



TANGANYIKA NOTES AND RECORDS

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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 to 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.

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

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NAVAL ACTIONS ON THE TANGANYIKA COAST 1914-1917

By Commander C. J. Charlewood, O.B.E., D.S.C., R.D., R.N.R. (Retd.)

[Permission to reprint the following pages from Commander Charlewood's book "Channels, Cloves, and Coconuts" has been kindly given by The Western Press, Westward Ho! North Devon.]

PART II

Of the islands that lie off the mouths of the Rufiji, that great waterway of Central Africa, the largest is Mafia, and in January 1915 this island was occupied by the British after two days of sharp fighting, thus depriving the enemy forces of a strategic point from which they had been able to observe and report the movements of our ships, and at the same time providing us with a commodius and sheltered harbour.

While a blockade of the East African coast had been declared, this had, for several months, been only partially effective because of the small naval force available. A close watch had to be maintained over the entrance to the Rufiji River, and this meant that much of the coastline could not be patrolled. By March 1915 the blockading squadron under the command of Vice-Admiral Sir Herbert King-Hall had been increased and then comprised four cruisers: *Hyacinth* (Flag), *Weymouth*, *Pioneer*, *Pyramus*, two armed merchant cruisers, *Kinfauns Castle* and *Laconia*, and four armed whalers.

For patrol purposes the four hundred miles of East African coast were divided into four sections, each under the control of a British cruiser, while the role of the four whalers was to watch the inner waters between the shore and the line of reefs which extends almost continuously from Mombasa to Kilwa.

The whalers, whose peace-time function was to hunt whales in the South Indian Ocean, had been requisitioned by the Admiralty and had been given the names of *Childers*, *Echo*, *Fly* and *Pickle*. They were trim little craft and good sea boats, although generally a little smaller than the trawlers used off the British Isles.

To my intense joy I found myself promoted to the rank of lieutenant and appointed to command one of these whalers, namely, H.M.S. *Echo*. I joined my new command at Zanzibar and proudly took her to sea one night, bound once again for the outer approaches to the Rufiji. Here was a ship, in tonnage some three times that of the *Helmuth*, which, with a saloon and two cabins aft, offered a not too uncomfortable prospect.

My second in command was a Warrant Officer, John Park Mortimore, Boatswain in the Royal Navy. We messed together and I found his companionship delightful. I was fortunate in having an officer of his experience to support me in my dealings with the crew. What Mr. Mortimore did not know about naval storekeeping was negligible, and he was a complete "wizard" with requisition notes and issue vouchers. I am certain that *Echo* was never in arrears with any stores she was required to carry, nor in respect of any returns thereof, and I do not remember ever receiving a query from the fleet accountant officer.

The crew were a grand set of fellows and were mostly drawn from the Royal Fleet Reserve. The coxswain was a petty officer, who with the signalman and telegraphist, had served in the Royal Navy in days of peace. The engine room was in the charge of an E.R.A. (engine-room artificer), who had under him, as watchkeepers, a stoker petty officer and a leading stoker. The posts of officers' servant and stokers were filled by Africans. They were a happy crowd and made my command a congenial one.

Soon after our arrival in Rufiji waters the southwest monsoon broke with its usual accompaniment of torrential rain and high seas, which made life in a small ship extremely uncomfortable and navigation near reefs a constant source of anxiety. When the rains finished, however, we found life much to our liking. Afternoon bathes in the limpid water were delights never to be forgotten. Often we cruised over excellent fishing grounds, where, with a towed bait, we caught barracouta and other large fish. Sometimes we would anchor over a spot favourable to the hand-line fishermen. At all times of the day and night fish were frying in the galley and I never heard the cook complain. An island on which we were at one time erecting a temporary steel lighthouse turned out to be a breeding place for turtles, and so turtle steaks were added to our menu. One turtle we captured contained about two hundred eggs the size of billiard balls.

As we slipped in and out of the Mafia anchorage on our lawful occasions it soon became evident that a major operation was in course of preparation, and it was in the nature of things to guess that an all-out attempt to end the *Königsberg's* career was impending. In the centre of Mafia Island a large area was being cleared to serve as an aerodrome for land 'planes, as the naval seaplanes available at that time had proved unsuitable because of atmospheric conditions. In due course the converted White Star liner H.M.S. *Laurentic* arrived with four biplanes in cases. Their transport from ship to shore proved a difficult and hazardous undertaking. We made rafts for them by securing baulks of timber across two lifeboats and thus towed the huge cases ashore. At least a hundred natives swarmed around each case and carried it shoulder high a full mile up rising ground from beach to aerodrome, chanting and grunting all the way, and reminding one of a swarm of ants carrying off a dead cockroach. Then with a mighty cheer the heavy burden was allowed to crash to the ground to the accompaniment of hand-clapping and yells of laughter.

The next development was the arrival of the two monitors *Severn* and *Mersey*. These shallow-draught vessels whose main armament comprised two six-inch guns had been towed out from England by the S.S. *Trent*, and were accompanied by the four famous Liverpool tugs, *Sarah Jolliffe*, *T. A. Jolliffe*, *Blackcock* and *Revenge*, whose role was to tow the monitors to safety should they become disabled in action. What memories the sight of those tugs revived, for they were all familiar to sailing-ship men of my day!

It was decided to begin operations against the *Königsberg* on the 6th July, and on the previous day the captain of every ship, great and small, reported to Admiral King-Hall on board the Flagship to hear details of the proposed plan of attack. The two monitors were to proceed about three miles up the river, by way of the Kikunya or northern mouth, to a position from which they could attack the *Königsberg* by indirect fire at a range of about 9,000 yards. The firing was to be directed by spotting aeroplanes. The attack would be supported

by *Weymouth*, whose duty it was to fire on the enemy observation posts and any gun positions on the river banks which might attempt to harass the monitors and divert their fire from the principal target. The whalers *Fly* and *Echo* were to sweep ahead of *Weymouth* as she proceeded to her battle station. Other ships in the squadron were to demonstrate off other mouths of the delta.

In order that there might be the element of surprise in the monitors' attack it was essential that they should cross the Kikunya bar and enter the river before dawn. The problem of how such intricate navigation might be performed in the dark was solved by detailing two whalers to act as leading marks to guide the monitors over the bar. *Childers* and *Echo* were selected for the duty and anchored in their allotted positions when night fell. As it was the nightly custom for two whalers to anchor off the river mouths, there would be nothing remarkable in the action of *Childers* and *Echo* on the evening of the 5th of July. On this occasion, however, the reader may guess that we plotted our anchorages with extreme care.

The weather was fine and nothing happened to alarm us, but the time from sunset until 10 p.m., when each whaler was to show a light to seaward, seemed like eternity. At 10.30 p.m. H.M.S. *Severn* glided past *Echo* in complete silence and lowered her anchor without making a sound. In a few minutes a second black mass passed the whalers' friendly glimmer and anchored near her consort. We then extinguished our light. How impressive those silent monsters looked as they steamed to their stations on that memorable eve! In the gloom they might have been battleships.

THE GREAT RUFJI BATTLE

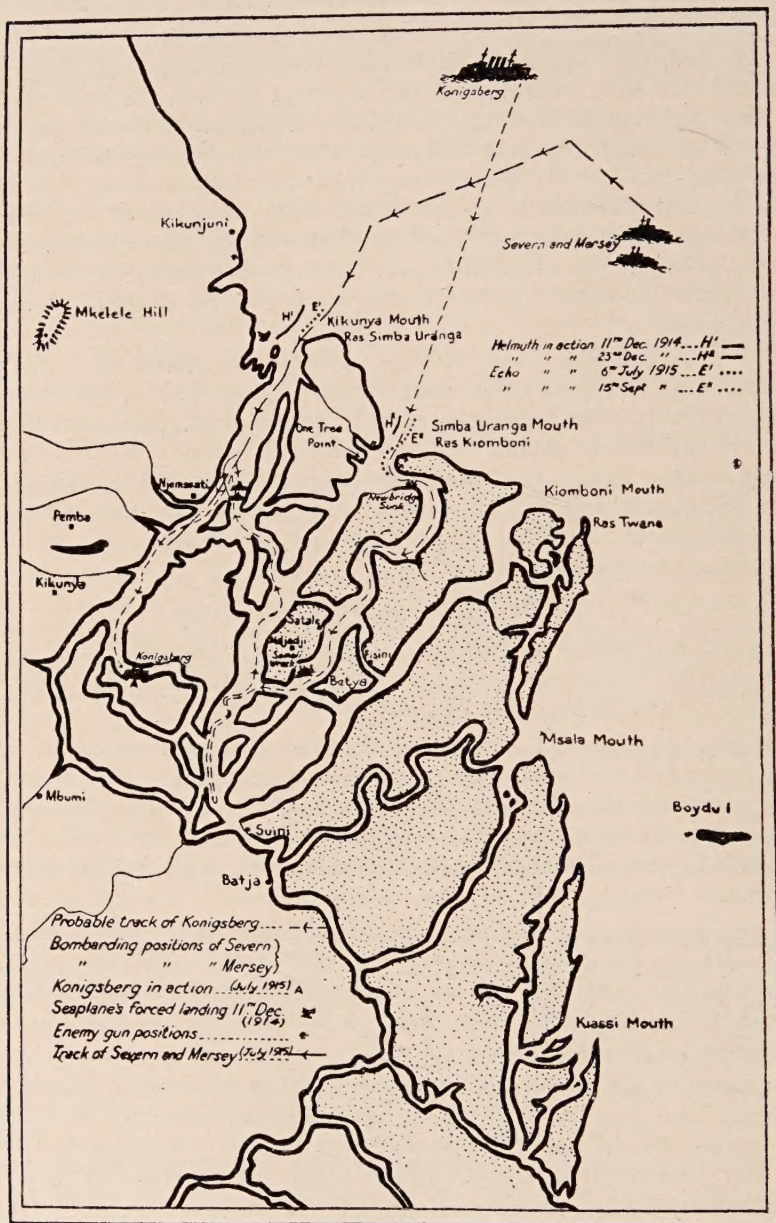
I shall make no attempt to describe the action between H.M. Ships *Severn* and *Mersey* and S.M.S. *Königsberg*, but will recount what I saw from the bridge of H.M.S. *Echo* on that memorable July day in 1915.

The night had been quiet, with an overcast sky, and we could not have prepared for action under more favourable circumstances. At 4 a.m. *Childers* and *Echo* each showed a light in the direction of the Kikunya bar, whereupon *Severn* and *Mersey* weighed anchor and stood in toward the land. Gradually the ships faded from our sight while we prayed for their safety and the preservation of their gallant crews.

As the minutes passed in silence we argued that the monitors had entered the river without the enemy's knowledge. But once within the river banks their presence was observed, for we could see the flash of gunfire from both sides of the river. Brighter flashes and a distant roar told us that the monitors had a counter for this opposition.

When dawn broke at 5.30 the Flagship, H.M.S. *Weymouth*, was seen to be approaching from seaward. We got under way and proceeded to meet her. Soon we could see the cruisers *Hyacinth* and *Pioneer*, the whalers *Pickle* and *Fly*, the four Liverpool tugs, and the S.S. *Trent*, which had been prepared to act as a hospital ship.

By full daylight we could discern the distant shapes of the two monitors as they fought their way up the great estuary. We could hear the thunder of their guns and could see smoke belching from each broadside as they fired shell after shell into the mangroves. Before long they disappeared from our view, when their progress could be followed from sound alone.



Rufiji Delta

It was now time for us to take an active part in the day's events, so *Fly* and *Echo* took station ahead of the Flagship preparatory to sweeping a channel for her into the Kikunya mouth. On a signal from the Commander-in-Chief sweeps were passed and we all steered towards the river. This was the first time we had swept in the presence of the Admiral, and when we read his signal, "Manœuvre well executed", we gathered that the operation had pleased him. Evidently our practice had been thorough, and thus was our striving for efficiency rewarded.

In the centre of the swept channel, and a few cables astern of us, steamed *Childers*, whose duty it was to sound and keep *Weymouth* informed by flag signals of the depth of water available for her. Looking to port we could see *Hyacinth*, *Pioneer* and *Pickle* taking up their stations off Simba Uranga, from which position they were to bombard the defences of that entrance. The tugs followed the Flagship as far as the outer bar, where they remained throughout the action, and *Trent* anchored near Koma Island.

By 7 a.m. the noise of gunfire had become incessant, and we knew that the monitors and the enemy cruiser were engaged. The sharp crack of *Königsberg's* salvoes was distinguishable; I had heard that sound before and was not likely to forget it. At the same time the cruisers at Simba Uranga had opened fire and added to the thunderous uproar.

As we swept on towards the river entrance we came under fire from a field gun on the northern bank—obviously from a field gun which had made things lively for *Helmuth* in December. For about five minutes the enemy fire was intense, and shells burst in the water near us, drenched the ship with spray, and showered the deck with splinters. One shell screamed over our bridge, to find a billet in *Fly* and wound an African stoker; our three pounder returned the enemy fire.

All this time our sweeps were out, and we had to keep perfect station so long as the safe navigation of *Weymouth* depended on our efforts. Suddenly an ear-splitting crash seemed to cleave the very ocean. Thinking that we had exploded a mine with our sweep, I looked astern and expected to see a giant column of water shoot skywards. What I did see was the brown smoke of cordite clouding above *Weymouth's* forward six-inch. Now we looked ashore and saw mangrove trees uprooted and baulks of timber flying in all directions. A few rounds swept the foreshore, and there was no further interference from that quarter.

As soon as *Weymouth* found herself between the river banks, where there was deep water and ample swinging room, she let go an anchor and signalled to us to cease sweeping. When our sweeps were in, we were ordered to keep to seaward of the flagship but to remain within hail. A strong flood was making and swung *Weymouth* head to sea. As soon as the cruiser became tide-ridden, she opened fire with her port battery on various enemy camps and observation stations. Particular attention was accorded to Pemba Hill, some miles inland, whence *Königsberg's* fire against *Severn* was being directed. This long-range fire deprived the enemy of essential spotting corrections and proved to be of immense value to our monitors.

While I took breakfast on the bridge I realized that there could be little prospect of food being served to those gallant officers and men who were fighting the battle of their lives in the next reach of the river. A humming sound made

me look up to see one of our biplanes returning from the scene of battle. It had been spotting for *Severn* and was returning to Mafia to replenish fuel and to rest the pilot and observer.

Within an hour another 'plane passed overhead to assist the monitors. A few days before one machine had crashed on the aerodrome, so that now only three 'planes were available for the day's vital duties, and as it was only possible to keep two in the air at once, a system of reliefs had to be maintained. The periods and distances of the flights broke all records and great credit is due to the officers who undertook those important and perilous duties.

The day grew hotter and hotter, and as we sweltered in our awning-stripped craft, which lay in the open sea, and was subject to an occasional breeze, we thought of our comrades in that inferno up the river. We quailed at the thought of the terrible heat in those confined engine and boiler rooms.

High water was at 11 a.m., and before the ebb began *Weymouth* had to withdraw. The cruisers at Simba Uranga left the river at the same time. Soon they were all anchored near the *Trent* off Koma Island. The small craft remained within the river mouth, ready to assist the monitors should the call be made.

All through the heat of the day *Severn* and *Mersey* maintained constant fire. We could hear *Königsberg* from time to time, but as the day advanced the interval between rounds became longer, until in the early afternoon only the monitors' guns could be heard. By 3 p.m. there was a lull in the firing, and we wondered what the issue really was. Then firing became intense once more, and soon, louder, from which we judged that the monitors had been ordered to retire and were fighting their way out of the river. Presently we saw them as they rounded the last bend.

What a relief it was to see both those ungainly craft! There had been a time when we had thought that our ships stood no chance of surviving *Königsberg's* fire. Neither of them could have withstood one salvo of 4.1 inch projectiles, had this found its mark. Yet they were fighting with the same zest that they had shown in the dawn. Every gun that could be brought to bear was being discharged against the forces on the riverbanks, who still resisted bravely with rifle and occasional field gun fire. The sight of these two vessels as they drew slowly towards us, wrapped in smoke and belching fire from both broadsides, and the ever-increasing volume of sound, are impressions that more than a quarter of a century has failed to erase from my memory.

Among my shipmates there was much conjecture as to the result of the action but when we received orders to proceed to our night stations as usual we knew that it had not been decisive. Later the Admiral signalled that the enemy had suffered considerable damage but had not been completely destroyed. This news did not altogether cheer us because we knew that another attack would have to be made.

The Commander-in-Chief had transferred his Flag to *Hyacinth*, and when the monitors steamed past the Flagship their battle-worn crews were greeted with rousing cheers, while to show what stuff they were made of those blackened heroes raised their caps and returned cheer for cheer. Captain E. J. A. Fullerton, commanding H.M.S. *Severn*, and Captain R. A. Wilson of H.M.S. *Mersey*, repaired on board the Flagship to make their report to the C. in C. As soon as they reached the head of the gangway they were again greeted with tremendous enthusiasm.

H.M.S. *Severn* secured alongside *Trent*, but *Mersey* stood out to sea having yet a duty to perform, the saddest of that gruelling day. At 5 p.m. colours were half-masted while the burial service was read over the bodies of a gun's crew, whose casemate had been hit with a 4.1 inch projectile. The sad office completed, *Mersey* went alongside *Trent*'s other side. At last there came rest for the crews of the monitors after their long vigil and eight hours of incessant firing.

The squadron was informed that notwithstanding the difficulties experienced by the spotting biplanes nine hits on *Königsberg* had been recorded. Next day the monitors and attendant ships proceeded to Mafia, where repairs were effected with commendable speed. Our 'planes continued to fly over *Königsberg*, but there was no sign of life aboard her. Presumably the intention was to create the impression that she had been destroyed and abandoned.

About the second action there could be no surprise, and none was attempted. The monitors left Mafia in sufficient time to be in their battle stations by noon on the 11th of July. The spotting routine had been revised and more definite results were expected. As *Severn* and *Mersey* entered Kikunya, our cruisers, *Weymouth* (Flagship) and *Pyramus* crossed the bar. As before, the whalers swept a channel for them, although on this occasion there was no opposition. The flagship anchored in her previous position, but *Pyramus* steamed further into the river and opened up on both banks with both broadsides.

As in the previous action, we could follow only vaguely the course of events by listening to the sound of gunfire. Again we could distinguish that of friend from that of foe. Early in the action *Königsberg* seemed to be firing salvo after salvo, but by 1 p.m. not more than two of her guns appeared to be firing, and in another hour gunfire from that quarter had ceased, although from time to time we did hear explosions.

Later we learned that *Severn* had opened fire at noon and that enemy fire was concentrated on *Mersey* with great accuracy. Captain Wilson could see the deadly salvoes creeping over the water towards his ship. Obviously in a few moments *Mersey* would be destroyed. Moorings were slipped and the ship navigated higher up the river. She was just clear of her original berth when a full salvo pitched there, and only superb seamanship on the part of officers and men had saved her from certain destruction.

From the beginning of the action the aeroplane signalled the fall of shot. Almost immediately *Severn* found her target and fired round after round with deadly accuracy. The spotting 'plane reported one funnel shot away. The performance of the biplanes was indeed praiseworthy. They were subject to considerable fire and one 'plane had to make a forced descent into the river. Even while his 'plane was falling, the observer made a spotting correction of vital importance. The descent of the 'plane had been seen from *Mersey* and a motor-boat was sent to rescue the pilot and observer, who fortunately, were unwounded. Being strapped in, they were rescued from the machine with great difficulty. Having set fire to the 'plane, the rescue party returned to the *Mersey*.

By 3 p.m. it was evident that *Königsberg*'s destruction was complete, and the monitors were ordered to retire. Once again the river banks were plastered with shell as our gallant little warships made for the open sea. At 8 p.m. the whole squadron was safely anchored at Mafia, happy in the knowledge that

Königsberg would never again fight at sea. Her destruction had proved to be a most formidable problem, a problem only solved by keen naval brains and the devotion to duty of many gallant officers and men.

On the 17th of July *Severn* and *Mersey* paid their first visit to Zanzibar and were given a tremendous reception by the thousands of people who thronged the waterfront. Naval history has the name of Zanzibar on many of its pages.

News soon reached the coast that the monitor captains had been awarded the Distinguished Service Order and had received special promotion. There were honours also for the officers who had hazarded their lives in the air. The bestowal of these awards gave immense pleasure to the squadron as a whole, and we all felt that we had helped to earn them.

With *Königsberg* out of action, the watch over the Rufiji delta could be relaxed, and work for H.M.S. *Echo* was soon found in some other coastal area. It was also made the occasion for a change in command, and Vice-Admiral King-Hall was relieved by Rear Admiral E. B. Charlton.

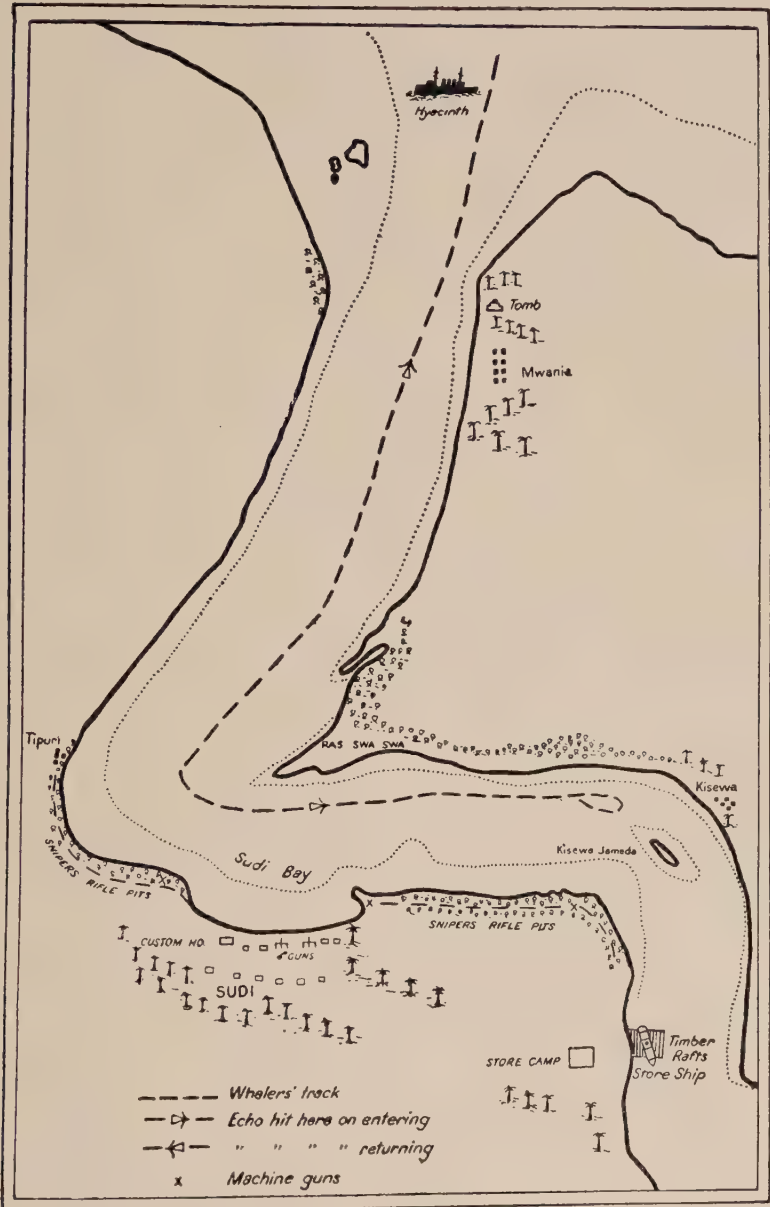
“ECHO” IN ACTION

Night had fallen and *Echo* was carrying out a routine patrol inside the reefs north of the Rufiji Delta when a signal was received ordering us to join H.M.S. *Hyacinth* off Lindi with all possible speed. Our consort *Childers* had the same instructions, and she, too was inside the reefs but some sixty miles to the south of us. A glance at the chart showed that it would take two hours of navigation through reef-bound channels to gain the open sea, and this without lights or other navigational aid. Fortunately I was prepared for the contingency, as it had always been my practice to plot the courses through the reefs from our night station wherever that might happen to be.

Midnight found us clear of danger and off the eastern extremity of Mafia Island. As night advanced, a southerly wind freshened against us, and by dawn we were out of sight of land and ploughing through a short stiff sea which smothered us in spray and made life on board our little ship far from comfortable.

Late in the afternoon we sighted *Hyacinth* which had steamed north to meet us. By sunset we were within hail, and wind and sea had subsided. I repaired on board the cruiser for instructions, and in Captain Anderson's comfortable cabin I learned that our next task was, with *Childers*, to seek out and destroy an enemy store ship, which had evaded our patrol and was reported to be hiding in Sudi Bay, an insignificant inlet some thirteen miles south of the Lindi River. I was told that Commander H. D. Bridges, M.V.O., of H.M.S. *Hyacinth*, was to be in charge of the attack and would lead the expedition in *Childers*; also that *Echo* would tow a steam cutter carrying a demolition party. Both whalers were to cruise off the coast during the night and rejoin *Hyacinth* at dawn off the entrance of Mgau Mwanja, which is the name of the creek leading into Sudi Bay.

Having made myself familiar with these orders, I returned to my ship and set course to keep the land in sight during the night. Being sheltered from the monsoon by Cape Delgado, we were able to steam in comparative comfort; even so there was little sleep for *Echo's* captain, for my thoughts were much occupied with conjecture about the action to come, and the navigational anxieties were very considerable.



Mgau Mwanja

We met the cruiser at the time and place appointed, when Commander Bridges transferred to *Childers*, and *Hyacinth's* steam cutter, in the charge of Lieut. Palmes, passed a towline to *Echo's* stern. The sun rose astern of us as we steamed into Mgau Mwanja. Ahead lay the village of Sudi, which stands near the western shore of Sudi Bay, and which was conspicuous against a background of vegetation and distant hills. Shoals of fish, brilliantly coloured, darted about us, and had not our attention been directed to sterner things we might have caught ourselves a tasty meal.

When *Childers* was about 1,400 yards from the village, the fun began. A tremendous report shattered the morning stillness. A column of water obliterated the leading whaler, and in a few seconds metal splinters showered upon us. I thought at first that a mine had exploded, but when the air had cleared I was relieved to see *Childers* still forging ahead. There were more reports and it was soon evident that gunfire from at least two pieces of four-inch calibre was being directed upon us.

Instantly both whalers returned the fire, and as we could see the smoke of each enemy discharge, it was only a matter of seconds getting accurate range. Although we were plastered by splinters from shells bursting near us, each whaler made the right-angled turn into Sudi Bay without receiving a direct hit. Such good luck could not be expected to last, and when *Echo* was about 800 yards from the village a shell hit us amidships and burst below the bridge. I found myself in a corner of the bridge underneath a pile of hammocks and the debris of shattered deck planks. The engine-room telegraph lay beside me, a mass of twisted metal. I was unhurt, however, and my first thought was for the quartermaster in the conning tower. I shouted to him and was relieved to learn that he was all right and still able to steer. I told him to call down to the engine-room and tell the Engine-room Artificer that he must now take orders by voicepipe. From the other side of the conning tower appeared the signalman, and he also was unscathed. Between us lay a chasm where a few seconds before there had been deck.

I was greatly heartened by the sound of our starboard gun, but was sickened by the sight of the foredeck, now a veritable shambles. The gunlayer had been killed and two seamen lay grievously wounded, yet the fourth member of the crew was keeping his gun in action single-handed.

Glancing aft, I was horrified to see that our colours had been shot away, but in less than a minute the signalman had an ensign flying from the main masthead. A shell bursting under the counter had killed the two men who had been serving the machine gun. The cutter's tow rope had been severed, but she had escaped damage and casualties and was able to steam out of range. By a miracle *Echo's* steering gear remained intact, the engines ran with uninterrupted steadiness, and no structural damage had been suffered apart from a large hole in the counter above the waterline and above the rudder head. We were thus able to maintain perfect station and were soon hidden from the enemy battery by mangroves, at the same time clearing *Hyacinth's* range so that salvo upon salvo of 6-inch shell began to crash on the enemy's lines.

As we rounded the next bend of the creek we caught sight of our quarry, a cargo steamer of some 4,000 tons named *Marie*. She lay close to the shore on the Sudi side of the creek surrounded by baulks of timber, which doubtless had covered a cargo of military stores and ammunition. The ship stood high out

of the water, and it was evident that her cargo had been discharged. If only we could have discovered her a week earlier we might have been spared our casualties and grievous damage, while the duration of the campaign would undoubtedly have been reduced by months.

For a few minutes *Childers* and *Echo* subjected the *Marie* to intense bombardment. It was a novel experience to see our shells hitting an enemy ship, and as the *Marie* lay almost stern on to us fire was directed to the disablement of rudder and propeller. It was our intention later to steam a few yards upstream, whence we should have a broadside target and so damage the main engines. Before we could fulfil either project we were ordered to cease fire so that *Hyacinth* might concentrate a heavier fire on the hapless store ship. To the cruiser the target was not visible so that recourse had to be made to spotting by wireless telegraphy (W/T), a duty which fell to *Childers*. It was not long before the *Marie's* upperworks were burning fiercely. I found this period of inactivity exceedingly trying, and to our wounded it must have been even harder to bear. All this time we were being sniped at from the river bank, so that we were greatly relieved when we received the order to retire.

As we moved out we came under a continuous hail of machine gun bullets, which rattled against our sides, funnel and protection plates with a deafening din. Profiting from experience, I lay in a nest of hammocks with only my head exposed and conned the ship through the broken planks in the bridge rail.

We passed Sudi village without opposition from the big guns, and in due course drew out of machine-gun range. At this point, however, a heavy report far astern warned us that German gunners still had rounds for us. We heard the moan of a shell as it flew over us to pitch in the creek a few yards ahead of *Childers*, throwing spray higher than her masts. Then a second report, again the moaning, but louder this time, and then a waterspout astern of *Childers*. Obviously the gun was sighted along the line of channel leading marks and firing at extreme range. There could be no dodging; to do so would be to run aground. There remained the hope that *Echo* would pass the danger spot before the next round. But no. The third round screamed over us and plunged a few yards ahead. And then a fourth round. This time the projectile sang a different tune; I recognised the note that presages a hit. A hit it was. The shell pierced the after part of the funnel casing and exploded in the funnel itself. Soot belched upwards to the very heavens, accompanied by that shattering and fearsome sound, the roar of escaping steam.

Once beyond the range of machine gun fire I had left my hammock nest and during this last bombardment had been standing nearly in the centre of the bridge with my back to the conning tower plates, and the signalman was seated on the deck near my feet. Again we were fortunate to escape injury. Not so Walsh, the quartermaster, for a glance through the wheelhouse aperture revealed him slumped over the wheel, his features drawn in agony.

With the signalman I entered the wheelhouse to find the back of it completely wrecked. Although one thigh was shattered, Walsh still tried to steer the ship but he collapsed as we reached him. I realized that the ship was still forging ahead, but it was heading for the southern shore and would soon be aground. We dragged poor Walsh from the wheel and laid him on the deck beside it, while the signalman took control and soon had the ship on a safe course.

Mercifully, that was the last round fired by the enemy on this occasion, and as soon as we were out of danger we set about removing Walsh from his dreadful predicament. First of all the Engine-room Artificer shut off steam from the broken steam pipe, and what a relief it was to hear each other speak again. Next we unbolted a plate from the wheelhouse, which enabled us to get Walsh on to a stretcher.

It was a badly smashed *Echo* which ranged alongside *Hyacinth* to offload her dead and wounded. As we approached the cruiser her side was lined with men, but they withheld their cheers out of consideration for our feelings. Five of our crew had been killed, including John Hayes, the Irish fisherman, who had been the life and soul of our ship's company. On many an evening his beautiful voice had led the singing. I hoped that his widow on the Galway coast drew some comfort from the letter that it was my sad duty to write to her. One of our less seriously wounded was Mzee bin Baraka, a Zanzibari, who afterwards became my personal servant and remained with me for many years.

A survey of the damage revealed that we had lost a flagstaff and W/T aerial; our counter was holed, and there were several small holes in our deck plating; one boat was smashed; a calf could have walked through the hole in the funnel; the stokehold ventilators were masses of twisted metal; the charthouse was minus back and roof; the bridge had planks at the side but none in the centre. Fragments of shell found in the ship proved that we had been the target of 4.1 inch guns. The steam cutter had escaped damage, and I thought that Lieut. Palmes was fortunate in being able to return to his ship with crew intact. We found that *Echo* could still steam at moderate speed, so after various holes had been plugged to make the ship temporarily seaworthy, we steamed to Zanzibar in company with *Childers*. Soon after our arrival we were inspected by Admiral Charlton, who complimented the ship's company in glowing terms.

In due course we learned with great satisfaction that Able Seaman L. Walsh, R.N.R., had been awarded the Conspicuous Gallantry Medal. His leg had to be amputated, but he eventually recovered to live for many years.

Echo's refit proved to be a lengthy business, so I was granted long leave, which I spent on a "busman's holiday" to Bombay, where I met old friends and heard first hand news of many others. On my return to Zanzibar I learned that the *Marie* had managed to escape from Sudi the night following our action. This news caused me much distress until I realised that her escape was not such a catastrophe as the fact that her cargo had been landed before we arrived upon the scene. Nevertheless, on 11th April, 1916, *Echo* fought her fiercest engagement and had upheld that glorious tradition which is the heritage of every ship that wears the white ensign.

