, at dawn Zunda appeared outside the great town of Mwene Wangu and the army was seen by the inhabitants, the red flags flying among the ranks, they did not obey the summons of Wangu's war drum, but awaited Zunda, whom they received with joy.

When Mwene Wangu saw this he was terrified and fled. He jumped into the Songwe river which, as this was in the wet season, was in flood, and by swimming across to the other side, he made good his escape.

The Wawungu were overjoyed to receive Zunda, and they made him chief. He took the style, "Mwene Zunda III".

Wangu was still in flight and with him were a few who still supported him and followed him into exile. With these, he moved about from Uwembe to Ufipa and then to Unyamwanga. He made war on the Wanyamanga and

defeated them, killing their chief and capturing spoil and arms. Then he moved on to Uwanda where he made an agreement with the chief and was given an army which he joined to his own. He then returned to Uwungu to fight his brother.

It is said that the battle was fiercely contested. At one stage Mwene Zunda was ready to fly back to Mtemi Nyungu at Kiwele but was persuaded by the Wawungu to stay unless he should be utterly beaten. The fight intensified and, in despair he left the field and fled from his town of Isyunula⁽⁴⁾. But, as it happened, Mwene Wangu's courage failed him at exactly the same moment and he retired back to Uwanda. The old men say that if he had heard the news of Zunda's flight and gone on fighting just a little more, he would have occupied the town and conquered.

The Wawungu followed Mwene Zunda very quickly and overtaking him on the border, persuaded him to return.

He ruled thereafter without further disturbance and moved his capital from Isyunula to a new village called Isukamawela⁽⁴⁾.

Mwene Wangu continued his wanderings up to Rungwa where he made war on the inhabitants and crushed them. He then ruled in this area and the people subjected themselves to his orders.

CHAPTER X.—*The Germans*

After a few years German rule came to Tanganyika. The people of Rungwa therefore went to the German Government officials and complained against Mwene Wangu, saying that he was not the rightful ruler of Rungwa but that after being expelled from his own country he had come by force, and overcoming their weak resistance, had imposed his rule on them. The Germans took up this matter and removed Wangu to their camp at Lumbila⁽⁵⁾ in Tukuyu District. He himself was very glad at this since he thought he would be reinstated in Uwungu. Then the Administrator at Lumbila sent askaris to go and call Mwene Zunda. There were serious and lengthy discussions and eventually the issue was decided. The decision was that Uwungu should be divided and that Mwene Zunda should rule the southern part and Mwene Wangu the northern area known as Udinge. Even so, although they were full brothers, these two continued to hate and wish ill to each other.

Mwene Wangu lived only a few years after this. He died in August 1908. On his death, the Wawungu of Udinge proclaimed his son, Njalaliko son of Wangu, as their chief. His rule lasted for forty-three years. He died in 1950. When he was dead the British Government altered the decision of the Germans and returned to the original law of the Wawungu that there could be only one chief. Now the Udinge area is ruled by a sub-chief under the authority of the chief of Uwungu.

Mwene Zunda continued his rule over Southern Uwungu until 1915 in which year he died, on June 15th.

His successor, Kilanga II, who was his son, ruled throughout the disturbances of the Great War of 1914 to 1918.

(4) Both near the present Mwambani.

(5) Alt Langenburg in Rungwe District. (Ed.)

In 1918 the German army was dispersed here and there as the British occupied Tanganyika. One German unit was at Galula Mission, where they had arrested the Missionaries, who were Frenchmen, and sent them off to the Mission at Mkulwe. The Germans then turned the Galula Mission into their headquarters and entrenched it. Then a British unit came very quickly and there was a battle lasting until nightfall when the Germans retired along the road to Mwambani. When they arrived there they arrested many people of the town and from Maleza and tied them with rope and wire round their necks into gangs of ten each. Then Mwene Kilanga was arrested and subjected to great indignities and was taken off with the prisoners towards Kipembawe.

During this difficult journey a Muganda askari, who happened to be a Catholic, came secretly to the chief and warned him that in two days time he was to be tried and sentenced to be hanged for receiving the British well and giving them assistance. When he had passed on the news he slipped away and got back to his camp undiscovered. Next morning the journey went on. By good luck the soldier detailed to guard Mwene Kilanga dropped behind for a minute. When the chief saw this he dashed into the trees and ran as hard as he could and got clean away. Much confusion occurred behind him and the guard was severely punished.

So Mwene Kilanga came safely back to Mwambani, where he was received with joy and dancing.

His rule lasted, under the British, until February 1942.

CHAPTER XI.—*Mwene Ilonga*

After the death of Mwene Kilanga II, the Wawungu agreed upon Mpima, son of Suwi, to be their chief. He took the name of Zunda IV. On assuming the rule he did not look after the country well. He was cruel to his people and frequently beat them without reason. Also he was a great drunkard and would spend the entire day and night drinking. Hence, dissension came into the country. From his accession in 1942 until his deposition in 1946 the people got increasingly tired of his bad ways.

One day all the elders of the country got together and held a secret meeting in the bush. It was decided that the insults and indignities put upon them by Mwene Zunda could no longer be borne and that they would depose him and justify their action to the Government. Then they discussed who should be made chief to rule according to the customs of the country, and with love for the people. In the end they agreed on one man, Headman Karolo Ilonga son of Sasawata (i.e. the writer) who was the subordinate Native Authority at Kungutas. He was a son of Mwene Kilanga and was thought to have shown judgment and energy in his work as a headman. Two elders were selected to go and fetch him to Mwambani, where all the others could meet him. So Karolo came back with them, bringing with him three of the Kungutas elders. They reached Mwambani, finding it full of people, at about eight in the evening.

Mwene Zunda was still in ignorance of the plan, and the concentration of people was explained to him as being due to the arrival of a lorry from the District Office with sweet-potato seedlings for distribution. He knew that no lorry had come, but thought it might arrive next day and so he was satisfied.

At nine that night Karolo was called by the elders and the other headmen into a house. There he was informed of the purpose of the summons and that they wished to make him chief. He answered briefly that he would do the will of the elders of the country. Then two elders lifted him up by the arms, saying—"Stand, now, on your country. We have placed an onerous burden on you. We beseech you to bear it with a loving heart, patience and understanding". Then they placed him on the ground again. Immediately much rejoicing broke out. The great drum of the chiefship was beaten and many guns were fired off. There was dancing throughout the night.

At dawn the elders gathered in the house in which Karolo had slept and he was invested with the symbols of chiefship. He was rubbed with lion's fat and crowned with a headband of cowrie shells. Many other ceremonies were also performed.

He was given the style and title of "Mwene Ilonga II". This was his own name and so the elders decided not to bestow any other on him, but to stick to the name his parents had given to him, Ilonga, the name of his grandfather Mwene Ilonga I.

On that very day Mwene Zunda left his work as chief and fled. It was the 24th of March, 1946. Now the country is ruled by myself—Mwene Karolo Ilonga, son of Sasawata.

SOME ROCK PAINTINGS IN SOUTH AND SOUTH-WEST KOND OA-IRANGI DISTRICT, CENTRAL PROVINCE

By P. M. H. Fozzard, B.Sc., F.G.S.

ABSTRACT

Illustrated descriptions are given of six rock painting sites in the Kondoa-Irangi District to the south and south-west of Kondoa, Central Province, Tanganyika. Three of these are considered to be new discoveries; the other three, although previously reported, have not been described before. Five different styles of painting are demonstrated. It is thought that there are many more undiscovered sites in this area.

I.—INTRODUCTION

Whilst mapping the geology of an area of approximately 1,500 sq. miles between the months of June and December 1957 several rock painting sites were encountered in the southern part of Kondoa District, Central Province. The six sites recorded lie in the general area of the Bubu River to the south and south-west of Kondoa. Three of these sites are thought to be fresh discoveries as no reference can be found to them in the literature. Owing to the shortage of time, many of the likely-looking hill sites to the west of the Bubu River had to be ignored. Certainly there are more shelters as yet undiscovered, and a thorough search of the Usandawe would pay dividends and reveal many good pictures. The work, however, would be tedious owing to the heavy concentration of tsetse flies and the rocky, hilly nature of the country.

The map accompanying the symposium "Tanganyika Rock Paintings" (Fosbrooke *et al.*, 1950) is reproduced in this report with the new sites in approximate geographical locations.

II.—STYLE OF THE PAINTINGS

All the paintings are drawn either in deep claret-red ochre or in orange-vermilion, and superposition has been noted only on the Kinuse rock shelter. No black or white paintings were observed. Altogether there are five main styles of art. The first style refers to just one pair of human figures, where the body is filled in with paint and the head is drawn in outline, with the centre, or face, left blank. It is a combination then of "Solid" and "Open Line" styles. The second style is "Open Line" where the animals are drawn in thin outline only, and although the animals are well shaped, the drawings are a little crude and there is not much detail. Style three has been termed "Spot Style", where the shapes of animals are constructed by grouping large spots of orange-vermilion paint; there is no outline. Style four is the finest of all the styles and has been termed "Detailed Line". Here animals are drawn in thin delicate outline with details such as manes, tails and body lines; they are lifelike and full of expression. The fifth style is "Solid", where both humans and animals are drawn in a thick coat of paint. Detail is not lost in this style, however, and care has been given in particular to the shaping of legs and feet. All styles except the "Spot Style" are drawn in claret-red

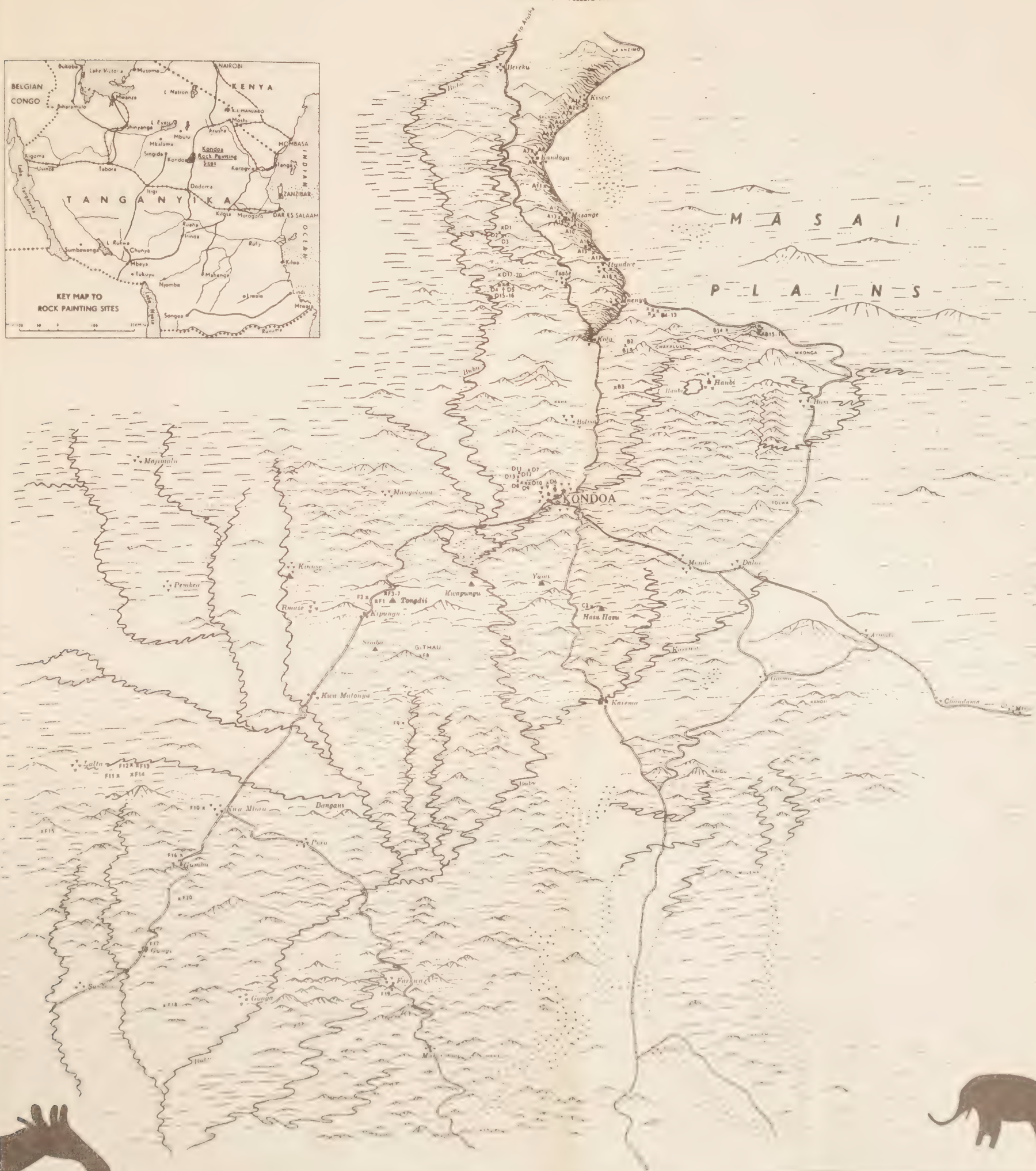


ROCK PAINTING SITES IN THE KONDOA DISTRICT



Scale of Miles (Approx.)
Miles 5 4 3 2 1 0 5 10 15 20 Miles

Rock Painting Sites numbered and indicated thus — A18 x
Rock Painting Sites described by P. Fozzard, 1957. —▲



ochre paint. Some styles are described below which do not exactly fit in with those listed above. These, however, are not thought to be separate age groups, such as the listed five styles, but more likely individual offshoots practised by the individual rather than by the general community at one particular time.

Leakey (in Fosbrooke *et al.* 1950) lists thirteen drawing sequences in the Kisese-Cheke area north of Kondoa. Whether the five main styles found in the south Kondoa area can be strictly equated with these is questionable; some almost certainly agree. A tentative correlation between the areas is proposed:—

Kisese-Cheka Area
Style

South Kondoa Area
Style

- | | | |
|-------------|-----|---|
| 2 1 (*) ... | ... | 1. Solid combined with open line (human figures) (e.g., Plate III, fig. 1). |
| 2 3 (†) ... | ... | 2. "Open Line" (e.g., Plate I, fig. 1). |
| ? ... | ... | 3. "Spot Style" (no example) in orange-vermilion paint. |
| 5 (‡) ... | ... | 4. "Detailed Line" (e.g., Plate VII). |
| 2 7 (§) ... | ... | 5. "Solid" (e.g., Plate VII, fig. 1). |

Footnote:—[from Leakey (Fosbrooke *et al.* 1950 pp. 16, 17)].

- | | | |
|---------|-----|--|
| (*) ... | ... | "Figures of animals in red, and in every case the whole figure is coloured except for the face, which is drawn in thick outline only, and the middle left blank". |
| (†) ... | ... | "A number of figures . . . drawn in outline in a purplish red". |
| (‡) ... | ... | "Figures of animals are drawn in outline with very thin lines of paint. The animals are very naturalistic, and details such as sex organs, manes, etc., are very carefully shown". |
| (§) ... | ... | "Animals . . . in which the whole body is coloured. The animals are sufficiently naturalistic to be easily recognisable, but the detail is not good . . . There are a few human figures which belong to this group". |

At Yami Hill is a group of figures (the "Family") which have filled-in heads, but they probably belong to Style 1, and cannot be correlated with the more advanced solid drawings of Kwapungu.

Style 3 drawings were observed only at Kinuse, and cannot be correlated with any other type described. The Kinuse site is the only shelter where superposition can be demonstrated, and Style 3 was seen to be older than Style 4. A peculiar line-drawing of a human figure seen east of Kipungu on the Kwa Mtoro road (Plate VII, fig. 2) seems to represent an offshoot which may be of similar age to the solid human figures at Kwapungu. It is similar to a figure drawn on the Hasu Hasu shelter and both of these are almost identical in style to a drawing near Kondoa described and illustrated by Nash (1929).