COASTLINE CONQUEST

Before the end of June 1916 our forces had advanced from the north deeply into German territory, and the time was ripe for the capture of the important ports of Tanga and Dar es Salaam. As a careful reconnaissance of the defences was essential before an attack on Tanga could be launched, this preliminary task was assigned to a small but distinguished band of British officers and African troops, known as Dickson's Scouts, who took up residence for the purpose on a small island north of Tanga Bay.



Transporting one of the guns up country

The protection of this little base was entrusted to H.M.S. *Echo*, and for this duty we were obliged to anchor close to the mainland shore. As we were liable to be attacked at any moment of the day or night, our vigilance had to be most strict. So as to be instantly ready for action, awnings had to be kept furled, which meant extreme discomfort during the heat of the day. We remained a whole week at this station, during which period the scouts crossed to and from the mainland at all hours. They were never molested and succeeded in collecting a great deal of valuable information.

After preliminary bombardment Tanga was occupied by British troops without serious resistance. How strange it seemed to me to walk its peaceful streets when I remembered our experiences there in the November of 1914. It was here at this time at a campfire concert one evening that I found myself next to the great Selous, that famous hunter of African big game. His death a few months later was a severe blow, not only to the Intelligence Corps in which he had been serving, but also to his many friends in Africa.

From Tanga our troops moved south to the old African town and port of Bagamoyo, which fell after a sharp engagement in which a powerful naval squadron co-operated. Amongst captured artillery was one of *Königsberg's* 4.1 inch guns. This was not the British army's first encounter with a *Königsberg* gun. We had put the enemy cruiser out of action and made it impossible for her to fight at sea again, but not having as yet occupied the Rufiji delta, we were powerless to prevent the enemy salvaging undamaged guns from their disabled ship. At Zanzibar all the four-inch guns had been recovered by divers from the sunken hull of H.M.S. *Pegasus*.* These, like the *Königsberg* guns, had been mounted for use on land, and guns of both ships, each of which had been destroyed at sea, had actually duelled on the East African mainland. I doubt whether this has a parallel in history.

Somehow or other a tame hippopotamus fell into our hands. The Admiral presented it to the Sultan of Zanzibar and a cement-lined pool was constructed for it in the Victoria Gardens, where it lived happily and provided entertainment for the youth of various communities for many years.

Our next objective was the strongly fortified port of Dar es Salaam, which had for some time been subjected to intermittent naval bombardment with a view to impeding defensive operations and undermining the enemy's morale. Every warship in passing would fire a few rounds, and sometimes fire would be opened after dark. In the latter case *Echo* would be ordered to anchor in some pre-arranged position after nightfall, when we would show a light to seaward. Our first intimation that the bombardment had begun would be a blinding flash, followed by the shattering roar of a salvo. If we found the situation nerve-racking, we could only guess at the feelings of the disturbed citizens of Dar es Salaam.

On the last day of August a military column moved out of Bagamoyo to march south on Dar es Salaam, being supported by an inshore squadron of minor warships. The advance was timed to reach Msasani, some ten miles north of the capital, on 3rd September, and this place was occupied according to schedule and without opposition. Here the column was to be reinforced by sea-borne troops preparatory to a general attack on Dar es Salaam.

* See "British occupation of the South Western Area of Tanganyika Territory" by G.A. Hatchell, O.B.E., T.N.R., 51, pages 134-147.

Dawn on the 3rd was the zero hour for a general bombardment of the Dar es Salaam defences, the ships detailed for the operation being the battleship *Vengeance* (Flag), the cruiser *Challenger*, the monitors *Mersey* and *Severn*, the gunboat *Thistle*, and the whalers *Fly*, *Pickle*, *Childers* and *Echo*. The whalers were to engage the shore batteries from inside Dar es Salaam Bay, while the larger ships would concentrate on targets inland from positions outside the reefs.

To *Echo* was allotted the task of guiding her consorts into the bay before dawn. To do this we had to sight Makatumbe Island lighthouse before it was quite dark on the evening of the 2nd, and then anchor as close to the north end of the island as soundings would permit. Another really creepy job! Apart from realizing that the enemy must be aware that we had anchored there, we had to endure a night of rolling in a considerable ground swell.

At 3 a.m. we showed a light to seaward and an hour and a half later three black objects slipped past us. We extinguished our light, weighed anchor and were soon in station astern of *Childers*. The night had been trying, and we were thankful to be on the move once more. As soon as we could see our objective, fire was opened. Our fire was as rapid as we could make it, each whaler firing a two gun broadside. We must have made a brave sight, steaming in perfect station and belching fire and smoke almost incessantly. Soon the guns of the whole squadron were in action. To our great surprise there was no reply from the shore, and at 6 a.m. we were ordered to cease fire and signal expenditure of ammunition. Of the whalers *Echo* headed the list and received a congratulatory signal from the Flagship.

We were then ordered into Msasani Bay to assist in the landing of troops. This task was accomplished by sunset without hindrance, but the work had been incessant and exacting so that when I relaxed I felt utterly exhausted. After a light meal I lay down on the bridge and fell asleep instantly, only to be roused an hour later by the signalman with a message from the Commander-in-Chief calling on me to report immediately on board the Flagship.

So heavy had been my sleep that I boarded *Vengeance* like one in a trance, praying that my superior officer would not think that I was the worse for liquor. I could not imagine why the Admiral should want to see me at that hour and searched my conscience in vain for some breach of duty committed. Within his cabin Admiral Charlton put my mind at ease when he informed me that it was his intention to demand the surrender of Dar es Salaam next day, and that in consideration of my long service on the coast, and especially of my experience of the port itself, he had decided that I should be the officer to receive it. He then instructed me to proceed into Dar es Salaam Bay as far as the harbour entrance to make known his terms to the chief authority ashore. *Echo* was to enter under a white flag, which was to be kept flying unless the whaler was fired upon. I was highly flattered by the honour assigned me but was too overwrought by joy and fatigue to make fitting acknowledgment. The Admiral understood. He shook hands and told me to get as much sleep as I could.

By the time I had returned to *Echo* I was thoroughly awake and only too ready to communicate to Mr. Mortimore, my second in command, the news of the great honour which *Echo* had earned. There was general rejoicing, and little sleep for anyone thereafter.

Shortly before 5 a.m. on 4th September, 1916, *Echo* weighed anchor, and dawn found us in the approach channel to Dar es Salaam. A large white sheet had been hoisted at the fore masthead, but there was little wind and my chief anxiety was that the signal of truce might not be distinguished from the shore. The C-in-C had hoisted his Flag in H.M.S. *Challenger*, which ship also wore a white flag, and remained at the seaward end of the channel to support us if necessary.

It was with mixed feelings that we drew near to the harbour entrance. Doubtless we were making history, but there was always the thought that a dozen guns might be trained upon us, and who could tell how many rifle and machine gun sights were not aligned upon our every movement. True we were under a flag of truce, but I could not readily forget what had happened under such a flag in that very port not two years previously. Moreover, had the truce been disregarded *Echo* could have been raked at point-blank range long before *Challenger's* support could become effective.

The rising sun was astern and threw its light on the promontories at the harbour mouth. These I scanned with my telescope, but could detect no movement ashore. My experience warned me that this was an ominous sign. Still, our investigations had to be pursued further, and within the harbour itself, if need be. But I soon saw that the channel was blocked by a line of booms, so a boat was lowered and sent in under oars. A paymaster lieutenant, who could speak German, took passage in the boat, which wore a white ensign and carried a white flag in the bows.

The boat rowed in over the booms, and passing beyond West Ferry Point was lost to sight. After thirty minutes it returned with two Germans, who were, to the best of my memory, the deputy burgomaster and a bank manager. When they reached *Echo* I repeated the C-in-C's demands, and learnt through our interpreter that Dar es Salaam was prepared to surrender unconditionally. I then signalled the glad news to Admiral Charlton. Thus it was that to H.M.S. *Echo* befell the honour of receiving the surrender of Dar es Salaam, an honour of which I have ever since been exceedingly proud.

After breakfast the official occupation of the port began. The work of demolishing the booms occupied three hours, and as soon as the channel was clear H.M.S. *Mersey*, followed by *Echo*, steamed into the harbour. And so on this day was the white ensign seen in Dar es Salaam once more, the last occasion having been on 28th November, 1914.

During the forenoon the land force from the north marched into the town without opposition. In the afternoon the C-in-C landed to hoist the British flag. The complete withdrawal of the enemy is explained by the fact that our army had already established itself on the Central Railway and on 4th September, was marching down the line towards the capital port. To avoid simultaneous attack from land and sea, and the danger of being cut off from their principal source of supply, which by now had been established in the Lindi area, the Germans were compelled to retire to the south of the Rufiji River.

On board *Mersey* I met Major Weston—better known as Frank, Bishop of Zanzibar—who was held in such high esteem by the native population that he had been able to raise an African volunteer labour battalion, which he himself led from north to south of the former German littoral.

We were permitted to remain in port for the night, and for once vigilance could be relaxed. As I gazed on the palm-fringed town on that starlight evening my thoughts travelled back over the days and months of fighting we had endured to call this township British. I felt that night that it had been rightly named Dar es Salaam, the Haven of Peace. But on that very day a younger brother of mine died in France.

The ancient town of Kilwa was the next place to be occupied by British troops. The squadron then moved south to Mikindani, the most southerly coast town in enemy territory. The port lies on the western shore of a lagoon and is approached from the sea through a very narrow gap in the coastline. Our heavy ships remained outside, and after a brisk bombardment the landing of troops was accomplished by the whalers. Mikindani is famous in history as the starting point of Livingstone's last expedition. I thought it the most fascinating place on the whole coast.

From Mikindani a naval brigade marched northwards to Sudi, which was occupied without opposition, and again a whaler reconnaissance was made, but this time there was nothing to remind us of our bitter experience of five months back. On 15th September, Admiral Charlton hoisted his Flag in *Echo* at the entrance of Mgau Mwanja—another honour for our little ship. We then steamed into Sudi Bay to hoist the British flag over the village of that name.

Now the Admiral was a keen fisherman, and I had often seen a line towing from the stern of his flagship. As his ship was never able to skirt the reefs as closely as the whalers I was not surprised to learn that he had had no success. He asked whether we caught many fish on our patrols, to which I replied in the affirmative.

Then he said: "When you catch a fish do you stop the ship?"

I suspected a trap, but judged that the truth was best, so I replied, "Yes, sir!"

"Quite right, too!" he bellowed. "If I ever caught a fish I'd stop the whole damned fleet!"

I imagined, with some amusement, a string of flags from the Flagship being repeated down the line: "STOP INSTANTLY ADMIRAL HAS CAUGHT A FISH! !"

Lindi was our next objective. This place gave us a spot of bother, as the enemy had mined the harbour and surrounded the town with land mines. It was here that our intelligence force provided valuable aid, our scouts being able to tell us where every mine was set. These were all fired before troops marched into the town and we cleared the harbour without mishap. Again *Echo* was honoured and wore the Flag of the C-in-C when the Admiral took passage up the river in her.

By 20th September, 1916, the entire coast-line was in our hands. We were welcomed everywhere by the natives, who had long suffered from the drastic effects of our blockade, and who now knew that better treatment and good government would be their portion. The day marked a stage in the campaign which was appreciated by the men of the *Echo* and her consorts. It seemed that the efforts of the last two years had been worth while. We knew that the war was not yet over, but we felt fortified to tackle whatever tasks still lay ahead.

A BRAVE MAN DIES AND A BRAVE MAN LIVES

No one who served in the small ships of the East African Squadron during the 1914-1918 campaign could ever have forgotten Commander the Hon. R. O. B. Bridgeman, D.S.O., who, as Flag Commander, was responsible to the C-in-C for the efficiency and welfare of the eight armed whalers, tugs and other small craft attached to the fleet. Bridgeman did everything humanly possible to lessen the hardships and brighten the lives of the officers and men in those auxiliary ships. Such was his devotion to the task that he earned the affectionate sobriquet of Father of the Whalers. His courage was no less than his devotion to the welfare of the men. To go into action with Bridgeman assured those under his command an honourable place in the battle. It was indeed in one of the whalers that he won his D.S.O.

The episode with which this chapter deals occurred before British forces had occupied the area of the Rufiji river and its delta. In order that the waterway might be used for transport purposes it was necessary to survey the river mouths and connecting creeks. In the circumstances it was decided to make a preliminary aerial survey, and the armed merchant cruiser *Himalaya*, with several seaplanes on board, was ordered to carry it out.

Commander Bridgeman undertook to make the necessary observations personally in a 'plane piloted by Flight Lieutenant Moon, R.N.A.S. Accordingly the first survey flight took off from the *Himalaya* on the afternoon of 6th January, 1917, *Echo's* role being to watch the river mouths while the 'plane was in the air. We saw the 'plane pass over safely on a landward course, but an hour passed without any sign of its return.

I had become anxious and was pondering our next course of action when a signal from *Himalaya* ordered us into the river to investigate. As we moved in a second seaplane passed over in the direction Moon had taken. We had seen Moon's 'plane following the main Simba Uranga stream, which maintains one steady direction from the sea, but I was certain that this branch of the river was too shallow for *Echo*. I therefore turned to port to follow the tortuous, though deeper, Suninga branch. In so doing we passed the submerged collier *Newbridge*, and inevitably my thoughts reverted to that exciting morning in 1914 when Commander Fitzmaurice and his gallant party had made so brave an attempt to deny the German cruiser *Königsberg* its channel of escape.

We had not gone far before we heard and saw the second 'plane on its return flight to the parent ship. By keeping to the concave side of the Suninga, we found that we had ample water for navigation, but on opening out a long reach, leading past the villages of Salale and Betya and the wreck of the German collier *Somali*, we had great difficulty in finding the channel. The tide was low, and in the neap period, the state of the water being altogether unfavourable for navigating in an unknown river. I wondered how *Königsberg* had overcome these difficult straits, until I realized that she could only have moved at the height of spring tides.

I was debating the possibility of forcing *Echo* further upstream when I received a signal from *Himalaya* ordering *Echo* to her night station, as the second 'plane sent out had located Moon's machine wrecked and burnt out. With sore hearts we returned to our patrol duties, but not before we had scanned by telescope both shores of the Salale reach without observing any sign of human

life. When later I was in possession of the details of that afternoon's disaster I derived no little satisfaction from the knowledge that I had made that careful survey with my telescope before taking *Echo* out of the river.

During the next few days *Echo* carried out a normal patrol off Rufiji delta, cruising up and down the coast amongst the off-lying islands and reefs. Whenever we passed the Simba Uranga entrance our glasses were trained on its adjacent shores in the desperate hope that we might find some sign of the two gallant officers. But our search proved fruitless, and it was not until three months later that we learnt from a German source what had happened to them.

It transpired that engine trouble had developed and Moon had been obliged to make a forced landing in the river a few miles above the village of Betya. The damage was found to be irreparable so, lest it fall into enemy hands, they set fire to the 'plane and started to make their way along the river bank towards the sea, plunging through miles of dense mosquito-ridden mangrove swamps, across treacherous mudflats and crocodile-infested streams. In all probability they were floundering through mangroves, concealed by foliage, when the rescue 'plane passed overhead.

In the late afternoon they reached a point on the river bank directly opposite to the wrecked German collier *Somali*, probably at about the time when *Echo* had been ordered to retire. Here the river was some three hundred yards broad and Moon swam over to the wreck hoping to find a boat, but the quest proved fruitless and night found these two officers on opposite sides of the river tormented by mosquitoes, without food and very hungry. During the night they maintained contact by firing their revolvers, but as that part of the delta was deserted no other person heard the shots.

On the following morning Bridgeman came upon a deserted village, which he thought must be Betya. Here he discovered a disused cotton ginnery, but neither huts nor factory contained food. Moon again risked his life in the river, but the current carried him so far downstream that it was some time before he rejoined Bridgeman.

There were some coconut trees around the village and these provided food to allay the worst pangs of hunger. They filled their water bottles with the milk, but the stuff soon turned sour, and long before evening they were more thirsty than ever. With a window frame and a few planks found in the ginnery they succeeded in making a raft. This task occupied the rest of the day and they spent their second night at Betya, well-nigh demented by the attacks of insects.

At dawn the next day they set out in their frail craft and drifted downstream until they sighted a village, which proved to be Mnazimoja. With raised hopes they managed to land but only again to meet with disappointment. They found neither food nor trace of living being. The blow was a heavy one for by that time they were so weak from hunger and thirst that further effort to find food and drink was beyond them.

In the cool of the evening they managed to launch their raft once more to continue their passage downstream. Moon hoped to land near the *Newbridge* to seek relief from a German look-out post near the river mouth. By now both officers had reached an advanced state of exhaustion, and Bridgeman was practically insensible from this time onwards. A strong ebb tide was running and Moon found it beyond his power to steer the raft to shore, so that another dawn found the weak craft, with its even weaker burden, in the open sea.

A fresh wind sprang up and raised a choppy sea to add to their danger and discomfort. Time and again Bridgeman was washed off the raft, but by superhuman efforts Moon managed to rescue him. About noon, however, a wave swept him clean away, and Moon was too weak to do more than cling to the water-logged planks.

Then the afternoon flood tide carried Moon inshore again. In due course the raft grounded, and his burnt and naked body was hurled into the surf which dashed him against the cruel, jagged coral rocks that line this coast, and eventually threw him up on the beach lacerated and more dead than alive. It happened that an African visiting his fish traps witnessed the conclusion of this human drama. Seeing Moon inert upon the glaring white sand, he approached and lifting him on to his back, stumbled along the beach to a nearby hut where two Germans were living. Here he was fed and clothed and nursed until it was possible to send him up river to hospital, where, it is pleasing to be able to add, he recovered completely. In course of time he was allowed to return to England.

A few days after Moon's rescue Bridgeman's body was washed ashore and buried by the Germans, who placed a cross on a neighbouring tree to mark the spot. Three months later his body was taken to Zanzibar in *H.M.S. Mersey* and buried there, on 20th April, 1917, with full naval honours. It was my privilege to be one of those who carried him to his last resting place.

His bravery and devotion to duty had earned him the respect of the entire squadron, and his loss was deeply mourned by all, but most especially by the officers and men of the small ships, by whom he was long and affectionately remembered as the Father of the Whalers.

I SEE "KONIGSBERG" AGAIN

Under German administration the Rufiji Delta was the centre of a considerable trade in mangrove poles. These were loaded into dhows, destined for Arabia and India, where they were used for building native houses. Almost the entire terrain between the river mouths was clothed in mangrove trees, and to my inexperienced eye the supply appeared to be inexhaustible. The poles were floated in dug-outs down the various connecting creeks of the delta and collected at Salale, where all dhows were required to assemble for loading.

It was to Salale that *Echo* repaired in February 1917 to play her part in the river survey, which was being conducted by *H.M.S. Mersey*. The monitor had steamed up the river, miles above the delta, leaving *Echo* to record tidal observations near the river mouth.

We found the work interesting enough, but we suffered dreadfully from mosquito bites. We had to eat our last meal before dark and then remain inside our mosquito nets until sunrise. From inside the net one listened to the incessant high-pitched buzz of myriads of these insects milling around outside. Those on watch at night were compelled to wear woollen gloves and stockings, and straw hats, over which they draped veils of mosquito netting. They looked like members of some religious order and at first came in for a fair amount of chaff from their shipmates; but when everyone had experienced the discomfort of such a garb on sultry tropical nights the matter ceased to be a joke.

Under my orders was a steam pinnace, and in this craft I set out one morning to visit the wreck of the *Königsberg*. The prospect of this trip had been eagerly discussed by the entire crew of the *Echo*, and most of them accompanied me that day.

From Salale we proceeded upstream until we came to a connecting creek, which led us into the Kikunya branch of the river, and after steaming about three miles we sighted the semi-submerged wreck of the German cruiser, lying on her starboard side. Her two masts were visible, but one of her three funnels was missing. When we first saw her, the forecastle and fore bridge were the only decks above water. The cruiser had settled by the stern so that it was not until the tide had ebbed that her quarterdeck and finally the poop became uncovered. Over these decks a thick coating of mud remained.

The effect of our monitors' bombardment was awesome. Great holes had been torn in the casemates, and these told of heavy casualties among the guns' crews. The centre funnel had been severed at the base and now lay across the superstructure. I remembered the damage which *Pegasus* had suffered from *Königsberg's* 4.1 inch guns, and decided that *Severn's* six-inch had wrought the greater havoc. Now no guns were to be seen, and it appeared that the Germans had stripped their ship of every moveable article.

It was the boatswain, however, who discovered something that we might take away. His eagle eye had spotted a wire rope aloft, which he considered would make a good mooring wire for *Echo*.

We secured the pinnacle alongside *Königsberg*, and most of us boarded the cruiser. Mr. Mortimore with a seaman climbed into the foretop to unreeve the wire. Some of our men visited the engine room and others scrambled about the dry portions of the ship to survey the damage suffered in her last action.

I stationed myself in *Königsberg's* bows, whence I could see what was happening aloft. The boatswain and his assistant started to clear the wire and to coil it on the floor of the top, handy for lowering to the deck. They had almost completed this part of their work when, for no reason that I could see, they started to cut the most astounding capers, waving their hats around and yelling at the top of their voices. My first reaction was to laugh at this extraordinary performance, but a severe sting behind the ear made me take a more serious view of the situation.

It was now obvious—I may say painfully so—that a swarm of bees had taken up its abode in the fore-top and that the movement of the wire had disturbed them. I could see clouds of them about the heads of the two men aloft, who by now were frantic and in danger of stepping over the edge of the top. I called to them to come down at once, and evidently the sound of my voice brought them sufficiently to their senses to make the effort. Climbing down from aloft must have been an agonising affair, as they had to use both hands for their own safety, while all the time a cloud of bees accompanied them.

Yells from all parts of the ship indicated that the bees had launched a general attack, while muffled oaths from the engine-room of the steam pinnacle proved that the stoker petty officer was also receiving his share of their attention. My position on the forecastle was fast becoming untenable, but I stuck it out until the men got down from aloft. As a boy I had suffered occasional stings by wasps, but I can recall nothing so painful as those last tortured moments on board the German cruiser. No portion of unprotected skin was free from the stings of the infuriated insects. To protect my face I was foolish enough to pull my shirt over my head, only to be stung in the small of the back and on the stomach.

In what seemed ages to me, but was in reality just a matter of seconds, the *Königsberg* was abandoned. I was the last to leave, and I cast off the head rope just as one of the men was letting go the stern-fast. It happened that a piece of chain had been used to secure the stern, and that, by appalling luck, the chain jammed on the cleat and could not immediately be released. A strong flood tide was now running and this swept the bow round, although the pinnacle was still secured by the stern.

By this time everyone was demented. The advice hurled at the hero in the stern was varied in text but unanimous in design. A great seaman at the wheel screamed in his agony. The man aft really was a hero for, although stung unmercifully, he persevered in his task and finally cleared the chain and so freed the stern of the pinnacle.

"Go ahead! Full speed ahead!" I shouted, but there was no movement in the engine-room.

"Why the hell don't you go ahead?" I bawled in agony, but not a move did the old hooker make.

"I think the propeller is jammed," came a voice from the engine-room. Sure enough we had been carried on top of some boat davits by the tide and the screw was fouled by some underwater object.

This was the last straw, and the deck became deserted in the twinkling of an eye. Up till now the men, although they had given vent to their feelings, each according to his temperament, had remained at their posts with commendable stoicism while a rapid escape was in view, but when that hope disappeared with the fouling of the propeller immediate cover was the one general objective.

I found myself alone on the deck, surrounded by millions of angry, buzzing, stinging bees. Some of the crew had sought refuge in the fore cabin, some in the stokehold, some in the engine-room, and some in the after cabin. I made haste to follow my men's example and made for the stokehold, the capacity of which did not exceed that of a piano-case, and I shared this box with three other refugees. We dropped the iron trap-door and plugged the ventilators with sacking. We soon killed the hosts of bees which had come in with us, and for a few minutes we were free from the pests.

The men in the adjoining compartment shouted to us to stoke up and make smoke. This we did for all we were worth, even to burning sacks which had been spread on the stokehold floor plates. Very soon the heat in our confined space became unbearable and after a few minutes some of us were on the point of suffocation. It was obvious that there would be no relief until we got away, so I persuaded a seaman to come on deck with me to have a shot at clearing the propeller.

No sooner had we raised the hatch than the swarm was upon us once more. Clouds of smoke rose from the funnel but the bees kept below it. They seemed to be even more furious than before; perhaps they were annoyed at the smoke; at any rate they made a dead set at my companion and myself and I decided to jump into the river.

"But you can't go into the river, sir!" protested the seaman in dismay. "It's full of crocodiles!"

To which I replied, "I don't give a damn for crocodiles! Let's get away from these blasted bees!"

So over we went on the end of a rope and what a relief it was to have one's head under the delicious water for a few moments! Every time my head came up fresh insects dived to the attack, only to be soused and drowned as soon as I had breath enough in my lungs to duck again. We managed, however, to clear the propeller, and immediately the tide carried the pinnacle away from the wreck. I called the men up from below as we drifted out of our enemies' reach.

No one spoke for a long time, for each member of the crew was occupied in extracting stings from the neck and face of a shipmate. Presently the voice of the stoker petty officer broke the silence. I can see him now, his blotched bee-stung head appearing above the engine-room hatch, and I can hear his words in Highland accent, "Now, don't let me hear any of you young fellers complaining about the musketeers tonight!"

For the two of us who had been in the water it was a long and cold journey back to the *Echo*, and we were both violently sick. I felt that I had some slight idea of the sufferings borne by wounded soldiers at Tanga who were attacked by bees. I staggered up to *Echo's* charthouse, where I lay unconscious for the next forty-eight hours. I have been told that, on account of having been stung by bees, I am immune from rheumatism, and nothing in a quarter of a century has served to disprove it.

I made no official report of my last visit to the *Königsberg*, but somehow or other the story got round, and by the time it reached the Admiral had lost nothing in the telling. I know that when the C.-in-C. visited the wreck some time later there were orders that nothing should be touched. So far as I know a coil of wire still lies in the fore-top.

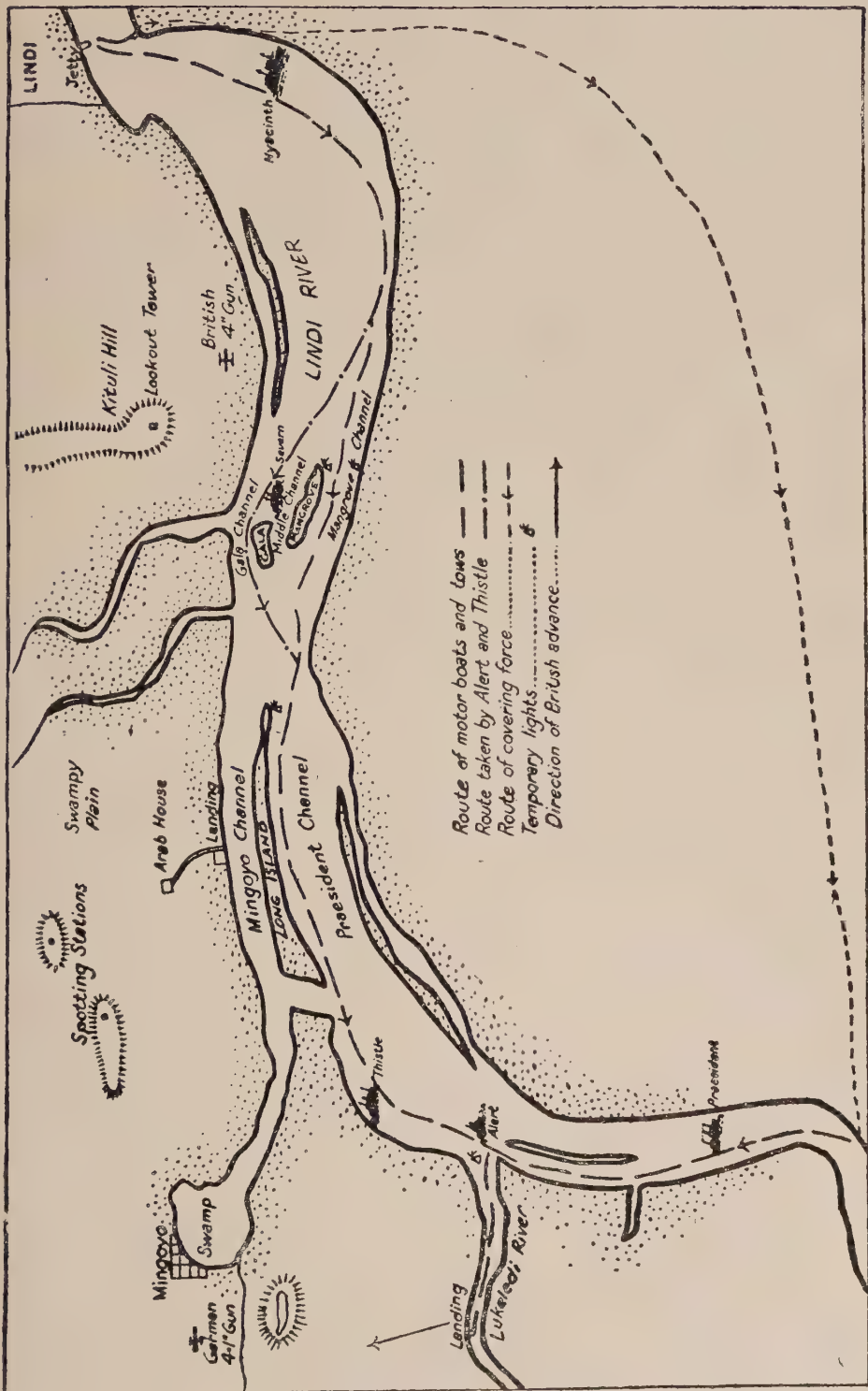
THE LAST ROUND

Although the entire coast was now in British occupation the town of Lindi continued to be harassed by an enemy force on its western side. Our troops, by occupying the hills to the north and south of the town, were able nevertheless to keep the enemy at a respectful distance. From time to time patrols attacked the Germans, but they were never strong enough to drive them from the district. The enemy mounted a 4.1 inch gun at a place called Mingoyo, a few miles up the river, and was able to lob shells into the outskirts of Lindi town. We countered this bombardment with a 4-inch fieldpiece.

As soon as troops could be spared from other fronts, plans were laid to attack the enemy at Mingoyo, a task which was entrusted to General O'Grady. In the initial attack he was to have the support of naval forces comprising the cruisers *Hyacinth* (Flag) and *Minerva*, the gunboat *Thistle*, the monitor *Severn*, and the whalers *Salamander* and *Echo*.

Hitherto, owing to the swampy nature of the plains that lie beyond the intervening Kituli range, attempts to carry the enemy's position by frontal attack had failed, and it was now considered that a flanking movement upon Mingoyo from the direction of the Lukuledi River was more likely to succeed. Aerial photographs showed a possible landing place on the north shore of the Lukuledi about half a mile above the junction of that river and the main Lindi River.

As the enemy had observation posts in the low hills overlooking the river it was essential that an attack from the Lukuledi should be made at night. The difficulties of piloting little-known waters in complete darkness, and the risks



Lindi River

involved in handling a large force under such conditions, were considerable. But the operation was regarded as imperative, and these risks, therefore, had to be accepted.

The attack was fixed for the night of Sunday, 9th June, 1917, when tide and moon would be favourable. Again Admiral Charlton honoured me by appointing me to pilot the expedition.

The force was to consist of assault troops, a baggage train, and a covering force. The assault troops were to be transported up the river in ships' boats, which were to be towed by the motor boats, steam cutters and pinnaces of the squadron. The porters attendant upon the expedition were to be carried in *Thistle* and *Severn* as far up the river as these ships could go, whence they were to be ferried to the Lukuledi landing place by the boats which had previously landed the attacking force. The covering force was to be landed on the south shore of the Lindi River, a few hundred yards above Lindi town. They were then to march overland until they reached the river again about one mile upstream from the outlet of the Lukuledi. From there they were to be transported to the Lukuledi landing place in the flotilla which had landed the porters.

About four miles above the township of Lindi the river is divided into three channels by the islands of Gala and Mangrove. Hitherto every river expedition had used the Gala channel lying to the northward of Gala Island. We knew that this channel was likely to be watched by the enemy from its northern shore and considered that any attempt to pass through it would be opposed. To ensure the element of surprise, which was essential to success, it was necessary to use the channel farthest from the German watch post. This passage we called Mangrove Channel. We had no information as to the depth of the water in Mangrove Channel, and a preliminary survey, therefore, had to be made. Accordingly, two nights before the attack I accompanied *Severn's* navigator in the ship's motor boat to sound out Mangrove Channel at low water. Having done this as quietly as we could, and having satisfied ourselves that there was sufficient water for our purpose, we directed our attention to another part of the river.

Now we knew that the enemy would certainly have knowledge of the ships at Lindi and that he would expect some sort of attack. Our object was to create the impression that the attack would develop at a place on the north bank of the Mingoyo Channel called Arab House, where there is a recognized landing place. Mingoyo Channel is separated from the main stream of the Lindi River by a long mangrove-clad island known as Long Island. We now entered Mingoyo Channel and hugged the north bank until we came to Arab House. As intended, we were spotted by enemy patrols and fired upon. We made a feint to land at Arab House and then withdrew, having left the impression that we had come to spy out that particular branch of the river. The return to Lindi was made through the Gala Channel without incident.