III.—DESCRIPTION OF SITES

(a) THE YAMI HILL ROCK PAINTINGS

In "Tanganyika Rock Paintings" (Fosbrooke *et al.*, 1950) these are referred to as D14, the Mngangari Hill paintings. In point of fact, the name Mngangari refers to a group of hills in the *kijiji* of that name lying some miles to the south of Kondoa-Irangi and including Dilei Hill to the south, Yami and Nanimundi Hills to the north and Chakamba Hill to the east; the local Wairangi would be confused if asked for Mngangari Hill.

(i) *Approach and Situation.*—The best method of approach is from the Great North Road, taking the Kingali School motor-track which branches off to the west between Kelema and Kondoa-Irangi at approximately mile 90 from Dodoma

and just south of the new road bridge over the Chasing Stream. Before reaching the white school buildings a track will be seen leading to the north across a steep drift of the Chasing stream. This is the Isisi-Chem Chem motor-track, which eventually joins the Kondoa-Kwa Mtoro road. (No attempt should be made by the casual visitor to motor along this track in the wet season). Three miles north of the junction with Kingali School track, and before reaching the first large sand-drift on the road, a group of hills will be seen near the road on the east, or right-hand side. On one of these hills a large overhanging rock can be seen; this is the Yami shelter, the site of the paintings. From the track, the rock shelter, which is on the west side of the hill, can easily be reached on foot in fifteen or twenty minutes.

(ii) *The Rock Shelter*.—The shelter has an overhang of twenty or thirty feet formed by the foliation fracture of the gneissose rock. As the foliation strikes north-south and dips to the east, the shelter looks out to the west across the Bubu valley to the tsetse fly-infested hills of eastern Usandawe (Plate II).

Some paintings are drawn on the sloping roof of the overhang and some at the base of the shelter on vertical and curved fracture surfaces. The lowest group of pictures, of which there are fourteen in all, lies only a foot above the dark earth of the shelter floor. Seven of the fourteen groups which are drawn on, or extend onto, the sloping roof, reach a height of nine feet from the floor. The present level of the floor must be similar to, or slightly higher than, the level at the time of the paintings, as some are very near the earth. Therefore, to have drawn at nine feet above this level, the artists must either have stood on boulders which have since been removed, have worked from a scaffolding, or used long sticks with "brushes" tied on at the end, that is, unless they were over seven feet tall!

(iii) *Paintings—general*.—Most of the recognisable items are line-drawings of Style 2, in which the animals are represented, in outline only, by lines of paint about an eighth or three-sixteenths of an inch in width. Other pictures are drawn in Style 1. Good detail is seen in the line-drawing of the "Marauding Elephant", where a solid eye, brow ridges, and stomach wrinkles are clearly shown, and wrinkles along the upper part of the trunk are represented by short dashes. One of the ears is filled in with thick paint. Sexual organs and tails are reproduced in some of the animal drawings. Detail in human representation is not good, although head-dress, arms, legs and feet are distinguished in the "Courting Couple", as are arms and legs in the "Family".

The medium is a thick claret-red ochre paint, the pigment possibly having been derived from the red soil formed from amphibolitic rocks which occur as thin bands throughout the area.

(iv) *Description and position of the recognisable drawings*.—On the extreme top of a boulder which lies at the base of the shelter to the north is an animal drawing which could represent either a *lion*, or a *baboon* (Plate I, fig. 1). This is a line-drawing with no detail to represent muscles, wrinkles or eyes. The animal is facing to the left, one leg being bent to represent a running action. There is a bushy filled-in tail and two peculiar lines above the animal's neck, which are probably part of another drawing underneath. An attempt has been made to show toes.

Further to the south (or to the right, looking at the face of the shelter), is an *elephant* in Style 2, (Plate I, fig. 2). The upper part and back of the elephant are obliterated by overdrawing, scrawl, and staining from other pictures. The four

legs and the underpart of the trunk are quite distinct, and the feet are shown as cloven. In front of the elephant, which is again facing to the left, are objects which might represent trees or wooden structures which the elephant is tearing down.

Above the scrawl, higher and slightly behind the elephant, is a *giraffe* (Plate I, fig. 3) which, as a matter of interest, is the only figure on the shelter facing to the right. This is a line-drawing which is a beautifully simple type of diagrammatic representation rather than a picture. The body is represented by a thickened line and the face by an open oval which is attached to the long triangular form of neck. An indication is given of a tail. No attempt is made at extra lines to fill in the outline. The body of the giraffe is not strictly defined, and the emphasis has naturally been placed on the neck. The ears are represented by an upward extension of the neck which projects above the oval head. To the right of the giraffe are two rather indistinct circular designs (Plate I, fig. 4).

A group of four people is drawn below the hind legs of the elephant; these have been named "*The Family*". Two smaller figures alternate with two larger ones and possibly represent two adults and two children. As mentioned, they belong to Style 1, but the heads also are filled in (Plate III, fig. 1). Although the figures are only two inches in height, the artist has been able to differentiate arms, heads, legs and, in one case, a foot.

Directly below "the Family" to the north of the shelter is the "*Courting Couple*" motif. This is drawn on a sloping triangular fracture surface (Plate III, fig. 2) and is the best preserved drawing on the shelter. Both figures are approximately three inches in height. They are drawn in Style 1, the heads being represented by empty line circles and the bodies, arms and legs being filled in with thick paint. Above the head of the left-hand figure and to the right side of the head of the right-hand figure are objects thought to represent some type of head-dress.

To the south again, or to the right of the observer, are two indefinite items of scrawl, starting low down near the "Courting Couple" and reaching up to a height of nine feet above the shelter floor. Then to the south again, another *elephant* is drawn on a stained patch of rock at a height of five feet (see Plate III, fig. 3). This is another very simple type of line-drawing, and only three legs, the trunk and the lower part of the stomach are preserved. Unlike the previous elephant the feet are not cloven, but are more correctly represented as large rounded hoofs.

Beyond a central, black-stained crevice in the rock to the observer's right, are more indistinct legs, bodies and horizontal curved marks. At the end of the rock shelter to the south between six and seven feet above the shelter floor is the "*Marauding Elephant*", which is the finest drawing in the shelter (Plate III, fig. 4). This is a line-drawing, probably an enterprising variation of Style 2, with some parts filled in with thick paint, and with other lines drawn inside the outline to give expression. The drawing is again somewhat diagrammatic rather than naturalistic and is therefore not thought to belong to Style 4. The legs taper considerably towards the feet and there are no indications of tusks. The ears are large, and held aloft. The nearest one is entirely filled in with paint; the other is represented in outline only. Representing the wrinkles along the trunk is a row of regular elongated dots. The eye is well-positioned, distinct, and surrounded

by lines indicating brow folds.* Other marks on the body represent folds along the underside of the stomach. A solid uprooted tree is drawn above and slightly behind the animal and in front of it is a jumble of lines, possibly indicating forest or tall grass.

(b) THE HASU HASU ROCK PAINTINGS

These are referred to in "Tanganyika Rock Paintings" (Fosbrooke *et al.*, 1950) as the Hasu Hasu rock paintings.

(i) *Approach and situation.*—One local name for the group of hills generally known as Hasu Hasu is Boma. These lie to the east of the Great North Road, 89 miles north of Dodoma. Approach is best made on foot from a zigzag on the Great North Road, although in the dry season a Land-Rover can be driven to the base of the hill. Following the main cattle-track to the top of the hill, a conspicuous rock can be seen on the north-west slopes to the left. This rock-shelter has an overhang of approximately fifty feet, and looks out to the north-west over the grassy, cultivated country of Chasinge in the foreground, and across to the hills of eastern Usandawe on the west bank of the Bubu River.

(ii) *Description and Position of the Paintings.*—Low down on the shelter wall to the south-west are two large human figures. One of these is in Style 5, and the other is a line-drawing resembling the human figure (see Plate VII, fig. 2) drawn on the Tongdii shelter east of the Kwa Mtoro road at Kipungu. High in the centre of the shelter is a badly-preserved drawing of an animal of which only the hind portion is recognisable. The legs are solid, but the body is a filled-in line-drawing similar in type to the "zebra" at Kinuse. Below this are two animal heads of Style 5, one of a horned buck, and the other of a giraffe. A great deal of the rock surface has been destroyed and obliterated by depositions, while in other parts of the shelter exfoliation of the rock has destroyed parts of the roof on which there were probably many more paintings.

(c) THE KWAPUNGU HILL ROCK PAINTINGS, BUBU

This site is not recorded in the literature, and is therefore considered to be a new discovery.

(i) *Approach and situation.*—The shelter is in the Chem Chem area of the Bubu River, low down on the north side of Kwapungu Hill. The hill lies on the west bank of the Bubu River, approximately a mile and a half south of the Chem Chem swamp.

The best method of approach is to take the Kingali School motor-track at mile 90 from Dodoma on the Great North Road, and, as for the approach to the Yami Hill Shelter, to follow the Chem Chem track to the north just before reaching the school. Three and a half miles to the north along this track, immediately before the first large sand-drift on the road and slightly past the spot recommended for the Yami approach, an old track will be seen leading down to the west towards the Bubu River. This track ends at an old thatched house once occupied by a *jumbe*. In the dry season a Land-Rover can be taken along a footpath which leads south-west from this point down to the river. From here a grassy hill can be seen on the opposite bank which has been cleared of trees in a tsetse fly-clearing

*Phyllis Ginner on writing "An Artistic Appreciation of the Kondoa Rock Paintings" (in Fosbrooke *et al* 1950, p. 6) says that eyes are never depicted. This case at the time of writing may be unique.

programme. This is Kwapungu Hill.* A footpath leads to the river, which is bridged by a tree-trunk, and then continues to the hill directly north of the shelter; a walk of under one mile.

(ii) *The Rock Shelter*.—Once again the biotite gneisses strike north-south and dip to the east, and so the shelter faces west towards the hills of eastern Usandawe. The view from the shelter is not particularly good, and tsetse flies make the spot quite unpleasant. The shelter is small compared with most, and has an overhang of approximately twenty feet. The roof slopes at an angle of 50° , which corresponds to the dip of the rock foliation.

The best preserved drawings are of humans and animals in Style 5 and some circular and line designs. The paint used is typical claret-red ochre. Directly to the west of the hill is a band of red soil which overlies amphibolite rock. The colouring matter may have been procured from this.

(iii) *Description and Position of the Recognisable Drawings*.—To the north of the shelter on a small rock overhang are the “Circular Designs” (Plate IV, and Plate V, fig. 1). The same type of motif is repeated slightly to the left, or north, and at the same level on the wall. Further to the south there is a small cave and then the main overhang of the shelter. There are many indistinct lines and drawings but at approximately six and a half feet above the shelter floor is a giraffe’s head and part of the neck in Style 5 (Plate V, fig. 2). The giraffe’s head and neck are well-preserved, but the rest of the body has either not been drawn, or has been destroyed by subsequent surface depositions. Further to the south, after a jumble of indistinct drawings which have been spoilt by a white surface deposit, is the “Hunter” (Plate V, fig. 3), drawn at a height of eight feet on the overhang. Slightly to the right and at a lower level are large indistinct motifs and line designs. Beneath these line designs, which, like the “Hunter”, are drawn on vertical fracture surfaces, are more assorted solid representations of human figures. There is also another giraffe and a herd of hyaena-like animals (Plate V, fig. 4). On a ledge eleven feet above the floor on the extreme right of the shelter are four “Hunters” of which the two central figures are very well preserved (Plate VII, fig. 1).

Another small shelter, slightly higher on the hill to the south, contains a small group of line designs (geometric patterns).

The “Circular Designs” are drawn by the same method as that employed for the line-drawings, none of which are seen at this shelter. As they are drawn on a slightly different part of the wall from the other drawings it may be that they are of a different age and contemporaneous with the open-line drawings, or Style 1. If the figures at the base of the design are connected with it, and it certainly appears that they are, then the obvious conclusion is that they can be equated with Style 1, as the figures in both cases have empty line circles for heads. As the design is so carefully drawn it is possible that it had some ritual significance.

The “Hunter” is apparently not associated with other human or animal figures. The head is extremely diagrammatic, and hardly any attention has been paid to the arms. The shape of the head is extremely similar to the one illustrated by Nash (1929) in his fig. 1. Like the other human figures on this shelter, the legs and feet are very well-defined, and in this particular case the heels are

*The local people were not unanimous in naming this low-lying hill. “Kwapungu” is based on the only two similar opinions.

somewhat over-emphasised. Some form of ornamentation around the waist is represented and is similar in type to that shown on the "Dancers", illustrated as the frontispiece for "Tanganyika Rock Paintings—A Guide and Record". (Fosbrooke *et al.*, 1950). The bow of the "Hunter" is well-drawn, but there is no indication of the arrow or of any hunted animals.

A group of sixteen animals drawn in Style 5 is thought to represent a pack of *Hyaenas*. All the animals are facing the same way, to the left, are of exactly the same type, and approximately of the same size. The ears are pointed and erect, the shoulders are hunched, and the typical sloping posture of the hyaena is well depicted. Of the four human figures represented in "The Hunters" motif, only the two central figures are well-preserved (Plate VII, fig. 1). They are almost identical in type with the single "Hunter" and were probably drawn by the same artist. The head, however, is less angular, and the heels are less pronounced. The right-hand figure is shown as wearing some type of ornamentation around the waist.

On this shelter, like most of the others, the human and animal figures are drawn facing to the left.

(d) THE KINUSE ROCK PAINTINGS WEST OF KIPUNGU

There is no reference to this site in the literature and it is thought to be newly-discovered.

(i) *Approach and situation*.—There is one possible approach to these paintings, which should be attempted only in a Land-Rover or some other suitable vehicle. The rather long walk involved to reach them from the Kondoa-Kwa Mtoro road is through very bad fly-bush, and is not advised. At approximately mile 20 from Kondoa (half-way to Kwa Mtoro) on the Kondoa-Kwa Mtoro road is the small village Kipungu, which lies to the west of the road in the middle of the fly-belt. To the north of this village is a track branching off to the west and used by Asian traders for collecting firewood and timber. This track should be followed as far west as possible without taking any of the branch tracks which bear to the left. At the end of the main track, and still bearing to the west, an elephant track can be followed until close to the hill. The distance from the road is approximately five and a half miles. If difficulty is experienced in finding the spot, a small hill should be climbed and the hill with the massive boulder, which is the site of the paintings, will easily be recognised. In the field no name could be found for the area, and the name Kinuse has been taken from the map which accompanies "Tanganyika Rock Paintings—A Guide and Record" (Fosbrooke *et al.* 1950).

(ii) *The Rock Shelter*.—Unlike most of the other rock shelters where the pictures are drawn on the foliation surfaces, these are drawn beneath a rounded overhang of a huge boulder which rises to a height of at least sixty feet above the shelter floor. The shelter faces south giving a view across the wooded hills of the Usandawe.

Occasional paintings are found just above floor level, and another group is drawn at an average height of ten feet above the floor. The paints used are claret-red, ochre and orange-vermilion.

(iii) *Style of the Paintings*.—Two main styles of drawing are represented:—

Style 3, the earlier "Spot" type of very large drawings, and Style 4, later detailed line-drawings of quite an advanced type. This is the only shelter where superposition of paintings has been confirmed.

Style 3 is well represented by a large giraffe to the east of the shelter, and Style 4 by a herd of four zebra (Plate VI and Plate VIII) which are drawn above a large spot-drawing, also in the east of the shelter, and by a large giraffe further to the west around a bulge in the centre wall.