In order to minimise the risks of night navigation, it was decided to provide lights at certain salient points, such as channel entrances and turning points. As it was imperative that these lights should not be seen by the enemy, their provision—and the selection of their sites—called for considerable care and ingenuity. A light had to be shown from the south side of Mangrove Island, shaded so as to throw its beam in the direction of Lindi only; another light on the south side of Mangrove Channel had to be sited so as to be blanketed

from enemy observation by Mangrove Island. These two lights would show approaching tows the entrance to Mangrove Channel. A third light had to be shown from the south side of long Island to prevent our craft from taking the channel leading to Arab House and Mingoyo. Later on the tows would want a light at the entrance of the Lukuledi, where a right-angled turn would have to be made.

The location of these lights was left entirely to me. I decided that the lights at Long Island and the Lukuledi entrance could be lit from the pilot boat on the night of the attack, but considered it necessary to have the Mangrove Channel lit prior to our approach.

To carry out the latter scheme I had a party of Africans placed on Mangrove Island on the night before the attack. These men were armed and given a dug-out and were told to conceal themselves and their dug-out in the mangroves during the day. As no fire might be lit they were supplied with enough cooked food to last them forty-eight hours. When it was dark they were to light one lantern and fix it to a tree on the island, and then they were to ferry themselves across the channel and fix another lighted lantern near the south shore. Before dawn they were to collect their lanterns and paddle back to Lindi in their own good time. I am quite sure that no one but natives could have carried out such work without betraying themselves to the enemy.

On Saturday afternoon we had a rehearsal of the Sunday evening programme. It was carried out at Lindi, where embarkations, transport and landings were performed with meticulous attention to detail. Senior officers were satisfied with the practice, and we turned in that night with high hopes for the success of the next night's venture.

The first troop movement occurred at dawn on Sunday, when the covering force crossed to the south Lindi shore to start their twenty-four hour march. As patrols were often made in this area it was considered that this particular movement would not be regarded as unusual.

During the forenoon the officers who were to be in charge of tows assembled in *Severn* to study their orders and examine aerial photographs. After due consultation we landed and climbed Kituli Hill, from the summit of which we had a detailed view of the reaches of the Lindi and Lukuledi rivers which we would have to navigate in the evening.

The attacking force comprised some 1,300 troops to be embarked in twenty-three craft of various shapes and sizes. The craft were divided into seven tows to be towed by three motor boats, two steam pinnaces, a steam cutter, and the final tow by a tug named *Alert*. As pilot I had a motor boat to myself. My boat was to tow a mark boat for the Lukuledi entrance, otherwise we were to be unhampered.

Zero hour for the flotilla's departure from Lindi pier was 6 p.m. The pilot was to leave at that time, and tows were to leave at five-minute intervals. The moon was in her last quarter and would not rise before midnight. The tide was flowing and was expected to be at its highest at the Lukuledi landing place at 9 p.m., at which hour the landing would be well in hand.

My boat was alongside the pier awaiting the word to go, and the first and second tows were fully manned and ready to follow my lead. I was taking a final look over our equipment when I became aware of two officers looking down

into the boat from the pier above. They were Admiral Charlton and General O'Grady. The general had arranged to take passage in the *Alert*, but the admiral informed me that when he learned that I was to lead the expedition General O'Grady had decided to transfer to my boat.

"I've heard of that officer," the general said. "Where he goes there's sure to be fun and I'm going with him". Another compliment, and from an unexpected quarter!

Six o'clock by my wrist watch, and off we sped into the darkening night. Looking astern, we could just see the first tow pull out from the jetty, but we soon lost sight of it. With only one empty boat to tow, as against the next tow's four loaded ones, our lead increased rapidly. I intended this to happen so as to have time in which to set the Long Island light before the first tow should require it. It was fortunate that we had time in hand because we had to light more lamps than I had anticipated.

We had started promptly and were priding ourselves that things were going according to schedule when the first unnerving incident occurred. It was 6.30 p.m. and quite dark when a green light from the south bank shot into the sky. Obviously a signal to the enemy that a force was steaming up the river. It was a bad moment, but we reassured ourselves with the surmise that the enemy would be waiting for us at Arab House. Could we but navigate the Mangrove Channel and gain the southern shore of Long Island unnoticed we should still hold a surprise.

We suffered a further shock when we failed to see any light in Mangrove Channel. Had the party on the island been discovered? Had we been double-crossed? Or were they just fools and incapable of carrying out simple instructions? It was impossible to answer any of these queries. My one aim was to get to the island and set up a spare light before the first tow got too near.

Having arrived near the end of the island, a hasty glance into the mangroves showed us the cause of the trouble. A lantern had been hung in the branches some time before lighting-up time, but allowance had not been made for the rising tide which had covered the lantern. We lit our lamp and were about to cross the channel when we saw a light on the southern shore showing its first belated glimmer. Evidently delay had been caused by a fruitless search for the submerged lantern. We had just regained the centre of the channel when the first tow came up. A possible fiasco had been narrowly avoided. I was soaked with perspiration. We raced ahead again and had our light on Long Island in time to be of use.

Now came the important task of anchoring the mark boat. Finding the Lukuledi River called for the utmost vigilance; all we had to look for was a gap in the mangroves, not easy to spot in the inky blackness; while it must be remembered that we were not creeping up to our objective but running at our highest speed. But spot it we did and far enough away to enable us to have most of the way off our craft before slipping the boat. The boat keeper anchored his boat and placed a lighted lamp in the bottom near the stern. This was all the light he was allowed to show, but it sufficed to show the tows where they had to alter course for the last reach of their journey. The timing had been perfect. No sooner was the mark boat in position than the leading tow rounded it and followed us into the Lukuledi.

As we entered the tributary river a bright white light shot up into the sky from the direction of Gala Island. I attributed the signal to enemy lookouts reporting the passage of the *Alert* and her lighters, one of which was transporting a 13-pounder field gun. As she had a deeper draught than the other vessels, *Alert* had been ordered to use the Gala Channel. The contingency had been foreseen, and it had been reckoned that the leading tow would be in the Lukuledi when it happened. And so it turned out; again the timing had been perfect.

We now wondered what kind of reception lay in store for us. There was no doubt that the enemy expected an attack, and we could only hope that this was expected at Arab House. Had the first tow been spotted by the lookout north of Gala, the same signal would probably have been made. We were fairly confident, however, that the first five tows had passed through Mangrove Channel without the enemy's knowledge.

The Lindi River had been dark and difficult to navigate, but the Lukuledi was like the inside of a coal mine; having only half the breadth of the main river we were much nearer the mangrove screen, which towered above us on either hand. Looking astern I could see a phosphorescent glow where the stem of the following motor boat cleft the surface of the stream. It was the same phenomenon that warned us of our approach to the wooden jetty at the landing place. So dark was the leafy background that no trace of the structure could be seen.

I shouted to the boat astern to cast off its tow. The order was obeyed instantly, and a few seconds later four boats grounded on the beach in parallel formation. The troops leapt ashore, and in less than two minutes one hundred and fifty men, the van of the attack, were racing for their objective.

Our approach had been made in comparative silence, but, of course, the landing could not have been effected without noise. We were not surprised, therefore, to hear ourselves greeted with the sharp crackle of rifle fire. Immediately the machine guns of both motor boats replied, fire being directed on the flashes of the enemy rifles. In a few seconds the opposition was silent. The landing had been disputed by a small outpost, which hastily retired when it realized that it had to contend with a superior force.

The general was highly pleased with this initial success to his enterprise. He shook my hand vigorously and suggested that, then and there, we should go round to Arab House and create a diversion. This proposal I declined, respectfully but firmly, on the grounds that it was my duty to see the remainder of the force safely ashore.

We had only just got the first four empty boats clear of the beach when the boats of the second tow crashed on to it. There was not much room in that river, and, to avoid congestion at the landing point, we had to get the empty boats assembled and towed out as quickly as possible. But officers and coxswains were thoroughly conversant with their orders and so everything went like clock-work. When we emerged from the creek we found *Alert* anchored near the mark boat, so I directed the boats which had followed us out of the creek to empty her lighters of troops and ferry them to the landing place.

This work had just begun when I saw a brightly lit boat approaching from the Lindi direction. This puzzled me as I expected no boat after *Alert*. Moreover, it had been laid down in orders that boats were not to show lights

and that there was to be no smoking. I hailed the approaching craft in no genteel manner, only to hear the admiral's encouraging voice reply. "Well done, *Echo*! Carry on smoking!"

This solved the problem of what to do with the general. Both the admiral and he were satisfied with the progress of events and went off together in the admiral's barge. I never heard whether the admiral was persuaded to call at Arab House—I had other affairs to occupy my attention.

The clearing of *Alert*'s lighters was completed in time to enable the tug to return with them to Lindi before the tide fell. The next item on the programme was to relieve *Thistle* and *Severn* of their porters. By 9 p.m. *Thistle* had anchored above Long Island, while *Severn* had moored in Middle Channel: that is between Gala and Mangrove Islands. When the loaded tows returned to the Lukuledi, the tide had fallen considerably and the towing craft began to run aground, first the steam vessels, and finally the motor boats. We managed, however, to keep afloat all the boats with porters, and these made for the landing place under oars. The night had turned chilly, and a thick mist lay over the river, so the men were glad of the exercise.

At 3 a.m. the enemy opened fire with a 4.1 inch gun. As far as we could judge *Thistle* was the target, for we could hear shells crashing in the mangroves near her position. The mist had cleared with the rising of the moon and possibly the gunboat's masts were visible to the enemy. Fire was returned by the Lindi gun, the duel only lasting twenty minutes. The sound was none the less unnerving to those of us who were high and dry in the Lukuledi with nothing to do but sit and listen to it.

By dawn we had landed 1,300 troops, their stores, one thirteen pounder gun and 700 porters. We now turned our attention to the covering force which we found assembled by the riverside about a mile away. I got the tows working in their original formation and the final transport was accomplished without a hitch. By breakfast time the general signalled to the admiral that the entire force had been landed according to programme.

Meanwhile *Thistle* had come under fire again as she was turning in the river and about to return to Lindi. She suffered one hit but withdrew without serious damage. *Severn* was now in action and fired intermittently at the Mingoyo gun position throughout the day. A seaplane took the air to spot the fall of shot but the enemy gun was drawn into a camouflaged tunnel whenever our plane was in the air. Then the cruisers came into action. *Hyacinth* fired from her river berth a little above Lindi town, while *Minerva*, from the bay, directed her fire right over the Kituli range. The concentrated fire forced the enemy to retire, and this he had to do rapidly to avoid the outflanking movement of the Lukuledi column.

I spent the remaining daylight hours of Monday assisting army signallers to extend the telephone line from Lindi to advanced headquarters. We carried the line across the river and then had to cut our way in stifling heat through dense mangroves. It was sunset when I returned to *Echo* after twenty-four strenuous and exciting hours.

During the afternoon the enemy gun was captured by our troops. It was the last of *Königsberg*'s guns to fall into our hands and I had heard it fire its last round. It also happened to be the last round I was to hear fired in anger in the 1914-18 war.

THE GERMAN ACHIEVEMENT IN EAST AFRICA

By R.F. Eberlie

I

Germany won and lost her colonial empire in the span of a single generation. The story of German East Africa may be said to start at the granting of the imperial charter of sovereignty over a portion of the interior opposite Zanzibar to the German East Africa Company, in February, 1885, and to end at the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. This is a brief tale soon told in comparison with that of many parts of the British Empire, yet it is not an easy tale to tell. Much confusion exists and has given rise to some misunderstanding about the part the Germans played in East Africa. Far too little has yet come to light of the evidence necessary to give us a complete and true picture of these first colonizers, and far too much that would be a valuable contribution to the story still remains hidden in the old archives, in mission diaries, in district books and in the memories of village elders. Until all this is at last recorded, there can be no conclusive verdict on our German past. Meanwhile it is dangerous to give credence to the judgments delivered by journalists and politicians upon insufficient evidence in the propaganda campaigns of two world wars and the uneasy intervening period.

I therefore offer this article as an interim judgment only, and I must add that I am deeply indebted to those few who have so far cared to collect and to set out the true facts in their various specialized fields of research. I have not attempted a narrative account,⁽¹⁾ but rather I have tried to select and interpret what I consider to be the main features of the story. I have also tried to be impartial and to avoid the prejudice and sentiment which so often disfigures reality; but it is not easy to be fair to all parties, and the attempt tends to become rather dull. I have not hesitated to put forward my own views when I think them justified, and at some points I offer a belated defence of German manners and methods. At the same time my main purpose has been to show Tanganyika to herself as she really was, and to dispel those false impressions which are beginning to be accepted in the mythology of the territory's past though they have never been confirmed by historians as fact.

For the purposes of convenience, I divide the story into four periods in the following pages. The first period deals with the "Beginnings"; the diplomatic prelude to the granting of the Imperial Charter in February, 1885, and the machinations of Bismarck thereafter; this period also sees the first activity of the early German colonists in East Africa led by Dr. Peters and Commissioner von Wissman which culminates in the surrender of control by the East Africa Company to the German Foreign Office on 1st April, 1891. The second period may be called the "Pacification"; it reveals further operations of the German military forces in East Africa together with the opening developments in the administrative and economic spheres; this period concludes with the Maji-Maji Rebellion in East Africa and with the elections for the Berlin *Reichstag* fought on the African issue. The third period from 1907 to 1914 is known as the age of

⁽¹⁾For such a narrative the reader could not do better than to turn to "The Handbook of Tanganyika", Editor, J. P. Moffett, in particular Chapter 3 by Sir John Gray.

"Scientific Colonization"; it discloses further administrative and economic developments, connected with the names of Doctors Dernberg and Solf at the Imperial Colonial Office and of Governors von Rechenberg and Schnee at Dar es Salaam. The final period is that of the Great War, worth looking at in East Africa not only from the military angle but also from the economic aspect. It is a period clearly dominated by those two very great generals, von Lettow Vorbeck and his worthy opponent, Smuts.

II

The founder of the German Empire overseas was Chancellor Bismarck; myth and history agree thus far in the story. There was a vociferous movement among the adventurers and financiers of Berlin and Hamburg in favour of colonies for commercial exploitation. They were led by an active society, the *Kolonialverein*, founded in 1884 and directed by Dr. Peters, but it cannot be said that they had any great influence upon external events at this time. Their views were not supported by the Berlin *Reichstag*, which, in general, opposed even those limited expansionist aims that the government professed. But the *Reichstag* itself did not direct policies in the new German nation; it was able to assert its opinions only in its powers over the allocations of imperial funds; for the Chancellor was responsible for his conduct of affairs solely to the Emperor. Bismarck did not depend upon a parliamentary majority and had complete control over the press and the organs of public opinion. Hence he was the only man in a position to decide whether or not his country should have a colonial empire.

But Bismarck never displayed the least interest in colonies. He was primarily concerned with the construction and defence of the German nation that he had just created in Europe by the diplomatic manipulation of the other European powers up to 1870. Indeed he had become the master of *Machtpolitik* of his age; and himself said to Peters in early 1884 when rejecting a pressing offer to accept sovereignty over part of western Madagascar: "Do you manage European politics or do I?"⁽²⁾ To such a man as the Chancellor a colony could only be a distraction of energy and wealth from the area of main effort in Europe. Colonies were an unwelcome diversion which would inevitably involve the mother country in unnecessary squabbles with other interested parties, and the Chancellor in squabbles with the *Reichstag* who controlled the imperial purse-strings. In 1881 Bismarck said: "So long as I am Chancellor there will be no colonial policy."⁽³⁾ Though the founder of the empire, he was never an imperialist.

It was, however, the situation in Europe in late 1884 that seemed to him to demand a brief adventure in Africa. The French were restless, recently estranged from the English over Egypt, friendless and in despair turning to thoughts of *revanche*, revenge for the humiliation and loss of the provinces for which Germany had been responsible at Sedan. So it seemed expedient for Germany to offer France the olive branch, and to appease France by any available means. It would help, therefore, for Germany to share French enmity with England, to

⁽²⁾Quoted in G. L. Steer; *op. cit.* p. 249.

⁽³⁾In 1871, the French offered Bismarck the sovereignty of Cochinchina. He refused it, saying: "For Germany to acquire colonies would be like a poverty-stricken Prussian nobleman providing himself with silks and sables when he needed shirts."

pick a quarrel with Gladstone and to build an *entente* with France upon a common anglophobia. Now a quarrel with England could be broached most cheaply by a challenge to the British "informal empire" abroad, particularly at its most vulnerable point in Africa. Hence arose the sudden, blatant assertion of German claims to African littoral adjacent to areas of British commercial paramountcy in West Africa: hence Bismarck called the Congo Conference that winter in Berlin, at which he was seen to support the futile claims of the penniless King of the Belgians against the long-established British supremacy in the Congo basin. So it came about that, on the day after the conference closed in late February, 1885, Bismarck granted on behalf of the Emperor the *Landeshoheit* or sovereign authority over the inland region of the East African coast to Dr. Peters' newly-founded German East Africa Company. This was the imperial *Schutzbrief* which acknowledged, in effect, the position that Peters had won by a collection of so-called treaties during a safari from November 1884 to January 1885, through Usagara, Nguru, Uzigua and Ukami. Peters was a ruthless and evil mountebank whom Bismarck had always previously disowned as a dangerous and "jingo" imperialist, but at this particular time these pseudo-treaties happened to fall in with the requirements of Bismarck's intricate foreign policy, so they were accepted and thus achieved an unwarranted place of importance in history.

But it should be observed that Bismarck never intended to establish a "proper colony" in the accepted sense of the word, with formal annexation with garrisons and a bureaucracy under official control. If he believed at this point that a temporary diversion of national energy to Africa was demanded, he still had no intention of giving the *Reichstag* an opportunity to thwart him by withholding funds. He said once: "The attitude of the *Reichstag* is such that it is difficult enough to maintain what we already have. So long as the empire is financially disabled, we dare not embark on such expensive undertakings. We cannot bear the burden of colonies, we can only support trading companies, but even for that it would be necessary to have a *Reichstag* which would have other and higher objects than the creation of difficulties for the administration."⁽⁴⁾

It follows that when Bismarck found it convenient to indulge in a colonial adventure, he limited his effort as far as possible. He thus permitted a commercial company to wield the imperial powers. The only official support to the company that he would allow was the despatch of a consul, Rohlfs, in the winter of 1884 to prepare the way, and of a naval squadron in August, 1885 to enforce acceptance of the *Schutzbrief* upon the unwilling Sultan of Zanzibar. The creation of companies to cover overseas interests was, of course, no new habit in Europe. The older sea powers had started the custom in the sixteenth century in the East; more recently there had been a spate of British companies abroad sweeping away the old order in this age of "imperialism on the cheap". But the German East Africa Company was significantly different from the British Niger or North Borneo Companies. Bismarck imposed no restrictions upon the activities of his creation. He did not attempt to prohibit interference with native rights and customs; he did not forbid the trade in alcohol nor require the abolition of the slave-trade. He was not concerned in regulating the administration of the company in its chosen terrain; he was interested in the creation of a temporary challenge to Great Britain in that area.

⁽⁴⁾Bismarck in 1883 when rejecting a request to grant protection over Formosa. In 1880 the *Reichstag* threw out the Samoan Subsidy Bill by which the Chancellor had proposed limited financial support to a trading company in the South Seas. See Townsend; *op. cit.* cap. 3.

Britain had gained a position of informal supremacy over the East African coast from her base at Zanzibar since mid-century; and this position was much strengthened by the activities of the anti-slave trade "sentimental" squadron up and down the coast, and by the great influence of the British consul, Sir John Kirk, over the Sultanate. The intrusion of the new German company upon this well-established position was not considered to be a serious threat so far as British commercial and humanitarian interests were concerned. As to commerce, the accepted philosophy was "Free Trade" and the "Universal Open Door", particularly in an area where it was felt that the strength of British merchant connections and British Indian *banyani* trade organization could withstand any fresh competition from Europe. Indeed this proved to be the case: Zanzibar remained the market through which passed all the goods coming into and going out of East Africa, and the Zanzibaris remained the masters of the commerce of the whole wide region; from the Lakes to the shores of the Indian Ocean men were to dance to the pipes of the merchants of Zanzibar irrespective of the political systems on the mainland.

As for British humanitarian interests in East Africa, British opinion welcomed the arrival of the Germans on the coast. Livingstone had exclaimed in his well-known address to the University of Cambridge; "May Heaven's blessing light upon anyone, American, English or Turk—who will help to heal this open sore of the world!" The Arabs were seen to be laying waste the inner continent with absolute immunity and ubiquitous power, openly defying Christian protests and British naval measures of control. Since Livingstone had first turned the eyes of his country to the evils of (the African Slave Trade) a strong body of opinion had grown up demanding drastic action by any power capable of it. "It is one of the most astounding facts in morals", thought one observer, "that England should have kept the Arab at bay for so long. But the time of probation is now over. The plain fact is now before the world—is the Arab or the European henceforth to reign in Africa?"⁽⁵⁾ To the "anti-slave-traders" it was a small matter politically which power could be tempted to take over the country, so long as that which did should take over effectively and administer on the spot "to break the Arab yoke and set the unprotected people free".⁽⁶⁾ It was for these commercial and humanitarian reasons that Gladstone said; "If Germany becomes a colonial power all I can say is 'God speed her'."

But Britain had a new, growing, strategic interest in this area which was beginning to complicate the issue to those who saw a little farther than Gladstone. The problem arose largely out of the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, Egypt being—as we know from more recent history—the gateway to the great and rich British Empire of India and the East. But very soon after the occupation it became clear that control of Egypt depended upon control of the Upper Nile, which was her very life-blood flowing not only through the Sudan but even as far as Uganda, astride the headwaters of this vital river.⁽⁷⁾ In its turn, Uganda

⁵Drummond, H.; "Tropical Africa", London, 1888, p. 78.

⁶Drummond, H.; op. cit. The whole chapter entitled; "The Heart Disease of Africa", is an instructive exposition of the attitude of educated English opinion of the time.

⁽⁷⁾cf. Sir Evelyn Baring in 1888: "No one will deny that the Nile is the life of Egypt. . . . If a foreign power took possession of the banks of the upper Nile, it would be all over with Egypt." Cf. also the Portal Mission in 1893; "Uganda is the natural key to the whole of the Nile valley . . . (control of Uganda) would embrace all the neighbouring countries, the great lakes, the Nile valley and the natural highways of the interior". Quoted in Lange; op. cit. cap. IV, "The Struggle for the Nile."

depended upon communication with the East African coast and an accessible port thereon. It was Lord Salisbury who first revealed to the world the British interest in the Equatorial Nile when in 1888 he gave government support at last to the plans of penetration from Mombasa worked out by Mackinnon. But, already at the time of the Congo Conference in late 1884, the Foreign Office showed some awareness of the national interest when it decided to "confine ourselves to securing the utmost possible freedom of trade on that (the West) coast, yielding to others territorial responsibilities . . . and seeking compensation on the East coast, where the political future of the country is of real importance to Indian and imperial interests."⁽⁸⁾ At the same time Kirk was warned; "It is essential that a district situated like that of Kilimanjaro should not be placed under the protection of another flag to the possible detriment of British interests."⁽⁹⁾ For the Kilimanjaro area included the hinterland to Mombasa. Thus in response to the sudden threat, the Foreign Office displayed a clear purpose and as firm a reaction as the situation required.

I have tried to elucidate the British views in order to challenge the oft-quoted theory that "the rapacity of the Germans was matched only by the irresolution of the British" at this time in East Africa. Bismarck cannot be called rapacious, nor the British government irresolute. Both were reluctant imperialists, employing very similar methods in the common belief that formal colonies led to distracting responsibilities and heavy expenses that their parliaments would strongly oppose. Hence they utterly repudiated "Jingoism", and sought to uphold national interests overseas by any means short of outright annexation of those poor and useless, tropical lands. Both resorted to such expedients as chartered companies and "spheres of influence" to preserve interests without formal commitment. "Scramble" is a completely inappropriate word to describe the policy of these two powers in East Africa. Bismarck conducted a short, sharp assault on the British position, to which the British replied with a strictly limited and selective defensive programme to strengthen the line at its vital points.

Upon the arrival of Rohlfs, Kirk began to emphasize his authority over the Sultan to the extent of making a "veiled protectorate" of Zanzibar. Kirk strengthened the hand of Sultan Seyyid Barghash against the *Schutzbrief* without actively opposing it, until, in the summer of 1885, the presence of the German cruisers made further resistance impossible. Lord Salisbury then proposed a Boundary Delimitation commission to Bismarck. Kirk worked on this with Kitchener, appointed the official British representative. These two were not able to obtain justice for the Sultan—if indeed that were ever the intention of the British government. For the authority of the Sultan was acknowledged only along the coastline, while the German sphere of influence was accepted as being the whole vast interior from the Ruvuma River to Mount Kilimanjaro. Only Mombasa was preserved as the British sphere, which was however the sole area in which British national interests were involved. The British government was at that time conducting difficult wars and negotiations in the Sudan and on the North-West frontier of India. It was highly vulnerable to pressure from other European powers in Egypt, yet it managed to achieve all that was necessary in East Africa, though forced to give way over details and to bring the bargaining to an abrupt conclusion. Two years later, as the importance of the Equatorial

⁽⁸⁾Quoted in Gallagher and Robinson; op. cit.

⁽⁹⁾Lord Granville, Foreign Minister to Sir John Kirk in late 1884. Quoted in Coupland; op. cit.

Nile grew and as the French and the Germans penetrated towards the great Lakes, Salisbury found it useful to confirm his position by bringing a chartered company under Mackinnon into the area to establish a chain of communications to the Upper Nile, and finally to establish a full protectorate at its headwaters under Lugard.

But it is time to turn back to Zanzibar in 1886. Here Bismarck had abandoned his foundling company to make its own way through the highly competitive world of the coast. The company's assets were a slender financial backing, a handful of quasi-treaties denied by the Sultan, and a number of unscrupulous, adventurous directors led by a new man, Vohsen—for Peters had already been sacked. The company exerted its energies in three directions: firstly it attempted to gain a sure foothold on the land mass facing Zanzibar, whence to get to know the territories to which it laid claim: secondly it began to open trading posts and to enter the commercial struggle with the long-established Arabs and "Banyans" of the old coastal towns: and thirdly it tried to assert influence over the Sultan by haggle and intrigue at the court of Zanzibar, in order to persuade him to hand over his control over the coastal strip and his pretensions to the interior.

In the first year, the company equipped and despatched some eleven expeditions inland to be followed shortly by six more. The original companions of Peters, Pfeil and Juhlke led the way and were followed by many others of whom Emin Pasha was the most remarkable. Each set out on his exploratory tour, greatly widening the company's knowledge of its initial heritage, and triumphantly collecting a further series of so-called treaties. Trade followed more slowly. However in three years depots were set up in the Sultan's territory from Tanga in the North to Mikindani in the South, and at Bagamoyo and Dar es Salaam in the centre. Inland a station was begun at Mpwapwa and another in Chaggaland. The missionaries went on much further till, in mid-1888, a serious check occurred.

The haggling of Rohlfs and Vohsen with the new Sultan, Seyyid Khalifa, had gone badly awry. The Germans tried to force through a rather one-sided bargain whereby the Sultan surrendered his control over the administration of the coast and of the collection of customs dues at the coastal harbours in exchange for a limited sum of compensation. A German cruiser again made up the Sultan's mind for him, but no such compunction restrained his subjects who were thus threatened with the loss of lucrative profits and of political protection at one blow. The sequel has sometimes been called the "Arab Rebellion", but it is well to remember that the established authority was Arab while the Germans were merely uninvited interlopers. The company offered a show of force to impose its will on the Sultan; it was opposed by force. Its settlement at Pangani was sacked, and it was expelled from all its stations except Bagamoyo and Dar es Salaam which lay under the guns of the gunboat *Moewe*. Valuable men and stores were lost, the first plantations were wholly destroyed, and the new buildings were burnt to the ground. It appeared that the company was ruined.

It is at this point, if at any, that Bismarck can be said to have had a colonial policy. For his simplest course was to order the exhausted survivors of the company to be taken off in the waiting warship, and the company's affairs to be wound up. It had never received much support from home, in spite of the efforts

of the *Kolonialverein*; it would not be mourned. Further, its political purpose was fulfilled. During that difficult winter of 1884, France had been successfully wooed from thoughts of *revanche* by hopes of an alliance with Germany against England. But thereafter the situation had changed till, by the opening of 1889, France was looking towards Russia for help and encouragement. Bismarck was therefore in need of English support to combat the threat of a Franco-Russian *entente*. It would seem logical for him to appease the English a little by removing permanently the thorn in their side that the company had been. Yet on the contrary he went to considerable trouble in January, 1889 to persuade the *Reichstag* to vote two million marks to provide for a military expedition to re-establish the company on the East coast. Bismarck went on to choose a particularly able commander for this force, Commissioner von Wissmann, with the explicit instructions: "*Siegen Sie!*"

Bismarck's motives in this case, as in others of his last year of office, are difficult to unravel. His powers were declining and his strength was failing. Possibly he thought that national prestige was involved in the restoration of the company. But it is most significant that he made out the commissioning of the *Wissmanntruppe* as the German share in the crusade against Arab slavery recently launched by Cardinal Lavigerie and Pope Leo XIII; perhaps Bismarck thus hoped to win the approval and general support of the Catholic and Centre parties of the *Reichstag*. At the same time he knew that a claim to take action against the slave-trade would please a large body of influential opinion in England. In pursuance of England's friendship, it is noticeable that Bismarck at this time repudiated vigorously Emin Pasha's expedition to Uganda and Peter's treaties in Somaliland and Madagascar. There was still no question of indiscriminate land-grabbing, as Bismarck publicly reaffirmed; "I repeat I am opposed to colonies, to the kind of colonies where officials must be placed and garrisons established. . . . My present action is dictated only by pressing necessity *Von Haus auf bin Ich kein Kolonialmensch.*"⁽¹⁰⁾

So von Wissmann was ordered to attack the slave-trade and to set up again the company, but still without the least suggestion of establishing a "proper colony"—it was fully intended that the company should have another chance. Von Wissmann left Germany promptly in February, 1889, recruited his troops from the Sudan by courtesy of Great Britain and France, and landed them safely at Bagamoyo in April. Within a month the Arab leader Bushiri was decisively defeated, and rapidly thereafter the coast and routes inland were reopened to the company.

The end of that year saw the company struggling both to rule and to trade in the lands conquered for it, though its resources of manpower and capital were quite insufficient to meet even the most urgent demands of customs collection, administration and justice placed upon it. Commerce was abandoned as these tasks were organized, and the shareholders at home began to grow restless as their investments were swallowed without return into the treasury of this new administration. It was soon clear that the company could not fulfil all those commitments which it had so lightly accepted under the *Schutzbrief* and so unscrupulously seized from the Sultan and his subjects. The company began to

⁽¹⁰⁾Bismarck, in the course of his speech during the debate of 20th Jan. 1889 on the appointment of *Reichkommissar* von Wissmann.

look for a way out of their predicament. But at this stage the situation at home changed fundamentally with the fall from power of Chancellor Bismarck. Indeed an era was over.

III

Caprivi, who succeeded Bismarck in the early months of 1890, is generally thought of as a lesser man, more of a bureaucrat than a statesman. But Caprivi understood and faithfully continued the essentials of his predecessor's foreign policy, though with perhaps less subtlety and "doubletalk"—indeed he is reputed to have said: "No greater evil could befall us than to be presented with the whole of Africa." The distrust and dislike of colonies previously displayed in government circles undoubtedly persisted under the new regime, as its first essays in diplomacy clearly revealed. By the 1890 Agreement with Salisbury, Caprivi renounced all German claims in Uganda and at Witu (north of Mombasa). At the same time Germany recognized a British Protectorate over Zanzibar and British commercial supremacy at this vital market of the coast. In exchange, Germany won British acceptance of recent negotiations for purchase by the German East Africa Company of the coastal strip from the Sultan, and tacit British agreement to German expansion inland to the lakes. In South West Africa Germany was given the contentious but useless Caprivi Strip; and in the North Sea Germany was presented with Heligoland. But the whole transaction appeared to Peters and the "Colonialists" as an abject surrender: "Two kingdoms, Witu and Uganda, have been exchanged for a bathtub in the North Sea." Yet this was not pusillanimity on Caprivi's part, it followed the best Bismarckian tradition of avoidance of involvement in Africa, of sacrifice, where necessary, of Africa to Europe, and of wholehearted concentration upon German essential interests at home. Where the European political scene demanded that Germany seek the hand of England in friendship, it was obviously good policy to make a present of those territories in Africa in which England appeared interested. "The maintenance of Lord Salisbury in office" it was said; "is worth to the German government more than all Wituland."⁽¹¹⁾

But it is significant that, in fact, Lord Salisbury asked for so very little.⁽¹²⁾ His demands stemmed from an awareness of the dangers and expense of a colonial policy as clear as that of the Germans, though he could no longer ignore the need to protect the routes to the Indian Empire, which now involved the security of the Equatorial Nile and of Uganda. Thus the Agreement of 1890 is not, as it is sometimes seen, a magnificent revenge for 1886, but a logical culmination of the policy of the earlier Boundary Convention—to hold the Mombasa coast and the line to the interior with the minimum assertion of power. Where previously a trading company and a "sphere of influence" had sufficed, it was found necessary after the escapades of Peters to develop the British position. So this Agreement was followed by the declaration of a Protectorate over Uganda and by Lugard. Then, the shape of the German colony having been determined to the satisfaction of British statesmen, the diplomatic prelude was over and we may turn to consider the internal organization of the colony.

⁽¹¹⁾From the North German *Allgemeinen Zeitung* of 30th July, 1890. Quoted in Townsend; *op. cit.*

⁽¹²⁾cf. J. K. Vietor; "Geschichte des Entwicklung unserer Schutzgebiete." "In these acquisitions the most remarkable thing is that England, decried so often as so land-hungry, did not more energetically hinder Germany The English Government has never been anxious for a large territorial expansion of its colonial possessions, but has always, especially in Africa, been driven to such annexations by those directly interested in them."

First to Berlin—for here in the spring of 1890 the new Chancellor put through a reorganization of the departments of state. In particular, he delegated responsibility for the colonies to a new department of the German Foreign Office and appointed as its first director Dr. Kayser, a man of considerable acumen and ability. Kayser was assisted by the *Kolonialrat*, an advisory council concerned mainly with economic affairs. It was this body then, under Kayser, that faced the complicated problem arising from the failure of the German East African Company to exercise the powers secured for it. The company's solution to its difficulties was, in effect, to bribe Dr. Kayser to take over its responsibilities. For the company put its last capital into purchase from the Sultan of his authority over the coastal strip opposite Zanzibar for four millions marks—this authority to include the right to tax and exact customs dues at the coastal ports. The British government gave its consent to this purchase, and the company then offered it to its own government in exchange for release from all obligations of sovereignty. Kayser accepted the offer with the evident intention that receipts from taxation should pay for the costs of the imperial administration, so that, once the territory was set on its feet, there would still be no need to approach the antagonistic *Reichstag* nor the hard-pressed Treasury.

The territory was proclaimed a Protectorate of the German Empire, and on 1st April, 1891 the company officials handed over their offices with much relief to the handful of young diplomats and seconded army officers sent out by Kayser. The new men chose Dar es Salaam as their headquarters for the sake of its fine natural harbour far preferable to the wide sands of Bagamoyo. But they were soon to discover that they were a long way from having physical control of the lands they had come to administer. They were also presented with the problem of the disposal of the troops that had been brought to the territory for the ostensible purpose of crushing the slave-trade. It may seem surprising, therefore, that von Wissmann was recalled to Europe in April, 1891. The reason for this move was possibly economic—the hard facts of an empty treasury prevailing over the finest humanitarian motives. Yet it should be remembered that there were also excellent reasons for a policy of military withdrawal and consolidation. Restriction of troop operations would avoid conflict with the tribes and would leave them to settle their own hash by themselves, while German attempts to assert control would be confined to diplomatic pressure from the “sidelines”. The Germans were then facing briefly the dilemma that had confronted the British right across India from Bengal to the North-West frontier, and through South Africa from the Cape to the Zambezi. It was always a question of whether to withdraw in the interests of *Laissez-faire*, or to press on and extend control in order to extend also peace and good order under the British flag.

So von Wissmann left Dar es Salaam, his firm leadership having proved both too aggressive and too expensive. However he had already achieved much, he had defeated the coastal Arabs, smashed their former strongholds and cut off their old caravan slave routes from the interior. Perhaps his greatest feat was the carriage of a complete steamer by porter to Lake Nyasa to win control over some of the worst exploited areas around the lake. But the new Administration soon found that mere diplomacy and stopping up the trade-routes was not enough. Peace could not be imposed by sitting on the coast, and peace was the essential prerequisite both to the end of the slave-trade and the beginning of trade in honest goods on the continent. So, despite the departure of von

Wissmann, the Administration found itself entering upon a "militarist" period, not so much from the selfish expansionist urge as from the most commendable of motives.

Von Wissmann's *askaris* were reorganized into two companies of *Schutztruppe* and fitted out on a permanent basis, intended to carry out a series of "pacification" expeditions into the interior. But the first major penetration under the new commander, Zelewski, was heavily defeated, thus revealing the falseness of the economy which had led to the removal of von Wissmann's experience. For in August, 1891 nearly 300 men of the Protectorate force were lost at the hands of the Wahehe on the road to Iringa. The formerly expanding warlike tribes of the hinterland, Hehe, Nyamwezi and Ngoni were found to be loath to surrender their liberty, however often they had chosen to reduce it to a lawless licence in which to slaughter and sell their weaker neighbours in conspiracy with the Arabs of the coast. The warriors of these peoples were often excellently led and fought with great determination and considerable skill against European intrusion. The Hehe held Iringa, their strongly fortified headquarters, for three years and fought on as a body for four more years. The *Schutztruppe* pushing on, met the Nyamwezi under Chief Siki in the Tabora area, where a long struggle developed for control of the caravan road to Lake Tanganyika. In the South the Ngoni bided their time and did not surrender until the end of the Maji-Maji Rebellion. In the north, punitive expeditions could be seen chasing slave-raiders frequently through those early years, but another element here confused the issue. For the Usambaras and the Kilimanjaro district were the only two stretches of fertile land that the first settlers could find within reach of the coast, but quite naturally the Chagga and the Sambiaa would submit to loss of their homelands only after a stubborn resistance.

In such circumstances it is perhaps inevitable that the period should be characterized by the evil features of the *Schutztruppe askari* and by the *Boma*. The *askari* was an alien native from the Sudan or South Africa, a ruthless mercenary given to plundering both friend and foe, while the *Boma* was "that half fort, half castle that the Germans built in every district"⁽¹³⁾ as strongholds of defence and "*points d'appui*" from which the tribes were dominated. But it would be wrong to think of the *askari* and the *Boma* as isolated phenomena in colonial history peculiar to the Germans. The main feature of French expansion from the West coast of Africa into the Sahara towards Lake Chad was the "Beau Geste" type of fortress. The American pioneers pushing West across their wide continent developed very similar methods using the "stockade" as bases from which to quell a more picturesque but equally turbulent native foe.

In German East Africa, as soon as some semblance of peace had been enforced upon an area, it was always the intention to replace the military by the civil power. Whenever possible, the area became a *Bezirk* or District under a *Bezirks-ammann* who was given the task of preserving order, administering justice and in general bringing the authority of Dar es Salaam to his country. For this duty the District Officer was endowed with full executive powers, control over police and troops, and nearly absolute judicial authority. Where required he might consult native assessors; from him appeal lay in only the most serious cases to the Governor. But the civilian officers were always too few to take

⁽¹³⁾Dolbey: op. cit.

effective charge of their continually expanding responsibilities.⁽¹⁴⁾ This paucity of numbers led to the regrettable but inevitable result that the *Schutztruppe* officers often found themselves performing civil administration, and their military outlook persisted in later day-to-day relationships of the *Boma* with the subdued tribes.

Clearly in these early days direct contact between the district officer and his people could only be exercised by long, arduous, heavily-armed foot *safaris*. A *Bezirk* was a huge territory—for in 1914 there were only 21 where today there are some 57 districts. Personal rule could be asserted only through the traditional native authorities, upon whom the district officer would lean heavily for the maintenance of peace and the establishment of contact with the tribe. The civil policy was therefore to permit the ancient rulers to retain their customary power so long as they did not appear to endanger peace, and to recognize officially the authority of the old chiefly families wherever they were prepared to co-operate with the European. This early Administration has often been accused of weakening unnecessarily the former tribal organization and of bringing in outsiders over the heads of the old leaders, but the ends of peace and obedience were generally better served by working through the existing systems. Among the large inland tribes the Germans found it more effective to exploit the conflicts within the royal families, to support a prince of acknowledged authority but of friendly tendencies against his rivals. At Iringa, it is true that the Germans did break up the old Hehe chiefs' council and smash the warrior caste. But this would appear justifiable in view of the long opposition to European power that this system had offered. In the north-west, influence was exerted at this period only by intrigue at the courts of the three "Bantu states" of Ruanda, Urundi and Bukoba.

But in some areas, mainly along the coast, it was found that tribal organization was weak and there was no natural leader through whom the district officer could reach the people, whether because of the depredations of the slave-trade, because of the German "pacification", or because of inherent social divisions among the people. In such parts the new Administration adapted and extended the system formerly used by the Sultan of Zanzibar in his coastal "provinces"—delegation to subordinate officials known as *Akidas* and *Liwalis*. The *Akida* was a source of much scandal and complaint later, but at least at the beginning he was a valuable extension of known customary authority. He was an Arab or Muslim-educated Swahili set over a sub-district of the *Bezirk*, and given the tasks of ensuring the general good behaviour of the people, the assessment and collection of the first taxes, and the organization of compulsory labour where required. In places, the *Akida* was merely the old chief officially recognized as a government agent, or—as among the Chagga—a junior headman with powers enlarged. But, whether an alien imposition or a local appointment, the *Akida* was loosely supervised and subject to many temptations; poorly paid for his services, he tended to recoup his personal finances by bribery and corrupt dealings and by illicit tax-collection. But this is not to say that the *Akida* was "the universal tool of German authoritarianism"; he was by no means universal and he was more accurately summed up later by Governor von Gotzen; "They

⁽¹⁴⁾The German financial estimates for 1913 provided for 70 district officers at a cost of 1½ million mark or £56,000, for a population of 7½ millions including Ruanda and Urundi. In 1928 the Mandatory Power estimated for 150 district officers at a cost of £300,000 for a population of 5 million souls.

were orientally lazy, but they knew local custom and they were cheap.”⁽¹⁵⁾ One can never forget that the governing factor in the early administrative system was an empty treasury.

The outlook of the district officers was ruled by instructions laid down by Dr. Kayser. “Government officials,” he ordered, “must place themselves at the service of commercial enterprises without losing sight of the interests of the natives.”⁽¹⁶⁾ This was the accepted order of priorities. Contemporary European governments were concerned to devote their resources to the struggle for primacy upon their own sub-continent, as we have already noticed. The tropical colonies could expect no more than minimal financial and diplomatic aid from home; they must pay for themselves out of their own resources, taxes and duties. To that end, commercial prosperity must be the first concern of the local administration, for on that alone depended the very survival of these new territories. Further, beyond the enforcement of peace and law upon the country, no European obligation to the indigenous African was generally recognized, and it would indeed be unrealistic to look for one or to expect European public opinion to view the “Dark Continent” in the same light in 1900 as in 1960.

However the colonial administration of those days did not shrink from worthy efforts to fulfil its duties as it understood them. Von Wissmann’s little army had enforced the necessary peace. This was followed up as energetically and indeed as ruthlessly as demanded by the “Abolitionists” at home and by the missionaries now flocking abroad. There is a notable report from the British Embassy in Berlin in 1894 which illustrates both the British interest in the matter and the German attitude: “Very stringent measures are taken to suppress slave-raiding and slave-dealing in German East Africa. Arabs and natives caught *flagrante delicto* are condemned to death. . . .”⁽¹⁷⁾

When the Germans arrived on the coast they found slaves in the households of many Arab masters. This “domestic servitude” was, compared with the horrors of the trade, a mild and paternal system, a customary and accepted part of the economic life of the old towns. No action was taken in the colony against this system until the opposition took it up in the *Reichstag*. The Socialists found it to be a cause which won them some popular support, and they thus pushed through a statute in 1902 recommending the gradual abolition of the status of slavery in East Africa. The necessary ordinance followed in Dar es Salaam, but manumission was regulated over a period of years in order to lessen the economic disruption that would be caused by a sudden release. So, though many *Freiheit* certificates are to be found dating from the latter days of German rule, complete disappearance of the slave was not achieved before the outbreak of war in 1914.

Forced labour was not condemned by European public opinion of those days. On the contrary the contemporary attitude was; “It is good for the native to be industrious. . . . Under all circumstances the progress of the native towards civilization is only secured when he should be convinced of the necessity and dignity of labour;” where this was not the case, “then we must make every

(15)Quoted in Bates; op. cit.

(16)Quoted in Townsend; op. cit.

(17)British Foreign Office Report; Miscellaneous Series, 1894, No. 346, (c7582-7), pp.34-44.

effort to teach him to work.”⁽¹⁸⁾ Moreover cash was little incentive to the African in the days before the Indian *duka* and the tax-clerk gained a firm grip on the territory, while the only medium of exchange was *amerikani* cloth and small quantities of beads. Without some form of compulsion the labour force could not be organized to play its part in the opening up of the country's economy. The work had to be done to till the settlers' first plantations, to carry the crops to the waiting ships, to lay the railways and to construct the ports. It may be argued that, before the arrival of a cash economy, economic development was quite impossible without some form of compulsory labour. Then again, compulsory labour could not be enforced without the *kiboko*, or hippopotamus-hide whip. There are many highly coloured reports on the use of this instrument and even the most moderate of them are not pleasant, but it was an accepted part of the only conceivable economic system. A restrained comment was that of Dr. Dernberg, Colonial Secretary, in the report on his safari through East Africa in 1907; he said that he saw “too many whips on the tables and in the hands of the planters and colonizers.” Certainly before Dernberg's day there were no restrictions in law on the management of forced labour nor on the use of the *kiboko*.

A discussion of these abuses leads one on to the Maji-Maji Rebellion which is sometimes held up as the nadir of Germany's first efforts to colonize and administer. But this view cannot be sustained on analysis, and one is forced to conclude that the causes of the outbreak still remain largely a mystery. For what was it that could bring together twelve or more separate tribes of that vast triangle from the Ruvu to the Ruvuma to Lake Nyasa? They were tribes of widely different character and habits, often in the past at each others' throats, never before united in any cause.

The immediate cause of violence and the origin of the name of the rebellion was the manufacture by certain witch-doctors of Liwale District of a magic water said to give immunity from the guns of an enemy. Governor von Gotzen, in trying to to explain to home authorities his failure to prepare for trouble, claimed that there had been a widespread conspiracy between witch-doctors and warrior chiefs over the whole area during the preceding year, but he can suggest no evidence for this. By contrast, the fighting appears to have been virtually spontaneous and quite leaderless; further it is unlikely that the witch-doctors intended trouble at all, for they offered their special *maji* as a nostrum against all ills—crop failure and toothache as well as defeat in battle. No common denominator linked all parties to the rising except a strange, twisted faith in the magic water and a ferocious xenophobia. This was not a hatred directed specifically against the German authority, for all things foreign suffered indiscriminately from the savage outburst of passion. The rebels assaulted with equal violence Arab caravans, Indian *dukas*, Swahili plantation managers, itinerant missionaries and German *bomas*.

It has been suggested that Oppression with a capital “O” was the source of all the trouble⁽¹⁹⁾; but surely essential to tyranny is an effective and ubiquitous police force and bureaucracy? In the south of the colony the hand of the German was felt only lightly at this time. It was far more heavily impressed

⁽¹⁸⁾Joseph Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary to the House of Commons on August 6th, 1901.

⁽¹⁹⁾Bell; *op. cit.*

on the northern half of the territory where all its features, the *bomas*, plantations, traders, tax, *akidas* and *askaris*, were always in greater numbers and more active. Among the Ngoni, Germany was represented by a district officer at Songea and the Benedictine mission at Peramiho: yet this warlike tribe was galvanized into the most fierce and bitter resistance when infected by the magic water. The idea of oppression is belied by the fact that several of the leading rebels acted purely from motives of personal jealousy and gain. Abdullah Mapanda, a firebrand and the first military leader of central Liwale, took the *maji* because he was "sore at not being made a *Jumbe*."⁽²⁰⁾

There were clearly some real grievances against the cruelty, corruption and abuse of authority of the colonizers, but none of this can have been widely felt in the south. Thus the *Akidas* may have been hated for their rapacity and misrule, but there were no *Akidas* among the Ngindo tribe. Indeed it is said that the German system of administration may have been closer to the original tribal structure than the post-war organization, for the Germans appointed the old family heads of the Ngindo as *Jumbes* without regard for administrative convenience. Forced labour was an unpopular imposition, but it was hardly known in the area of rebellion. There were few plantations to the south of Morogoro, and all these were small and widely scattered; some were in the Matumbi hills where the early disturbances occurred, and there were some others at Madala where the Swahili overseers received particularly brutal treatment from the rebels. Another source of discontent was the ill-disciplined, alien *askari*, but his operations were severely restricted to the two military districts of Mahenge and Iringa. In the latter area in particular the presence of the *askaris* led by a very able lieutenant was sufficient to prevent the spread of the rebellion among the Hehe warriors and to confine the conflict to the south. Undoubtedly the abuses of the German colonial system did aggravate the situation, but they do not seem to be the fundamental motive force of the Maji-Maji Rebellion. The causes should perhaps be sought, as for later risings in East Africa, in the instinctive reaction of the old tribal way of life to the galvanizing pressures of European society which threatened for good or evil to undermine and break up the customary past.

Whatever the causes, the results of the rebellion are well-known. They were the devastation of the south and the long postponement of its opportunity for development. When Dar es Salaam heard the news of the first fighting in August, 1905, and of the fall of Liwale Boma soon after, the capital was half asleep and quite unprepared. There was a panic. The early reports seemed to disclose the whole of the interior all at once aflame; news of trouble came in from the farthest south and up as far as Kilosa, while in the immediate neighbourhood of Dar es Salaam itself the sluggish Wazaramo threatened action. The very existence of the colony seemed to be in peril, and the government responded ruthlessly, sending out a series of swift, well-armed and merciless *Schutztruppe* expeditions through the affected areas, and ordering the *askaris* to restore German authority over the rebellious tribes at any cost. So the south was laid waste in a scorched earth policy, the tribes were met and broken, their warriors were slaughtered and their villages were destroyed. The harvest was ruined and two years of famine followed, scattering and decimating the remnants of the peoples.

⁽²⁰⁾Bell; op. cit.

The official estimate of deaths caused by the fighting is 120,000; this is a high proportion of the probable total population of that area in 1900 of about two millions. The old towns disappeared in the resulting chaos; the *shambas* of the inhabitants were swallowed up by the "bush"; the former Liwale-Songea trail was for many years lost; the plans for a railway to Lake Nyasa were abandoned and only the missionaries returned to work in that war-torn south.

It is time to turn to the economic aspect of this early period in East Africa. Perhaps the most significant thing about this is its complete insignificance. For despite Dr. Kayser's admonition to his civil servants, and despite the clear intention of the home government that the colony should pay its own way, economic growth was at first feeble and desperately slow. Colonial economics could not be twisted to obey the politicians' wishes; and public and private capital could not be persuaded to ignore the need for an economic return. Inevitably money neglected the profitless territory, commercial concerns could not find sufficient financial backing for an opening, and the dues of customs and imposts exacted by the administration from the few merchant companies that dared to come could never suffice to pay for essential public services. In its first twenty years of existence the colony came nowhere near to satisfying the requirements of the mother country.

It is clear that the life of the colony depended on capital investment from outside, and on the confidence which the European investor felt in its potentialities. Now Peters had painted a glowing picture: "As a whole the colony may be described as a good agricultural country, and it has already been found fit for all sorts of tropical plantations. It will soon compete keenly with British East India and Ceylon for india rubber, fibre plants, cotton, tobacco, coffee, tea, sugar, rice and other products. . . . Taken all in all German East Africa is perhaps not a colony of the first class, but it has splendid openings in several directions, and, if properly managed, it may be developed into a wide and very important field for German enterprise."⁽²¹⁾ This kind of talk may have deluded the "Economic Imperialists" later, but it never took in the hard-headed brokers and bankers of Hamburg and Berlin. The real businessmen were never swept away by the propaganda of the *Kolonialverein*; they consistently preferred the more cautious estimate of the Scottish explorer-geographer, Thomson, who said; "Central Africa is doubtless ready to take whatever Europe wishes to send, but she has nothing to give in return." Besides there was far greater scope for profitable investment within Germany's own rapidly expanding industrial economy; there was much more likelihood of a secure dividend for capital if placed in East Europe and Russia, or in South or North America, or in Turkey, Egypt, or South Africa. The very last choice for the potential investor would be those peripheral and marginal lands of tropical Africa. As a result of this inescapable fact, an insignificant sum of capital funds trickled into East Africa in comparison with the floods that poured into those other fields of speculation. During the early years, no more than some thirty limited liability companies came to the coast to try their luck with the original East Africa Company. This first venture had retained its control over the banking and currency of the coast together with a monopoly of mineral rights and railway concessions, though it surrendered its administrative and

⁽²¹⁾Dr. Peters in an article to "The African World" in Nov. 1913; quoted in full in A. F. Calvert; "German East Africa", pp. 14, 15.

judicial powers back in 1891. But it experienced one failure after another until Chancellor von Bulow was forced to withdraw all its rights after a monetary collapse in 1902. In general from the beginning no monopoly had been permitted; the policy had always been to open the country as wide as possible to attract any firm willing to come.

But indeed there was so little attraction in the coastal commerce that it is surprising that any companies at all were persuaded to enter the field. The existing trade was firmly under the control of the well-established Indian traders and of the Arab subjects of the Sultan—a situation that had been strengthened by the declaration of Zanzibar as a Free Port in February, 1892 by the British Foreign Office. It was a source of endless frustration and serious loss to the Germans that nearly all the trade of the coast still slipped through their fingers in Arab dhows to the old market at Zanzibar. The Zanzibaris, now backed by a British protector and British Indian wealth, maintained their former dominance of the channels of commerce of East Africa, and passed the merchandise to and from India, the Persian Gulf and Great Britain as in the past. In 1905, some 85 per cent of the imports and 90 per cent of the exports of German East Africa still went this way. Furthermore, when the Germans arrived, trade was very largely a matter of slaves and ivory. It was not only a great philanthropic triumph, it was also a valuable commercial victory when the slave-trade was decreed *verboden*, for thereby at one blow the main source of profit to the old traders was removed and the price of ivory collection was enormously increased—for it had formerly been carried to the coast by the slaves purchased on the journey. Yet the value of ivory exports from German East Africa went up until the turn of the century, and they remained under Indian control. The Germans, in seeking to force an entry, were defeated at every turn, and only slowly did they realize the only way was to develop new lines which they must grow for themselves.

Fundamental to any progress in trade or settlement was an early start on the construction of communications inland. The difficulties of transport across the roadless wastes and virgin bush are well-known. The traditional means of carriage of goods was head-porterage in long, slow, foot caravans of slaves, each with a tusk on his head. Every chief of the country through which the caravan passed would charge a toll, or *hongo*, as high as he dared. As soon as the slave trade was outlawed, a heavy wages bill for the hired porters was added to the already high costs. About forty porters were required to transport a ton of goods to the coast; caravans often consisted of several hundred hired carriers; at this rate, and subject to endless delays from the rains, desertions and tribal fighting, only the most valuable items were worth the effort. Perhaps thirty caravans set out from Bagamoyo for the trip to Ujiji via Tabora each year, and several thousand porters—mostly Wanyamwezi—used to offer themselves for hire at Bagamoyo during the dry season; but clearly the interior could never be opened up effectively to trade with the modern world by this means.

The commercial interests understood from the first that a railway was essential to any economic progress. Now the story of the railways has already been fully told,⁽²²⁾ but I should like to emphasize just one or two points, and in particular how it reflects the languid blunderings of the early economic development of the territory. For, in spite of the obvious inadequacy of existing means

(22) Gillman; *op. cit.*

of transport, and in spite of the insistent demands of the pioneer planters, the construction of the Tanga Line was desperately slow and inept. As early as 1887 Baumann set out to survey the path of a line to the Usambaras; two years later plans appeared; still later a Railway Company was formed as subsidiary to the German East Africa Company. Not till 1894 did building begin at Tanga, when a pier was put up that fell down within two years. All the usual difficulties that faced a commercial company starting in East Africa faced also and quite defeated the railway builders. They suffered continual labour shortages, they endured a series of unforeseen problems of topography and of climate; their funds proved quite insufficient; and their management could not survive the wearying and vain financial negotiations. The company was exhausted after only one year of building, and the line halted altogether at Muheza for five years. At last the imperial government reluctantly took over control and just managed to persuade the *Reichstag* to grant sufficient funds to carry the line on to Korogwe. The track crawled on to reach Mombo in February, 1905, thus achieving a length of 129 kilometres in twelve years. All the optimism and the pressure of the traders and the planters had gone for nothing. If we look for a reason for this, fundamentally it must be that, although the home government came to the rescue of the railway in the end, it never had any real interest in the Tanga Line. Contrast this with the Uganda Line from Mombasa. At a critical stage this was discovered to be of vital strategic importance to Great Britain, so in 1896 it was brought virtually under Foreign Office control, and despite the usual obstacles and unusual ones such as Masai tribesmen and man-eating lions the line was completed by 1901.

The story of the first railway construction reflects too the balance of wealth in the territory. Dar es Salaam, though chosen as a capital by the new Administration on arrival in 1891, grew very slowly thereafter. The Arab and Banyan merchants remained at Bagamoyo, the old commercial centre, in close touch with the interior along the caravan-routes and with Zanzibar by dhow across the channel. European money could find no profit in the parched coast, and was drawn only through Tanga to the comparatively rich hinterland of the northern highlands. The first twenty years of colonial rule neglected the country's capital. Only slowly did the advantage to steamships of the deep waters of Dar es Salaam's harbour make itself felt, thus gradually drawing to it the commercial and shipping communities. Not until 1904 was Dar es Salaam first accepted as being a suitable starting point for a railway striking inland to Morogoro. Then the Colonial Economic Committee memorialized the *Reichstag* on the subject and met with a favourable response. Adequate financial support was found and provided with a government guarantee; construction was able to start early in 1905 under experienced contractors with good prospects for the future. This new enthusiasm indicates a fresh approach to colonial problems which I shall trace later; it indicates also a new weight and importance to Dar es Salaam, whose story as a commercial town then begins.

Then there was the problem of land. The Administration had begun by making large-scale grants of land and concessions of rights over forests and fertile plains to settlers and companies to attract them thus to invest their funds. Inevitably this had led to much indiscriminate land-grabbing and a hectic free-for-all in the more desirable areas. So, by Imperial Decree of 1895, Dr. Kayser

declared all the land of the territory to be *Herrenlosesland*, property solely of the Emperor, at the disposal only of his *Landesfiskus* in Dar es Salaam. Thus he attempted to assert closer control over the country's greatest asset and to regularize the situation. But he was not unmindful of the second priority of his instructions, for he decreed that the disposal of land should always be "subject to existing rights of chiefs, persons and communities." However the necessity for commercial development to swell the colony's income led to further wide alienations; the Decree could not prevent the "squeezing" of the tribes out of their former domains. A Land Commission was set up to protect the interests of the land's original inhabitants, but it could not withstand the pressing economic need.

The Chagga and Arusha tribes suffered particularly severely from concessionaires, for the fertile slopes Kilimanjaro and Meru were found, together with the Usambaras, to be the only profitable agricultural areas within reach of the coast. Agricultural experiment was early taken in hand to discover the most economic type of farming and the most successful crops in these difficult new soils and climate. These investigations were co-ordinated and controlled by the Colonial Economic Committee from 1896 with creditable vigour and enterprise—indeed it was realized that the fate of the colony hung on the results of such experiments. The method of farming adopted was the plantation system, and from the start this pattern of cultivation has never changed. The crops first found to yield worth-while results were coffee and rubber; and in the boom conditions at the end of the century the planters went in for rubber on a large scale. Cocoa was tried without success; the coconut palm was found to have possibilities along the coast as the Arabs well knew. Spices from the Indies failed however, in surprising contrast to their success at Zanzibar. Tobacco did not promise well in the conditions of the time; cotton was tried only in a small way; and finally round about the year 1900 planters began to place their main hopes in sisal. Then in 1902 the agricultural experimental station of Amani was founded—the first of its kind on the continent of Africa and destined to be of immense importance in the making of German East Africa.

But the work of Amani and the Economic Committee was of its nature slow and wearisome. The trade from the products of the early plantations grew infinitesimally in the early years. Rubber became by far the most valuable crop, providing a third of the country's total exports in 1904, but the trees took many years to mature and meanwhile tied up much valuable capital. In the same year, sisal and coffee just appear on the list of profitable exports. For the rest, native products only, like copra, gum, ivory and hides, are shown.

Trade figures are often misleading, and it is difficult to find any for this period which offer means for comparison, but certain facts stand out. Exports for the territory were around half and averaged five-ninths of the yearly total of imports into the country. This was a serious unfavourable balance of trade for the territory, which thus pressed upon the mother country for support and threatened her specie reserves. The total value of commerce both in and out of the colony was reckoned in 1905 to equal twenty million marks or one million pounds sterling. Of this total only one quarter was with the mother country. When all the trade between Germany and all her colonies was brought together it totalled only sixty-four million marks, which figure was no more than one half of one per cent of the whole external trade of the mother country. With reason

colonies like East Africa were considered valueless; with absolute justice a critic of 1905 declared: "If Germany should lose her trade with Denmark now, it would mean much more to her than if all her colonial trade were to go to the Devil."⁽²³⁾

Worse still, the revenues of the territory never came near to balancing the essential expenditure of the Administration. Receipts from customs and taxation reached five million marks, but administrative expenses were twice as much by 1905. Even then the cost of the maintenance of the *Schutztruppe* was not included, being kept on a separate account with the mother country. The territory's financial needs grew larger year by year, but her income could not grow so fast and always left a deficit in the budget to be met by an unwillingly voted grant from the Imperial Treasury. There were now 1,800 Europeans in the territory, they had had twenty years in which to set the country on its feet; evidently they were still far from beginning.

Very rarely in the history of democratic colonial powers have colonial affairs been of sufficient interest to the general public at home to form an issue at a parliamentary election.⁽²⁴⁾ This has happened just once or twice in Britain's long imperial history, and for Germany only in 1906. The Maji-Maji Rebellion came at an already difficult time for the government, and coincided with the Herero Revolt in South West Africa. Both seemed to justify the prevalent rumours of scandals and serious maladministration in the African colonies. So, for the first time but not for the last, charges of corruption and of exploitation were levied against the government in *Reichstag* debates. These allegations dismayed many honest men and persuaded liberal opinion to join with the permanent opposition in the *Reichstag*. This was formed of two groups: the active and unscrupulous Socialists, who were opposed to any form of colonial policy, and the Catholic Centre, who were opposed on principle to the government. Together they were now able to marshall a large body of anti-colonial propaganda, and strongly attacked the imperial conduct of colonial affairs with feelings much incensed by the two rebellions.

Some of the charges of corruption brought were proven, particularly those against Dr. Peters himself, who was known to the people as *Mkono wa damu*, (the man with blood on his hands), who was brought to trial for various unsavoury offences and expelled from the colony in 1896. But the truth of the bulk of the alleged colonial scandals cannot be accepted without question. They represent a picture of an oppressed and terribly exploited subject race, whereas as we have seen with regard to the Maji-Maji Rebellion, the little that is known of the conditions of the time do not support such an exaggerated account. Furthermore, one of the first acts of the new government was to set up an impartial, judicial commission of inquiry to investigate these allegations and report back to the *Reichstag*. In March, 1907 the commission presented its report and concluded that there was insufficient evidence to support the majority of the

⁽²³⁾Bebel, a leading Socialist member of the *Reichstag*. Trade between Germany and Denmark in 1905 was worth 300 million marks.

⁽²⁴⁾The classic instance in British history is Gladstone's "Midlothian Campaign" during the elections of 1880. Popular feeling was then stirred up against the supposedly aggressive and "imperialistic" policy of Disraeli in South Africa to the extent of rejecting him completely and putting in Gladstone. But it is difficult to find other occasions on which the lethargic British electorate has found cause to express its opinions on colonial affairs at any election for parliament. In French history, perhaps the unique occasion when the French people have troubled to record a vote on their Empire may have been the Referendum of 1958.

accusations; and too few facts have since come to light to justify us in altering their verdict. However it was generally agreed that a new effort was now needed; it was accepted that the legal control of the administration over the plantation management was inadequate, that supervision over the subordinate administration was ineffective, that greater protection for labour was now necessary, and finally that a stronger land policy was needed. This is perhaps as far as an historian should go in condemning the early colonial administration of German East Africa.

The Socialists went on in the *Reichstag* to emphasize the unwelcome but unchallengeable facts of colonial economics; that the tropical colonies were not attracting capital from home; that they were not prospering; that on the contrary they were quite unable to pay their way and so were swallowing yearly large grants from funds badly needed at home. It was clearly shown that such few products of value as the colonies did export all went to foreign countries and were of no benefit to the mother country. She was sacrificing herself only to build up the trade of her European enemies and deriving only a negligible benefit from all her effort.

The opposition were thus able to carry in the *Reichstag* a refusal to vote the anticipated funds for maintenance of the colonial administration for the next year. This led to the dissolution of the *Reichstag* by the Emperor and an election for a new set of representatives. The election was fought largely on the issues brought up in the previous discussions on the conduct of the colonial administrations. The opposition lost the election, but in fact had gained their point. The new government could not ignore the force of their views as to the need for much reform, and it set out with a determination to start afresh abroad.

IV

So we come to the period which is called "The Age of Scientific Colonization". Possibly the new departure in policy now initiated by government has been exaggerated. Some historians see a new leaf turned as early as the time of Chancellor Bulow and Colonial Director Dr. Stübel in 1900: others consider that the fundamentals of colonial authoritarianism never changed at all. Certainly there had already been improvements in the situation; a sign of a fresh approach to problems could be seen in the condemnation of "house peonage" and in the reorganization of the hut tax in 1905. In the early 1900's there was renewed encouragement to private capital and settlement; the Central Line railway had started successfully; in 1902 the Institute of Tropical Medicine had been opened in Hamburg, and Amani had been laid out. The territory had been fortunate in having a far-sighted administrator in Dr. Stuhlmann who planted the botanical gardens in Dar es Salaam, and graduated later from the office of Chief Secretary to be the first Director of Amani.

But in May, 1907 the Colonial Department was separated from the Foreign Office and Dr. Dernberg was appointed first Colonial Secretary with his own office. With Dernberg came a new faith and fresh hope in the economic potentialities of the empire. He brought too a new awareness of responsibility to the indigenous inhabitants of his colonies. There are clear indications of a new start, though only seven years were left in which it could work itself out.