(iv) *Description of Drawings from east to west along the Shelter Wall.*—

1. First is a large *giraffe* of the earlier spot-Style, 3, with a well-defined mane. The individual spots are approximately half an inch in diameter and the actual figure about three feet tall. Over this *giraffe* are lines belonging to Style 4 and superposition is evident. The drawing is ten feet above the floor.

2. Next are four *zebra* which are head to tail in line and facing to the right. One of them is extremely well-preserved and clear where the motif has been drawn across a light-coloured feldspathic band in the rock (Plate VI). Above and below these *zebra* are large spot-drawings.

3. Just to the west, or left, of the central bulge in the wall is a large, somewhat crudely-drawn *giraffe* of Style 4. The mane is well-defined, as in the zebra, and therefore the drawings are thought to be of similar age.

4. Below this *giraffe* are other line-drawings, and another *zebra* similar to those illustrated.

5. Just below the hind legs of this zebra is a badly-preserved solid-style drawing, but the superposition and hence relationship to the other styles cannot be determined,

6. Further to the west and lower on the wall is another large *giraffe*.

7. Still further to the west, towards a vertical ledge and quite low on the wall, is a small animal drawn in an exactly similar manner to that of the four zebra.

8. On the ledge itself are assorted line-drawings which are not well-preserved.

9. To the west of the ledge is another large badly-preserved line-drawing of an animal.

10. A well-preserved *zebra* head of Style 4, is the last drawing on the wall. The zebra's body and other drawings to the west have been ruined by exfoliation of the rock surface.

(e) ROCK PAINTINGS EAST OF KIPUNGU, KONDOA-KWA MTORO ROAD

(i) *East of Kipungu.*—East of Kipungu village, conspicuous rock slabs forming shelters overhang the Kondoa-Kwa Mtoro road. These are referred to as the Megeani site (F2) by Fosbrooke *et al.* (1950). North and east of these and higher up in the range of hills, are several large shelters, only one of which contains good drawings. These are the F3-7 Tongdii I-V shelters listed by Fosbrooke *et al.* (1950), but no indications of styles are mentioned. The two main pictures of Tongdii are to the north of the central shelter, which is a low-angled recessed overhang. Both the drawings are of human figures.

The first drawing to the north (Plate VII, fig. 2) is a line-drawing similar in type to the one described in the Hasu Hasu shelter, and to the one illustrated by Nash (1929) from near Kondoa.

The whole body is filled in with fine unbroken lines, projected downwards in two groups to represent the legs, and some projected sideways to indicate the arms. The continuation of the arm lines form the fingers, but the feet are poorly represented. A series of concentric annular lines form the kidney-shaped head.

Two transverse lines around the waist give a diagrammatic representation of clothing or of a belt. The other figure further to the south is a slightly smaller Style 5-drawing similar to those at Kwapungu, but very badly preserved. Both figures are three feet above the floor of the shelter. Other items are badly spoilt by black and white surface staining.

(ii) *Simba Track west of Githau Hill*.—This shelter may or may not correspond with Simbo (F8) as listed by Fosbrooke *et al.* (1950). If Simbo refers to this shelter, then F8 has been marked in the wrong place on the map. If it does not refer to this shelter, then there has been no previous record of this site.

Before reaching Kipungu, proceeding from Kondoa along the Kwa Mtoro road at approximately mile 17 from Kondoa, there is a small mud hut on the left-hand side of the road at the edge of a small *mbuga*. "Simba Camp" is written on the wall of the hut, and the track which branches south-east at this point is known as the Simba track. It is used mainly by Asian traders for collecting firewood, and also as a track for hunting the elephant that move along the valleys on either side of Githau Hill. The track itself does not reach Githau Hill, which is an old German signal station. The main track should not be followed all the way; after approximately four miles a small track branches off to the left towards the hill, which can be seen through the trees. The distance from the main road to the point where the track ends at the small rock-shelters is approximately six miles. The compass-bearing from the paintings to Githau Hill is 114° .

The shelter is similar to that at Megeani on the Kwa Mtoro road, being formed by sloping slabs of foliated gneiss which are not on a hillside or associated with larger boulders and rock outcrops. Owing to shortage of time, the rock paintings were not examined in detail. The majority are line-drawings of animals, but there are no unusual styles, and the paintings are badly preserved.

IV.—CONCLUSION

Culwick (1931) writes:—

"There are, however, known to be many sites where rock paintings exist in Usandawe in the east part of the Province, of which, so far as I have been able to discover, no descriptions have yet been published. It is possible, therefore, that evidence will in due course be obtained from them to elucidate the problem of the relationship of the different styles to one another, and to cave art in other places".

Perhaps these brief illustrated descriptions have helped a little to explain a few styles of this area, and it is hoped in the near future to publish descriptions of other extremely interesting sites from the western Usandawe in the area of the Mponde River.

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Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 4



Fig. 3

PLATE I

- Fig. 1. The Baboon on Yami Hill which is typical of Style 2; the actual length of the figure is approximately 6".
- Fig. 2. Part of a Style 2 Elephant on Yami Hill which is drawn beneath the Giraffe illustrated in Fig. 3. The actual length of the drawing is 18".
- Fig. 3. The Giraffe from Yami Hill which is again typical of Style 2. This is the only figure on the shelter which is drawn facing to the right. The actual size is 11" from feet to head.
- Fig. 4. Badly preserved circular designs from Yami Hill; probably of the same age as Style 2.

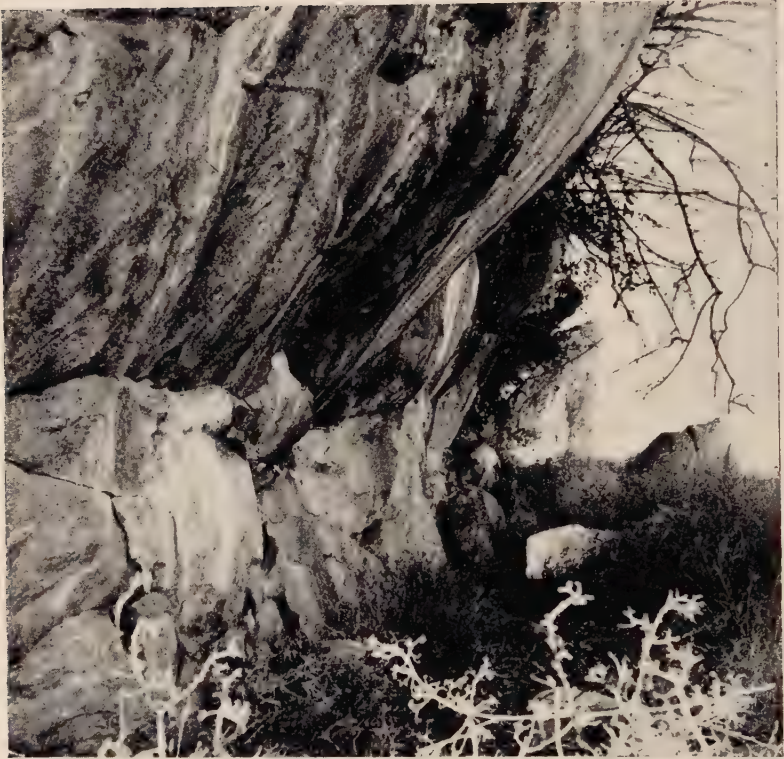


PLATE II

The Yami Hill rock shelter situated east of the Isisi-Chem Chem track; pictures are drawn on both the lower vertical wall and the upper sloping roof.

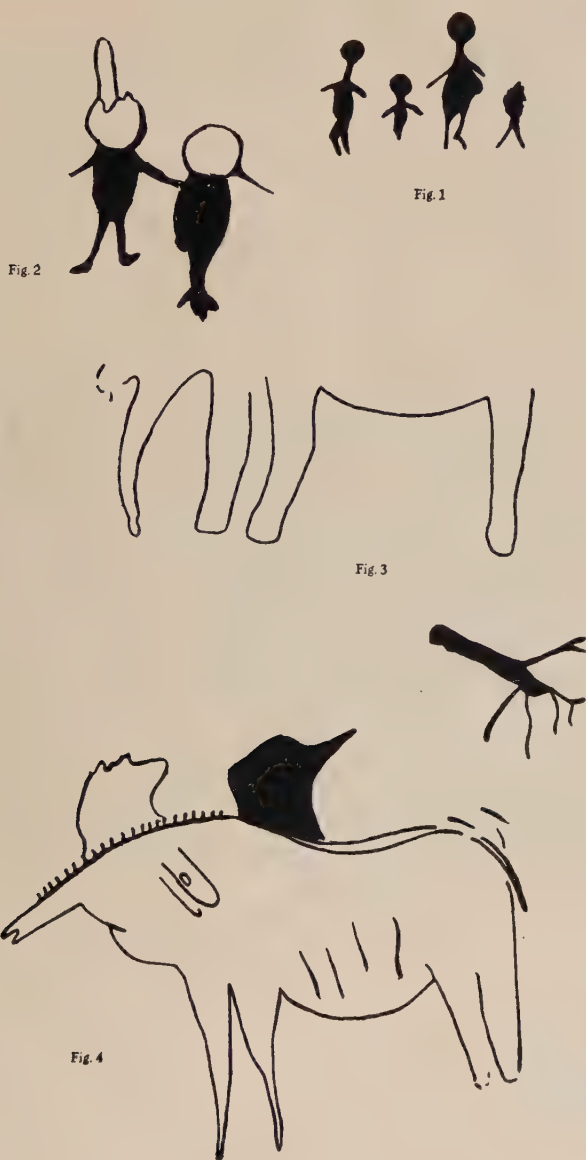


PLATE III

- Fig. 1. The Family from Yami Hill shelter. The largest figure is two inches in height.
- Fig. 2. The Courting Couple is the best preserved drawing on Yami Hill; this is in Style 1.
- Fig. 3. Lower part of an Elephant from Yami Hill.
- Fig. 4. The Marauding Elephant from Yami Hill is thought to be an enterprising variation of Style 2. The actual length of the figure is 18".



PLATE IV
The Circular Designs

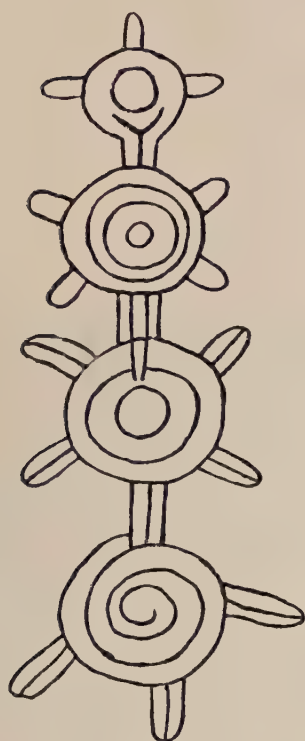


Fig. 1



Fig. 3



Fig. 2



Fig. 4



PLATE V

- Fig. 1. The Circular Designs from Kwapungu Hill, Chem Chem, are drawn to the extreme north of the shelter. The height of the design is actually 8". (See also Plate IV.)
- Fig. 2. The Giraffe Head from Kwapungu, Chem Chem, is drawn in Style 5. The rest of the body has been obliterated by surface stainings.
- Fig. 3. The Hunter from Kwapungu Hill is typical of Style 5; the heels and feet are distinct although the head is diagrammatic. The figure is one foot tall.
- Fig. 4. The Hyaena which is one of a pack of 16 identical animals drawn on Kwapungu rock shelter.



PLATE VI
The Zebra



Fig. 2

Fig. 1

PLATE VII

- Fig. 1. The Hunters from the Kwapungu Hill site. These are the two central figures of a group of four.
- Fig. 2. The peculiar line drawing of a human figure from Tongdii shelter east of Kipungu on the Kwa Mtoro-Kondoa road.



PLATE VIII
The Zebras

TWO ZANZIBAR NGOMAS

By R. H. W. Pakenham, O.B.E.

Introductory Note by Sir John Gray

[Editorial Note: Although the following accounts of dances in Zanzibar are not strictly relevant to Tanganyika, we publish them here in the hopes that our readers may be encouraged to send us similar descriptions of Tanganyika *ngomas*.]

The two descriptions of *Ngomas* which follow were written by Mr. R. H. W. Pakenham, for many years an Administrative officer in Zanzibar, whose knowledge of the manners and customs of the aboriginal tribes of that island was invaluable. As stated by him, he saw the Pungwa or Mchanga dance being performed in war time, when many of the attendant ceremonies were greatly curtailed. Since the conclusion of peace the dance has still been continued, but apparently with somewhat maimed rites. The stricter adherents of Islam are apt to frown upon the ceremony and one expects this is becoming yet another case in which "the old order changeth yielding place to new".

As Mr. Pakenham says, the dance is performed by members of the Tumbatu tribe. As their name denotes, the original habitat of these people was the small islet off the north-west coast of the island of Zanzibar. As the population of the island has increased, the islanders have emigrated and established settlements in the northern parts of the principal island. Other colonies of Tumbatu are also to be found in the southern part of the island of Pemba and on the mainland coast in the region of Tanga. They have always had a tendency to keep themselves aloof from the other inhabitants of Zanzibar, including the aboriginal Hadimu dwelling in the southern parts of that island. There has in fact always been a strong feeling of mutual jealousy and veiled hostility in the relations between the Tumbatu and Hadimu.

The Pungwa dance takes place on the mainland at Makoba, a village lying at the bottom of the broad creek known as Jito la Kiwani, which runs north and south five miles to the south of Tumbatu Island. It is about five miles in length and in places as much as a mile and half wide, but it is extremely shallow and choked with mangroves. It is obviously for that reason that the canoe, which features prominently in the ceremonial dance, is not launched into this creek, but is conveyed a mile or so to the west to the vicinity of the Bumbwini light, where the vessel with its complement of evil spirits can be safely launched into the open sea off the west coast of the island in the fairly sure and certain hope that neither it nor its accursed contents will ever drift back onto the island's shores.

A similar ceremonial dance is performed at the Hadimu stronghold of Makunduchi at the southern end of Zanzibar island, and also at Ndagoni and Vitongoji in Pemba (See *Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 33 pp. 1-22 and No. 41 pp. 68-71). The motive in all these cases is the same, namely, to free the land of malevolent spirits. As Sir James Frazer points out in *The Scapegoat* pp. 198 *seq* a similar ceremony for similar reasons prevails in the Malayan Peninsula and in the East Indian archipelago.

It is interesting, however, to note that the Tumbatu have a different date for the celebration of their dance from that in vogue amongst the Hadimu and aboriginal inhabitants of Pemba. In southern Zanzibar and Pemba the dance is held on *Nairuzi* or *Siku ya Mwaka*, that is, the first day of the New Year according to the Old Persian solar calendar, which at the present time is August 2. The Tumbatu, on the other hand, hold it in January and July, when the monsoon begins to blow steadily from the north-east or south-west. There are obvious reasons for the adoption of either set of dates, but the fact that the Tumbatu differ as to the appropriate date from the Hadimu and Pemba would appear to have a historical as well as an ethnological significance. Like their neighbours, the Tumbatu have a tradition that their forebears hailed from Shiraz in Persia. It is of course impossible at the present time to say how far such traditions have any foundation in fact but, assuming that some such foundation is common to all these traditions, it would appear to indicate that the immigration of the original Asiatic ancestors of the Tumbatu took place at a different time and/or from a different place from that of the Hadimu and Pemba. If this surmise is correct, it may in some measure account for the latent jealousy and hostility between the Tumbatu and Hadimu at the present time.

The mode of smelling out evil spirits in vogue amongst the Tumbatu of Makoba has also its counterpart amongst the Hadimu of Makunduchi as Mr. Pakenham's note on Shomoo shows.

The sham fight between the Mchale Mkubwa and those who seek to bar his progress to the seashore once more has its counterpart in the East Indies. As Sir James Frazer says in *The Scapegoat* p. 184, "in these combats it seems probable that one side represents the demons or other powers of evil whom the people hope to vanquish and expel at the beginning of the New Year." It will be noted that this ceremony resembles the *Shandwa* dance following upon the *nyange* (canoe) dance at Makunduchi. (*Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 33 p. 13).

RITUAL NGOMA CALLED PUNGWA OR MCHANJA PLAYED AT MAKOKA ON 11TH JANUARY 1944

This *Ngoma* is played by the Watumbatu soon after the commencement of the steady blowing of both north and south monsoons and normally takes place every year but had not occurred for three years owing, they said, to the necessity of devoting their full time to cultivation. It is unconnected with any dates on the calendar and only incidentally, through its synchronising with the monsoons, does it bear relation to the agricultural programme; it is not a rain making ritual nor intended to invoke any blessing specifically on agriculture. I understand it to be rather a periodic ceremonial cleansing of the village and an insurance against evil until the changing of the monsoon. It usually lasts four days and nights. This year the Mudir allowed it for only a day and a night on account of the need to lose as little time as possible for cultivation. It is arranged by the *Mwanazale* (spirit medium or *Mvyale* as he is sometimes known elsewhere); the present *Mwanazale* happens also to be the *Mkurufunzi* or chief *mganga*, and on this account enjoys a double prestige and authority.

I arrived at Makoba village at about 3.15 p.m. on a very hot day and found a crowd of some hundreds of people gathered under a large mango tree in a circle some 12 to 15 yards in diameter round which nearly 100 adults, men and women, were circulating ceaselessly at a quick trot four or five abreast, clockwise.

to the accompaniment of the steady rhythm of two drums (*Vumi* and *Chapuo*) and the beating of an *upatu* (metal gong). Round and round they went, some grinning and obviously enjoying it, others stolid or intent in expression, while others under the supposed control of some demon (*pepo*) ran with abandon, eyes staring, face and jaws moving convulsively, and mouths in some cases foaming—a most unpleasant sight. These latter, usually men, would occasionally fall on the ground and writhe or fill their mouths with dust in which they also rubbed their faces; these would either be led to one side by their fellows or would get up and resume running. One woman went round on her knees before the drummers and *upatu* player and each touched her head with his hand; ever and anon one or more would break away and douse his head with water from a *kinu* (wooden mortar) that stood hard by. Among the performers were a number of men, young and old, who carried a cow's horn about 10 to 12 inches long, packed solidly with mystic roots and possibly other charms, the end being more or less sealed across with clay, etc.; through a hole pierced near the tip was suspended a small brass bell. These horns were obviously of some ritual significance and have been handed down in households from generation to generation; I am told that there are probably a hundred in this village and neighbourhood. There is said to be no special term for them other than *pembe*. All players, male or female, purporting to be possessed by a devil (*pepo*) qualify *ipso facto* to be known as *Wachale* and this term is thenceforth applicable for life; the senior *Wachale* (*Wachale Wakubwa*) wear short raffia skirts made from *ukindu mbichi* (fresh palm leaves) over any other clothes they happen to be wearing.

This *Ngoma* had been in progress from 11 p.m. on the previous night until 7 a.m. next morning and was resumed from 11 a.m. till sunset. A small number of the *Wachale Wakubwa*, selected by divination (*kupiga ramli*) when the preliminary arrangements are being made (and whom I shall refer to as the "Juju Men", to borrow a West African word, as I could learn no special term here), are specially ordained to seek out various devils (*kuchomoa shetani*) who will be apprehended only when their respective emblems or tokens are located and recovered by these men. The search is conducted with hubbub and frantic urgency and they run tirelessly on their quest, often covering many miles. I am informed that a few years ago they ran from Makoba as far as Kiwengwa and passed most of the night hunting in that village, only to return empty-handed in the morning to run their devil (Kibwengo, by name) to earth in their own village. Kiwengwa is over 12 miles distant as the crow flies and probably fully 15 by footpaths and road, and some of these men are no longer young! On the night before I arrived they recovered the tokens of three devils and I was just in time to see the fourth being found in the village itself at the side of a well-frequented path close to the *Ngoma* in progress. Four or five "Juju Men", most past middle age, were on their knees in a circle with their heads almost touching, scrabbling at a spot of sandy soil between them and calling for water to loosen the hard earth, while another man kneeling beside them assisted by digging with a crowbar. A succession of people arrived with jars or pots of water which they cascaded onto a spot between (or onto and off) the heads of the "Juju Men": whenever a hiatus occurred in the chain of water carriers, the diggers would set up a frenzied outcry which brought their helpers running with further supplies. Finally in the black muddy hole it was evident that something had been discovered and half a dozen pairs of hands were eagerly competing to wrest it from each other amidst

tremendous excitement. Presently an influential onlooker managed to secure it and showed it to me. It consisted only of a small medicine bottle about five inches high and a couple of knotty lumps of wood or root: when our awed curiosity had been satisfied, these were in due course stowed safely with the finds of the previous night and the "Juju Men" rushed out of the village at a great pace in search of what was to be the greatest of all the devils to be secured this season, referred to as the *pepo wa Mwaka* (the devil of the year); no one would know his name till it was divulged by the successful returning band. We had about an hour to wait during which time the *Ngoma* continued unabated amidst a haze of suffocating dust. Round and round and round the players ran. Once the women nearly all dropped out to rest and were replaced almost entirely by men: then the women returned. There were large numbers of local (unveiled) women onlookers but they stood together on one side and the men together on another.

While waiting, I was shown a model outrigger canoe about 20 inches long just being completed on the *baraza* of the *Mvyale's* house which was to play a vital part in the *Ngoma's* finale. It was called the *ukarara* since the hull and outriggers (*mabao*) consisted of fresh *ukarara wa mnazi* (bract enclosing the branched panicle of a coconut palm) while the mast, yard and supports of the outriggers (*marego*) were made of sticks of *mkwamba*, a specific requirement: (either *Fluggea Virosa* Baill. or *Phyllanthus Discoideus* Mull., vide Greenway), the sail was of *difu la mnazi* (coconut fibre) and the ropes of *ukindu mbichi* (fresh palm leaves). It was a working model and the line for raising and lowering the sail ran through a hole neatly made at the top of the mast. In this craft were laid three small shells filled with honey, two bananas, an egg and a pice worth of sugar. The last act of the *Ngoma* is for the canoe to be taken to the shore and launched by the *Mchale Mkubwa* or leader of the *Wachale*. For this latter part of the ceremony he and his assistant (*msaidizi wake*) wear a garland of charms (*koja la hirizi*), without which they may be overcome by the sea and drowned at the launching. These charms have been handed down through several generations and are believed to possess great efficacy; some of the objects are sacred writings copied out and sown up in cloth envelopes; others are rings of pottery, beads, and metal. The model was placed on the ground near the *Ngoma*, flanked by two dry coconut fronds implanted in the sand. The *Mchale Mkubwa's* assistant being an old man (in fact none other than the *Mvyale* himself) went ahead to the seashore since he would be unable to run with the *Mchale Mkubwa* when the latter bore the canoe at the close of the proceedings.

As the time approached for the "Juju Men" to return, parties of excited *Wachale* and other players ran out of the village to look out for them and returned to run out again and again. One of these parties brought back the news that the *Pepo wa Mwaka* had been captured and his name was Jangamizi. As the "Juju Men" drew near, more and more men ran out by companies to meet them (*kushambuliza*). Suddenly they appeared, led by the *Mchale Mkubwa*, a thickset muscular man, his neck hung with charms while a hapless blood-stained chicken swung at his waistband; his face and neck were covered with dust and sweat, and wet clothes clung to his body; his bloodshot eyes stared like those of a maniac, his mouth convulsed with grunts of defiance like an angry anthropoid, and he clutched to himself the precious tokens of Jangamizi as if the whole world would wrest them from him. A horrible and awe-inspiring

spectacle. Behind were grouped the "Juju Men" all emulating their leader. At their entry to the village they were met by a phalanx of men holding across their path a couple of crossed *boritis* (poles) hung with charms. The *Mchale Mkubwa* lunged forward and drew himself up, breathing thunder and vengeance, and the "Juju Men" lunged too in fearful unison. The holders of the barrier withstood them with taunts, then fell back a little. Both sides held their ground awhile as though challenging one another. Again the captors of Jangamizi made a forward rush but again their way was barred, though the defenders once more fell back towards the centre of the village. And so their gradual progress continued till they reached the place where the *Ngoma* was still continuing without respite. Then they turned to where the model canoe lay waiting. The *Mchale Mkubwa* and his leading minions made obeisance, as it were, beside it, crouching with foreheads on the ground; thus they remained several minutes while the crowd pressed close around. Then the *Mchale Mkubwa* rose and taking the canoe in his hand ran with all his might, followed by the "Juju Men", out of the village towards the seashore which lay a mile distant. At a place just north of Bumbwini Lighthouse, he would find his assistant awaiting him with the tokens of all the other devils taken. He, carrying the canoe, would wade out into the sea followed by his assistant, till the water was almost neck-high then he would launch the canoe which would sail away on the wings of the Matlai into the setting sun, bearing their offerings to placate the spirit world for another season; and the devil-tokens would also be thrown into the sea, an act symbolic of this ritual cleansing of the village from the hidden malignant forces which had threatened its well-being. This done, the party would run back to the village and announce the successful consummation of the ceremony. As I left the village, I observed several young *Wachale*, seated on the ground and bending forward, each pressing a mystic horn against the back of his head. Enquiring into the meaning of this, I was told *Wanatoa shetani*, an admission that some at least of these devotees in fact have their devils so well under control that they are able of their own volition to take steps to dismiss them as soon as the proceedings are at an end and it is no longer convenient to remain under their spell!

SHOMOO

Shomoo is an ancient Hadimu *ngoma* which is played in the south of Zanzibar Island and up as far as Muongoni, and it is wont to be performed in time of drought with the object of invoking rain. The theory is that the rain must have been taken away by malevolent people with supernatural powers who have hidden it somewhere, and the purpose of the players is to discover it.

The ritual is usually performed in the presence of some important person such as the Sheha or someone else in authority (official or unofficial). In June 1953 it was done before His Excellency the British Resident when he visited Makunduchi for Queen Elizabeth II's coronation celebrations. On that occasion there had in fact been an abrupt and unseasonable cessation of rain before the end of the *masika*, at a time when rain was needed for food planting.

The players (a dozen or two) advance in line on their hands and knees to a final attitude of prostration before the important person present. All wear cloths called *vilesa* bound around their heads but no other ceremonial garments. They are preceded by two men. The first is called the *mchukuzi wa pishi* who carried in one hand a large wooden measure of obsolete pattern, seldom seen now, the

capacity of which is one and a half times that of the modern *pishi*: in it is a concoction of medicines, known as *jimbo*, made from various trees and plants (herb medicine is a traditional science not yet extinct). In the other hand, he carries a sprig which he repeatedly dips into the *pishi*, sprinkling the medicine on the ground this way and that as the company moves forward, the idea being to purge the ground of evil influences and so facilitate the task of discovery.

Behind the *mchukuzi wa pishi* comes the *mkomboo* (scraper) who wears a *shuka* round his waist (his significance I was unable to discover), and behind him the performers advancing as described above: the latter are referred to as *wenye kuchomoa* or "those who discover what is hidden". Each of these carries a cow horn (point downwards) termed *panjo*, around the base of which are fastened a number of iron bells known as *ng'embe*. These bells are made to jingle rhythmically as the players advance but have no special significance. Gathered on all fours before the important person, the *wenye kuchomoa* begin to dig frantically in the ground with their horns, tightly packed together like a collapsed rugger scrum. A man pours repeated buckets of water onto the ground where digging is in progress (much of it over the performers themselves) until the earth becomes thoroughly puddled, and woe betide any spectator near enough to be splashed with the bright red mud! I did not discover whether water was used to soften the ground or because it was suggestive of rain. In due course something is "discovered", no doubt prearranged and introduced by sleight of hand. It may be the most commonplace object, in June 1953 it was an empty cartridge case, but it suffices to fulfil the figure of the "rain" which is being sought, and it is borne off in triumph by the performers. They do not necessarily confine themselves to digging in one place but may try in one spot after another to give the illusion of unrelenting search until their efforts are crowned with success.

EARLY PORTUGUESE VISITORS TO KILWA

By Sir John Gray

In Part I of "A History of Kilwa" (*Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 31, page 18), I have stated that "the first Portuguese visitor to Kilwa was Pedro Alvares Cabral, who arrived on July 16, 1500." If, however, the information given by certain Portuguese historians is correct, that statement is wrong and the credit must go either to Pedro da Covilham or else to John Machado.

Of these Pedro da Covilham, who came of a comparatively well-to-do family and who was a soldier by upbringing, had been employed on various commercial and diplomatic missions to Morocco where he had acquired a good knowledge of Arabic as well as of Moorish customs. In 1487 he was despatched with one Affonso da Pavia by John III of Portugal on a special mission to explore the spice routes from the East to Europe and to search for the Christian Kingdom of Prester John. The two made their way by way of Alexandria and Suez down the Red Sea to Aden, where they separated, Pavia making for India. Covilham proceeded to Ormuz at the entrance to the Persian Gulf⁽¹⁾.

From Ormuz he made his way to India. According to the Italian historian Ramusio and the Portuguese historian Barros he embarked at Goa and set sail for Sofala, near the modern Beira. Thence he made his way back to Aden or Ormuz and eventually arrived back in Cairo at the end of 1490 or the beginning of 1491.

Sixteenth-century Portuguese historians are exasperatingly vague and even contradictory as to the route taken by him on his return journey from Sofala to Egypt. Goes and Barros tell us that from Sofala he returned to Aden, which strongly suggests that he must have sailed up the East African coast. Castanheda says he called at the island of Madagascar on his return journey and proceeded thence to Ormuz. Correa tells us he called "at many places." Finally, Antonio Galvao, who was the author of a *Tratado . . . dos diversos desvayrados caminhos* (A Treatise on divers and various routes), which was published in Lisbon in 1563, definitely states that he visited Mozambique, Sofala, Kilwa, Malindi and Mombasa. That statement has been adopted as correct by the eighteenth-century historian Barbosa Machado in his *Bibliografia Lusitania* and in recent years by so eminent an authority as Eric Axelson in *South-East Africa, 1488-1530*⁽²⁾.

Dos Santos tells us that in 1522 Antonio Galvao, who had recently reduced the Kerimba Islands into subjection to the Portuguese Crown, also subjugated the inhabitants on the main continent facing Mozambique⁽³⁾. It appears therefore very probable that the visit of Pedro da Covilham just over thirty years before to Mozambique would still be remembered by certain inhabitants of that island at the time when Galvao was stationed there. Furthermore, whether Covilham's ultimate destination after leaving Sofala was Aden or Ormuz, he almost certainly must have taken ship in a local vessel which followed the trade route ordinarily taken by vessels making for Aden, the Persian Gulf or India.

(1) The best summary of the career of Pedro da Covilham is in Chapter III of Axelson, where the authorities are fully cited.

(2) Ramusio i. 236; Barros—Decade I, Book III, Chapter V; Castanheda—Book I, Chapter I; Correa I, Vol. I, p. 6; Goes iii. Galvao f. 21; 195; Barbosa Machado iii. 129; Axelson p. 26.

(3) Santos—Book III, Chapter IV.