Dr. Dernberg was no mean financier and an acute businessman. He had far-reaching plans drawn up by his Advisory Committee for the economic development of East Africa. Their schemes were inspired by the views of the then popular "Economic Imperialism"—with the idea that the empire should be self-sufficient, the colonies and the mother country being complementary halves of one expanding economic unit. It is important to recall that this ideal did not envisage any form of exploitation in its modern derogatory sense. The theorists saw their empire as a partnership pressing forward to prosperity in mutual inter-dependence. The mother country would supply the capital, the skills and the industry, while the colonies were to provide the outlet for the capital, scope for the skills and raw materials for the industry. The colonies were to employ the surplus funds and the technical "know-how" of Europe in producing and exporting the fruits of their tropical soils; from the profits of their exports they would be able to buy the finished goods from the factories of the mother country. There would be equal benefits for both sides; the colonies would sell their raw products and buy manufactures; the home country would sell the latter in exchange for the former.

As the war drew near and narrow nationalism gained ground, the partnership became far more one-sided. There is an interesting comment of early 1914: "Germany is laying down the future lines of a sober colonial policy. She wants supplies for her peoples and raw materials for her mills. She wants land where she can grow them and markets from which she cannot be excluded. She finds them ready at hand in her colonies which cry out for European enterprise and capital."⁽²⁵⁾ This represents the popular patriotic view which falls short of the ideal—but then, it was thought, how could the colonies lose if they were flooded with European capital and enterprise while opened up as a secure market for all home products? Germany was then relying on British West Africa and British India for her supplies of nearly all tropical products, coffee and cotton, cocoa and vegetable oils, rubber and hemp. So now East Africa was to be developed in order to produce these things, and the territory must be organized to spend the profits of this trade on German-made machinery and clothing, engineering equipment and her processed foods.

The provision of adequate communications was seen to be the first step in this planned development, and no longer a laggardly afterthought. The new railway lines were to precede and thus to encourage settlement and productive use of the land. In 1908 the Tanga line received a vote of 12 million marks for extension to Moshi, and more money was made available for the improvement of Tanga harbour. A survey and grant of funds was arranged for progress to Arusha, prevented only by the outbreak of the war. On the Central line, Dr. Dernberg himself appeared at the railhead at Morogoro to reveal his intention to carry the line right across to Lake Tanganyika. The reasons for the rapid construction of the *Mittellandbahn* have in the past been generally considered to be strategic, but the greater incentive to build was probably provided by the optimistic hopes of the fertility of the lands of the distant lakeshores which the railway was expected to open up. By elaborate financial arrangements the Railway Company was set on a sound footing virtually as a public utility Company permitting, it is said, a speedy execution and an excellence of construction nowhere

⁽²⁵⁾Professor Bonn of Munich University in a paper to the Royal Colonial Institute on 13th Jan. 1914, recorded in the "United Empire Magazine" for 1914.

equalled in tropical Africa.⁽²⁶⁾ The track reached Tabora in February, 1912 well ahead of schedule, and just two years later the line was led down to Lake Tanganyika at Kigoma. Although based on a wholly mistaken belief and although the sands were already running out, this was a considerable achievement.

A similarly energetic and expensive policy may be seen in the high standard of planning and solid building of the harbours and coastal towns of German East Africa. The Germans built well and they built to last, not only their wharves and railway stations, but also the hospitals and hotels, the *bomas*, offices and official residences. They transformed Dar es Salaam and Tanga from dirty native villages into imposing towns. There is no need to elaborate their virtue in this respect, it should be clear to every observer in Tanganyika today.

Now, in this economic policy the plantation was the most vital element. Great encouragement was given to this form of agriculture with, however, a new regard for the interests of the labour force. The acreage under plantation cultivation increased vastly between 1908 and 1914: certain crops were singled out after lengthy experiment and their cultivation was widely extended. Rubber, at the turn of the century, had been the most favoured export, and it continued to fetch good prices up to 1910; the figures for its export in that year are double those of the previous year. More than twenty million rubber trees had been planted by this time, mostly *Ceara*,* and this product was washed and cured at a factory at Muheza. But the result was over-production and a slump from which East African rubber never recovered in the face of a better product and a more efficient labour force in south-east Asia. Then, in 1911, sisal appears for the first time as the export crop of the greatest value, having multiplied its worth three times over since 1905. The market grew so favourable to the sisal planter that in 1913 the dividend of the Sisal Planters' Company was reckoned at 50 per cent. Meanwhile the export of coffee was quadrupled in the five years before 1910; exports of cotton were also growing and were strongly favoured by government. There were finally some 165 plantations just beginning to work economically the *Upland* variety of cotton.

The Agricultural Department was formed in 1906 and based upon Amani, where it conducted extensive experimental work on cotton, sisal, rubber and coffee cultivation. From here it sent out a team of itinerant botanists and naturalists to study the country and to test its climate and soils. The department set up several small cotton stations, and it built also a research institute at Kibongoto to work for the planters in the Kilimanjaro area. At Mpwapwa it founded a veterinary station to begin the fight against rinderpest; it interested itself in cattle-rearing; it even tried fruit-farming. In Dar es Salaam much use was made of the Botanical Gardens, where the first Agricultural Exhibition was held in 1904. Finally the Department began to direct its attention to the encouragement of African cultivation of cash-crops, but as this was more of a social than an economic measure it is perhaps best considered later. Of the object of all this we are reminded by a scientific observer of 1914: "Our experimental work serves ultimately the self-evident demand for a sound national trade policy, especially by encouraging in our colonies the production of the raw materials which Germany must still draw from foreign lands for the sustenance of her people and industries."⁽²⁷⁾

⁽²⁶⁾Gillman; *op. cit.*

⁽²⁷⁾Dr. W. Busse of the German Colonial Office in the "Bulletin of the Imperial Institute" of 1914 on: "The Organization of Experimental Work in Agriculture in the German Colonies".

**Ceara Rubber-Manihot Glaziovii.*

This policy, though all colonial powers had adopted it by 1914, was of course never sound. Neither the sincere and high ideals of imperial self-sufficiency nor the narrow militarist nationalism of colonial exploitation could hope to succeed in the barren lands of the tropics. To Germany her East African colony always remained a millstone round her neck, and an inescapable financial liability. Thus though the yearly value of exports of German East Africa was raised to 35½ million marks, her imports went up still higher to 54 million marks, and the unfavourable balance of trade persisted. Then again, if the total value of the territory's trade increased to 89 million marks in 1913 (or about £4½ million), this was a trifling sum in comparison with the trade of, for instance, British West Africa which in the same year was worth £30 million. Of the £4½ million of East Africa, only a little over half went to Germany herself, the rest still went to India and to Great Britain. In 1913 Germany's total colonial commerce was still only 1 per cent of her world trade. The plans and hopes of the Dernberg administration, as of its predecessors, went entirely unrewarded in this respect.

In the internal economy of the territory there was still the same hopelessly unbalanced budget as before. The administration had made great efforts and had succeeded in multiplying by four their revenues so that they finally exceeded half a million pounds yearly. This increase was due largely to the hut tax levy of 1905, and was at the expense of the last vestiges of the popularity of the *Akidas* who had to collect the tax. But expenditure increased commensurately with receipts, and in 1913 ran to practically one million pounds. The imperial treasury was still called upon to meet the annual deficit, in addition to the cost of the Protectorate troops, to subsidizing the railways and other public works. True, the grant from home had been gradually decreasing, but there was no disguising the fact that the colony was irremediably insolvent. If wise men had looked back in 1914, they might have understood that the attitude of indifference to tropical colonies that had been displayed by Bismarck and by Salisbury was economically completely justified.

If we turn to glance at the administration of the territory, we find that, as with economic policy, there appears about 1906 a new enthusiasm and an outburst of energy. The emphasis was new too, for now it was said: "The most important factor in our colonies is the native. He constitutes in fact our chief problem." (28). This had not been recognized before. To Kayser the needs of the African had come a poor second to those of economic progress. Henceforward it is possible to show that the African came first, even though trade and plantations received the immense impetus we have seen. This change in priorities is, of course, the vital preliminary step in the evolution of the principle of "Trusteeship". This is most apparent in a well-known speech by Dr. Solf, the Colonial Secretary, to the *Reichstag* in 1913. "Colonizing means missionizing," he said, "and missionizing in the lofty sense of education towards culture. The task of the colonizers is wide and diversified. The natives are ignorant, they must be instructed. They are indolent, they must be taught to work. They are unclean, they must be taught cleanliness. They are ill with all manner of distempers, they must be healed. They are savage, cruel and superstitious, they must become

(28) Dr. Dernberg to the *Reichstag* in 1907. Quoted in Townsend; *op. cit.*

peaceful and enlightened. . . .” Hence Solf evolved the principle, “. . . the natives have a right to demand that they should be regarded by the more highly developed races as an end and not as a means.”⁽²⁹⁾

Policy enunciated grandly at home is not always followed by the men in the field. But Dr. Schnee, who was Governor from 1912 to the end, claimed, on looking back, “It was always my policy to make the welfare of the natives entrusted to my care the dominant feature of my administration.”⁽³⁰⁾ These are as liberal views as one could expect to find in the pre-war climate of opinion, and at least some of them were put into practice.

The Colonial Office started on the right foot by setting up the Commission of Inquiry into the alleged colonial scandals, whose report I have already discussed. A local inquiry had just sat to consider the causes of the Maji-Maji Revolt. Noted Sir Harry Johnston: “The Germans wisely did not hush up their affairs, but investigated them in open court and punished the guilty.”⁽³¹⁾

In 1907, Dr. Dernberg made a round tour of his colonies which included an impressive foot-safari from Lake Victoria to Morogoro. He returned to Berlin with clear ideas of the need for radical improvement in relations with the African which he frankly discussed in the *Reichstag*. At the head of the administrative system he divided the civil from the military power, and restricted the military far more closely to its real sphere. In the districts, Dernberg began a movement to bring the *Bezirksamtmann* under closer control of the central secretariat, though he never withdrew the absolute powers of the district officer in matters of native jurisdiction. In 1906, at Hamburg a Colonial Institute was founded, so that the officials sent out thereafter were hand-picked men, imbued with government views and given some idea of African custom and the Swahili language. The *Akida* still remained as political middleman under the district officer, but the position of these subordinates was also more strictly regulated, they were paid more and their irresponsibility was checked.

It is difficult to find a fair and comprehensive account of the German system of taxation in East Africa. About 1895 a tax on huts was first levied. This was standardized and imposed territorially in 1905 at the rate of three to four rupees per hut (or four to six shillings). But this system was open to objection on several counts; it tended to discourage settlement; it did not reach the bulk of the labourers and the porters; it had often to be paid in labour or in kind; and it was entirely in the hands of the *Akidas* and headmen over whom control had not yet been established. In 1912 the hut tax began to be replaced by a poll tax, which was more closely supervised by the European administration, and which could be exacted at the place of work according to the known wages of the employee. It was believed that this would much increase the revenue yielded by the territory's inhabitants, and at the same time it would remove the worst opportunities for abuse of power by the junior officials of government.

Later German writers claim that their administration at this time laid down the foundations of the policy of “Indirect Rule” which were to be so widely adopted later by the Mandatory Power. Such an idea the latter has generally refused to accept; indeed Sir Donald Cameron claimed a complete reversal of policy when

⁽²⁹⁾Solf; op. cit., quoting a speech of his own.

⁽³⁰⁾Schnee; op. cit.

⁽³¹⁾Sir H. H. Johnston; “The Colonization of Africa”, 1899, p. 258.

he began to apply his well-known system. On the other hand there is the opinion of Sir Harry Johnston again worth quoting. "Their leading native chiefs," he said, "were treated as we treat the Indian Rajahs."⁽³²⁾ We have seen that the characteristic of the German system was its flexibility. The *Akida* appeared mainly along the coast in areas of Swahili dominance and of tribal weakness, while elsewhere the name was often applied to the old chief with his powers officially acknowledged by government. Among the tribes of the interior, the old accepted rule of the "Sultans" continued so long as peace was maintained. German power in the north-west was upheld merely by "Residents" at the courts of the Watusi kings—a connection not so very different from that adopted by the British in contemporary Uganda. Then in 1913 Dr. Solf paid a visit to Northern Nigeria with the declared intention of translating Lugard's system to the Kamerun and the other German African protectorates. As to this an expert commented in 1916: "The last two German Colonial Secretaries were sincere reformers. The last personally visited British West Africa. . . . He was engaged in steering German policy in the direction of ours when war broke out."⁽³³⁾

There were other lines of advance to which attention was now directed. In 1907 a new Land Law was promulgated. It restricted more narrowly the sale to private companies or to individuals of Crown Land in which the inhabitants of the place had an interest. Sale of land actually occupied was forbidden. Then the policy of actively curtailing and buying back the old over-generous concessions was extended. Reserves were planned; and in particular large extensions to the Masai Reserve were sanctioned when it was realized that the original area set aside for the tribe had been based on false calculations and was far too small. But the Germans were the first to admit that the land problem in East Africa was by no means solved when they were forced to drop it in 1914.

Next, steps were taken to encourage land-use by the African in any profitable ways that could be found. The Agricultural Department took in hand native cultivation of cash crops. It sent experts to study methods employed in Uganda, and attempted to apply them to increase the productivity of native land-holding. Special efforts were made to develop cotton-growing on African *shambas*. Large quantities of seed and some equipment were distributed free each year in accessible areas; rewards were offered for the best quality cotton produced; and a minimum price was guaranteed by government to African cotton-growers. By such means the Department steadily built up its work among the peoples of the territory, and it has produced figures which show a fourfold increase in acreage of land under cultivation by the African between 1904 and 1912.

A series of Labour Laws were issued in 1907. Compulsory labour was regulated, and normally permitted only for public works. Discharge of the hut tax by unpaid labour was stopped. In no case might forced labour be free, but must be remunerated at normal wage rates. The Governor amplified laws in a circular to his district officers which advised that: "Natives living in plantation areas should be obliged to work for planters against their will only in exceptional cases Administrative officers should take note

⁽³²⁾Sir H. H. Johnston; in a letter to the "Daily News", quoted in Solf; *op. cit.*

⁽³³⁾E. D. Morel; "Truth and the War". London, 1916.

of this and make known to *Jumbes* and *Akidas* in a general way and without any compulsion the wish of the government that their people participate in labour.”⁽³⁴⁾ Labour contracts were henceforth to come under official supervision, to be witnessed by a magistrate and to include “reasonable measures” for the care of the employee. Labour recruiting agents were to be licensed centrally, their numbers to be strictly limited and their contracts also to be officially witnessed and approved. Corporal punishment was drastically restricted by these laws; the wielding of the whip was limited in all cases to a maximum of twenty-five strokes—the notorious *hamsa ishirini*. This was allowed now only as a punitive and never as a disciplinary measure; it had to be recorded for the benefit of inspecting officers; and it had to be witnessed by a medical officer.

The results of these land and labour ordinances, which clearly reveal their effect, was the growth of bitter opposition to the administration among the settler element. The planters up country and the big companies found that they were able no longer to do as they liked with the country and its peoples, so they raised an outcry against what they called these economically repressive decrees. The planter community had strong support at home from the big Berlin bankers and the merchant houses of Hamburg, and their combined forceful agitation contributed to the dismissal of Dernberg and threatened the position of his nominee, Governor von Rechenberg, in Dar es Salaam. These two risked their careers in an effort to reverse the priorities of the earlier administration. It was a first step in the right direction.

There were however other lines of progress in African welfare to which no objection could be made; these lay in the spheres of missionary endeavour, of education and of medical services. Thanks to a questionnaire the administration had filled in, in 1913, we have detailed figures of the missions in German East Africa. There were then some 465 mission stations, of all faiths, sizes and shapes, at work in this field. They shared just one belief in common—the need for schooling the African. They claimed in all more than eighteen hundred mission schools, though many can have been no more than shacks in the “bush”, or a wandering fervent grey-beard with a handful of youthful followers. In that year the missions claimed a combined total of over a hundred thousand pupils. The administration by 1914 had founded nearly a hundred of its own schools, mostly along the coast and in the bigger towns, notably several high schools, and industrial and technical institutes that were very popular. State and church together reached about one per cent of the total African population of the colony, or perhaps ten per cent of the school-age population of those years. This may not seem to be a very high figure, but it must be set against the background of the primitive conditions of the time—no common language, no normal means of intercourse between pupil and teacher, no books, no pens, nothing that is accepted today as essential for teaching. One must recall the physical difficulties of this time, no roads, no classrooms, and an entire absence of funds except those voluntarily donated in Europe or those wrung from the unwilling peasant tax-payers. In such a setting the record shows considerable achievement. After the war, an official report was to say; “The results of their (education) system are today evident in the large numbers of natives scattered throughout

⁽³⁴⁾Governor Freiherr von Rechenberg in Instructions of October, 1907; see the “Landes-Gesetzgebung”, part II, p. 294.

the territory able to read and write, and it must be admitted that the usefulness to the administration of the natives of Tanganyika Territory is in advance of that which one has been accustomed to associate with British Protectorates.”⁽³⁵⁾

It only remains to touch on the truly scientific side of this so-called “Scientific Colonization”. First, one must mention the pioneers of science. They combined exploration with their technical investigations and laid the foundations of all our present knowledge of the physical nature of the territory. Geographers and geologists, surveyors and engineers, archaeologists and anthropologists, they swarmed over the country and left for posterity their observations on every corner—from Lake Rukwa to Kilimanjaro, and from Mafia to Masailand. The best known of these men is Dr. Baumann, but he was followed by a host whose names inevitably crop up whenever one looks at the beginnings of every department of scientific study of the territory. It would be rash to deny that “Science has made enormous progress through the German exploration of Africa. . . . No history would be complete which did not recognize the work which has been achieved by Germany in geographical development and in ethnological, botanical and linguistic research.”⁽³⁶⁾

As to tropical medicine, the medical world acknowledges a great debt to the German doctors. Their leader was Dr. Koch (who had discovered the tuberculosis bacillus in 1882), who is known in East Africa for his campaigns against sleeping sickness around Lake Victoria where he introduced Atoxyl as the remedy. Then there was Ehrlich, described by a wartime enemy as “. . . that excellent Hun bacteriologist who gave us .606 as a preparation against tick-fever and blackwater, the most distinguished of the German scientists perhaps, after Koch.”⁽³⁷⁾ In 1914, Germany had three stations active in East Africa against sleeping sickness, and a research institute at Dar es Salaam. In a country-wide campaign against smallpox connected with the names of Drs. Kreuze and Kulz, sixteen medical stations were set up and over three million of the African population of the country are said to have been vaccinated—no light task. The colony’s hospital service was widely praised, and the administration spent an unprecedented amount on hospital construction, notably in Dar es Salaam itself. A European medical staff of 48 was maintained, advised by the Hamburg Institute of Tropical Medicine. Finally, though there appear to be few records, we should not lose sight of the healing work of the missions, whose staffs penetrated far wider than the government doctors could hope to go. Says Schnee: “It is a matter beyond dispute that the scientists of no other civilized country have done so much by means of discoveries and the scientific fighting of disease as Germany.”⁽³⁸⁾ It can only be a matter of regret that the war came to interrupt for many years all this valuable work.

V

The First World War led to the irretrievable collapse of the whole of the German empire, yet it is possible to find in it some elements of triumph for German colonial policy, and there is some justification for pride in the

⁽³⁵⁾The (first) Annual Report of 1921, p. 41. The Phelps-Stokes Report of 1924 said: “In regards to schools, the Germans have accomplished marvels. Some time must elapse before education attains the standard it had reached under the Germans.” See Townsend; *op. cit.*

⁽³⁶⁾Sir H. H. Johnston; “The History of African Colonization”. Quoted in Self; *op. cit.*

⁽³⁷⁾Dolbey; *op. cit.*

⁽³⁸⁾Schnee; *op. cit.*

achievements of German East Africa during the course of the war. Two things are generally considered remarkable about the war period in East Africa: on the one hand, the vitality and resilience of the colony's economy through two hard years of complete blockade: and on the other, the considerable success attending German arms, fighting under General von Lettow Vorbeck against an overwhelmingly superior enemy. Neither achievement was possible without the loyalty and active support of the subject African peoples of the territory.

The economic situation of the colony at the outbreak of war was not particularly strong. The authorities had planned a trade exhibition at Dar es Salaam for mid-August 1914, and the colony benefited later from the presence of one aeroplane and a quantity of tinned food in the capital. There were also a handful of military vehicles in the territory and one lorry on the Mombasa-Lushoto run. But after the declaration of war, no more equipment nor any further supplies entered the country to support the beleaguered inhabitants until the two famous ammunition ships, the *Kronberg* and the *Marie* succeeded in running the blockade. The colony was forced to live off its own *shambas*, unable to rely on any further imports from abroad. The European population quickly exhausted all stocks of accustomed foodstuffs, and had to turn to what it could grow for itself. The defensive army was massing in the North, and provided many problems of feeding and supply. The authorities reacted with creditable efficiency and thoroughness; they assumed at once control over food surpluses throughout the territory with powers of requisition where necessary. They planned harvests territorially and set up depots all down the lines of communication from the farming areas to the centres of population. The organization tackled the problems of transport of cattle on the hoof and of perishable grain by head-porterage, of the recurrent rains across roadless terrain, and of the closing net of a relentless enemy. They succeeded to the extent that, though there were sporadic local food shortages and though the troops were often on short commons, nowhere was the African producer driven to desperate measures, and only in the Lindi District was there famine—due to failure of the rains in 1913-14 and again in the following year.

By the middle of 1915 the lack of machine-made goods began to make itself felt, particularly of cotton clothing and blankets, but also of many other necessities. Factories were improvised and an amazing variety of local industries sprung up. Rubber enjoyed a new boom. The Berlin Mission in Dar es Salaam constructed spinning wheels, while Amani became the centre for a new type of research—into substitutes for the European mechanically made articles of essential use. The list of Amani *ersatz* goods is impressive for example, boots, spices, soap, tobacco, shirts, tooth-powder and candles. In the first eighteen months of the war, Amani issued as comforts for the troops, 15,000 bottles of home-made "whisky" and three hundred bottles of castor oil. At Morogoro, a certain Dr. Schultze invented a substitute for petrol out of copra called "trebol." At Mpwapwa and Amani a type of quinine was concocted to replace the supplies of that life-saving drug formerly imported from Java. The new medicine was known as "Lettow Schnapps."

Von Lettow himself was a great man for improvisation, with the maxim; "It is convenient if a man can kill an antelope and make a boot."⁽³⁹⁾ He directed the making of salt by evaporation of sea-water; he had sugar distilled

⁽³⁹⁾Von Lettow Vorbeck; op. cit. p. 194.

from honey; he had hippos shot for their fat and bandages made from bark. He insisted that every European should be his own workman and taught his troops to live entirely off the land. During the last year of the war, pushed south of the Ruvuma River, the German forces adopted a guerrilla style of fighting, and became dependent upon what they carried with them and what they could find on the march. Thus it became a standing order that every officer should carry a cockerel in his pack, but "an order issued in one force that the crowing of cocks before 9 a.m. was forbidden brought no relief."⁽⁴⁰⁾

In Dar es Salaam at first financial stability was seriously shaken. Rocketing prices led to an unpleasant black-market. The smaller planters failed or were dispossessed, the Indian sometimes had their stocks seized or were paid in useless paper, and the administration lived on credit with the German East African bank. The shortage of ready money was only partly met by the issue of locally-printed notes and by the distribution of a new brass coinage (the famous Tabora sovereigns seem to have been an interesting but quite useless experimental minting). But despite the many difficulties, life in the colony persisted without grave disruption till the very end. The country's economy had never been able to satisfy the demands made upon it according to the views of the nineteenth century nationalists and later "Economic Imperialists", for it had never been able to balance its budget nor its trade, nor to produce the tropical raw materials demanded at home. Yet this same economy proved itself able to resist with commendable endurance the pressures of blockade and siege of three long years.

Perhaps equally remarkable is the story of the German military forces in East Africa throughout the war. The figures reveal a strange situation. The defending army in August, 1914 totalled some 250 European officers and N.C.O's and about 5,000 *askaris*, armed mostly with the obsolete 1871 rifle. At its climax this force was able to muster 3,000 Europeans and 11,000 troops, against whom, it is said, there stood all told close on a quarter of a million men. Von Lettow claims that he led his ill-equipped little band, during the four years, against a total of 130 Allied generals. There were fifty thousand Indian troops, perhaps forty thousand South Africans, more than a hundred thousand Africans of the K.A.R., the Nigeria Regiment, the Gold Coast Regiment and the Gambia Company. There fought too fifty thousand British soldiers of some of the finest infantry regiments.

Von Lettow's intention against such formidable odds, as he clearly states, was not to prevent the loss of the territory, but to compel the enemy to keep as large a force as possible for as long as possible in East Africa away from the main theatre of war in Europe. Von Lettow achieved all he set out to do, and the number of allied troops that were "bottled up" were out of all proportion to the German effort and to the importance of the country in allied strategy. South African troops and the wisdom of their great leader, General Smuts, were diverted from France altogether until 1917. This "little war" is estimated to have cost the Allied cause around £72 million. The cost in lives was even more desperate: white deaths were thought to have reached twenty thousand, of whom more than half were South African cavalymen. The losses among Indian and African soldiers on the British side may have been three times as heavy.

⁽⁴⁰⁾Von Lettow Vorbeck; op. cit. p. 194.

The opening of the fighting saw a humiliating defeat of an Anglo-Indian expedition that attempted a landing at Tanga but was beaten back through the orchards of Ras Kazone with many casualties. This disillusioned the allied leaders of any hope of a quick conquest, and forced upon them the realization of the need for a large-scale build-up of a strong and well-planned offensive. Thus ensued a long pause while the Indian and British armies mustered on the desert plains to the north of Kilimanjaro. They did not launch the big attack until the dry weather of 1916. This attack pushed down the Pangani towards Tanga, while one wing swept through Handeni and farther west towards the Central Line; but it never caught nor crushed the defending forces. The Germans preserved their mobility in a series of swift, elusive delaying actions, avoiding set battles and never becoming seriously involved in a conclusive engagement. So they were able to withdraw behind the Rufiji River with their military efficiency virtually unimpaired. But the allies were exhausted and halted completely at the onset of the rainy season. They then took six months to recuperate before beginning the long, dreary struggle for control of the south of the territory. Von Lettow claimed to have inflicted particularly severe casualties at Mahiwa in October, 1917, where four companies of German-led askaris defeated five thousand British infantry with the loss of over a thousand of their number. In the following month the German general pulled his men across the Ruvuma River where he knew that supplies would be easier. He kept his force in being as a permanent and viciously active threat to peace throughout the next year till at the Armistice they laid down their arms in Northern Rhodesia. Von Lettow was then half blind and seriously wounded in the leg, but still indomitable, with a following of 150 Europeans, 2,000 Africans and the former Governor, von Schnee.

Now the loyalty of the Africans to their German masters at this crisis has often been challenged and was denied at Versailles in 1919. Yet it is indisputable that there was no tribal disturbance nor organized unrest against the Germans during the war, although the police and administration were largely removed from the districts, and old methods of compulsion were resorted to and heavy demands made for food supplies and porters. It would seem probable that, had the African chosen to withhold his support from the German regime on any extensive scale, the colony's economy and military resistance could not have survived.

The porters did a difficult and vitally necessary task without a murmur ever having been recorded. Carriage of food, fodder, arms and ammunition from the Southern Highlands and Central Line to the massed troops awaiting the northern offensive and to the civilian population were entirely dependent upon these porters. Between Morogoro and Korogwe a shuttle-service of eight thousand carriers was employed continuously throughout 1915, the journey taking twelve days. In March, 1916, 20,000 porters were recruited, of whom two thousand died on the road in the disruption of the rains. The sickness rate was alarming, and, when in the following year portage was the only means of supply left to the German troops, the carriers suffered severely marching for days backwards and forwards through deep, endless mud. They were generally unpaid, always exhausted and ill-fed, far from home. The African *askaris*, enlisted by the Germans, endured equally severe privations while fighting with all the discomforts of a fast-moving, open, defensive guerilla warfare. But, despite the temptation to slip away home in the frequent mêlées in thick bush, very many askaris stayed by the Germans to die, and some few to live through to the end.

The reasons for this remarkable show of loyalty are not obvious. It can hardly be said that the Africans preferred that particular type of European colonization to all others, for they had no means of comparison; yet they clung to their old masters with a blind and trusting obedience. The Germans shared all the discomforts of their life with the *askaris*, and must have often gained sincere respect and affection from their followers. Close, personal leadership deservedly won loyal support. Von Lettow gives us a charming vignette to illustrate this "feeling of comradeship which our *askaris*, had for us Germans and which was tremendously developed by the numerous expeditions undertaken together." He tells of a German officer wearily returning with his men from a long march in the bush. On reaching camp the officer collapsed with fatigue beneath a tree, but an askari, seeing the distress of the European, tore off a sock he had been wearing for six days and wiped the face of the perspiring German with it. As he said in explanation: "This is our custom. We only do it to our friends."⁽⁴¹⁾

So it was that the war which saw the end of German East Africa, saw also the coming together of ruler and subject in a community of spirit with the dying colony.

VI

A year after von Lettow surrendered in Northern Rhodesia, the allied peace-makers came to the official conclusion that, ". . . . the native inhabitants of the German colonies are strongly opposed to being again brought under Germany's sway; and the record of German rule, the traditions of the German government and the use to which the colonies were put make it impossible for the Allies to return them to Germany or to entrust to her again the responsibility for the training and education of their inhabitants."⁽⁴²⁾ Such a view accepted as fact the extreme verdict passed by the wartime series of bluebooks and allied pamphlets that, "the German in Africa is cruel, brutal, arrogant and utterly unsuited for intercourse with primitive people, lustful and malicious in their attitude towards subject races."⁽⁴³⁾ But all this would suggest that the early history of Tanganyika was one of mere oppression, a theory that I do not find borne out by the evidence we have of the conditions of the time.

In the first place, the Germans cannot be blamed for bringing peace to the country, for ending the age of savage licence, nor for quelling for ever the horrible traffic in slaves. In performing these actions Germany was no more than executing the wish of all Europe, and obeying the conscience of the civilized world. Thereafter it is true that the German administration and the new colonists moved forward very slowly. The poverty of the land, the difficulties of the climate, the ignorance of the settlers, lack of interest and of control from home combined to permit much inefficiency and some abuse in the conduct of affairs. Yet out of the mire of sloth and scandal, through the maze of practical administration in the newly laid out districts, there emerged gradually an ideal of behaviour upon

⁽⁴¹⁾Von Lettow Vorbeck; *op. cit.* p. 76.

⁽⁴²⁾From the Allied Note of 16th June, 1919, being a reply to the protests of the German delegation against the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, and in particular Article 119 by which Germany was to agree to renounce all claims to her former possessions overseas. This Allied Note was drafted by officials of the British Foreign Office, under the chairmanship of G. L. Beer (see *op. cit.*), leader of the Colonial Section of the American delegation in Paris, and it was signed by Clemenceau.

⁽⁴³⁾Evan Lewin; "German Colonization in Africa", a pamphlet published in German in Zurich in 1918. See also Lewin; *op. cit.*, p. 277; "The colonies produced no tangible resources save battle, murder and sudden death."

which real progress could be based. In 1906 the German *Reichstag* rejected even the suggestion of oppression and set its colonizers a high standard of responsibility when it agreed that "colonizing means missionizing."

There was little time in which to put this theory into practice, but worthwhile ground was made in the social services and in the departments of education and health. It may be true that elsewhere the colonizers were only beginning when war came; it may also be true that they were slow to adopt the post-war panacea of Indirect Rule, but at least it may be said that they had orientated their policy upon the right lines, which lay clearly in the direction of the later policy of "Trusteeship". That they had won some success here is indicated by the astonishing loyalty and devotion displayed by their subjects during the war period.

If one cannot accept the judgment of Versailles, equally one must reject the later boasts of the Nazi regime as to the glory and value of these colonies. The National Socialist *Weltanschauung* (strangely accepting the Marxist concept of the national state), looked upon a colony as an economic servant and appendage of the colonizing power, seeing its pride to be in its profit to the mother country.⁽⁴⁴⁾ But this had not been Bismarck's view, as the most ardent of all German nationalists yet the most indifferent of all to colonial enterprises. Moreover his successors could not escape the realization that all their efforts failed to make the colony into a profitable or even viable economic unit. All Dr. Dernberg's business-like optimism for a worthwhile partnership between the colony and mother country could not alter this adverse pattern. It would appear that the evil idea of exploitation, even where intended for German East Africa, was a vain hope in the conditions of the time. Such conditions were the poverty of much East African soil; the inefficiency of the labour, the absence of opportunity for the development of mineral wealth; and especially the impregnable monopoly of Great Britain and her protégés over the trade of the shores of the Indian Ocean. Yet this same economy which had so completely failed to fulfil intentions, was finally able to prove its worth in a remarkable manner. It stubbornly supported the beleaguered colony through the long blockade of the war. Its persistent resistance meant that German East Africa succumbed through no internal collapse but through the assault in overwhelming strength of the Allied land forces.