As the Kilwa Chronicle and the information given to Vasco da Gama and his immediate successors show, there was at the end of the fifteenth century a regular commercial intercourse between Sofala, Mozambique and Kilwa. From Kilwa merchant vessels (including ships carrying pilgrims bound for Mecca) still continued to hug the coast as far as Mombasa and Malindi, whence vessels bound for Cambay and other places in India might take advantage of the south-west monsoon to strike across the Indian Ocean to their destinations, but many still continued up the coast as far as Socotra. Thence ships bound for Aden would steer north-west, whilst ships bound for Ormuz and the Persian Gulf would make for the coast of Southern Arabia. Such voyages were undertaken during the period of the south-west monsoon at which time the generally prevailing current to the north of Cape Delgado greatly assisted vessels on this course. In addition, the usual type of slow sailing vessels had of necessity to call at frequent intervals at various ports in order to obtain fresh supplies of water and other provisions. Therefore the probability that Pedro da Covilham on his return journey from Sofala to Egypt called at Kilwa, Mombasa and Malindi would appear to be extremely strong.

The only alternative theory to this is that Covilham's return ship took advantage of the south-west monsoon to carry him direct to Goa or some other port on the east coast of India, using the scattered groups of islands in the Indian Ocean between the Comoro and Maldivé Islands as ports of call for purposes of obtaining water and provisions. This eventually became the route usually employed by Portuguese fleets sailing to and from Europe. But Portuguese vessels were specially equipped and designed for long distance runs between ports, whereas the ordinary Arab or Indian vessel plying in the Indian Ocean was not. For such vessels the use of islands as stepping stones was an extremely risky one. Wind, current, and all the other changes and chances of navigation on the high seas might carry such a vessel well off its course with the result that it might be in dire straits owing to shortage of water, provisions and accidents at sea. It was for that reason that in the fifteenth century Arab and Indian vessels preferred to keep close to the African continent until they made Malindi or Mombasa.

From Egypt Pedro da Covilham eventually made his way to Abyssinia. There he was well received, but he was not allowed to leave and died there some time after 1521. Despite his detention he was, however, able to send back to Portugal valuable information regarding the East, which proved of great service to subsequent Portuguese explorers(4).

If one is wrong in concluding that Pedro da Covilham was the first Portuguese to visit Kilwa and other East African ports, then the credit for this must in all probability go to a person of a very different type to Covilham, named John Machado.

It should at once be said that doubts have been cast by some Portuguese and other historians on the veracity of the story as told by Correa. I will deal with those criticisms later and in the first place set out the story of Machado's early career as given in the *Lendas da India*, leaving it to a later stage to set out the grounds upon which the accuracy thereof is sought to be impeached.

John Machado would appear to have been born in the latter part of the reign of Affonso V of Portugal (1438-1481). His birthplace was Braga, an inland town lying about thirty miles to the north of Oporto. According to Correa he was

(4) Pedro da Covilham's later career had been described in Axelson pp. 23-32 and Sanceau—Chapter II.

"well educated", had picked up some knowledge of Arabic and had also "learnt the art of war." These last two assets would appear to have been acquired in fighting Moorish pirates at sea or else their compatriots in Morocco. According to Correa two other equally valuable assets were the facts that he had "a good presence" and was "a good looking man" and also "a very good speaker" and "a brilliant conversationalist".

The first episode in Machado's career about which we know anything takes us to Lisbon at about the time of King Manoel's accession to the throne in 1495. He and one Damian Rodrigues killed a man in the Rocio in that city. We know nothing about the incidents leading up to the fatality. All we know is that Machado and his companion were arrested, tried for murder, found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged. They remained for a long time under sentence of death in the Limoeiro prison.

In 1497 the two men received a reprieve conditional on their agreeing to serve in Vasco da Gama's first expedition to India as *degradados*. On the occasion of the departure of such expeditions as this it was customary for the King of Portugal to pardon prisoners undergoing imprisonment for political or criminal offences on condition that they went on board one or other of the ships of such expedition so as to be "ventured on land in dangerous places" when the vessels reached some unknown country.

It was then the duty of the *degradado* to gather information as to the manners and customs of the inhabitants of the country, learn their language, and ascertain everything else that they could about the people and their lands, which might be of service to the Portuguese. If another Portuguese ship arrived at some later date and they were still alive and could prove that they had properly performed these duties, they would be picked up and allowed to return to Portugal having purged themselves by their good services of all past offences. Doubtless, Machado's superior education and his knowledge of Arabic earned him this opportunity to redeem the past⁽⁵⁾.

Both he and Damian Rodrigues sailed from Lisbon with Vasco da Gama's fleet on July 8, 1497. According to Correa, Rodrigues was put on board the flagship *Saint Gabriel*. Apparently Machado was put on board one of the other two vessels in the fleet, either the *Saint Raphael* or the *Berrio*. On March 2, 1498, after a long and troublesome voyage the fleet anchored off Mozambique. Eight days later the Portuguese ship weighed anchor and set sail to the northward with two pilots on board, who had been supplied to them by the Sheikh of Mozambique. In the meantime, according to Correa, they had left John Machado behind to carry out his duties as a *degradado*. Owing to contrary winds the fleet dropped anchor a few miles away off the island of St. George. Here one of the pilots deserted and the next day da Gama sent off a boat party to recapture him. The party met with five boats full of armed Moors. The deserter was on board one of them and was forcibly taken away by the Portuguese, who thereafter fired a bombard into the Moorish boats. The *Berrio* also came up and endeavoured to capture the boats, but the Moors managed to make their escape to Mozambique.

(5) The careers of John Machado and Damian Rodrigues prior to their sailing with Vasco da Gama's fleet are set out in Correa I. 41, 42.

Once again the Portuguese squadron set sail, but what with wind and current they found themselves at the end of four days four leagues below Mozambique. With some difficulty they made the island of St. George once more and thence back to Mozambique. The Sheikh made overtures for peace, but the Portuguese rejected them. As the days passed, it became obvious that the question of water supply for their future voyage was likely to become acute. Fearing that they might be opposed, the Portuguese decided to land at night, but the pilot who guided them was unable, or professed to be unable, to find the watering place. Next night another landing party was sent. These found the watering place but also found it to be guarded by an armed party of the local inhabitants. Shots were exchanged and the water guards were driven off. The Portuguese then took in a supply of water. In the meantime the Moorish pilot and a negro boy had made their escape from the fleet by swimming ashore.

Vasco da Gama decided that he must demand the surrender of the pilot and his boy. For this purpose he sent armed parties in boats to attack the town. The boats came close in shore and proceeded to bombard the palisades which the inhabitants had erected to obstruct their landing. In the words of a member of the expedition, who kept a diary, the bombardment lasted three hours and "when we became weary of doing this, we returned to the ships to dine". A number of the inhabitants were killed, including the pilot who had fled from the Portuguese. Next day more water was taken in and a number of bombards were fired into the town. On March 27 the fleet weighed anchor and sailed to the north.

Vasco da Gama had intended to make Kilwa his next port of call and news of this intention went ahead of him to that place. In actual fact wind and current carried him past Kilwa and he eventually dropped anchor off Mombasa. Here again, news of him and his conduct at Mozambique had preceded him and an attempt was made to cut the anchors of the Portuguese ships so that they should be driven on shore and destroyed and plundered. But the attempt was discovered in the nick of time and Vasco da Gama weighed anchor and made sail for Malindi, whence he crossed over to India⁽⁶⁾.

To return to Mozambique, one other person besides the pilot and his boy is said by Correa to have swum ashore from the Portuguese squadron. This was Machado's former fellow-prisoner, Damian Rodrigues. As already stated, he is said to have been on board the Portuguese flagship, *Saint Gabriel*. According to Correa, when the Portuguese fleet was quitting Mozambique the *Saint Raphael*, which was commanded by Vasco da Gama's brother, Paulo, ran aground on a sandbank. In the ensuing confusion Damian Rodrigues jumped overboard from the flagship and swam ashore. "He in fact knew that his friend, John Machado, had been left behind at Mozambique and wished to share his lot." In passing it should at once be noted that no other historian except Correa refers to the grounding of the *Saint Raphael* on a sandbank at Mozambique, but others do refer to the running aground of that vessel at a later stage of the voyage on a reef, which appears to have been in the vicinity of Tanga.

After the treatment meted out by Vasco da Gama to the inhabitants of Mozambique, Machado and Rodrigues must have fully realized that they were

(6) The accounts of Vasco da Gama's visit to Mozambique are to be found in the *Diario* ff. 20-25, Goes—Part I—Chapters XXXVI and XXXVIII; Barros—Decade I—Book IV—Chapters III to V; Goes—Part I—Chapters XXXVI and XXXVIII Castanheda—Book I, Chapters V to VIII; Strong p. 402. See also Axelsson—Chapter V for a good summary of those events.

"ventured on land in dangerous countries", but like another *degradado*, named Peter Dias, whom Vasco da Gama left behind in somewhat similar circumstances at Mombasa, they were not made to suffer for the conduct of their compatriots. Correa tells us that "they both entered the service of the Sheikh, who was well satisfied, because John Machado spoke a little Arabic. The Sheikh treated them well and gave them everything of which they had need."

"John Machado used to tell the Sheikh about things in Portugal and used to speak to him about the greatness and power of the king Dom Manoel. He informed him that his king would be sending to these countries so many vessels and so many people and that he would end by conquering them. On hearing this and learning how generously and well the Portuguese with Vasco da Gama had treated the people of Malindi, the Sheikh resolved likewise to become our friend."

Some time later Damian Rodrigues died, to Machado's great grief. The Sheikh gave permission for the dead man to be buried outside the town. Machado placed a cross at the head of the grave and placed beneath it a wooden board on which he roughly carved with the point of a knife an inscription which may be translated as reading: "Here lies Damian Rodrigues who had been left in this country by Vasco da Gama. He was condemned to death and had been put on board the vessel *Saint Gabriel* as a sailor." (7)

Here again, it should be noted that the wording of the inscription as recorded by Correa does not agree with that author's account of the circumstances in which the dead man landed at Mozambique.

Correa tells us that after the death of Rodrigues "the Sheikh (of Mozambique) wrote to the King of Kilwa and told him what John Machado was saying about Portugal; and the king at once desired to cause John Machado to come to him and received him with great courtesy, for John Machado was a man with a good presence, well brought up, and a very good speaker."

"Having thus reached Kilwa, this Portuguese enlarged upon his country and his king even more than he had done at Mozambique, because by this time he was very well acquainted with the language of these people. The King of Kilwa sent him to the King of Mombasa, who was his son-in-law. Everywhere he went, John Machado used to speak about his fatherland and his king in such manner, that everybody began to be greatly afraid of the power of the Portuguese and began less and less to want to pick a quarrel with them."

"After this, John Machado went to Malindi, where the King—our friend—gave him a very good reception." Whilst there, after a lapse of close on two years, he once more got in touch with some of his compatriots. In order to explain the circumstances of this meeting, it is necessary to give some account of the expedition of Pedro Alvares Cabral.

Cabral was placed in command of a fleet of thirteen vessels which left Lisbon for India on March 8, 1500. Whilst still in the Atlantic a storm carried the Portuguese well to the westward of their intended course with the result that they found themselves off the hitherto unknown coast of Brazil. Thence they made their way round the Cape of Good Hope and eventually reached Mozambique on June 20, 1500. By this date storm and tempest had reduced Cabral's fleet to six ships.

(7) The careers of Machado and Rodrigues after the departure of da Gama from Mozambique are dealt with in Correa I. 42, 43

No sooner had the Portuguese arrived than a boat put out from the shore with a messenger from the Sheikh. This messenger expressed his master's most abject apologies for the contretemps which had occurred at the time of Vasco da Gama's visit. After this friendly relations were established between the inhabitants and the newcomers. Not only did the Portuguese obtain a plentiful supply of provisions, but they were allowed to disembark the numerous sick persons on board their ships so that they could obtain better attention on shore.

Correa tells us that of these sick persons "many recovered; only those died who were already far too ill to be saved." When the first death occurred, the Portuguese asked to be given a place for his burial. The Sheikh took them to the grave of Damian Rodrigues. Cabral asked the Sheikh to grant him this place as a cemetery and the Sheikh at once agreed. "Pedro Alvares caused those who died to be buried there and sent for the monks on board the ships to consecrate the field so as to make it a Christian cemetery; and he caused it to be surrounded by a palisade with a gate above which was erected a large wooden crucifix. He named the field the churchyard of Saint Gabriel; later the Portuguese built there a church which preserved that name."

After a stay of ten days at Mozambique the Portuguese set sail for Kilwa. On arrival there all attempts on Cabral's part to come to peaceful arrangements with the local ruler failed completely and eventually the Portuguese sailed away, leaving behind a *degredado* named Antonio Fernandes to spy out the land. The Arabic Chronicle of Kilwa tells us that at first the people of Kilwa were in doubt whether they should receive this uninvited guest; "but in the end their fear of the power behind him prevailed, and they quartered him upon a distinguished citizen named Muhammad bin Rukn al Din . . . under whose guidance the Christian spy made himself acquainted with all the internal affairs of the country, both small and great." In passing it should be noted that, though the Chronicle refers to this *degredado*, it makes no mention of his having been preceded at Kilwa by any other *degredado*.

From Kilwa Cabral sailed past Mombasa to Malindi, where he arrived on August 2, 1500, and met with the same good reception as had Vasco da Gama. Here, John Machado comes once more into the picture. Goes tells us that, when he set sail from Malindi on August 7, "Pedro Alvares left two *degredados* in that place to obtain information of the interior of the country and to discover whether it was possible to reach the court of the Emperor of Ethiopia by land, who is the King of Abyssinia, and is erroneously called Prester John, which the King had earnestly recommended him to do when he left the kingdom. One of these *degredados* was named John Machado and the other Luis de Moura." Barros tells us that, having received this commission, the two "took different routes". On the other hand an anonymous narrative of Cabral's voyage, which is shown by internal evidence to have been written by a member of Cabral's fleet, tells us that at the time of his departure "the captain also left two Portuguese *degredados*, one of them to remain in Malindi, and the other to go with the (India merchant) ships to Cambay."

The anonymous narrator either recorded the event at the actual time or at any rate so close to the time that his memory thereof was likely to be more accurate than the later information of Barros. It is, moreover, borne out by certain other facts. Luis de Moura did in fact remain at Malindi and in 1502 got in touch with Vasco da Gama on his second voyage to India. Machado on the other

hand undoubtedly did proceed to Cambay after Cabral's departure from Malindi. Correa tells us that with the assistance of the ruler of Malindi he embarked upon a dhow in the guise of a Moor or Turk for Diu, where he took service with Malik Ayyaz, a Russian who, after being captured by the Turks, had been converted to Islam and had entered the service of the ruler of Cambay and became Governor of Diu. Subsequently, he proceeded down the coast to the Deccan, where he took service under Yusuf Adil Shah, the ruler of that land. Correa tells us that he was well received by his masters because "he was a fine fellow, a brilliant conversationalist, and a brave man, who knew the art of war." In all probability a knowledge of gunnery stood him in good stead, when seeking employment with his new employers⁽⁸⁾.

After this John Machado had a remarkable career which can only be described very briefly. Goa, one of the principal ports of the Deccan, was captured by Affonso d' Albuquerque in 1510. In the following year a determined attempt was made to recover the place. The Portuguese were closely besieged and reduced to great straits with the result that a number of members of the garrison deserted to the enemy. Machado, who was in the camp of the besiegers, appears to have been already in clandestine communication with his compatriots. When the deserters arrived in the camp, their pusillanimity roused his latent patriotism. He harangued them and finally led personally nine of them back into the beleaguered garrison. This numerical reinforcement was small, but the moral reinforcement to a starving and hard pressed garrison was enormous. Encouraged by this example, the Portuguese held out until a fleet came to their relief. For his services on this occasion Machado was eventually rewarded with the post of Chief Captain of Goa, but he did not hold that post for long. He died in about 1515⁽⁹⁾.

The main details of Machado's experiences in India are not in dispute, but historians differ as to the truth of the account given by Correa of his African experiences. As has been pointed out in the course of this account of Machado, there are apparent discrepancies between the story as told by Correa and that by other early historians. It is therefore necessary to examine them and see whether they are immaterial or capable of some satisfactory explanation.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century a new chapter in Portuguese history was in the process of being made. The remarkable discoveries and conquests made in the East and the problems arising in connection with them were the main pre-occupation of dwellers in Portugal itself. Consequently none of them found time to write the history of contemporary events. Some half a century later a number of writers took up their pens to record the exploits of the previous generation. Of these the first to appear in print was Fernao Lopes de Castanheda. His history first appeared in 1551. He had accompanied his father, who held a judicial post, to India. He had always been interested in historical research and arrived in India at a sufficiently early date to glean information from Portuguese who had taken part in the early days of discovery and

(8) For Cabral's voyage to India see the anonymous narrative in Greenlee pp. 56-94; Ramusio—Vol. I; Correa—Vol. I; Correa—Vol. I, Goes—Part I, Chapters LIV, and LVII; Barros—Decade I—Book V—Chapters I—III; Castanheda—Book I—Chapters XXXX—XXXIII; Strong pp. 402-403. See also Axelsson pp. 49-54 for a good summary of events.

(9) For John Machado's later career see Faria y Sousa—Part II, Chapters V to VII and Castanheda—Book III, *passim* and Book IV—Chapter XVIII.

conquest. Whilst in India, he supplemented this information by collecting letters and other documents. On his return to Portugal he pursued his inquiries amongst former officials, who could give him information about their personal experiences in the East. The ninth volume of his history appeared in 1561. Having been in India for many years, he wrote from practical experience obtained from his long and intimate connection with Indian affairs.

Except for a period of three years at St. Jorge de Mina on the west coast of Africa John de Barros never served abroad. Thereafter he held several posts in the India House in Lisbon until his death in 1570. In these posts he had access to the journals, letters, and reports of early discoverers and officers in India and Africa. It is from these that he obtained most of the information which appears in his four volumes of *Decades*, the first of which was published in 1552. He wrote as a scholar with a literary background.

Like Barros, Damian de Goes had never been to East Africa or India. After holding various diplomatic posts at several European courts he returned in 1546 to Lisbon to become Keeper of the Archives. His Chronicle of the reign of King Emanuel is derived from the official documents under his care and records events which occurred in his boyhood. He writes from the viewpoint of the trained diplomat and interprets his material in a broader manner and with more human interest than Barros. His work was first published in 1566.

Gaspar Correa resided in India from 1512 to 1561 and claimed to have spoken to many of the persons who took part in the events which he describes in his *Lendas*, and to have had access to a number of official and unofficial documents, which were in his day extant in India. For example he informs us that he drew for his account of Vasco da Gama's first voyage to India on a memorandum book (*caderno*) belonging to a priest named John Figueira, who wrote an account of that voyage up to the time of his death at Malindi, where da Gama called on his return voyage to Portugal. A copy of this book later came into the hands of Affonso d' Albuquerque, Viceroy of India, 1509-1515. Correa was for three years secretary to that Viceroy and in that capacity had access to this copy⁽¹⁰⁾. Correa did not, however, have access to records in Portugal and it has to be admitted that he is not always accurate and that at times he has confused the details of certain events with others which followed.

Except for the anonymous narrative of Cabral's voyage, such contemporary Portuguese records as have been published do not throw much light on the matters in dispute regarding Machado. The one and only Arabic document which deals with contemporary events in East Africa is the *Chronicle of Kilwa*, which was compiled by an anonymous writer who was only born in the same year as that in which Vasco da Gama first reached Mozambique.

It would appear evident that Correa derived his information about Machado's African experiences either from Machado personally or others who had known him and had heard the story from Machado's own lips. In this connection it has to be remembered that Correa himself describes the man as "a good speaker" and "a brilliant conversationalist". One must therefore ask oneself whether he was not, like other pioneers in East Africa since his date, given to romancing about himself and to telling a "traveller's tale," which nobody was in a position to contradict.

(10) Correa—Vols. I and II *passim*.

The weak spots upon which critics of Correa's account seize are that:—

(1) he alone mentions the fact that Vasco da Gama left behind a *degradado* at Mozambique;

(2) he alone mentions the story of Damian Rodrigue's grave;

(3) no other historian alleges that Paulo da Gama's ship grounded on a sandbank at Mozambique; on the contrary they state that this occurrence took place at a later stage of the voyage in the vicinity of Tanga;

(4) in a later passage in his book he himself states that Machado was left behind by Cabral at Malindi in 1500.

To these may be added the facts that:—

(5) Correa's statement as to the circumstances in which Rodrigues came to land at Mozambique contradicts the alleged inscription itself;

(6) whilst the Kilwa Chronicle makes no mention of Machado having visited Kilwa, it refers to the fact that Cabral left Antonio Fernandes there.

Turning to the broad outline of the facts as stated by Correa, they allege that in August, 1498, he was left behind at Mozambique and that almost exactly two years to a day later he was left behind by Cabral at Malindi in August, 1500, having visited Kilwa and Mombasa on the way. Obviously, this is *prima facie* not an improbable—and much less an impossible—story.

Bearing this in mind, we must examine the details of the criticisms levelled at Correa's narrative. In the first place, it is almost axiomatic to say that the silence of other writers regarding certain events does not prove that those events never took place. If there is credible evidence proving their occurrence, then the omission of other historians to mention them goes for nothing.

Secondly, the fact that, when he set sail for India, Machado was left behind by Cabral at Malindi does not prove that he reached that place as a member of Cabral's fleet. Castanheda tells us that Cabral "charged two *degradados* with the duty (*entregou dous degradados*) of obtaining reliable information about the land". Goes says he "left behind" (*deixou*) the *degradados*; so does Barros; and, most important of all, so does the anonymous writer of the more or less contemporary narrative of Cabral's voyage. In other words, none of these writers contradict Correa's statement that Machado made his own way from Mozambique to Malindi.

It would appear legitimate to surmise that on Cabral's arrival at Malindi Machado reported himself to him. Possibly he hoped that by his account of himself he would be deemed to have rehabilitated himself in society, but Cabral thought otherwise and accordingly gave him another task to perform before he could be considered to have purged his offence.

Correa's self-contradictory statements in different parts of the *Lendas* naturally require explanation. As already said he relied to a large extent on information supplied to him by persons who had participated in the events which he describes or else had derived their information at first hand from persons who had so participated. It was only to be expected that there would be discrepancies as to minor details in the accounts given to him of the same events by different informants, but that does not mean that their accounts of the material details of

the main event are unreliable. These minor discrepancies in fact tend to show the story they tell as to the main event has not been concocted, whereas complete unanimity as to every minor detail undoubtedly would suggest collaboration on the part of those informants. Correa exposes himself to criticism because he failed to realize that the mass of accumulated information which he acquired inevitably contained a number of divergent details and that he made no serious attempt to sift the evidence before him and state to what extent he believed it. That does not mean that he is untruthful or unreliable. All that it means is that he leaves it to his readers to sift the evidence for themselves and reach their own conclusions in regard to it. If he is flatly contradicted by reliable contemporary historians, then it may well be deemed unsafe to accept his version of the facts, but if they are merely silent as regards which he describes, then his statements ought not necessarily to be rejected unless they are entirely inconsistent with facts recorded by those historians.

As already pointed out, the fact that Cabral left Machado behind at Malindi in 1500 does not contradict the fact that Vasco da Gama had left him behind at Mozambique two years before. Again, the fact that, whereas he records the landing of the *degredado* Antonio Fernandes at Kilwa by Cabral, the local chronicler makes no mention of the earlier arrival of Machado at that place, in no way contradicts Correa. The Kilwa chronicler tells us that he was only born in the year of Vasco da Gama's first arrival in East Africa. He therefore could have had no personal knowledge of any visit by Machado. Moreover, Fernandes' sojourn in Kilwa was remembered long after 1500 because he was foisted on the inhabitants willynilly by the Portuguese, whereas Machado came, like may another unrecorded visitor to Kilwa at that date, as an invited guest.

Correa's account of Damian Rodrigues contains a number of discrepancies. First of all, he tells us that the inscription on this man's grave said he had been one of the ship's complement of the *Saint Gabriel* and then only a few lines further down states that this statement is wrong and that Rodrigues belonged to the *Saint Raphael*. One would have thought that the person who composed the inscription on the grave at the time of the man's death was better informed than Correa writing sixty years later. Again, whilst the *Saint Raphael* did run on a sandbank at a later stage of the voyage, there is no evidence of such a contretemps befalling the ship at Mozambique.

Nevertheless, the story of Rodrigues' death and burial appears to me to ring true. As the escape of the Moorish pilot and his boy shows, a would-be deserter would have ample opportunities for escaping from his ship whilst it was in or near Mozambique. Moreover, if Rodrigues did nothing so dramatic as to swim ashore, he could have disappeared in the dark on the night when a landing party of the Portuguese made an unsuccessful search for water. Such authorities on Portuguese history as Eric Axelson and Gomes da Costa have accepted Correa's account of Machado as substantially true.

I have endeavoured to set out as concisely, but as fairly as within certain limits is reasonably possible, the cases both for and against such acceptance. For reasons already given, I share the view that Correa's account ought to be believed, but it is admittedly open to readers of this article to arrive at another and entirely different conclusion. Whatever their opinion they will, I feel, agree with me that the story of John Machado, the man who made good, is worth the telling.

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FARIA Y SOUSA, M. DE—*The Portuguese Asia* (London, 1695) by Captain John Stevens is a fairly accurate and complete translation of the whole of Faria y Sousa's book. G. M. Theal—*op. cit.*—Vol. I has translated the portion dealing with Vasco da Gama's first voyage.

GALVAO—An English translation is to be found in Kerr—*Voyages and Travels* (Edinburgh, 1811), Vol. II *Sub. tit. Summary of Discoveries of the World*.

GOES—The chapters dealing with the voyages of Vasco da Gama and Cabral have been translated by G. M. Theal—*op. cit.* Vol. III.

SANTOS—Portions of the *Aethiopia Oriental* have been translated by Theal *op. cit.*—Vol. VII, Pinkerton—*Voyages and Travels* (London, 1808), Vol. XVI Purchas—*His Pilgrimes* (London, 1621) Vol. II Book IX.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

HANS CORY, O.B.E., who has often written for *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, has worked in this country since before the First World War. He is now a Government Sociologist, and has a deep knowledge and understanding of many of the tribes, especially of the Sukuma and the Haya. He has published many books and articles in the leading sociological journals.

P. M. H. FOZZARD, who was born in 1933, entered the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, intending to read Botany and Agriculture, but he graduated instead with Geology Honours, and joined the Geological Survey of Tanganyika in 1955. His geological mapping for the Survey has given him the opportunity of covering the Kondoa and Usandawe areas in detail, thus bringing him into close contact with the Rock Shelters and their associated arts.

DR. G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE was educated at Eastbourne College and Worcester College, Oxford, and served in the Army in many Middle Eastern countries. After the War he was for a time head of the English Department of the Abadan Technical Institute, and subsequently on the staff of the Higher Teachers' Training College, Baghdad. He joined the Tanganyika Education Department in 1951, and has been largely stationed on the coast. He is the author of numerous articles in a variety of journals on East African History. His *Medieval History of the Tanganyika Coast* is to be published in 1960, and also a chapter on *The Coast, 1500-1840* in the forthcoming *Oxford History of East Africa*. He is a Fellow of the Royal Numismatic Society. His wife is a kinswoman of James Bruce, the first British explorer of Africa.

DR. P. H. GULLIVER obtained a Colonial Research Fellowship for social research in Kenya and Uganda from 1948 to 1951. After lecturing for a year at the London School of Economics he was appointed Government Sociologist, Tanganyika, and carried out anthropological research among the Ngoni, Nyasa, Nyakyusa and peoples of Tanga and Arusha. In 1958 he was visiting lecturer in Social Anthropology at Harvard University and at the moment he is Assistant Professor of Social Anthropology, African Studies and Research Program, Boston University. Dr. Gulliver has written a number of books and articles on anthropological topics concerning Africa.

KENNETH INGHAM, M.C., is Professor of History at Makerere College, Uganda. He came to Uganda in 1950, and has been a Legislative Councillor since 1954. His main publications are *Reformers in India* and *The Making of Modern Uganda* and he has contributed articles to the Uganda Journal, the Encyclopaedia Britannica and the Journal of Ecclesiastical History, and at the moment he is working on a one-volume history of East Africa.

DAVID MCCALLUM graduated in 1935 from Glasgow University with an M.A. degree in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy and taught Maths. in Scotland before joining the R.A.F. as a Meteorological Officer in 1940. After serving mainly in the Middle East he returned to teaching in 1946 and in 1949 joined the Education Department in Kenya. After three years he transferred to the Meteorological Department, and was appointed Regional Meteorological Representative, Tanganyika, in July, 1956.

CAPT. P. R. MORGAN is an ex-Master Mariner now farming in Kenya. After leaving the sea as a profession, he was employed by the African Wharfage Company for twenty-five years, ten of which, 1926 to 1936, he spent in or was based on Dar es Salaam. He was an original member of the Dar es Salaam Yacht Club.

MWENE ILONGA is Chief of the Wawungu and Chairman of the Chunya District Native Authority Council. Born about 1893, son of Mwene Kilanga, he was educated by the White Fathers at Galula Mission. After a short spell as a market clerk in Iringa he was employed as a Mission Religious Teacher. He then moved to Kenya where he worked first as a clerk on a coffee estate and, later, again as a Mission Teacher. He returned to assist his father as Chief's Deputy in 1930 and on the election of Mpima as Chief in 1942 (see page 92) he became Headman and Courtholder at Kunguta's Baraza in Uwungu. He became Chief in 1946, and in 1951 was awarded the King's Certificate and Badge of Honour for his outstanding work as Headman and, later, Chief.

R. H. W. PAKENHAM, O.B.E., served in Zanzibar from 1929 to 1956 with a brief spell of secondment to Tanganyika (Kigoma) in 1935/36. For his last eight years in Zanzibar he was Senior Commissioner. He made a specialised study of the land-vertebrates, especially birds, of Zanzibar and Pemba, and published a certain amount of material on them. He is now serving as General Secretary of the British Syrian Mission.

D. M. PHATAK was born in India in 1907, and was educated at the New English School, Poona, India. He came to Tanganyika in 1929, and joined the Tsetse Research Reclamation Department at Kondoa-Irangi. In 1931 he was transferred to the Provincial Administration in Tabora, and since then he has been in the Western Province. At the moment he is Accounts Assistant and Office Supervisor in the Provincial Headquarters at Tabora.

DR. HANS SCHMIEDEL, who was born in Tokyo of German missionary parents, was for forty years professor at an important Girls' High School in Dortmund, and superintendent of its Library. His studies relate especially to the history of the European Colonies, and the French language.

Correspondence

ANTS

Dear Sir,

In East African literature vague and ambiguous terms are always being used regarding our ants. Would some entomologist give us a brief list of the popular names of ants as correctly applied together with their scientific names? The Safari ants who usually number about 50 and who pass on are sometimes confused with Driver ants. One stings and the other bites and hangs on like a bull-dog. In Australia spearwounds were stitched by the aborigines holding these ants (locally called "bull-dog ants") to the wound. They broke off the bodies, leaving the jaws holding the skin together.

Plagiolepis custodiens known as Sangara who plague the murrum or gritty paths from Kilosa to Rufiji are vaguely called "red ants" elsewhere I suspect. I do not know the extent of their habitat.

The ants who make gall-thorn nests in Central Tanganyika which whistle in the wind—what is their correct name? Then there are the sugar ants, tiny, harmless ants laying eggs in books or nooks in furniture, and the maji-moto or tailor ants (*Occaphylla smaragdina*) on trees, especially mangoes. We need some standardisation of nomenclature even in popular names.