Of course these conclusions are disputable. There are two sides to every coin, and where the surface is rubbed away by time and the touch of many grimy fingers it is not easy to discern which is the true obverse and which the reverse. But at least there can be no quarrel with the comment of a wise and impartial traveller of the era before the First World War: "There are few chapters in the history of the world at once so important, so small in compass, so complete in themselves, and so rich in political lessons as the story of German East Africa."⁽⁴⁵⁾

⁽⁴⁴⁾It is worth remarking that "Mein Kampf" has hardly a word to say on German East Africa. Hitler, at that stage of his career, called a colonial policy "nonsensical", and seems to have shared the Bismarckian attitude when he said; "The German people have no right to dabble in a colonial policy as long as they are unable to gather their sons into a common state." See also "Mein Kampf", English translation, London, 1939; pp. 126-131 and 533-540. It was the economist Dr. Schacht and the later Nazis who held that the colonies could be the only legitimate satisfaction of Germany's need for *Lebensraum*. See Steer; op. cit. cap. I, and S. H. Roberts; "The House that Hitler Built", London, 1937, cap. 7.

⁽⁴⁵⁾A. P. Newton; "The Sea Commonwealth", London, 1919, p. 33.

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DICK WHITTINGTON COMES TO DAR ES SALAAM

PART II

Foreword

By J. A. K. Leslie.

The carrying out of the Dar es Salaam social survey in 1956/57 afforded an unusual opportunity to observe the vivid and racy life of the town at first hand, and some of the notes recorded at the time retain the freshness of things seen for the first time, and the impact which an episode or a scene makes once and perhaps never again. This is the second collection of the descriptive or conversational pieces from this unpublished survey to appear in Tanganyika Notes and Records, and it is hoped they will give some glimpses of that lively character, the African Townsman.

INTERLUDE 6

CITY SLANG

Dar es Salaam has a language building, formed from the racy speech of its most numerous component, the young bachelors. As with bachelors everywhere their thoughts run on the fair sex; as they are mostly uneducated, untrained, unskilled, and therefore low-paid, and still young enough to wish to enjoy all the delights which the town offers, their language runs also to emphasis on being broke, terms for inducing a small loan, on the hunger that succeeds a spree.

Some of these slang terms are derived from other languages, particularly of course English, and to a lesser extent *ki-zaramo*, the language of a third of the population; more often they are true slang, ordinary words whose meaning has become twisted and esoteric, in the circle of "city folk", the sophisticates of the courtyard rooms and shanty villages, the smart ones who know their way around; the slang of the bars and *tembo* shops, the teashops and the verandahs where schools of young men while the hours away with *bao* or cards.

On the subject of the fair sex some of the less rude expressions may be cited: the semi-political phrase, *alani taabu tu, shati ninalo siruali sina*, has been diverted to use by a woman thus: *alani taabu, bwana ninaye akili hana*, to mean, I have a husband (or lover) but he does not satisfy me and he won't notice if I go off with somebody else. Used as a greeting and invitation together this is said to be effective.

The Suez dispute gave rise to the wolf-call *nalia na mfereji mkuu wa Suez*, which is best left untranslated; latterly this in turn has been brought up to date with "*nalia na bonde la Kilombero*".

Kibiriti ngoma describes a loose woman; she is probably referred to as a "*koo*", and described as an *mtoto shoo* a film star, *wa kisura*, pin-up. To attract her one must show himself a real *mwana-haramu*, dressing as a cowboy in a *koti la kigai*, with *uchinjo* tight trousers, or perhaps *siruali ya njiwa*—shorter shrimping pants, with *kilepa* thick-soled shoes, and *gaistait* or cowboy's tie. One must be generous with presents, lest she say one has *mkono wa ganzi*, even if it means that in the end *akukausha*, she squeezes you dry.

Always it comes back to money; if you have a *donge* in hand, that is, a handful of *wazee*, *Kingi George*, particularly after the *mshiko*, well away from its opposite, the *siku za mwambo* when your stomach is stretched tight, you can *kata maji* and seek the *mtindi* till you are *ndi* and go *magabugabu*, or get taken by the *karandinga* or *mpira*. But if not, then *unawaka*, *unatota*, *unawambwa*, *unabanwa*, may be *unaluzu kabisa*, unless you can get a friend *kukusakia na kupigapiga*, perhaps you have a friend who is rich, *muki*, *mfindi*, a real *mwamba* who won't ever want *kukuvunga*, unless you have used *unazi* or *yahe*.

Let us have it in the original Swahili: Allo Gai! Allo Joo! Habari mjomba leo? Huna habari bwana, habari za leo vunja jungu, mambo yako kwamba bila shaka itawashili leo Morogoro Jazz Band, si msago huo asiye mwana abebe jiwe!

Basi na sasa hivi nakwenda broker kuchukua mgando wangu halafu niende kwa dhobi nikauache jioni nimimine vibaya wala hata huwezi kunifahamu.

Kwani nitatia vya ulaya vyote au nitamimina estate maana chini nitapiga ile kilepa sole halafu juu nitavaa uchinjo na shati lile guy state. Basi nikija angusha overseas jazz.

Basi na mamsap lazima naye ataharibika vibaya kabisa kwani lazima avae Cuban ndio napo tutamwaga vibaya uwanjani. Tena lazima tuende tukapige pyur na halafu jioni kwanza tufike kule Gateways na mwisho ndio utatuona kwenye rumba tena tutakuwa gol. Basi rafiki yangu kwa hiyo sina mpango na leo jumamosi sijapata mpango wowote wa dollars basi tafadhali nakuomba unigonge kwa nusu ya pauni hapo rafiki nitasimama tenshen. Rafiki yangu mbona sina nusu pauni labda hapa yupo mzee Kingi George V ukipenda nitakupa. Bwana rafiki yangu mzee hatoshi lolote. Lakini fanyafanya mpaka iwe sawa au twende tukanyonge ndio tuwe watu.

Bwana yote hayo ya usiku hayafai kwani miye mwenzio tangu asubuhi mpaka sasa bado sijaumega. Basi kwa hiyo sikisukumi nipe huyo mzee nikapige sheulo gosi.

Jambo la pili rafiki yangu miye siku hizi nimekuwa jobless nazulula mjini ovyo na chang'abo wanatembea ovyo na miye kodi sina gange sina basi bwana likitokea gange tafadhali nijulishe upesi au kama si hivyo watanibeba wakani-weke ngomeni barazani kwa hakim basi fanyafanya mpaka iwe sawa hapo nami nitakuwa sawa kwani sasa nimekuwa mlango wa 24 hours kabisa sina be wala te mfukoni nakwenda magabugabu.

GLOSSARY

Alani:—a rude expression derived from *ala* = a sheath.

Taabu tu, etc.:—nothing but trouble, a shirt I have but no trousers.

Bwana ninaye, etc.:—a husband I have but he has no sense.

Nalia, etc.:—lit.: I sigh for the great Suez canal.

Bonde la Kilombero: the Kilombero valley (site of a sugar scheme which became a political issue for a time).

Kibiriti ngoma: literally dance-match.

Koo:—(1) mistress (2) throat.

Mtoto shoo:—show girl.

Wa Kisura:—lit.: possessor of a face, pin-up.

Mwana haramu:—son of sin, illegitimate child.

- Koti la Kigai*:—lit.: Guy's coat, cowboy shirt.
Uchinjo:—lit.: cutting-edge, jeans.
Siruale ya njiwa:—lit.: dove-trousers, shrimping-pants.
Kilepa:—derived from crêpe, thick-soled shoes.
Gaistait:—derived from Guy (cowboy) and States (U.S.A.) cowboy's tie.
Mkono wa ganzi:—lit.: pins and needles in the hand, mean.
Akukaushe:—lit.: she dries you, squeezes you dry.
Donge:—lit.: pill, tablet, hence coin.
Wazee King George:—lit.: old man King George's, hence shillings.
Mshiko:—lit.: the day of grasping, pay-day.
Siku za mwambo:—lit.: the days of stretching (as a skin is stretched on a drum), hence the worst days before pay-day.
Kata maji:—lit.: cut water (alcohol), get drunk.
Mtindi:—lit.: buttermilk, hence any fermented liquor.
Ndi:—drunk, derivation doubtful.
Magabugabu:—staggering (onomatopoeic ?).
Karandinga:—police car (possibly from root *randa* = to patrol).
Mpira:—lit.: rubber, hence motor tyre, hence police car.
Unawaka:—lit.: you burn, hence you are broke and hungry.
Unatota:—lit.: you sink in the water, hence broke
Unawambwa:—lit.: you are stretched, hence broke.
Unabanwa:—lit.: you are crushed, hence down-broke.
Unaluzu kabisa:—you lose out completely (from English: lose).
Gai:—(from Guy) cowboy.
Kukusakia:—lit.: to hunt for you, hence to look for some money to lend you.
Kupigapiga:—lit.: to beat (his pockets), looking for money to lend.
Muki:—Rich (from Mukhi).
Mfindi:—Rich (from Mufindi tea planters).
Mwamba:—A rock, used of a reliable man.
Kukuvunga:—Bewilder, put one over on you.
Unazi:—Deceit, derivation dubious.
Yahe:—Deceit, from *Ya akhi* "O brother, one of the simple Arabic phrases" much used by "men of the world".
Asiye mwana abebe jiwe:—lit.: who has no child to carry, let her carry a stone, i.e. everyone come.
Broker:—pawnbroker.
Mgando:—trousers.
Nimimine:—lit.: I pour on, i.e. I wear.
Vibaya:—lit.: badly, to mean "very well".
Estate:—from States, i.e. cowboy clothes.
Angusha:—lit.: knock down; play, of music.
Mamsap:—from Memsahib, female companion.
Tutamwaga:—lit.: we shall sprinkle, we shall dance.
Pyur:—from pure, spirits.
Unigonge kwa:—lit.: you pat me for, you lend me.
Pauni:—Pound.
Fanyaafanya iwe sawa:—lit.: do what you can to make it all right. A phrase used when wheedling.
Tukanyonge:—lit.: that we hang, ourselves that we put on ties.
Sikisukumi:—lit.: I do not push it away, I don't look a gift horse in the mouth.

Sheulo gosi:—curry.

Jobless:—Unemployed.

Chang'abo:—tax collectors.

Gange:—from gang. Job, particularly stevedoring.

Ngomeni:—lit.: in the fort, in gaol.

Mlango wa 24 hours:—lit.: door of 24 hours, at the end of one's tether.

Sina be wala te:—lit.: I have no b or t, I haven't a bean.

TRANSLATION OF THE LAST PASSAGE

"Hi Cowboy!"

"Hi Joe!"

"What's new, bud?"

"Haven't you heard, Today's a red letter day, things are really happening Today without a doubt arrives the Morogoro Jazz Band, what a dance! All night! Every man jack will be there."

"Yes Sir! So now I'm off to get my pants out of hock. Then to the laundry to leave them there, so that this evening when I pour myself into them you wouldn't know me. Aha! I'll have Western clothes from head to foot, a real Texan; at foot I'll have on high crêpe soles, then above that jeans and that cowboy shirt. When I come in let Rock'n Roll commence! And the missus, oh she'll have a time of it! She'll have to dress all Cuban and then we'll beat a rhythm on the floor. We'll go and have a bit of the go-down-quickly, and then later we'll visit the Gateways, and only after that will you see us at the rhumba, right at the goal-mouth! Ah well friend that's why I am a bit at a loss—today's Saturday and I haven't a clue where to get the dollars. Would you be a friend, and dash me a ten-bob—I'll salute you if you do."

"Friend, I haven't ten bob. Here's a lone bit of silver, if you like you can have it".

"One old King George? Chum, that's no use to me at all. Be a good fellow, now, and we can go and put on our ties and be gents!"

"No Sir, all this evening stuff is no good—my friend I haven't had a bite since the morning."

"Oh well, I won't look a gift horse in the mouth, here, give me the old King George and I'll order you an Indian curry! Another thing, these days I'm on the dole, wandering about the town. The narks wander too, without notice, and I have no tax and no job, so friend if a place turns up just let me know at once. If not they'll carry me off and put me in clink behind the beak's office. Well do what you can and that's all right by me. Just now I'm at the end of my tether, not a bean to my name, I've had it!"

INTERLUDE 7

AN ENTERTAINMENT

The show is advertised by poster, handbill, and in the local Swahili press, featuring a picture of King Kong, the conjurer, and promising real *nachi* dances. Tickets are Shs. 5/-, 3/- and 2/- and the hall is hired. It is due to start at 9.00 p.m. but at once proves the genuineness of the fare provided by starting 40 minutes late, which bothers nobody. At ten past nine there is only a small crowd of a dozen or so waiting outside the doors while chairs are set out. At a

quarter past a few rows are full and the *Alwatan* Egyptian-type band starts up, its choir of female voices, heavily swathed in black *buibuis*, partly hidden in the wings but occasionally audible. The band has a nucleus of Arab fiddlers and a row of very respectable old gentlemen in a variety of clothing, sitting in the front row and playing guitars, banjos, drums, castanets and the other instruments which go to make up that combination of plonking and trailing which marks Egyptian off from other music. The leader of the band, and a few others, wear European suits, in the long-coated Egyptian style, loosefitting; the front row vary, according to age, from long trousers covered by a *kanzu* and surmounted by a coat, topped with *tarbush*, to long white trousers and a deep red shirt. The main singer for tonight, a young man of rich parentage, who has been unable to settle down in other walks of life, has the confident and slightly fruity air of dance-band singers throughout the world. He is of pure African blood by the look of him, and the full lips combine well with the indolent sensuality of the songs and the suggestive shakes and tremolos of the music.

The band play several numbers, as time passes and the rows behind fill up. There is always something to look at. Two boys in ragged trousers and shirts, one with socks in alternate rings of crushed strawberry and grey with holes in the heels, remove a large black pen from the stage and carry it away. Others cart below stage blocks of ceiling board. At times people singly or in pairs mount the stage, survey the audience with what seems a cynical eye, and dismount again, puffing at their cigarettes. The crowd of young men who were hanging round the doors at last give up hope of getting in free and go round instead to the window to get a priority peep through the curtains. The conjurer, who five minutes after the advertised time was last seen getting a taxi to go off somewhere else, returns.

By now only the first few rows, the Shs. 5/- seats, have vacant places. In them there is a trio of two men and a woman, one a Seychellois mechanic, with his wife and probably her brother, whose very crinkly hair might be Italian or even Arab. A well dressed Indian woman sits alone at the end of the row, with a small baby on her lap. An Indian family, the parents prosperously curved, the daughter almost gaunt, sit behind an Arab trio, the two young men and young woman all dressed in European fashion, one of the young men wearing a motor-cycling wind-jacket. There is an Arab boy with them with that bright look and inborn confidence.

A little further back, in the Shs. 3/-'s there is a mixture of Indians, Arabs and Africans. The last are there with their ladies, some wrapped to the nose-tip in *buibuis*, others free. The men are in white suits and good shoes. There is one Arab in the traditional *futah* coat, modernized by the addition of leather shoes and heavy woollen stockings, with a turban redressing the balance.

Back in the body of the hall, which is packed, dress is normal, as seen in the streets, *buibuis* are the almost invariable rule, and there is more evidence of having come from the bar.

All this while the band has been playing intermittently, ignored by the audience as would be the orchestra in a restaurant. Hardly a handclap greeted the end of each item. At length the conjurer, a locally-born Indian, appeared and began the programme, doing one or two tricks, which were quietly received.

It was not until the first *nachi* dance came on that any great enthusiasm was shown, and this was obviously what at least the Shs. 2/-'s had come for. The first "girl" (they are usually queers dressed in women's clothing, Africans from coastal tribes) was discovered by the drawing of the curtains (one side by string, the other, which had gone wrong, by hand) in a kneeling posture, fixing the gallery with one of the largest smiles in the trade. From the wig of woolly hair in *shoo* style, the scarlet cheeks, kohled eyes, powdered skin—a light shade of greenish yellow—satin falsies, bare midriff, long skirt (but not long enough to hide the pair of navy blue men's socks in which all three "girls" danced) she was all that the seeker after forbidden pleasures in the bad city could want. The three "girls" came on at intervals, interspersed with band solos and bouts of conjuring, each dance based on Indian originals, but with a liberal admixture of Port Said belly-work, and not a little pure Africa. The front row of the band kept their wooden faces securely in place, and were this not their living, one would have supposed that they were puritan disapprovers. The singer's full lips curled slightly and his eyes brightened. The scene shifters were frankly fascinated. The body of the hall gradually woke up. Next time the conjurer came on he was assailed with good-natured heckling, to which he replied in kind. His next few tricks ended in applause and a babble of speculation which drowned the first notes of the band. From half past ten onwards the show was a success: the noise increased; the outer doors and windows banged as those outside fought for a better view through the chinks. Drinks were brought in, cokes for the Indians, and some beer at the back. By the last dance before the interval appreciation was at its height. This dance began with the most feminine of the three "girls", who specialized in hip swaying with a long flowing movement; she was soon joined by the second, who went in more for slight, jerky but unmistakable movements; after a few minutes of the kind of dance which they had both been doing all evening, they brought out their set piece, a dance where each in turn sank onto a chair and palpitated in a manner leaving nothing whatever to the imagination, while the other heaved and undulated standing on the other chair above. The audience made full amends for their earlier apathy, and rose as one man with cries of appreciation, several young men jostling each other to approach the stage and throw coins to the performers, one getting a particular cheer by tossing one slap on to the affected part. The interval came, at eleven o'clock, in a welter of excited talk reminiscent of the breakup of a close cup final crowd, with a rush for the bar.

INTERLUDE 8

The other day in Ilala in a tembo bar a man turned up who could play a mouth organ with his nose. The first people to notice him were astonished and called to others to look. Many left their drink and surrounded him, and everyone was laughing with amazement to see him do it. He didn't mind a bit being thronged about, and went on playing. He never put a note wrong and played all sorts of tunes. People gave him several glasses of *tembo** and money. At intervals he would ask "Shall I play you another?" and people would reply "Yes, maestro, just go on, we like it." He was invited to come again and give more pleasure to the customers, and he said "Thank you very much".

*Tembo, sw.—African beer.

INTERLUDE 9

"LIVING TOGETHER"

(i)

Two women, who seemed not to be married, were behaving expensively: they came into a *tembo* club in Magomeni. Although they were not very pretty their bold manner, singing and dancing around as they pleased, drew the men who were there. Also with the money they had they began to buy beer and *tembo* and spirits.

Suddenly a man came in and took hold of one of them. She refused to leave, as she was getting on well with another young man in the bar. So the man began to use force and tugged furiously at her. They tore each other's clothes and scratched and fought. Many of the customers watched this. The comment was: "They have been living together as man and mistress for a long time, and they always do this".

(ii)

The other day a friend of mine, who had had a girl in just occasionally and casually, grew fond of her and asked her to be his permanent mistress. She agreed and he gave her a pound to buy some clothes with, to close the deal. She went off and never came back.

He came to me and told me the story, and I advised him to go and see her and remonstrate. He did, and said, "What's all this, you agree to come and live with me and I give you a pound to buy some clothes, and you just beetle off and leave me, what's the matter with you?" But she got on her high horse and said, "I'm just not coming to live with you, you gave me a present, and that's the end of it; if you don't like it, report me". So he came back to me and told me what she had said and I said to him: "Why not? Go and report her to the Police." So he did, and told them that his girl had cheated him by taking a pound off him and going off on her own. They questioned him a bit and then called the girl and put the pressure on her, saying that she could either give back the pound which she had got by false pretences, or she would have to go and live with my friend, by force if necessary. So she went to her aunt, and asked if she could help; the aunt had not the money (the girl had spent it all, of course) and couldn't do anything to help her. So she came back and they went before the Police again, and she said she couldn't find the money. So the Police said she must go and live with my friend; and she did, but it didn't work out, as she really didn't care for him, so after a few days he let her go, saying: "You can go home now, but remember, you are under Police orders to live with me, and if ever I want a girl I'll come and get you, wherever you may be, even if you are living with a man as big as an elephant."

INTERLUDE 10

Two anecdotes

"THE WASHING BASKET"

A man went to the Sewa Haji Hospital and found his child had died. He took a basket and put his child's corpse in it, and covered it with a shawl and rode off with it on his bicycle to get the shroud and soap. He got the soap and put it in the basket, and leaned his cycle up against the wall while he went to get the shroud; while he was in there a thief saw it and thought it belonged to a

laundryman who had a basketful of clothes for washing; so he took bicycle, soap, basket and all. When he got to the Oyster Bay police station he was stopped and the askari told him to uncover the contents of the basket. Collapse of all parties when the corpse was discovered.

"STOLEN PROPERTY"

Thieves made off with a goat. They dressed it in a *kanzu* and put a cap on its head, and each took a leg and carried it upside down. They kept putting salt in its mouth to keep it quiet, and so they carried it through the streets of Magomeni, saying "Juma, we told you you couldn't hold your liquor; now we are having to carry you home; what will your wife say?" At the main road they got a taxi and drove off towards Kawe. As they got to Pepino's the salt ran out and the goat let out a squawk: "Who made a noise like a goat"? asked the taxi-driver; "We didn't hear anything" they replied. But the driver stopped the car, and saw the goat's head with the cap now fallen off, and took them all to the police.

INTERLUDE 11

KINONDONI RURAL

The municipal boundary runs the far side of Lake Mwananyamara, Kwa Ali Maua (the village this side being called Mwananyamara Kwa Ali Nyanza). On the side is the pump which extracts water for the Tanganyika Packers; the Lake is said to be deep and the water never to have dried up; there is a hippo in it.

Here where the population is mostly Nyamwezi but with a mixture of Zaramo and a few of other tribes, there is great variety in the windows; some are merely holes blocked with plaited coconut fronds, some have wooden shutters, some are picked out with paint, or blackened around; some have a pane of glass, or a sheet of mosquito netting, or expanded metal, or bars; a few have curtains; and one had the coil springs of an easy chair.

There are a comparatively large number of mosques in these rural areas, each kept up by a single man, not by general subscription; most are mud and wattle, but in Kinondoni (as opposed to Temeke) they are on the whole of better materials and in better repair than the surrounding houses, several being well whitewashed; perhaps this is because they are the responsibility of a rich man rather than of a Sheikh (as in the town) who relies on contributions, most of which must go towards his own keep.

A clothes line is full of pink pillow cases, (over the top only, held on by tapes round the back), and a pink sheet; nearby a washerman is ironing, over a mile from the nearest village.

Throughout Kinondoni one finds signs of the proximity of the sea (nearly two miles away) with nets hanging up to dry, floats being made, fish fry being dried, and the little matting weights, filled with stones, which hold the nets down. People from here fish both at Msasani and at Gerezani, at the far end of the harbour, and even as far as Ununio.

Along the sandy paths comes the Municipal health lorry, as ubiquitous as the mosquito sprayers.

People here are more polite (to each other) than elsewhere in Dar es Salaam, "*shikamuus*" being bandied about like "*jambos*"; any older woman gets it, or older man, and quite a lot of middle-aged men, though both my guides were men of substance (one an overseer of many years standing, the other a Ward Councillor). "*Sabulkheri*" is rather putting on airs here, among the Wanyamwezi.

A fruitful source of racial aversion must be the way African children when little are frightened by the *Mzungu** bogeyman; if one is naughty he or she is told, "you be good or the *Mzungu* will eat you up"; many a time I am greeted by a terrified and howling child held fast by a smiling mother or elder sister while this threat is applied; they seem, surprisingly, to get over it quickly enough when a little bigger, and most children are not shy to approach a European but something of the early terror must remain and become fixed in a general attitude.

To withhold one's own, or even more the name of another, is instinctive; a neighbour will never divulge the name of the owner of a house if the owner is anywhere about: for one thing there is the fear of giving the wrong name, most people having more than one, to make tracing more difficult if one is being sought by authority for failure to pay tax, desertion from a contract, a crime, or anything else. It would be a great psychological advantage if this survey could dispense with names.

Brummy jewellery has come to stay; many of the women, even out in the coconut plantations, are now wearing the gold-coloured ear-rings (*heleni*) and necklets as worn by their sisters nearer the sea front.

A police askari is on patrol, alone, in the backwoods behind Kinondoni; at night their patrols are confined to the built up areas. A sergeant is also around on his motor cycle.

Some of the older houses are built in a hollow square, one having as many as 22 rooms, each about 8' x 8' and 5' or so high, neatly plastered, with good doors, many with slogans painted on them: "Gone to Kahama" and so on. At least two of these hollow squares are used for upcountry dances every Saturday night, going through to Sunday. Nowadays many dances are danced, the various tribes dancing in the same place and watching each other's. A house nearby has a stack of "*ingata*" the coronets of banana leaf which are used for carrying loads on the head: but these were stained red and are used as anklets and armlets for dances. If these Nyamwezi have a dispute they take it to the owner of the compound group of huts, the head of the family as it were, and if he is defeated by it they then go not to the tribal head but to the Headman.

An old man passes with the long-handled brushes used for sweeping the cobwebs from the high ceilings of Swahili houses; the poles are of mangrove, the brush part of sisal, and several men have this as their main trade; in the coconut plantation country there are of course many making thatch, also mats, plaited, and sewn together on little boxes which stretch the material tight.

There seem to be an inordinate number of "Triang" tricycles in the bush: almost any house of pretensions has one; today I saw a child's car, apparently in running order; sets of milk tins of different sizes make a set of drums on which they play tunes, while others strung on axles make a sort of hobby wheel; everywhere there are Dieldrin tins (for palmwine tapping, and others use oil or paint

**Mzungu* = European

tins), baby powder, tennis ball and insecticide tins, which have found their way inland from Oyster Bay and the Kinondoni European houses. The child which had the car had also gum boots on. All the paths bear the tracks of cycles.

Many houses have fancy numbers on the doors, such as 1765, or P.O. Box numbers; one man (at present in gaol) had some six notices round his house, with arrows pointed in all directions giving his name, address, and instructions to visitors; another had his name and address and the suffix: "A fine boxer"; many of these signs are well painted on proper boards, some with rain guards.

INTERLUDE 12

"THE STUBBORN AUNT"

"I had a big quarrel with my aunt last night: as you know I have been meaning to go home to Kilwa for some time, but had no money to get my things out of pawn and buy suitable presents for my parents and brothers and sisters. After a year in town they would expect quite a lot, or else assume that I had been a failure and wasting my time. Anyway I didn't seem to be getting anywhere, so eventually I had to write and ask them to send me money. They did, but not in quite the way I wanted: they sent a quantity of cashew nuts from the new harvest from our estates, and got me to sell it, but the proceeds were not handed over to me but to my aunt, and she won't give me anything until it is time to go to Kilwa, lest I spend it all first. Well, yesterday was the day I had fixed to go home, but some of the clothes I had been having made for myself and as presents—I had two good suits made—were not quite ready, so in fact I had decided to put off going for a few days. Anyway I went along to my aunt in Temeke and asked her for the Shs. 500/- which she held for me, but she said 'until I see your bundles all packed up and you on the bus with them you don't get a penny'. I was furious, and we shouted at each other all night so that the neighbours came to separate us. But she wouldn't budge. So here I am, I have run through all the rest of the money and have nothing to go on with, until I actually go home."

"BUS DRIVERS"

"Some of these drivers are difficult people: I live as you know out at Temeke, which is a long way if you haven't much in your pocket. Anyway I don't want to spend money on bus fares. So I usually catch the Goan school bus when it is returning empty, and the driver lets me on for a few cents. Yesterday I signalled to him and told him that just at the moment I hadn't a cent, and do you know, he refused to take me. I told him, I have been on this bus ever so many times, and paid you each time, I will bring the money tomorrow. 'But, he said, 'no money—no ride'. I was livid. So I went to the Goan school and said to the headmaster, 'How much do you charge for going on the bus? 'Oh no', he says, 'this is a school bus, and the children go free.' 'You're mistaken surely, I say, lots of people pay fares on it, and not children either; in fact I myself often go on it, and pay the driver'. He goes off in a rage, and sure enough I hear that the driver has lost his job. I see him later that day and he gives me hell, 'Well', I said, 'you wouldn't take me and let me pay tomorrow. You know I'm a chap to be reckoned with.'"

BIRDS—Notes on Breeding in Tanganyika : 1958-1959

(With four illustrations by the author)

By D. K. Thomas

Breeding records of birds and mammals have, in the past, been included in the annual report of the Game Department. During the past year a considerable number of breeding records for birds have been compiled, so many in fact that they would appear to be out of place in the annual report. It has, therefore, been decided to submit these records for publication in "*Tanganyika Notes and Records*".

All records (except where gonadal activity has been specified) are sight records and therefore the accuracy of the identifications cannot be guaranteed.

The number in parentheses after each bird corresponds to that given to the species in "Birds of Eastern and North-Eastern Africa" (Mackworth-Praed and Grant), and are included for easy reference.

It is hoped that these records will fill in some of the gaps in the handbook.

Acknowledgements for records are made to Messrs. M. Turner, M. Morgan-Davis, J. A. Golding, I. H. Dillingham, H. J. de S. Disney, R. W. Dunn and members of the Game Department with much gratitude for their assistance.

OSTRICH, *Struthio camelus* (1)—Nests with eggs observed during July, August, September, and November. Clutches vary from 14 to 34.

GREBE, Great Crested—*Podiceps cristatus* (2)—Nest with three eggs Shinyanga, May. Many adults with small chicks seen at Lake Basuto, Mbulu District, 20th September.

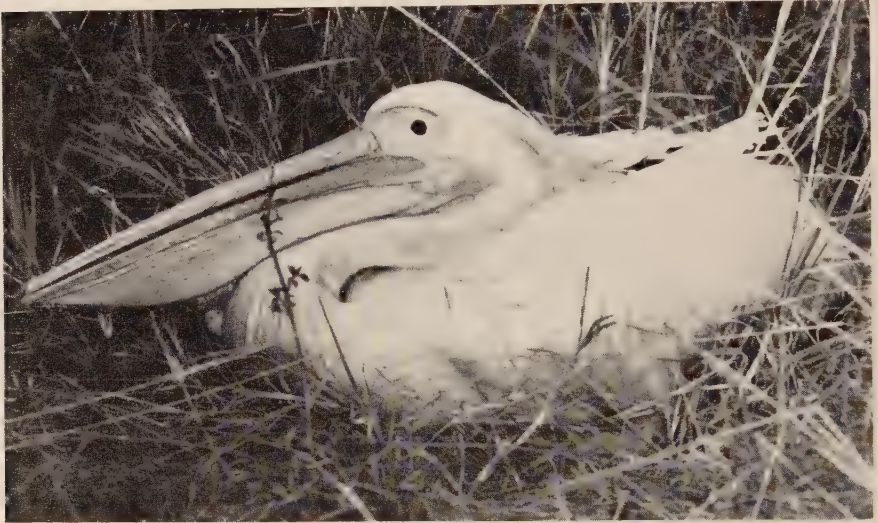
GREBE, Black Necked—*Proctopus caspicus* (3)—One pair with two chicks and a second pair with one chick seen in Masailand on 16th July.

GREBE, Little—*Poliocephalus ruficollis* (4)—A brood of three chicks hatched about 14th June at Ngurdoto, Arusha. Two chicks, probably just left nest, seen at Chubi, Kondoa District, on 14th April. A pair of adults observed building a nest in Paspalum (water grass) at Mkungunero, Kondoa District, 9th March. Nest containing 6 eggs (slightly incubated) at Dodoma on 6.3.58. Eggs light brown with a few dark specks. 36×31 mm.

CORMORANT, *Phalacrocorax sp.* (27)—Nesting colony built on semi-submerged trees in a newly formed dam near Tabora. Eggs laid in March, three to five per clutch.

DARTER, *Anhinga rufa* (28)—Nesting colony as per item (27) above. Eggs three to four per clutch.

PELICAN, White—*Pelecanus onocrotalus* (31)—Breeding attempt in Central Rukwa during June. Approximately 15,000 nests containing approximately 30,000 eggs (average two per clutch). Attempt failed and site deserted owing to water drying up. A second attempt on a smaller scale probably by same colony made in August, also failed.



White Pelican surfeited with Fish on the bank of the Orangi River at Banagi

PELICAN, Pink Backed—*Pelecanus rufescens* (32)—Small colonies nesting in Borassus palms in the central Rukwa valley. Fledglings (up to three per nest) visible from March onwards until June at which month they were still apparently unable to fly.

HERON, Black Headed—*Ardea melanocephala* (34)—Adult building a nest in a high palm tree, north Kahama, 8.9.57. Nest with one egg on an island in Ngorongoro Crater Lake on 13.8.58.

HERON, Goliath—*Ardea goliath* (35)—A nest built in rotting vegetation containing two live and one dead partly fledged chicks, on the Wembere River, 14th July.

HERON, Purple—*Pyrhrherodia purpurea* (36)—Fledged young, just capable of flight, Wembere River, Nzega District, 14th July.

BUFF-BACKED HERON—*Bubulcus ibis* (42)—Colony of about thirty nests with eggs (up to 5 per clutch) on island in Ngorongoro Crater Lake, 13th March.

BITTERN, Dwarf—*Ardeirallus sturmii* (51)—A nest containing one egg, built in a reed bed in shallow water at Ngurdoto, Arusha District, during May. This egg disappeared.

HAMMERKOP—*Scopus umbretta* (53)—Observed building in Nzega District, 7th August. Observed building on Seronera River, Serengeti during January.

MARABOU—*Leptoptilos crumeniferus* (61)—A breeding colony, with fledglings still in the nests, seen on the lower part of the Greater Ruaha River during August. Another colony with fledglings in nests reported at Kiteti, Masai District, during September. About eight nests on tops of *Acacia Xanthophloea*

tree in tall forest at Mto-wa-Mbu (Masailand) seen on 26.9.58. Adult birds were sitting so incubation was almost certainly in progress. On 22.10.58 well advanced fledglings were visible in the nests and appeared to be two per nest. On 21.11.58 these young birds had still not left their nests.