Yours sincerely,

R. DE LA BERE BARKER

STEIGLER'S GORGE,
P.O. UTETE, RUFJI,
31ST JULY, 1958

FLYING IN TANGANYIKA, 1914-1939

Dear Sir,

I wonder if Wing-Commander Howes has read "Flying and Sport in East Africa" by the novelist Leo Walmsley, who died recently. Walmsley was an observer with the R.F.C., and his account of operations throughout Tanganyika was published in 1920—the book is available in the library of the King George V Memorial Museum, Dar es Salaam.

Besides four airstrips in Kenya between Voi and Taveta the author describes fourteen landing fields in this country. Moving into Tanganyika via Taveta, the squadron, which was equipped with B.E. 2.C's moved down the Pangani River with landing grounds at Kahe, Old Lassita, Kwa Lokua and Palms (not far from Mombo). Then following the Morogoro road, further fields were in operation at Mbagui, Komsanga and Dakawa (these two on the Wami River), and finally Morogoro itself.

Scouting over Morogoro Walmsley records being fired at by an anti-aircraft gun, which on later ground perusal turned out to be a field gun mounted on the railway turntable at the station. On entering Morogoro the R.F.C. were billeted at the Station Hotel, which he described as follows:

"It was quite a fair-sized building, but in a shocking condition of disorder and filth. It was furnished with a chair, two beds, one table, a sausage-machine, and a heller-in-the-slot piano, which gave an accomplished rendering of the Hymn of Hate as we entered the room".

At Morogoro the squadron was reinforced with Henri Farman 'pushers', but Walmsley continued to fly in his B.E. 2.C. until the end of his service. Moving to Tulo (south of the Uluguru mountains) they made reconnaissances over the Rufiji bridge at Kibambawe. Following a period at Kilwa with a satellite field at Tscheremo—some 40 miles up the Matandu River—Walmsley was invalided to Dar es Salaam.

He returned to duty at Iringa, and his unit was equipped with two B.E. 2.C's (naval type) with 100 h.p. Rolls-Royce engines. He records how a spare wing for a damaged 'plane was carried by porters from Dar es Salaam to Iringa only to find that it was the wrong sort of wing! Moving south to Njombe a reconnaissance was made towards Lake Rukwa (acting on incorrect intelligence). As the duration of flight of the machines was in no way sufficient, debris of petrol were carried in the cockpit for mid-air refuelling.

Moving south to Lake Nyasa, the 'planes were flown to Weidhaven (Mbamba Bay) on the Lake, there dismantled and shipped to Fort Johnson for reassembly. Walmsley accompanied the stores, petrol and hanger which were carried by porters over the Livingstone range to Old Langenburg (Mwaya).

His machine was later burnt out following a crash and a grass fire south of Songea—from where the squadron was working, and so ended an epic of scouting by air involving nearly as many landing fields as we have now in the country.

Yours faithfully,

A. E. G. MARKHAM

PRIVATE BAG,
DAR ES SALAAM,
8TH DECEMBER, 1958

TABORA SOVEREIGN

Dear Sir,

Dr. Freeman-Grenville will forgive me I am sure if I add a few notes to his authoritative article upon the Tabora "Sovereign" in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, No. 50.

Since I wrote my earlier letter I have heard from Mr. Trappe. He has sent me an extract from the book by the former German Governor, Dr. H. Schnee, *Deutsch-Ostafrika im Welt Kriege* p. 280 ff. which he very kindly permits me to use. Dr. Schnee describes first of all the difficulties encountered by the German authorities over maintaining a currency of bank notes in the territory. There was a complete lack of suitable paper and only simple printing presses available. Another correspondent, Mr. Hatchell, tells me that the British military authorities were on the alert to counterfeit any emergency notes issued in order to flood out and discredit the German currency. "However," Dr. Schnee continues, "the arrival of the auxiliary ship *Marie* in March, 1916 solved this

problem. The ship brought considerable quantities of paper and a great portion of this was suitable for making interim-notes". And thus, I am tempted to add, does the man in the field ever misuse his stationery vote. In all, Dr. Schnee thinks that a total of approximately 20 million rupees in interim-notes was issued. Finally he refers to the gold coins.

"There was sufficient gold in bullion from the Territory's own gold production to coin gold coins amounting to 1 million marks.

"After a design made by Mr. R. Vogt of Tabora the dies for 15 rupee coins were cut by a Sinhalese goldsmith. . . . The fineness was 750/1,000.

"The coining was unfortunately interrupted prematurely by the advance of the enemy towards the Central Line and by the taking of Tabora by the Belgians in September, 1916.

"A total of 16,198 pieces had been coined."

This last is a most important point; it may be agreed that the German Governor's own record made only a few years after the event is worthy of the highest respect.

Dr. Kraay of the Ashmolean Museum draws my attention to a note in *Berliner Münzblätter* 1925 p. 189 by Dr. A. Krenkel, who is described as "the official organizer of the Tabora issues". He says: "Of the 15 rupee pieces there were struck at that time 16,108* but there were also false pieces issued which, like the original, were made from the so called Tabora gold which had been appropriated. These imitative pieces are seemingly struck with the same obverse die (elephant)† but with a newly prepared reverse die (eagle). About the quantity of this striking there is naturally no authentic information, but it seems to have been large".

There is a reference to this note in K. Jaeger's *Die Reichsmünzen seit 1871* (Basel 1956) pp. 159-161 (who is perhaps a better authority than Wayte Raymond). Jaeger identifies the false reverse die as that which has the scroll beneath the letters TA of OSTAFRIKA, instead of, as on the regular die, beneath the letter A. If Jaeger is right, I am afraid the piece in the George V Museum appears to fall into the false category.

If Dr. Krenkel is to be accepted in full we have to make an entirely fresh approach to the question of the forgeries, for he says that the "so called Tabora gold" (traditionally from the Sekenke mine) was used, i.e. the coining is tied to Tabora by more than simply that the same elephant die was used for both regular and irregular issues. Conceivably Mr. Vatthiare could have pocketed his elephant die (there is no reason for thinking that it would have been easy for him to do so, even if he were mint master as well as engraver), moved to Zanzibar and there set up in business forging souvenirs for the troops to buy. But he could scarcely have taken a supply of bullion with him. We are tempted to wonder what light chemical analysis of a sample of each of the two issues would throw on this question. Locally refined gold can be expected by its impurities to be certainly identifiable. There is at all events no suggestion that the forged issue was under weight or of baser metal compared with the regular. And it should be remembered that, as a medium of exchange, the Tabora "sovereign" would

*I am unable at the moment to speak as to the difference here from the 16,198 quoted from Dr. Schnee's book. A simple slip of the pen may be responsible.

†Dr. Freeman-Grenville is wrong, I think he will agree, to call the elephant the reverse design. The obverse is the anvil die, while the reverse pattern is engraved on the upper, hammer, die. Study of the piece makes quite clear that for all its date in the exergue (normally found on the reverse of a coin) the elephant was in fact the anvil die.

have been at an immediate discount with the British sovereign into competition with which it would have come a very short while after its issue. The only additional cachet it would have carried would have been that of numismatic scarcity as a souvenir. This might well have forced up its market value, as a rumour that "they are turning them out in thousands in the Zanzibar bazaars" would, equally, have forced it down. The machinations of money changers, or indeed the absence of record of a successful prosecution for forgery seem scarcely relevant to our inquiry.

The suggestion that the "sovereigns" were not originally intended as coins interests me. I would ask, if they were sold at their face value, whether it was in exchange for interim-notes. For if so they were indeed lending support to the currency. And the production of "presents and souvenirs" appears a surprising activity for forces beleaguered as were the German in 1916. I think the answer must lie betwixt and between. If, as Dr. Schnee suggests, bullion worth a million gold marks was available, then to the authorities in Tabora it would have been as useless as so much pig-iron, until coined in some way. For all that the military are in control, to offer payment by assignat or any other form of paper promissory note has never been a successful way of persuading the producer to part with his supplies any more than commandeering ever successfully uncovered every hoard. The army which pays its way in hard cash always expect more popularity than that which pays in promises. No, the intention must have been to put the gold to work on behalf of its hard-pressed owners. Events probably overtook the project before there was time fully to unfold it.

Whom to follow, Mr. Jameshamy with 2,000 minted or Dr. Schnee and Dr. Krenkel with 16,108, it should not be hard to choose. The comparative lack of scarcity of the piece seems to argue in favour of the latter, who with a less round figure certainly appear to be recollecting, if not referring to, an accurate record. I myself was recently offered a reasonable specimen of the irregular issue by a London dealer for Shs. 250/-.

There is a marked difference in standard of craftsmanship in the engraving of the obverse and reverse dies. The left foreleg of the elephant, looking like the trunk of a tree, is particularly badly drawn. The heraldic eagle on the reverse on the other hand could scarcely be bettered, right down to the minute engraving of the quartering on the shield it bears on its chest. But here of course, the engraver was following as model the eagle which comprised the obverse of the silver German mark and half-mark. He must however have boggled at copying the imperial portrait on the gold 20-mark piece and silver rupees. As to the mountains which fill the background behind the elephant it occurs to me to point out how similar they are to those which appear behind the lion on our present-day East African shillings, which are identical in design with the Kenya and Uganda silver current in 1916.

One last point. I should perhaps draw attention to the slip of the pen by which in a footnote to Dr. Freeman-Grenville's article "silver" is substituted for "copper". There was of course no silver emergency currency although the 20-heller piece occurs in both copper and brass.

Your faithfully,

DISTRICT OFFICE, KASULU,
24TH NOVEMBER, 1958

D. D. YONGE

Dr. Freeman-Grenville writes:—

If Mr. Yonge will look again at the end of my article, he will see he has done exactly what I asked: he has been provoked as I hoped! I called the article "In Search of the History of the Tabora Sovereign" precisely because I knew it was *not* the last word, because I had not consulted, nor did I know, the German authorities.

I am very glad indeed to accept his corrections. I would disagree only that Vattiare could not have been the forger: he never returned to Zanzibar, but ended his days in Dar es Salaam in 1926—at least according to Mr. Jameshamy. Who the forger was we shall presumably never know.

[Mr. Trappe also wrote to us, sending a translation of the extract from Dr. Schnee's book, from which Mr. Yonge quotes above. We are grateful to him for this important contribution to the knowledge of the subject.—Editor.]

Dear Sir,

It gave me pleasure to read the article, "In Search of the History of the Tabora Sovereign" by Dr. Freeman-Grenville, in *Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 50. It is praiseworthy on his part to have continued the search and eventually to have found out the name of the person who made the dies for the Tabora Sovereign. He has certainly added a great deal to the history of this famous coin. However, I should like to make a few comments on some of the points raised by the writer. I quote them below in his own words:—

(1) "Why the tradition of German gold coinage was broken in this instance, and the sovereign's head not displayed, cannot at present be explained."

In my opinion, the reason for not displaying the sovereign's head (Kaiser Wilhelm II) was presumably that the engraver might have found the job of producing the required exactness of an imperial portrait beyond his ability.

(2) "The very small number of these coins minted—only about 2,000—does not suggest that it was to combat a shortage of gold currency."

There must surely have been more than 2,000 pieces minted of this coin. My argument is based on the following. *The Handbook of Tanganyika*, First Edition, 1930 (Ed. G. F. Sayers) pp. 184-193, states:—"On account of a breakdown of the stamping machine the whole of the July output of gold coins was stamped at the factory of the Ostafrikanische Olfabrik Gesellschaft at Lulanguru (Tabora) with the aid of an oil press placed at the disposal of the Government free of charge."

When one reads the above quotation, one naturally asks what was the capacity of the machine to strike coins per minute, per day, per month, and for how many months the process of striking or stamping was going on. In advanced countries, for example at the Royal Mint in Britain, the mint machinery is capable of striking coins at the rate of 100-120 a minute (*Everyday Things and Their Story*, p. 204). The machinery which the German Government used for minting these coins would have been, in my opinion, capable of striking at least 10, if not more coins per minute, or 600 per hour. Allow 6 hours a day and you would get 3,600 in a

day. If we are to believe the statement in the Handbook which refers to "the whole of the July output of gold" then the July output alone would amount, according to these calculations, to some 108,000 pieces. As the *July* output is clearly specified, this leads one to think that the minting of gold coins went on for some months. This conclusion is further strengthened when we take into consideration the statement in Dr. Freeman-Grenville's article that "Mr. Jameshamy says that minting took place both in 1915 and 1916 and that four men went with Vaththiare." With all this in mind one is inclined to believe that there must have been several thousand pieces of this gold coin, and not only 2,000 as estimated.

(3) "Moreover, such a difficulty could easily have been overcome, as it was in contemporary Great Britain and elsewhere, by a paper issue."

I quote below an extract from the above-mentioned *Handbook of Tanganyika*, beginning:—"Owing to the scarcity in 1915 of paper for printing bank notes, paper used for various Government publications was substituted for this purpose." This clearly indicates that the German Government did issue interim-notes, and as we can see, these notes are in fact printed on rough paper.

In an article headed "Tabora Sovereigns" dated August 15th (?1952) appearing in one of the issues of the *Tanganyika Standard* in 1952, Mr. Rastom Sidhwa of Zanzibar writes:—"The idea was to create their own currency (gold sovereigns) so as to carry on trade and make it easier for the army to obtain supplies, as the Indian merchants were becoming more reluctant day by day to take up the paper currency which was forced upon them."

The above also indicates that the gold coins were minted as currency with the intention of overcoming the difficulties then existing.

In short, it clearly appears that the German Government did everything possible to maintain the steady flow of currency by (1) minting coins, 20 hellers in both brass and copper and 5 hellers in brass from the metal and metal sheets then available; (2) printing interim notes of value Rs. 1, 5, 10, 20, 50, 100, 200 and 500, using all available paper, and (3) resorting to minting gold coins from the gold obtained from Senkenke Gold Mines, the only precious metal then available in the Territory.

(4) "Only 2,000 of these attractive gold pieces, says Mr. Jameshamy, were minted altogether. They were not originally intended as coins, but to be given as presents and souvenirs."

One may be rather reluctant to believe this statement of Mr. Jameshamy's. In those hard days of war, one would not have thought the Germans would have used the available quantity of gold minting coins which were eventually to be used only as presents and souvenirs.

From the foregoing information one is inclined to believe that the gold coins were minted with a specific intention to use them as currency in order to restore the faith of the general public.

Yours faithfully,

PROVINCIAL OFFICE, TABORA,
27TH FEBRUARY, 1959

D. M. PHATAK

SWAHILI BORROWINGS

Dear Sir,

Mr. Gower's entertaining article on Swahili Borrowings from English prompts me to offer one or two more.

Korofi, sometimes *kirofi*, is used for an address, the English *care of*. A U.M.C.A. teacher once said to me: "*Nilikwenda Bwana Chidiko*", surely a more elegant form than "*archidikoni*".

One wonders, though, how far the process will go. Currently at Newala there is a notice "P.W.D. TEMPORARY OFFICE", while here in Mtwara a merchant, who sells joss-stocks, has one which says:

"BEWEAR OF IMITATIONS".

May I hope, Sir, that you will?

Yours faithfully,

P.O. BOX 43, MTWARA,
22ND MARCH, 1959

G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE

SPEKE'S DEATH

Dear Sir,

I was glad to see that Sir John Gray has cleared the memory of Speke of the smear of suicide.

One wonders whence it first arose. It seems to me possible that it was deduced from a passage in Sir Richard Burton, *Zanzibar, City, Island and Coast*, Vol. II, 397-398, which was not published until 1872, eight years after Speke's melancholy end. Surely it is one of the most bitter and callous passages in Burton's writings, and one which would appear to do him little credit.