Marabous feeding along a salt river at Lake Manyara

WOOD IBIS—*Ibis ibis* (62)—Young birds, probably about two months fledged, seen on the Wembere River, Nzega District, 14th July.

HADADA—*Hagedashia hagedash* (65)—Nest with one chick visible on tree by river, Moshi District, 23rd December.

AFRICAN SPOONBILL—*Platalea alba* (70)—Building on an island in Ngorongoro Crater Lake on 13.3.58.

FLAMINGO, Lesser—*Phoeniconaias minor* (72)—A colony with 50-60 nests made of small raised mud platforms on the shores of Lake Manyara, Mbulu District, seen on 27.9.58. Ten of these nests contained one egg each and there were about twenty other eggs lying about either in the mud or shallow water in the vicinity of the nesting site. All eggs were fresh but there was no evidence of the parent birds at the site. The eggs were chalky white and mud-stained. Two measured were 87×55 mm. and 93×53 mm. This site was revisited on 22.10.58 and all the eggs had vanished except for two fairly fresh ones found lying on the ground. The colony appeared to be quite deserted.

On 3.1.59 another group of nests were found on the opposite shore of Lake Manyara (about 50-60 nests). One egg (73×48 mm.) was seen. No signs of any activity in the vicinity of the site.

DUCK, Maccoa—*Oxyura maccoa* (73)—Male with gonads in breeding condition collected at Eluanata, Masailand, on 28th September.

- DUCK, White-backed—*Thalassornis leuconotos* (74)—Two adults each accompanied by three ducklings about half dab-chick size seen at Eluanata, Masai District, on 17th July.
- POCHARD, Southern—*Aythya erythrophthalma* (77)—Parents with young chicks probably hatched in May seen at Urambo, Tabora District.
- CAPE WIGEON—*Anas capensis* (89)—Three nests on a spit of land jutting out into Lake Manyara, Mbulu District, seen on 22.8.58. Nests were made amongst tufts of coarse grass. One nest contained 11 eggs and the other two had eight each. Re-visited on 8.9.58 and all the nests had been robbed. Three deserted eggs remained. These were creamy white and measured 46.5×34 mm., 45.5×33 mm. and 48.5×33.5 mm.
- TEAL, Hottentot—*Anas punctata* (90)—Two adults accompanied by five small chicks seen at Eluanata, Masai District, on 20th July. Another pair seen at the same place with six small chicks about dab-chick size on 16th July.
- DUCK, Red-bill—*Anas erythrorhyncha* (91)—A nest with six eggs seen at Shinyanga during May. Brood of well grown young seen on edge of Magadi Lake, Serengeti, apparently being stalked by a leopard, 16th June. Two broods, one of 11 and one of 15 small ducklings each accompanied by one adult seen at Eluanata, Masai District, on 17th June and another brood of six half grown ducklings seen at same place on 17th July. A brood of eight small ducklings being led by one parent across a dry mbuga at Chubi, Kondoa District, on 4th June. Three small ducklings with one parent seen on a small forest pool at Ngurdoto, Arusha District, on 29th August. A brood of five and another of six ducklings seen in Kondoa District on 4th May. Female with well-developed egg (almost ready to lay) in oviduct collected at Eluanata Masai District, on 5.5.58.
- DUCK, White-faced tree—*Dendrocygna viduata* (94)—Female with well developed oocytes in oviduct collected from the Wembere River, Nzega District, during May.
- FULVOUS TREE-DUCK—*Dendrocygna bicolor* (95)—Female with well developed yolk sacs collected at Eluanata, Masai District, on 6.9.58.
- GOOSE, Pigmy—*Nettapus auritus* (97)—A brood of four newly hatched young seen on the Ugalla River, Tabora District, during July.
- GOOSE, Knob-billed—*Sarkidiornis melanotos* (98)—Six newly hatched goslings seen on the Serengeti, 20th April. Eight very small goslings (approximately one week old) seen at Kibaya, Masai District, on 2nd April.
- GOOSE, Egyptian—*Alopochen aegyptiacus* (99)—Appear to breed at any time. Records of eggs or very young goslings obtained during March, April, May, July, August, November, December and February. Record of one nest with eggs in a depression caused by an elephant's footprint made on black cotton soil. Clutches vary from five to nine eggs. One egg measured was 71×51 mm.
- GOOSE, Spur-winged—*Plectropterus gambensis* (100)—Female with fully formed egg in oviduct collected in Kibondo District on 27.12.58.
- SECRETARY BIRD—*Sagittarius serpentarius* (103)—Nest with parent incubating about 10 ft. up in thorn tree on the Sanya plains, Moshi District, 15th July. Bird seen sitting on nest at Kitwai, Masai District, 18th October. Bird seen sitting on nest in small *Acacia spirocarpa* near the Simiyu River, Maswa District, 26th October. Nest with one chick visible about 12 ft. up in a thorn tree at Loibosoit, Masai District—mid-October.

- GRIFTON, Rüppell's—*Gyps ruppellii* (106)—Breed in Central and Northern Provinces in June and July. Nests built high up in tall trees. Chicks (one per nest) seen peering over the rims of the nests during July.
- VULTURE, White-backed—*Pseudogyps africanus* (107)—A pair nesting in a high tree at Chubi, Kondo District, 18th April. A bird seen sitting on a nest built in an *Acacia xanthophloea* (probably incubating) near the Simiyu River, Maswa District, on 20th October. Two young birds almost ready to fly, seen in a nest about 40 ft. up a thorn tree at Kilunda, Southern Province, on 10th October.
- VULTURE, Egyptian—*Neophron percnopterus* (110)—Nest in a hollow on a cliff with one fledgling just able to fly seen near Kwakuchinja, Mbulu District, on 30th October.
- KESTREL—*Falco tinnunculus* (123)—A pair mating and frequenting hole in baobab tree. Display flights and male bringing lizards to female. Probably about to lay. Kondo township, 6th August.
- KITE—*Milvus migrans* (132)—Parents beginning to feed young in a nest in a baobab tree at Kondo on 10th May. A pair seen mating on top of a *Cassia siamea* tree at Maswa on 4th July.
- KITE, Black-shouldered—*Elanus caeruleus* (133)—Two chicks nearly ready to leave nest, built about 5 ft. up in a thorn bush at Loibosirit, Masai District, 13th September.
- EAGLE, Walberg's—*Aquila wahlbergi* (142)—Nest about 25 ft. off ground in *Acacia spirocarpa* tree, made of dead sticks and lined with fresh green branches containing 1 egg, pale blue very sparsely marked at blunt end with dark red-brown. 65×48 mm. Observation made 16.10.58 at Tarangire River, Mbulu District.
- EAGLE, Long-crested—*Lophoaëtus occipitalis* (149)—Two chicks in nest on tall tree. Central Rukwa, Ufipa District, October.
- BATELEUR—*Terathopius ecaudatus* (159)—Nest containing one fledgling just able to fly seen at Engare Naibor, Moshi District, 27th August.
- FISH EAGLE—*Cuncuma vocifer* (160)—Recorded nesting on Kilombero River in mid-August.
- VULTURE, Palm nut—*Gypohierax angolensis* (161)—Parents feeding nestling in a nest built in a miombo tree on a cliff over-looking Lake Tanganyika, Kigoma District, 15th September.
- BUZZARD, Jackal—*Buteo rufofuscus* (167)—A nest in yellow-barked acacia tree with one fledgling at Ngurdoto, Arusha District, January. Two further pairs nesting at Ngurdoto during May and June.
- GOSHAWK, African—*Accipiter tachiro* (177)—Female with small oocytes in oviduct collected at Kondo on 23rd July.
- GOSHAWK, Pale chanting—*Meliæra poliopterus* (179)—Nest containing two white eggs in *Acacia spirocarpa* tree near Igurubi, Nzega District, 9th October.
- FRANCOLIN, Coqui—*Francolinus coqui* (191)—Nest with eggs recorded in Tabora District, April. Young chicks seen on Serengeti, June. Nesting Tabora District, October.
- FRANCOLIN, Crested—*Francolinus sephaena* (195)—Nesting in April and May in Western Province. Nest with six eggs on Ugalla River, Tabora District, September. Nest with one egg near Dodoma on 3.3.57. Egg was off-white with very pale light brown flecks and measured 38.5×29 mm.

- FRANCOLIN, Hildebrandt's—*Francolinus hildebrandti* (203)—Laying and birds with oocytes in oviducts, Western Province, January. Five small chicks seen at Chubi, Kondoa District, 10th February.
- SPURFOWL, Red-necked—*Pternistis cranchii* (208)—Eggs throughout February and March in Western Province and on Serengeti.
- SPURFOWL, Grey-breasted—*Pternistis rufopictus* (209)—Laying and eggs in oviduct on Wembere River, Western Province, from February to April.
- SPURFOWL, Yellow-necked—*Pternistis leucoscepus* (210)—Many broods of chicks just able to fly seen throughout the Northern Province from June to August.
- QUAIL—*Coturnix sp.*—Peak breeding period appears to be April to June in Northern Tanganyika. Many broods just able to fly, seen during June in Northern Province.
- QUAIL, Harlequin—*Coturnix delegorguei* (212)—Observed mating during April and nest with eggs seen the same month in Nzega District.
- GUINEA-FOWL, Helmeted—*Numida mitrata* (215)—Appears to have either a prolonged breeding season or else the breeding is triggered off by the rains and therefore the time varies with differing localities or different rainy seasons. A female with well developed oocytes was collected near Morogoro on 15th November, whilst eggs and small chicks have been recorded during January, February, March, April and July in different parts of the Territory. A nest containing 14 eggs was seen on the Wembere River, Nzega District, during March.
- GUINEA-FOWL, Vulturine—*Acryllium vulturinum* (219)—Very small chicks, about starling size, seen in Southern Masai on 15th July. Paired during December, Same District.
- CRAKE, Black—*Limnecorax flavirostra* (225)—Parent with one small chick seen on the Ugalla River, Mpanda District, 29th July. Parents with one downy young seen on Tarangire River, Mbulu District, 20th November.
- MOORHEN, African—*Gallinula chloropus* (239)—Small chicks seen in Kondoa District on 12th June, Arusha District on 29th August and in Masai District on 21st November.
- LESSER MOORHEN—*Gallinula angulata* (240)—Nest containing three fresh eggs near Monduli, Masai District on 14th March. Eggs were off-white with small red-brown flecks, measured 34×24 mm., 30×24 mm. and 32×24 mm.
- COOT, Red-knobbed—*Fulica cristata* (242)—Half grown young seen in Moshi District on 26th July and in Kondoa District on 8th July. Many nests seen at Eluanata, Masai District, containing clutches of up to five eggs during April and May. Eggs were pale biscuit colour with small purple-black flecks.
- CRANE, Crowned—*Balearica regulorum* (245)—Nest consisting of a small scrape in the ground, near a water pool, containing one egg, seen during March on shore of Lake Manyara, Mbulu District. This nest was re-visited in April and the egg had disappeared although both parents were still at the nesting site. A nest built out of a semi-floating mass of vegetation in shallow water, containing one egg, seen at Eluanata on 11th May. Re-visited on 18th May and found to be occupied by a large water tortoise and the egg had been pushed over the edge and was floating by the side of the nest. Two very young chicks seen on the Serengeti during June and one female accompanied by two chicks, unable to fly, seen in Dodoma District during April.

BUSTARD, Kori—*Ardeotis kori* (250)—Nest on floor of Ngorongoro Crater, Masai District, with one egg seen on 28th November. Nest with two eggs found at Lendenai, South Masailand on 8.3.59. The parent was killed by jackals and eggs placed under a broody hen. These hatched 29.3.59.



Kori Bustard stalking over the floor of Ngorongoro Crater

BUSTARD, Greater (sps.)—Nests containing two eggs seen during February and March on the Serengeti plains, but species of bustard not identified. A nest with two chicks was also seen on the floor of Ngorongoro Crater during June.

BUSTARD, Jackson's—*Neotis denhami* (251)—A nest containing two chicks recorded in the Western Province during April.

BUSTARD, Black-bellied—*Lissotis melanogaster* (258)—A nest with two eggs recorded from the Southern Province on 15th September. Newly hatched chicks seen on the Serengeti during February.

THICKNEE—*Burhinus* sps.—Adult with one chick, fully fledged but unable to fly, seen near the upper Duma River, Maswa District, 19th January.

JACANA—*Actophilornis africanus* (264)—One pair observed mating on the Ugalla River, Mpanda District, during March. A brood of four very small chicks seen at Kondoa District on 28th August.

CHESTNUT-BANDED SAND-PLOVER—*Charadrius venustus* (270)—Chick observed emerging from egg on 11/8/59. The nest was a sciape in the ground on the soda flats of the shores of Lake Manyara, Mbulu District, and contained two eggs. (Believed to be a first breeding record for Tanganyika).

- SAND-PLOVER, Kittlitz's—*Charadrius pecuarius* (271)—Two newly hatched chicks seen on the Wembere River, Nzega District during March. Two newly hatched chicks seen on the shore of Lake Manyara, Mbulu District, during end of July. Several nests all containing two eggs found at Lake Manyara, Mbulu District, on 1.7.58. Nest was always scrape in the ground and the eggs were grey green with dark brown blotches, 32×22 mm. When disturbed parent always covered eggs with earth or sand if it had time. Records of nests with eggs from Dodoma District during June and one record of parent feeding a very small downy chick at Manyara on 27.9.58.
- PLOVER, Three banded—*Charadrius tricollaris* (272)—Parent with two chicks, unable to fly, seen on the Tarangire River, Mbulu District, on 11th November.
- LAPWING, Crowned—*Stephanibyx coronatus* (281)—Two records of nests each containing one egg seen on the Wembere River, Nzega District, during May and June. Young chicks also seen on the Wembere River during October. Downy chicks seen on the shores of Lake Manyara, Mbulu District, on 24th July. The peak breeding period on the western Serengeti appears to be during September during which month many nests, each containing three eggs were seen. A nest with three eggs was also recorded from Mbulu District on 14th November. Eggs, olive green with black blotches, average 38×27 mm. Nest always a scrape on the ground.
- PLOVER, Blacksmith—*Hoplopterus armatus* (287)—Nests containing two eggs each were seen on the floor of Ngorongoro Crater during April and June. A nest with two eggs was seen during June on the Wembere River. Downy chicks were seen during May in Kondoa District and during July on the Serengeti. Nest with three eggs on shores of Lake Manyara, Mbulu District. Nest made of a few bits of grass built on the ground. Eggs light grey with dark greyish-green blotches. Several nests, all containing eggs on shores of Lake Manyara seen on 1.7.58. Eggs olive green with black blotches, 40×29 mm. Nest with 4 eggs by the salt pans at Ngare Nairobi, Moshi District, seen on 22.8.58. Eggs khaki with dark reddish and blackish brown blotches. Re-visited on 28.8.58 and contained three downy chicks. Nests with eggs found in floor of Ngorongoro Crater during August.
- PLOVER, WHITE-HEADED—*Xiphidiopterus albiceps* (290)—Nest formed out of shallow depression in the sand containing three eggs on the bank of the Luwego River, Nachingwea District, on 13.9.58. Eggs were a pale buff colour with black and dark brown blotches. 46×36 mm.
- AVOCET—*Recurvirostra avosetta* (295)—Nest containing three eggs on a small island in the salt pans at Ngare-Nairobi, Moshi District, seen on 2.7.58. Nest was re-visited on 5.7.58 and contained four eggs. The nest was a scrape in the short grass and the eggs were buff coloured (with a distinct greenish tinge) and blotched with dark black and some light grey markings. Measurements were 48.5×35 mm., 47.5×34 mm., 49.4×34.9 mm., 51×34.5 mm. This is believed to be a first breeding record for Tanganyika. (N.B.—A black-winged stilt was sitting on eggs a few feet away). The attempt failed as the parents apparently deserted.
- STILT, Black-winged—*Himantopus himantopus* (296)—A nest containing four eggs on a small island in the salt pans at Ngare-Nairobi (see 295 above) on 2.7.57. The nest was a scrape in the ground with a circle of small stones placed round

it. Eggs were pale khaki with grey under-markings and black blotches. Measurements were 42.9×30.4 mm., 48.3×31 mm., 44.5×31 mm., 43.3×30.5 mm. On 27.7.58 four nests were found in the same area, one with six eggs, one with four eggs, one with two eggs and one with two chicks, one chick just emerging and one egg just chipping.

SNIFE, Painted—*Rostratula benghalensis* (297)—Male with gonads in breeding condition collected from Masai District on 29th September. Nest with 4 eggs at Manyara 19.7.59.

COURSER, Temminck's—*Cursorius temminckii* (326)—Hen bird containing three oocytes collected at Kondoa on 4th May.

COURSER, Two banded—*Hemerodromus africanus* (327)—Two nests each with one egg seen on Manyara in March and Wembere in June. Laying in July in the Senonera area of the Serengeti.

COURSER, Violet-tipped—*Rhinoptilus chalcopterus* (329)—Three young chicks about 10 days old, accompanied by both parents seen in the open thorn bush country of the Tarangire Reserve, Mbulu District, on 29.9.58.

PRATINCOLE—*Glareola pratincola* (330)—One nest with two eggs, Wembere River, Nzega District, 6th June. One nest with two eggs seen on shores of Lake Manyara (Mbulu District) on 2.7.58. No attempt to make a nest but eggs laid on dried mud in a wildebeeste's hoofprint. Eggs were a khaki colour with purple-black blotches. 32×24 mm. Adult seen feeding fully fledged young (one) at Manyara on 4.9.58.



Pratincole resting between feeding visits to fledgling

- GREY-HEADED GULL—*Larus cirrocephalus* (342)—A colony of five nests seen on east shore of Lake Manyara (Mbulu District) on 28.9.58. Nests made on mud amongst tufts of coarse grass close to the lake shore. One nest contained three eggs and the others two each. A second site in the same area was visited on 8.9.58 and found to contain 64 nests very close together, all sited in coarse tufty grass close to the lake shore. Two nests contained clutches of four eggs whilst all the others had three, two or one egg. The eggs were very stained but the general colour was olive green with grey undermarkings and red-brown blotches. Some measurements were as follows:— 54×36 mm., 49×35 mm., 50×36 mm., 58×38 mm., 40×37 mm. Site revisited on 27.9.58. Eggs hatching. The colony was in the vicinity of the Flamingo and Cape Widgeon nests and may have had something to do with the robbing of these.
- WHISKERED TERN—*Chlidonias hybrida* (362)—Parent feeding one fully fledged young (capable of flight) at Nzinge swamp (Dodoma District) on 2.6.58.
- SKIMMER—*Rhynchops flavirostris* (364)—Several nests all containing either three or four eggs found on the Ruvuma River at Chunio on 4.5.48. Nests consisted of a scrape in the ground.
- SANDGROUSE, Yellow throated—*Eremialector gutturalis* (372)—Newly hatched chicks, May, Wembere River, Nzega District. Eggs and chicks seen from July to early October. Average clutch appears to be two.
- PIGEON, Speckled—*Columba guinea* (379)—Parent seen feeding young at Kondoa (nest under eaves of house) on 5th March. Parent sitting on nest (either incubating or brooding) Nzega on 9th October.
- PINK-BREASTED DOVE—*Streptopelia lugens* (385)—Nest in pepper tree at Tengeru, Arusha District. Bird incubating 25.10.58.
- DOVE, Mourning—*Streptopelia decipiens* (387)—Nesting in Nzega District during April.
- DOVE, Ring necked—*Streptopelia capicola* (388)—Nest in *Acacia spirocarpa* tree at Dodoma in April. Two eggs. Nest with two eggs on Wembere River, April. Nest built in fork of tree with two eggs, Songea District, 18th July. Nest with two eggs built in mango tree, at Kondoa, 3rd April. Female brooding two newly hatched young in nest about 10 ft. up in cypress tree at Tengeru on 3rd October. Birds left nest on 17th October. Nest with two eggs in mango tree at Tengeru on 29th October. One egg disappeared and the other hatched and bird was reared. The same nest was revisited on 24th January (following year) and again found to contain a female incubating two eggs. Young flew 22.2.58.
- DOVE, Laughing—*Stigmatopelia senegalensis* (392)—Laying during April in Nzega and Dodoma Districts. Nest with two eggs, 10 ft. up a tree at Zanka, Dodoma District, on 29.3.58.
- TAMBOURINE DOVE—*Tympanistria tympanistria* (394)—Nest built about 6 ft. off ground on an accumulation of dead leaves amongst creepers in thick tangled vegetation in mountain forest on Mahari Mts., Kigoma District. Altitude 5,800 feet. Nest was a platform structure with one white egg, being incubated on 26.7.58.
- GREEN PIGEON—*Treron australias* (401)—Parent incubating two eggs laid in platform nest about 20 feet off ground in a tree near Babati, Mbulu District, on 15.9.58. (This nest was subsequently robbed by baboons).

- CUCKOO, Black and white—*Clamator jacobinus* (415)—Fledged young seen during early March, Songea District.
- CUCKOO, Emerald—*Chrysococcyx cupreus* (416)—Young bird being fed by a pair of Malachite Sunbirds during May at Ngorongoro, Masai District.
- CUCKOO, Didric—*Chrysococcyx caprius* (417)—Adult male seen feeding young birds in Songea District on 15th March.
- COUCAL, Black—*Centropus toulou* (420)—Nest containing three chicks, just sprouting feathers, built in grass of tangled *Cenchrus ciliaris* and *Themeda trianda*. The nest was not domed. Parents feeding young about every 4 minutes with grasshoppers and caterpillars. Observed in the Tarangire River, Mbulu District on 17.4.58.
- COUCAL, White-browed—*Centropus superciliosus* (423)—Nest with eggs at Tumba, Mpanda District, during March. Nest with four eggs, built in long grass, Tengeru, 7th February.
- TURACO, Hartlaub's—*Tauraco hartlaubi* (432)—Building a nest in a high tree at Momela, Arusha District, late October.
- GO-AWAY-BIRD, White-bellied—*Corythaixoides leucogaster* (440)—Three young birds just able to flutter, seen in a *Quelea* colony at Kondoa District on 25th April.
- GO-AWAY-BIRD, Bare-faced—*Gymnoschizorhis personata* (441)—Two young birds almost ready to fly seen in a nest in an *Acacia spirocarpa* tree at Lolkisale in Masai District on 20th November.
- PARROT, Brown-headed—*Poicephalus cryptoxanthus* (445)—Observed nesting in May, Tabora District.
- PARROT, Brown—*Poicephalus meyeri* (449)—Nesting in hole in tree in the Lake Province on 20.7.58.
- LOVEBIRD, Fischer's—*Agapornis fischeri* (454)—Nesting in April in Nzega District and Kondoa District and again during December in Nzega. Nest with four eggs in hole in tree in Maswa District on 4.7.58. Evidence of three other nests in same tree.
- LOVEBIRD, Yellow-collared—*Agapornis personata* (455)—Female collected containing five oocytes from Kondoa District on 4th July. Colony nesting in holes in dead palm trees at Kwa-ku-Chinja, Mbulu District, on 10.4.58. Nests lined with strips of palm leaves and contained both eggs and newly hatched young.
- KINGFISHER PIGMY—*Ispidina picta* (471)—Nest in shallow hole on banks of the Koe River, Mbulu District. Three young left the nest on 9.2.59.
- KINGFISHER, Brown-hooded—*Halcyon albiventris* (476)—Parent seen feeding one fledged young at Moshi on 23.12.57.
- KINGFISHER, Grey-headed—*Halcyon leucocephala* (477)—Adult seen feeding young in Same District on 12th December. Bird seen entering a nesting hole in earth bank by side of dam at Tengeru, Arusha District, on 25th November. Nest in hole in bank of Koe River, Mbulu District. Hole ten feet above water and the nest was a small hollow in the base of the tunnel about three feet from entrance. Three white eggs 13.12.58.

- BEE-EATER, Little—*Melittophagus pusillus* (488)—Nest in hole in a bank containing three chicks seen near Dodoma on 4th December. Birds seen flying into nesting hole in earth bank at Ngorongoro, 27th October.
- BEE-EATER, White fronted—*Melittophagus bullockoides* (493)—Adult birds seen entering nesting holes at Rongai, Moshi District, on 12th January.
- HORNBILL, Silvery-cheeked—*Bycanistes brevis* (501)—Female sealed up in a nesting hole in a semi-dead tree in riverine forest on the bank of the Enduruma River, Arusha District. Male feeding her about every 20 minutes by regurgitation. First observed 30.11.57.
- HORNBILL, Pied—*Tockus fasciatus* (510)—Young chicks seen in Western Province during April.
- HORNBILL, Ground—*Bucorvus leadbeateri* (515)—Adult bird seen entering nesting hole in dead *Borassus* palm in Mpanda District during December. Adult bird disturbed from nesting hole in fork of baobab tree. Nest contained two newly laid eggs. Handeni District 20th August.
- WOOD-HOOPOE, Green—*Phoeniculus purpureus* (519)—Young chicks seen in Western Province, April.
- BARN OWL—*Tyto alba* (528)—Nesting during June and August in Songea District.
- EAGLE-OWL, Spotted—*Bubo africanus* (543)—Nest consisting of a scraping in a rocky cleft in a kopje with two large white eggs near the Duma River, Maswa District, August. Parent with two chicks at Nzega during August.
- NIGHTJAR, Freckled—*Caprimulgus tristigma* (554)—Two eggs laid on bare rock in Songea District seen 22nd October. Newly hatched young seen in Songea District mid November.
- NIGHTJAR, Pennant-winged—*Semeiophorus vexillarius* (564)—One egg laid on cleared earth at Mkakati, Chunya District, on 5.10.58.
- MOUSEBIRD, Speckled—*Colius striatus* (566)—Nesting attempt at Tengeru during March. Two nests, both abandoned. Nest about 15 ft. up a cypress tree at Tengeru. Examined 24th January and found to contain three newly hatched chicks and one cream coloured egg. Revisited 5th February and young had flown. Nest about 7 ft. up in a *Balanites* tree at Tengeru with three chicks, 27th December.
- BARBET, Brown-breasted—*Lybius melanopterus* (580)—Two fully fledged young in nest in hole in fig tree at Mbuguni, Arusha District, on 22.3.58.
- BARBET, Spotted-flanked—*Tricholaema lacrymosum* (584)—Nest in a hole in a tree containing three chicks at Nzega, 24th March.
- BARBET, D'Arnaud's—*Trachyphonus darnaudii* (603)—Nest consisting of a scrape in the ground containing five eggs, Nzega District, April.
- WOODPECKER, Cardinal—*Dendropicos fuscescens* (623)—Female seen entering breeding hole in tree probably feeding young, Tengeru, 28th August. Nest in hole in tree containing three newly hatched chicks seen near Ikoma, Musoma District, on 17.1.59.
- WOODPECKER, Bearded—*Thripias namaquus* (629)—Excavating nesting hole (2nd attempt) in a dead *Acacia spirocarpa* tree. Eggs probably laid late May, Kondo District.

- WOODPECKER, Grey—*Mesopicos goertae* (630)—Adult bird remaining in nesting hole in dead branch of *Acacia spirocarpa* tree for long periods. Probably incubating. Chubi, Kondoa District, 24th June.
- SWIFT, Little—*Apus affinis* (643)—Records of laying during January, March, April, October, November and December.
- SWIFT, White-rumped—*Apus caffer* (644)—Breeding between October and March, using the old nests of *Hirunda abyssinica* and *H. Smithii*, Songea District.
- LARK, Flappet—*Mirafr rufocinnamomea* (660)—Nest on ground containing three eggs. Songea District, December.
- LARK, Sparrow—(probably *Eremopterix leucopareia*) (682)—Parent with one chick, approximately nine days old, seen in North Rukwa, Ufipa District, on 30th August.
- WAGTAIL, African Pied—*Motacilla aguimp* (691)—Nesting September, October and November in Songea District. Well fledged young just out of nest, still being fed by parents, seen at Tengeru in July and again during December. Two young almost ready to leave nest (built on ventilator ledge in store) at Ngorongoro, 4th October.
- BABBLER, Arrow-marked—*Turdoides jardinei* (725)—Nest containing three eggs in Tabora District during February.
- BULBUL, Black-capped—*Pycnonotus xanthopygos* (741)—A nest with two eggs at Dodoma on 24th December. Adult feeding two young seen in Moshi District on 24th December.
- BULBUL, Dark-capped—*Pycnonotus tricolor* (742)—Open cup shaped nest, containing two eggs, built about 7 ft. off ground in shrub on lake shore at Maisome Island (S.W. Lake Victoria) on 19.8.58.
- BULBUL, Yellow-whiskered—*Stelgidocichla latirostris* (776)—Cup-shaped nest made of plant fibres on branch of tree about 1 ft. off ground containing newly hatched chicks on the Mahali Mts., Kigoma District. Altitude 4,500 feet, on 15.7.58. Parent feeding fledged young, 1.9.59. same area at 6,000 ft.
- GREY FLYCATCHER—*Bradornis microrhynchus* (793)—Adult seen feeding one fully fledged young at Usawanga, Dodoma District on 23.3.58.
- FLYCATCHER, South African Black—*Melaenornis pammelaina* (799)—Nest in cavity in a fork of a tree containing three eggs, Songea District, 10th October.
- SILVER-BIRD—*Empidonax semipartitus* (801)—Fully fledged young being fed by parent at Basotu, Mbulu District, on 15.1.58. (N.B.—This is interesting as it is well to the east of the range of the Silver-bird recorded in Praed and Grant).
- FLYCATCHER, Puff back, Chin spot—*Batis molitor* (817)—Two small chicks in a nest built on an *Albizia anthelmintica* tree on the Upper Tarangire River (Mbulu District). Nest was a tiny cup which looked like a woody knot covered with lichen. On 9.1.58 it contained two small chicks which left the nest on 19.1.58.
- FLYCATCHER, Paradise—(probably *Tchitrea plumbeiceps*) (834)—Cup-shaped nest about 10 ft. up in a garden tree at Kilosa. Two eggs, white with orange-brown markings. Seen 17th December. Both sexes incubating. Nest abandoned for no apparent reason.

- CHAT, Red-tailed—*Cercomela familiaris* (871)—Adult bird with two young seen in Songea District on 15th December.
- CHAT, Cliff—*Thamnolaea cinnamomeiventris* (876)—Newly fledged young in Kondoa District, early December.
- CHAT, White-headed—*Thamnolaea arnotti* (879)—Nest in small hollow in tree with one egg, Songea District, 1st October.
- CHAT, Robin—*Cossypha caffra* (893)—Breeding in Songea District, December.
- WARBLER, Morning—*Cichladusa* sp. (908)—Incubating eggs in a nest in an *Acacia spirocarpa* tree at Dodoma during February. Incubating eggs at Dodoma, 2nd April. Young left nest, 15th May.
- WARBLER, Spotted Morning—*Cichladusa guttata* (909)—Adult seen feeding one young bird at Moshi on 21st December.
- PRINIA sp.—Nest containing eggs at Dodoma during March.
- APALIS, Black breasted—*Apalis flavida* (979)—Nest containing two eggs at Tarangire River on 10.6.58. Nest was a very deep cup suspended at each side by twigs of the bush and constructed of lichen, down and spider's web. The eggs were a pale blue spotted with dark red-brown.
- CROMBEC, Red-faced—*Sylvietta whytii* (997)—A pair building a nest in *Acacia etbaica* tree on upper Tarangire River on 20/21 February, 1959. Nest was a dependant purse-shaped structure made of plant fibres and fine grass, about 8 ft. off ground. Nest was near completion and both birds engaged in lining it with feathers. Building activity appeared to be confined to the morning.
- EREMOMELA, Yellow-bellied—*Eremomela icteropygialis* (1003)—Nest with two eggs in *Acacia kirkii* tree, Dodoma District, 1.5.58. Eggs white with black spots on blunt end.
- SWALLOW, Angola—*Hirundo angolensis* (1055)—Nesting on a ridge in brick house, Songea District, 6th November.
- SWALLOW, Wire-tailed—*Hirundo smithii* (1061)—Two to three eggs per clutch. Breeding records from March to January inclusive. Eggs white with reddish brown spots.
- SWALLOW, Mosque—*Hirundo senegalensis* (1063)—Nesting during June in Musoma District. Nest in cavity in mud brick house. Also breeding records for January.
- SWALLOW, Striped—*Hirundo abyssinica* (1065)—Nesting March to December.
- MARTIN, African Sand—*Riparia paludicola* (1069)—Fully fledged young being fed by parents, South Rukwa, 16th August. Parents seen carrying food to nesting holes at Kondoa during early July.
- MARTIN, African Rock—*Ptyonoprogne fuligula* (1073)—Breeding in brick houses, Songea District, October. Nesting in Kondoa boma at end April. Nesting at Murongo, Bukoba District, 26th February.
- DRONGO—*Dicrurus adsimilis* (1088)—One nest containing two chicks and another nest with eggs seen at Kilunda, Southern Province on 9th October. Adult bird feeding fully fledged young at Moshi on 1.2.58.
- SHRIKE, Straight-crested Helmet—*Prionops plumata* (1090)—Female with small oocytes in oviduct collected at Kondoa on 29th June.

SHRIKE, Fiscal—*Lanius collaris* (1104)—Young bird clamouring for food at Ol Molog, Moshi District, 12th August. Nest in cypress hedge with two chicks, Arusha, 29th November.

TIT, Cinnamon-breasted—*Parus rufiventris* (1158)—Nest in a hole in tree about 4 ft. up with three eggs, Songea District, 11th November.