"Returning to England from Fernando Po, West Africa, I attended at Bath the British Association for September, 1864. The date for the discussion of the Nile Sources . . . was fixed on September 16th. On the previous day I passed my quondam companion as he sat on the President's right hand, and I could not but remark the immense change of feature, of expression, and of general appearance which his severe labours, complicated perhaps by deafness and dimness of sight, had wrought in him. We looked at each other of course without signs of recognition. Someone beckoned to him from the bottom of the hall. At 1.30 p.m. he arose, and ejaculating, "I can't stand this any longer!" he left the room. Three hours afterwards he was a corpse.

Early in the forenoon fixed for what silly tongues called the "Nile Duel" I found a large assembly in the rooms of Section E. A note was handed

round in silence. Presently my friend Mr. Findlay broke the tidings to me. Capt. Speke had lost his life on the yesterday, at 4 p.m., whilst shooting over a cousin's grounds. He had been missed in the field, and his kinsman found him lying upon the earth, shot through the body close to the heart. He lived only a few minutes, and his last words were a request not to be moved. The calamity had been the more unexpected as he was ever remarkable for the caution with which he handled his weapon. I ever make a point of ascertaining a fellow-traveller's habits in that matter, and I observed that even when our canoe was shaken and upthrown by the hippopotamus he never allowed his gun to look at him or others".

The inquest was fully reported in *The Times* of 17th September, 1864, and one can hardly believe that Sir Richard Burton had any fresh memory of it in his mind when he wrote.

Yours faithfully,

P.O. BOX 43, MTWARA,
22ND MARCH, 1959

G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE

THE DUGONG

Dear Sir,

Mr. Savory's *Note on the Dugong* has reminded me of a sixteenth century account of these waters by the Jesuit Fr. Monclaro, who accompanied Francis Barreto's expedition of 1569:

"Before reaching this island (Zanzibar), from the pangayo in which I was, I saw a fish about three ells in length and four palms in thickness, which at the back appeared like a large sole. All the sailors said this was a mermaid, and exactly resembled a woman in front. They find many of these, and catch them, and relate many wonders of nature concerning them. I set this down, so that any who shall hear sirens spoken of may understand that there are no others in all the sea navigated by the Portuguese, and it is certain that it was this fish which gave rise to the fables about this coast".

He adds below in a footnote:

"I wish to make a note of this curiosity, that when persons shall at any time hear talk of sirens, they may know that they are not fabulous, as some believe, but have been found in that part of the sea, which has been many times navigated, and also at the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Comorin, as I have seen in letters from men of great authority in those parts." (Monclaro, translated by G. M. Theal, *Records of S.E. Africa*, Vol. III, Cape Town, 1899).

Yours faithfully,

P.O. BOX 43, MTWARA,
30TH MARCH, 1959

KINLOSS

HIPPOPOTAMUS FLESH AS FOOD

Dear Sir,

With reference to the note by Professor Simoons which appears in No. 51 of the Journal on the subject of hippopotamus flesh as a food: small groups of people and individuals are not infrequently encountered in this territory who, by reason of some tabu or *mwiko* are not permitted to eat hippo flesh, but any general prohibition over a large area or over a large section of the population is probably less common.

In the Rukwa and on Lakes Victoria and Tanganyika there are professional hippo hunters equipped with rather specialised spears and other weapons and if my recollection is correct the hunting of the animal is the monopoly of these hunters who are organised into some form of guild with entry only by special ceremony.

In the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute No. LIV, January to June 1924, there is a report of the belief among the Wandamba of the Ulanga valley that the flesh of the animal is beneficial to pregnant women and in child-birth. It has been suggested that this belief is reminiscent of the veneration in ancient Egypt of the Hippopotamus Goddess Ta-Urt, regarded as the patroness of pregnancy and childbirth.

Hippo fat properly rendered-down is equal to the best beef dripping for cooking purposes although an itinerant journalist who was fed on it expressed his strong dislike of it in a subsequent travel book.

Yours faithfully,

G. W. HATCHELL

P.O. Box No. 141, TANGA,
14TH MARCH, 1958

[Mr. G. W. Hatchell kindly sent two photographs of professional hippo hunters on Lake Tanganyika, showing their canoes and specialised spears. These photographs were given to Mr. Hatchell many years ago by Reverend Brother Antoine of the White Fathers Mission at Chala, but unfortunately they are too faded to reprint. However Mr. Hatchell very kindly offered these photographs to the King George V Museum, where they may be seen. Professional hippo hunting is dying out, which, judging by the magnificent physique of the hunters, is a pity in a country so short of protein.—Editor.]

Dear Sir,

The hypothesis that "the bias against eating hippopotamus meat is simply an extension of the Middle Eastern antipathy to the pig, applied to its distant relative, the hippopotamus" (Simoons, 1958: 196, *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, No. 51) is supported by my observations among matrilineal tribes in the Southern and Eastern Provinces, Tanganyika, with the qualification, however, that unlike in Ethiopia, this rejection is among the matrilineal tribes in Tanganyika confined to Muslims. My Makonde, Makua and Luguru informants, Muslim and non-Muslim, described the avoidance of hippopotamus meat by Muslims as part of the *shariat* (Muslim Law).

There is, however, one point which deserves perhaps further consideration. The more learned among my Muslim informants, were perfectly aware both of the zoological differences between pigs and hippopotami, as well as of the medical dissimilarity between pork and hippopotamus meat. Moreover, all my informants, Muslims and non-Muslims alike, agreed that other food-taboos (lion, leopard, monkey, dog) are common to Muslims and non-Muslims alike but are *not* observed by Muslims on religious grounds, but in obedience to non-Muslim, *i.e.* customary law.

The question why some Muslim Bantu-speakers should have applied the Quranic prohibition of pork on hippopotamus meat, whilst other African Muslims, such as "Arabs" along the *Atbara River*, Hadji Achmet, an African Turk, etc. (Simoons *loc cit.* p. 195), do not, is of some interest. The reason for these different reactions among Muslim Africans may be sought in the converts, the converters, or both.

There is sometimes an inclination to add to a new religious way of life *more* restrictions than were observed by the original followers of that religion themselves. Various, though not all Muslim convert groups in India, for instance, placed far greater restrictions on the freedom of movement and dress of their women than were observed in traditionally Muslim countries of the Near East, even at the time of Islamic expansion in India. Nor are Christian converts and missionaries an exception to this rule. Christian missionaries among the Mongoloid hill tribes of Assam, for instance, frequently insisted on abstinence from alcoholic drinks and on abandoning national costumes, games and even music, though no such restrictions were imposed in their homelands, on their own Christian compatriots. (Elwin, 1959: 122 ff, 128 ff).

Yours faithfully,

U. R. EHRENFELS

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY,
UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS,
7TH APRIL, 1959

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SIMOONS, Prof. FREDERICK J.—1958: "*The Use and Rejection of Hippopotamus Flesh as Food in Africa*" in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, No. 51.

Dear Sir,

With reference to Professor Simoons' article on the use and rejection of hippopotamus flesh as food in Africa, readers may be interested to know that I have been informed by Mwene Ilonga, the Chief of the Wawungu (who themselves relish hippopotamus meat) that his neighbours to the north, the Wakimbu, reject this meat. Their reason is that its consumption would inevitably result in the eater being stricken with leprosy. It seems this deduction is obvious from the appearance of the beast.

Poor hippo, as if his appearance itself was not enough!

Yours faithfully,

DISTRICT OFFICE, CHUNYA,
24TH APRIL, 1959

F. G. FINCH

CENTENARY OF DAR ES SALAAM

Dear Sir,

In a few years' time there will occur a very important milestone in the history of Tanganyika, namely, the centenary of the foundation of Dar es Salaam. In what year this will occur I am in some doubt, as it is not always easy to determine with exactitude when it may be said that a city has been founded. Also the information available to me, some of which was kindly supplied by the Curator of the Museum and Government Archivist, Zanzibar, is insufficient to provide the answer.

In his paper "Burton—An Appreciation" (*Tanganyika Notes and Records*, No. 49) Mr. Risley, à propos the arrival of the Burton and Speke expedition from the interior on 3rd February, 1859, at Kunduchi, states: "A few miles south was the fishing village of Mzisima where some three years later the Sultan of Zanzibar was to found the new settlement and port of Dar es Salaam". This suggests that Mr. Risley takes 1862 as the date of the town's foundation. This is the date, incidentally, which is also given by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Sir John Gray in the chapters on the history of Tanganyika up to the end of the 1914-18 war which he contributed to the *Handbook of Tanganyika*, states: "In 1862 the attention of Said Bin Sultan's son and successor Majid Bin Said (1856-1870) had been called to the landlocked harbour which is now known as Dar es Salaam as a potential outlet for the trade with the Central Lakes. In 1866 he started to build on the banks of the harbour to which he gave the name of Dar es Salaam and to which he intended to transfer his capital".

Sir John does not state when the town was founded but 1866 is taken by Sir Reginald Coupland in *The Exploitation of East Africa* as the date in question.

I feel that to take the date of the actual commencement of the construction of buildings as the date of the foundation is perhaps not entirely justified as there must obviously have been important preliminaries before building could be started.

On 11th May, 1862, the British Consul at Zanzibar informed the Bombay Government that the Sultan "has requested me to accompany him in one of his vessels of war across to the coast in view to inspecting a point which he deems of value as a future harbour and entrepôt".

On 10th November, 1866, the Consul reported to the Bombay Government that the Sultan "is at present creating a palace, a port and dwellings for his officials".

It would seem to me that it is on a date yet to be determined between May 1862 and say, June 1866, that it can be fairly stated that Dar es Salaam was founded. I myself would favour 1862 as the date, as it was almost certainly at this time that the Sultan began negotiations with the local inhabitants for the acquisition of land for the new town. But I feel that some research is necessary to establish this fact with certainty, for I would suggest that these negotiations do represent the true foundation of the town.

It would be very helpful if members of the Tanganyika Society could produce further information on this matter. I think the Society would be doing a service to Tanganyika if it could establish the foundation date with certainty as doubtless this important event will be fittingly celebrated.

Yours faithfully,

JAMES M. LISTON

TERRITORIAL MEDICAL HEADQUARTERS,
DAR ES SALAAM,
21ST APRIL, 1959

KILIMANJARO—ORDINARY

Dear Sir,

May I put forward three points for Kilimanjaro—Ordinary “over age” climbers?

“Breathlessness due to the altitude”. This we know arises because the atmosphere at 15,000 feet contains less oxygen than we are used to. A logical reaction would be to breathe faster than at lower levels, thus bringing more air into the lungs, and more oxygen. In other words—pant before it is necessary to do so; and keep on panting all the time, even on the gentle slopes of the Saddle.

Next, food. During the first three days, at the slightest uneasiness of the stomach, avoid solid food. Headaches and mountain sickness may then be avoided, and a good sleep at the third hut will be more likely. Broths, porridge, and raw eggs beaten up in a warm drink give quite enough nourishment, and give the stomach little work to do.

Thirdly, at Gillman’s Point, before the final stroll round the rim, a large flask of coffee is a commonsense provision. Yet how rarely is it provided. At sea-level, no man in his senses would think of walking from 2 a.m. until noon or later without food of some sort. Glucose tablets and a hot drink would be the minimum. The normal routine on Kibo summit omits even that minimum. No wonder then if elation is so often lacking in an hour when elation would be most appropriate.

Yours faithfully,

P. J. BARNWELL

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, DAR ES SALAAM,
26TH APRIL, 1959

SOME HISTORIC MOSHI BUILDINGS

Dear Sir,

Please allow me a few remarks on the most interesting article, “Some Historic Moshi Buildings” in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, No. 51, by H. A. Fosbrooke.

The picture, “The first British Boma in Moshi” is the old German Boma in Old Moshi, and not Mr. Rothblitz’s Hotel (called “Windsor Castle”), which

was used by the British as their Administrative Headquarters in New Moshi. I have a very good picture of the German Boma in Old Moshi and the picture above mentioned is unmistakably the German Boma in Old Moshi, not the Hotel in New Moshi. (I should be glad to send you the picture should you like to see it).

There were no German Administrative Headquarters in New Moshi. Up to the outbreak of the war the German Administrative Headquarters remained in Old Moshi. As this caused great inconvenience to the public, it was intended by the German Government to build new Headquarters in New Moshi. But the outbreak of the war prevented this.

Only two officials were in New Moshi: a Labour Officer (*Arbeizer Kommiar*) and a Police Sergeant (*Polizei Wachtmeister*).

Yours faithfully,

ULRICH TRAPPE

P.O. Box 252,
ARUSHA.

Dear Sir,

Mr. Fosbrooke in a recent article has mentioned the house that H. H. Johnston built near Old Moshi in 1884 and thought that its site could be located on the ground. (*Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 51 pp 200-201).

While stationed at Old Moshi School in 1954 I endeavoured to do this. Johnston's "mtaa" of Kitimbirui, the upper part of Tela, is two miles north-east of the school on the ridge forming the eastern and steep side of the Msangachi Valley. It can be approached by a level path that leaves the road at the shops half a mile above the Mangi's boma: the path circles the head of the valley. At Kitimbirui and in clear sight from Old Moshi is a stone cross dated 1892 commemorating the first preaching of the gospel in the district. The cross is backed by a group of fir trees and an irrigation ditch runs in front of it. I thought that the site of Johnston's camp lay some 200 yards above the cross in the direction of the mountain though it may have been nearer to or at the place where the cross now stands. After a dozen or so visits—it is a very pleasant walk and gives a fine view of new Moshi—I still had not, despite Johnston's pictures of the site in his book, finally made up my mind.

Incidentally, the seventieth anniversary of Johnston's stay at Old Moshi was celebrated at Old Moshi School in June 1954 with a performance of a short play based on his book and recounting his adventures with Mangi Mandara. The part of Mandara was played by a school boy, one of Mandara's direct descendants.

Yours,

P. H. C. CLARKE

TABORA SCHOOL,
TABORA.

Book Review

PROFESSORS IN PRINT

Elsewhere in this issue you will be able to read an article reprinted from the first number of the "Makerere Journal"* which made its bow last year. It is unfortunate that this lively vessel was seemingly launched with so little publicity. The second number has just appeared but so far subscribers in Tanganyika must be few indeed.

The first number has no editorial and no foreword so the reader is left wondering how it was and why the Journal came into being. But too great a concern with "objects and reasons" is probably an occupational disease of those who have pseudo-legal connections. The general reader will be well content to discover such a well-mixed brew where he is almost certain to find something to suit his palate. The Journal is the "Publication of the Faculty of Arts". As every schoolboy knows, "Arts" covers a multitude of subjects, but in this first number, History with three articles out of six has the edge.

"The Defeat of the Manchester School" will disappoint football fans, for it deals with British party politics a hundred years ago. It is an article that will bring back to many the nostalgic aroma of gas-fired academic research, when the earnest undergraduate was desperately trying to read up that all-important paper before writing his own weekly tutorial essay.

"African History and African Historians" is a review of a book on the Economic and Political History of Nigeria by an African professional historian. It will find a ready audience with anyone who has an interest in the history of Africa—West or East (North and South being in a somewhat different category).

Dr. Warren, Professor of English, provides an unexpected contribution in which he compares Samuel Smiles "Self Help" with Dale Carnegie "How to win Friends and Influence People." He has contrived a remarkably entertaining piece. Dale Carnegie is better known to the writer for his other best seller "How to Stop Worrying". Whilst it is certain that the Journal deserves to find a wide audience, one nagging little worry remains—does regard for the Arts survive sufficiently amidst heat and humidity to allow us to sit down and sup regularly at the Professors' table? I hope that many will reply in the affirmative, for we read in the papers that the age of the moron is near at hand.

R. H. GOWER

*The Journal, which is printed at the College Library, is obtainable at Shs. 5/- a copy from the Secretary, Makerere College, P.O. Box 262, Kampala. Cheques should be crossed and made payable to "Makerere Journal".

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