CROW, Pied—*Corvus albus* (1172)—Nest in baobab tree containing one egg, Kondo, November. Nest on wireless pylon containing four eggs, Dodoma, December. Nest in Candelabria tree containing chicks, Dodoma, 11th December.

CAPE ROOK—*Corvus capensis* (1173)—Several pairs nesting in the floor of Ngorongoro crater. Nests built in straggly trees growing over the edge of a cliff. First observation made on 10.12.58 when one nest containing three well fledged chicks (almost ready to fly) was seen and other nests were under construction. On 19.1.59 the site was again visited and two other nests each with one well fledged chick were seen. One tree contained three empty nests. Nests were made of sticks and lined. (Possibly a new record for Tanganyika).

STARLING, Violet-backed—*Cinnyricinclus leucogaster* (1184)—Nesting during January in Southern Province. Feeding young during December in Songea District. Nest in hole in tree about 15 feet off ground seen near Babati, Mbulu District, on 8.12.58. Parents feeding young.

STARLING, Ashy—*Cosmopsarus unicolor* (1199)—Nesting in Baobab tree during April in Nzega District. Building and carrying nesting material (short pieces of dried grass) to a hole in a hollow *Acacia spirocarpa* tree during mid-April in the Tarangire Reserve, Mbulu District.

STARLING, Hildebrandt's—*Spreo hildebrandti* (1214)—Nest in hole in tree at Seronera, Serengeti National Park. Young birds could be heard in nest on 13.12.58.

STARLING, Superb—*Spreo superbus* (1216)—Nesting February to June in Western and Central Provinces.

WHITE-EYE, Yellow—*Zosterops senegalensis* (1219)—Nesting about 20 ft. up in a tree in Songea District, 12th September.

WHITE-EYE, Green—*Zosterops virens* (1221)—Nest, containing two very pale blue eggs seen in the Mahari Mountains, Kigoma District, on 5.8.58. The nest was a very small deep cup made of plant fibres, lichen, fine grass and cobwebs, built about 6 feet from the ground in an old fallen tree in a bamboo growth.

SUNBIRD, Malachite—*Nectarinia famosa* (1227)—Nesting in cassia tree in Tabora, March. Started to build in cassia tree at Dodoma on 16th April; did not lay. Nest hanging from a leonotis plant at Ngurdoto, Arusha District. One egg laid mid-May. Bird left nest mid-June. Nest built about 5 ft. up in shrub at Ngurdoto. Egg laid 13th July. Nest with one egg found at Ngurdoto on 4th August. Nest on leonotis plant with one egg (white with grey streaks) at Ol Motoni, Arusha District, 18.5.58.

SUNBIRD, Bronze—*Nectarinia kilimensis*—(1230)—Nest in cypress tree about 8 ft. off ground in Arusha on 10.3.58. Parent incubating.

- SUNBIRD, Beautiful—*Nectarinia pulchella* (1233)—Nest with two eggs found on Wembere River, Nzega District, on 24th March.
- SUNBIRD, Mariqua—*Cinnyris mariquensis* (1245)—Building early September in Songea District.
- SUNBIRD, Shelley's Double-collared—*Cinnyris shelleyi* (1246)—Nest about 7 ft. up in a peach tree with one egg, Songea District, 20th October.
- SUNBIRD, Variable—*Cinnyris venustus* (1251)—Building at Tabora during March. Nest in bush about 3 ft. off ground at Ngurdoto, Arusha District, 21st July. Nest in long grass at Ngurdoto with two eggs, 16th August.
- SUNBIRD, Collared—*Anthreptes collaris* (1271)—Female with one oocyte collected Mpanda Highlands, February. Parent feeding two young at Moshi, 1st August. Nest containing two chicks on Mahari Mts., Kigoma District. The nest was built about three feet off the ground amongst rank herbage on the edge of mountain forest (Altitude 6,700 feet) and was purse shaped being made out of plant fibres and lichen. The chicks were almost ready to fly.
- SUNBIRD, Violet-backed—*Anthreptes longuemarei* (1274)—Fledged young seen early May in Songea District.
- CREEPER, Spotted—*Salpornis spilonota* (1283)—Young birds being fed by parents in Songea District during December.
- WEAVER, Buffalo—*Bubalornis albirostris* (1284)—Chicks in nests being fed by parents in Kondoa District during April.
- WEAVER, Red-billed Buffalo—*Bubalornis niger* (1285)—Nesting at Dodoma in March and Nzega in April. Building in baobab tree at Mbulu, 7th March.
- WEAVER, Buffalo, White-headed—*Dinemellia dinemelli* (1286)—Single nest in thorn bush containing three nearly fully fledged chicks seen in Masailand on 4.1.58. Colony of nests containing young at Banagi, Serengeti Park, January, 1959. Nest in Acacia tree about 20 feet off ground made of fine twigs and coarse grass, Tarangire River, Mbulu District, 10.2.59. Female sitting, probably incubating.
- WEAVER, Rufous-tailed—*Histurgops ruficauda* (1290)—A colony of about 20 nests being built in a tall Acacia tree in the floor of Ngorongoro crater. Nests were large and untidy, made of grass, about 20 feet off the ground, 19.12.58
- WEAVER, Grey-headed Social—*Pseudonigrita arnaudi* (1291)—Nest containing three eggs in an *Acacia spirocarpa* tree at Ngare Nairobi, Moshi District, 18th December. Nest built in Gall Acacia tree in Kahama District mid-May. Three eggs, pinky white with fine reddish spots.
- WEAVER, Black-capped Social—*Pseudonigrita cabanisi* (1292)—Colony of 80 to 100 nests in Masailand. Young in nest being fed by parents, 15th July.
- SPARROW, Grey-headed—*Passer griseus* (1300)—Nesting in Nzega District in April. Parents observed feeding young during April in Kondoa District.
- SPARROW, Chestnut—*Sorella eminibey* (1306)—Nesting in old weaver's nest. Four eggs very pale blue with black blotches on their broad ends. 19×13 mm. Dodoma District, 15.3.58.
- WEAVER, Layard's Black-headed—*Ploceus nigriceps* (1313)—Building during January, April and December in Tabora District. Breeding during April and November in Songea District.

WEAVER, Golden-backed—*Ploceus jacksoni* (1326)—Nesting March to May in Central and Tanga Provinces. Nest built in Acacia trees. Commenced building in an acacia tree during mid-November at Tengeru in a mixed colony of other Weavers. Colony of about 25 nests containing eggs and young birds seen at Mbuguni, Arusha District on 22.3.58. Nesting colony at Nzinga, Dodoma District. Eggs pale blue with fine red-brown scribings. 24×15 mm.

WEAVER, Chestnut—*Ploceus rubiginosus* (1327)—Nesting during March and April in Central and Western Provinces. Three to four eggs per clutch but usually three. Nests usually in large colonies. *Acacia drepanolobium* used for building in Central Province.

WEAVER, Taveta Golden—*Ploceus castaneiceps* (1333)—Colony in an acacia tree at Tengeru. The same tree used for nesting by golden-backed and a few masked Weavers. Building commenced at the onset of the short rains in November and laying early December onwards. Eggs were olive green with indistinct dark blotches and the average clutch was two. Same colony continued to build and lay throughout the rains. Eggs were present during May. 22×15 mm.

WEAVER, Golden—*Xanthophilus subaureus* (1341)—Nests built in July and eggs laid early August in Handeni District. A colony of about 100 nests built in a phragmites tree near Dar es Salaam. One nest examined contained two eggs on 15th November.

VIEILLOT'S BLACK WEAVER—*Melanopteryx nigerrimus* (1344)—Nesting colony being built in eucalyptus tree at Kibondo during February. Many nests subsequently seen completed.

WEAVER, Grosbeak—*Amblyospiza albifrons* (1358)—A few pairs building nests in long grass standing in water in the edge of Lake Duluti, Arusha District. Nest completed by end of April. (The same clump of grass also contained a small golden weaver nesting colony). Nest containing two eggs built in elephant grass in Rau Forest, Moshi District, on 2.3.58. Parent feeding one young, just able to flutter in elephant grass at Moshi on 27.7.58.

WEAVER, Red-headed—*Anaplectes melanotis* (1359)—Building during March in Central and Western Provinces.

QUELEA, Red-billed—*Quelea quelea* (1360)—Small nesting colony on the Wembete, Nzega District, built in *Dicrostachys glomerata* trees. Average clutch consisting of three eggs. Eggs just hatching on 30th April. Colony of nests built in *Acacia mellifera*, covering about 170 acres (nests very dense, probably about 3,000,000) in Masailand. Eggs and young chicks about two days old, 14.5.58. Eggs very pale blue, 21×41 mm.

QUELEA, Cardinal—*Quelea cardinalis* (1362)—Nesting during March in Central and Western Provinces. Nests built in long grass, three eggs per clutch. Nesting in long grass in Masailand during May. Eggs, average three per clutch, were very pale blue, finely scribed with light reddish brown. 18×12 mm.

BISHOP-BIRD, Red—*Euplectes orix* (1363)—Three hens sitting on eggs in nests built in elephant grass and fourth hen building. One male to the four hens, May, Dodoma.

- BISHOP-BIRD, Black winged—*Euplectes hordeacea* (1365)—Nest with three eggs on Wembere River, Nzega District, 24.3.58.
- WIDOW-BIRD, Yellow-shouldered—*Coliuspasser macrocercus* (1371)—Nest containing eggs built in long grass on the Wembere River, Nzega District, during April.
- WIDOW-BIRD, White-winged—*Coliuspasser albonotatus* (1373)—Building at Tabora during April. One nest built in long grass containing two pale blue eggs blotched with reddish-brown at Tengeru on 27th December and a second nest being built in the same area.
- WIDOW-BIRD, Red naped—*Coliuspasser laticauda* (1376)—Nest built in long grass, containing four eggs, at Ngurdoto, Arusha District, mid-May.
- MANNIKIN, Bronze—*Spermestes cucullatus* (1379)—Several pairs building in tall cactus and sisal plants at Tengeru, Arusha District, during February, 1958.
- MANNIKIN, Black and White—*Spermestes poensis*—(1380)—Nest in long grass with 7 eggs, Kahama, February, 1958.
- MANNIKIN, Rufous-backed—*Spermestes nigriceps* (1381)—Four eggs laid in an old weaver's nest near Moshi, 12th December.
- SILVER-BILL, Grey-headed—*Odontospiza caniceps* (1384)—Building about 20 feet up tree at Mkalama, Singida District, 21.3.57.
- PYTILIA, Orange-winged—*Pytilia afra* (1409)—Nest with 7 eggs built 7 feet up in fork of low tree. Male and female incubating. Kibondo, 1.8.59.
- PYTILIA, Green-winged—*Pytilia melba* (1410)—Nest containing three eggs at Matomondo near Mpwapwa. Nest made of grass with funnel entrance built about 4 feet up in a shrub. Male incubating 1.6.58.
- FIREFINCH, Red-billed—*Lagonosticta senegala* (1413)—Nest in creeper on side of houses with five eggs, Tengeru, April.
- WAXBILL—*Estrilda astrild* (1418)—Laying in May and first half of June at Ngurdoto. Up to six eggs per clutch.
- WAXBILL, Zebra—*Estrilda subflava* (1421)—Nest in long grass about 3 feet above ground with three eggs at Ngurdoto on 17th August. Male incubating.
- CORDON-BLEU—*Uraeginthus sp.*—Three eggs laid in an old masked weaver's nest at Dodoma in March.
- CORDON-BLEU, Red-cheeked—*Uraeginthus bengalus* (1431)—Five eggs laid in an old weaver's nest on the Wembere River, Nzega District, 25th March.
- CORDON-BLEU, Blue-capped—*Uraeginthus cyanocephalus* (1432)—Nest containing four eggs and one chick, built about 6 feet up in a bush in Dodoma District, 27.3.58. (N.B. Hornet's nest about 1 foot from nest). Three complete nests with hens apparently incubating and one nest under construction seen at the Tarangire River, Mbulu District, on 23.4.58. Nests were untidy ball-like structures of fine grass about 4 feet from ground in *Commiphora schimperi* and *Commiphora pilosa* trees. All were built close to hornets nests.

- WHYDAH, Pin-tailed—*Vidua macroura* (1441)—Males commenced coming into breeding plumage and mating at Tengeru during December.
- CANARY, Yellow-fronted—*Serinus mozambicus* (1448)—Parents seen feeding two chicks in Songea District, 12th June.
- SEED-EATER, Streaky—*Serinus striolatus* (1461)—Cup-shaped nest built out of grass and lichen in a clump of fuscias and red-hot poker at Ngorongoro, 1st November, containing two newly hatched chicks.
- CITRIL, African—*Carduelis citrinelloides* (1464)—Cup-shaped nest about 7 feet off ground in a shrub, containing three eggs, pale blue with brown spots on larger end, at Ngurdoto, Arusha District, 20th August. A second pair nested in the same area and laid two eggs about 22nd August.
- ROCK BUNTING, Cinnamon-breasted—*Fringillaria tahapisi* (1476)—Nest in small tuft of grass with three eggs, Songea District, 30th May.
- (EDITORIAL NOTE.—Please see T.N.R. No. 1, 1936, "Nesting Habits of some Tanganyika Birds" by N. R. Fuggles-Couchman, B.Sc., M.B.O.U., and T.N.R. No. 21, 1946, "Further Notes on Nesting Habits and the Breeding Seasons of Some Tanganyika Birds" by N. R. Fuggles-Couchman, B.Sc., M.B.O.U.).



Baraguyu Senior Warrior: Photographed near Idibo, Kilosa District

THE BARAGUYU

By Thomas O. Beidelman

INTRODUCTION

This article represents a partial survey of the Baraguyu (Kwavi) people. It is not the result of a careful sociological study. Instead, it is the result of casual contact with these people by an anthropologist pursuing other full-time work at the time (1957-8) the data were collected.*

This study is admittedly lacking in much critical information, especially concerning social structure, and it is more than likely that some details may be incorrect since Baraguyu find amusement in misleading any inquirer. However, the nearly complete lack of information on the Baraguyu plus their uniqueness both as the southernmost of Africa's Nilo-Hamites and as the most geographically dispersed tribe in East Africa make even incomplete information on them of some interest and value, both to sociologists and administrators.

THE BARAGUYU

1. *Derivation, Distribution and Economy.*

The Baraguyu (or Baragui) people are generally called Kwavi (also spelled Kwafi, Kwapi, Kuafi) by their neighbours. "Kwavi" is also the term which appears most frequently in the African literature. The term is considered derogatory by Baraguyu and is never used amongst themselves.† Baraguyu

*I owe special thanks to Mr. A. H. Jacobs who is currently engaged in a study of the Masai. His discussions, correspondence and comments on this manuscript have been exceedingly valuable in clarifying many aspects of the problems involved. Needless to say, he is not responsible for any errors which may appear. I should also like to thank Mr. Ian Milton, Veterinary Officer of Kilosa, Dr. P. H. Gulliver and Prof. E. H. Winter for comments and criticism.

†Oscar Baumann states: "Die Massai-Völker zerfallen in zwei Gruppen, die Mbarawui, von der Küstenleute Wakuavi genannt und die Massai in engeren Sinne. Die Sprache der beiden Stämme ist dialektisch verschieden, auch finden sich Unterschiede in den Sitten und vor allem ist das Stammbewusstsein beider Völker so stark ausgeprägt, dass eine Unterscheidung derselben berechtigt erscheint. Der Swahili-Name "Mkuavi" gleichnamigen hohen Laubbaum mit roten Früchten abgeleitet, der in Bondei und in Hinterlande von Mombasa gedeiht und von den Washambaa Mambia genannt wird. Nach diesem Baum benannte die Küstenleute die hochgewachsenen Mbarawui das erste Massai-Volk mit dem sie in Berührung kamen. Baumann, *Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle*, p. 157. (The Masai people fall into two groups, the Mbarawui, called Wakwavi by the coastal people, and the Masai in the narrower sense. The language of the two branches is dialectically different, and also there are differences in customs; above all the consciousness of "tribe" of both peoples is so strongly stamped that a difference appears to justify itself. The Swahili name "Mkwavi" derives from a similar word referring to a tall deciduous tree with red fruit which grows in Bondei and in the country inland from Mombasa and which is called Mambia by the Washambaa. After this tree the coastal people named the tall Mbarawui, the first Masai people with whom they came into contact).

Yet Hollis contradicts this: "The meaning of Kwavi (or Kwapi) in Masai is countries or somewhere (sic). Hildebrandt's suggestion (*Zeitschrift fuer Ethnologie*, 1878. p. 349) that Maasae is derived from the Masai word "Masaa, property, and that Kwavi is a corruption of kafi, the Swahili for paddle (given in allusion to their broad-bladed spears) is probably incorrect." Hollis, *The Masai*, p. iii. Eliot states: "It would appear that the name Wakwavi, often applied to the agriculturalist, is merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning places." *Ibid.*, p. xv. See also: Sandford, *An Administrative History of the Masai Reserve*, p. 8.

For another theory on the meaning of "Kwavi" see: L. Krapf, *Vocabulary of the Engutuk Eloikob*, p. 6. See also: Huntingford, *The Southern Nilo-Hamites*, p. 12; Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, II, p. 800; *The Kilima-njaro Expedition*, p. 313.

In the notes following his report, Stanner states that "Baraguyu" is applicable only to the Iringa District Kwavi. Stanner, *Report of Research Needs in Uganda and Tanganyika*. Besides being in usage for all Kwavi from Same and the Pare area southward, "Baraguyu appears in descriptions by Krapf, *op. cit.*, p. 4; Baumann, *Durch Masailand* pp. 157, 166; and Paulssen, "Rechtsanschauungen der Wagogo", p. 161. Huntingford refers to the Kwavi of southern Masailand as "Baraguyu." Huntingford, *op. cit.*, p. 111. see also: Erhardt, *Vocabulary of the Enguduk Ilogob*, pp. 18, 57; von Hoehnel, *Discovery of Lakes Rudolf and Stefania*, Vol. II, p. 3; Rees, "In the Berega Country," p. 54; *Tanganyika Secretariat Reports*, File 26905; Last, "A Visit to the Masai . . .", p. 539; Schaegelen, "La Tribu des Wagogo", p. 205. The people called "Wadirigo" by Cameron and found near Mpwapwa appear to be Baraguyu, *Across Africa*, p. 88.

sometimes refer to themselves as Lumbwa, but in certain contexts, e.g. quarrels with Bantu, this word may also be considered an insult.* Baraguyu will use the term "Masai" in preference to "Kwavi", though Baraguyu themselves usually insist that they are Baraguyu and as such distinct from the Kisongo Masai whom they consider their distant relatives. Gulliver comments that some Masai appear to call Baraguyu "Il-oikop" (Masai: *il-oikop*, crime) and that it is reported that Baraguyu north of Nguu call themselves "*Il-oikop*." He further comments that the Arusha call the Baraguyu on the lower Pangani River "*Il-ogolala*" (Masai: *il-ogolala*, people of the hard teeth), claiming that these people were amongst the original ancestors of the Arusha.† The term "Il-oikop" may derive from the fact that Baraguyu previously practised agriculture extensively, a practice Masai are famous for holding in contempt.

Baraguyu also bear out the tale that they are kin to the Arusha.‡ Some Baraguyu even refer to themselves as relating to the Il-ogolala which would further support the Arusha information. One informant termed "Il-ogolala" an ancient age-group common to both Baraguyu and Masai. My Baraguyu informants were unable or unwilling to give any meaning to any of these names, i.e. Baraguyu, Kwavi, Lumbwa, etc.

Much of the confusion in the various historical sources and in Government reports dealing with Masai and related groups lies in the indiscriminate application of the terms "Masai" and "Kwavi" to any Masai-type people. Usually "Masai" is reserved for those who appear to fill the classic Masai stereotype of the observer and "Kwavi" is applied to those people who do not quite fit this stereotype but who speak languages similar to Masai or whose dress or other customs appear similar to Masai, such as the Arusha, Meru, Baraguyu, Taveta, Njemps, etc. Often "Kwavi" merely refers to any Masai-like group observed tilling land. I can offer four examples of such error by citing the works of Fischer, Merker, Geilinger and the current Government Census of Tanganyika.§

*The term "Wahumba," evidently a derivative, appears in the texts of Burton and Stanley in reference to Baraguyu in Sagara, Kaguru and Gogo territories. The Kaguru and Gogo insultingly refer to Baraguyu as Wahumba. Last provides an excellent example of a kind of incident not unknown even today: "One day two Masai (Baraguyu?) came to the village, and a native (Kaguru?) came out and insulted them by asking, 'What kind of a Masai are you? You are not a Masai, but Wa-humba'. This was a great insult to the Masai, as they have the bitterest hatred to a Wa-humba, and cannot bear to have the name of Humba mentioned before them. The Masai did not say much, but went home and reported how they had been insulted. The men at once took arms and went to the village to demand an explanation.' The man who committed the offence came out again bravely enough, but was at once speared, as was also another man who came to help." Last, "A Visit to the Masai People Living Beyond the Borders of the Nguru Country," pp. 520-1. See Also: Watt, *In the Heart of Savagedom*, pp. 52, 107-8; Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha* . . ., p. 46; Roscoe, *Twenty-Five Years* . . ., p. 30.

Baumann states that the Masai (Baraguyu?) are termed "Wahumba" in Gogo and Nyamwezi territory, *Durch Massailand*, p. 165. It is possible that Humba derives from the term "Lumbwa," which Eliot terms "one of contempt and refers to pastoralists who have resorted to agriculture", Hollis, *op. cit.*, p. iii.

†Personal correspondence.

‡Wakefield, "Route of Native Caravans from the Coast to the Interior of Eastern Africa", p. 304. Wakefield states that the Arusha claim to descend from the Kwavi.

§Fischer, "Bericht ueber die im Auftrage der Geographischen Gesellschaft im Hamburg unternommene Reise in das Massai-land", pp. 91, 93. In the first citation Fischer states that a group of Kwavi call themselves "Arusha", and that they live as agriculturalists. In the second he notes that a group of Kwavi living near the foot of Mt. Meru are often called Wameru by many coastal people. Merker terms the Meru and Arusha "Kwavi." Merker, *Die Masai*, p. 9. Geilinger appears to confuse Arusha with Kwavi, Geilinger, *Der Kilimandjaro*, p. 89. The 1957 census often lists Kwavi (Baraguyu) as Masai in Kilosa, Iringa, Mbeya and other districts.

The confusion of such terms has not aided study of Baraguyu history which is at best extremely sketchy. Baraguyu claim to have come from north of Tanganyika from an area called Kerio, apparently identical to the term "Kieru" which Fosbrooke mentions in regard to the Masai's origin and which he seems justified in presuming to be the Kerio River valley of northern Kenya.* Early accounts and my own informants agree that at one time Baraguyu could be found near Arusha town. In regard to this Fosbrooke mentions a series of Masai-Kwavi (Baraguyu) battles in the 1840's, with the Masai taking Kibaya, Moibo and Lolbene from the Kwavi. Fosbrooke mentions the Masai defeating the Kwavi just south of Arusha town at Sanya in the 1840's and taking Naberra from the Kwavi a decade earlier.† Merker mentions Masai defeating Kwavi at Sogonoi at about this same time. These Sogonoi Kwavi are said to have fled to Zigua.‡

Thomson has frequent reference to Kwavi and Masai wars and maintains that much of what is now Masai and Nandi country as well as parts of Teita, Sambara and Jipe were previously held by people whom he calls "Kwavi."§ Careful reading of Thomson leads one to suspect that many of his "Kwavi" are Masai-type people who were not Baraguyu but Taveta, Arusha, Njemps, Meru and others. The name Baraguyu is applicable to all those "Kwavi":

*Fosbrooke, "An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System," p. 3. The Kerio River flows into the southwestern portion of Lake Rudolf.

†*Ibid.*, p. 11. Merker, *op. cit.*, p. 7. Merker considers the Kwavi to have preceded the Masai in descending from the north into Tanganyika. Baumann also states this citing the 1840's as a date, Baumann, *Usambara und seine Nachbargebiete*, p. 11. Last states that Baraguyu near Mamboya described their "headquarters" as located near Kapotei near Arusha, *Polyglotta* . . . , p. 26.

‡Merker, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

§Thomson and other chroniclers refer to "Kwavi" people occurring in the following areas: Thomson, *Through Masailand*: Teita, Jipe, Usambara, p. 63; Arusha, p. 81; Lykipia (the area north of L. Naivasha and Mt. Kenya and east of the Aberdare Range), p. 242; Ngwas Ngishu (eastern half of Nandi country), p. 242; Njemps (near L. Baringo), p. 264; Angata Elgek (near Gilgil), p. 200; Dondole (between L. Elmentaita and Aberdare Range): "The District is called Dondole, which, I am informed, means 'everybody's (that is to say—no man's) land', from the incessant quarrels for possession that have taken place between the Masai of Kinangop and the Masai (Wa-Kwavi, who cultivate the soil, and have cattle, sheep, and goats. They go backwads and forwards in small canoes of the most ideal type), p. 314. Wakefield, *op. cit.*; Ngurumani, pp. 305, 306, 307; Lumbwa, p. 307; Guaso Ngishu, p. 308; Same, p. 304; Larmwea, p. 315; Bolyoi (near Marsabit?), p. 315, 318. Johnston's comments to Wakefield put the limit of Kwavi as the edge of the lowlands and base of the mountains east of Lake Baringo and then to Nandi and east of Ukara, *Ibid.*, p. 338. MacDonald, *Soldiering and Surveying in British East Africa*: Guash Ngishu, p. 66; Kampi Ambariik (Kenya), p. 71. Burton, *Lake Regions of Central Africa*, Vol. 1: Sagara, pp. 205, 311; Gogo, pp. 306-7; Marenga Mk'hali (Gogo), p. 203. Fischer, *op. cit.*, Arusha, p. 50; Pare, p. 92; Masai-Kwavi wars, pp. 45, 79, 89. Claus, "Die Gogo"; Gogo, p. 2. Last, "A Visit to the Masai People . . ."; Nguu, pp. 520-1. "A Visit to the Wa-itumba Iron-workers and the Mangaheri near Mamboia . . ."; Kaguru, p. 585. Krapf, *The Vocabulary* . . . : Ol-doinio Eibor (just south of Naberera in the Masai Steppe?), Usambara, Teita, Ukambani, Chagga, Pangani-Ruvu, p. 4. Merker, *op. cit.*, Nguruman, Taveta, Kahe, Arusha, Mt. Kenya, Sogonoi, N. Zigua, p. 8. Baumann, *Durch Massailand* . . . : Pare, Gogo, Zigua, Nguu, Nguruman, Ngare, Naivasha, p. 157; Njemps, Sonyo, Kavirondo, Ngoroine, Guas Ngishu, p. 158; Zigua, p. 175; *Usambara und seine* . . . : N. Nguu, Kibati, maps; Sambara, Masinde, pp. 11, 176; Tanga area, p. 276; Taveta, p. 255. Meyer, *Das Deutsche Kolonialreich* Vol. 1: Kaguru, p. 195; N. Nguu, p. 201; cent. and W. Sambara, p. 215; upper Arusha, p. 246. Southon, "Notes of a Journey through Northern Ugogo," N. Gogo, p. 522, map. Christie, *Cholera Epidemics in East Africa*: Samburu, p. 199; Masai-Kwavi conflict, p. 204; Taveta, p. 229. Krapf, *Travels, Researches and Missionary Labors*: N. of Usambara, p. 223; Masinde, p. 325. Beverley, "Die Wagogo": Mwapwa area, p. 203. Speke, *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*; Gogo, pp. 74, 75, 86. Lugard, *The Rise of our East African Empire*, Vol. I: Njemps, p. 353; Kavirondo, p. 363. Johnston, *The Kilima-njaro Expedition*: Taveta, pp. 78, 210, 405, 407, 432; Masinde, pp. 312-3; Njemps, Lake Baringo, Lykipia, Kavirondo, Arusha, Meru, Ruvu, Nguu, pp. 397, 405; von Hoehnel, *op. cit.* Ruvuu, I, p. 68; Taveta-Jipe, I, p. 99; Arusha-wa-juu, I, pp. 109, 139; Kikuyu, I, p. 384; Lykipia, I, p. 396; Nguruman, Taveta, Lykipia, II, p. 3. Roscoe, *op. cit.*, Ukaguru: pp. 30-1; The Masai whom Kallenberg describes as raiding the Pangani and other coastal areas may well have been Baraguyu, *Auf dem Kriegspfad gegen die Massai*, pp. 90, 92, 96; New, *Life, Wanderings* . . . , Taveta, p. 355; Arusha-wa-juu, p. 413; Stevens, *Scouting* . . . ; Arusha-wa-juu, p. 65; Schaegele, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-6.

people now residing in Tanganyika. It seems likely that those historical references to "Kwavi" in most of Tanganyika, especially south of the Arusha area, refer to Kwavi ancestors of the present day Baraguyu. Whether any Kenya historical references to Kwavi denote Baraguyu is open to considerable doubt.

It is very difficult to obtain information on the circumstances of the Kwavi rupture with the Masai, but it may derive from ancient famine periods when groups of Masai were driven southward and when some of these practised agriculture. Thomson provides some comments on this Masai-Kwavi conflict:

"Of these internal wars none have been so disastrous or so oft-repeated as that between the main mass of the Masai and the Wakwafi (I here use the name for convenience.) The original home of the latter was the large district lying between Kilimanjaro, Ugogo, and Pare on the west, and Teita and U-sambara on the east. This large region is known to the Masai as Mbaravui. Some fifty years ago the Wa-kwafi were numerous and strong, able to hold their own against all comers. About 1830—as far as I can gather—a series of misfortunes fell upon them. In a great war-raid against the Wa-gogo to the south they suffered a severe repulse, and great numbers were slaughtered. The same disaster fell upon them shortly after, in a raid against their brethren of Kisongo. The saying that misfortunes never come singly was well exemplified by their case, for nature took up the work of ruin. A cloud of locusts settled on the land, and left not a blade of grass or other green thing, so that the cattle died in enormous numbers through starvation. While the Wa-kwafi were in this unhappy plight, the Masai of the plains to the west fell upon them and smote them hip and thigh, and thus broke up and revenged themselves upon the most powerful division of the tribe. Great numbers having lost their cattle and been reduced to starvation, were compelled to throw in their fortunes with tribes they had hitherto despised. Some found an asylum in the forests of Taveta and Kahe, and the lower slopes of Mount Meru or Arusha-wa-juu. Others, driven south, threw in their lot with the Wa-seguha, keeping tribally more or less distinct from them . . .

"The Wa-kwafi were not all scattered thus, however, for a large division of the clan kept together, and contrived to cut their way through Kikuyu and to reach Lykipia, where they settled.

"Another section crossed the meridional trough and reached the opposite half of the plateau in Guas' Ngishu. In both districts they found superb grazing-grounds and plenty of elbow-room and there for a time they remained quietly, and increased rapidly in numbers. At last their wars began again. Grown bold, they attacked the Masai about fifteen years ago. The opposing parties formed regular camps, and fought pitched battles with great fury, thousands being killed on both sides. The women stood by and watched, while they incited and urged on the combatants in their terrible hand-to-hand encounters. The Masai were at first beaten, but, fighting with the stubbornness of despair, they disputed every foot of ground. They were driven from the whole of Naivasha and Kinangop, and their enemies, still victorious, carried the war into Kapte. Matters now changed, however. The Masai of the entire region to the south gathered together and came to the assistance of their brethren of Kapte. Soon the tables were turned, and the Wa-kwafi were gradually forced back. The great majority of them were killed, and the cattle driven off. Famine came upon them, and they were

reduced to the terrible necessity of selling their children. Large numbers took refuge at Njemps and Nyiro, where they had to bow themselves to the cultivation of the soil. The war lasted several years. At last only a remnant of the Wa-kwafi of Lykipia were left, and these contrived to make peace. Not so fortunate were those of Guas' Ngishu. The Masai swept from the north to south and left not a man in the entire land, those who escaped the spear and sword finding refuge in Kavirondo.

"Such is the history of the blood feud between the Masai clans. Now they live peaceably together, with kraals in friendly proximity.*"

Thomson's description of conflict in the north and west is repeated by other accounts dealing with areas southward and eastward. Just prior to the great famine of the 1890's, Masai and Baraguyu had a series of battles along the Pangani when Masai attempted to extend eastward. These ended in a Masai-Baraguyu truce at the Ruvu. In this southern area Baraguyu waged constant battles with their neighbours in Gogo, Sagara, Kaguru and Nguu, and even, to their misfortune, attempted to carry their raids as far south as the Hehe.† It appears that many of these raids which were ascribed to Masai were actually committed by Baraguyu who had lost their own cattle due to Masai raids. Baraguyu may have sometimes captured Bantu for the slave trade.§

While Baraguyu history is extremely sketchy, they appear to have begun moving southward from the northern part of their range long before 1840. This movement was probably greatly accelerated about 1890 during the great famine which sent most Masai out from their homeland in search of food since rinderpest had decimated their entire stock of cattle. Baraguyu were occupying the Ruvu area and areas to the south long prior to this time. It is more than likely that their numbers may have been increased by Masai migrating southward during these calamities.‡

*Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-2. See also: Krapf, *The Vocabulary* . . . , p. 4. Last, "A Visit to the Masai . . .", p. 539. Fischer, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 79, 89, 92. For another theory as to Masai-Kwavi enmity see Merker, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8. Merker dates this rupture to the first half of the 19th century.

†Burton, *op. cit.*, pp. 205, 306, 311, 312, 203; Stanely, *Through the Dark Continent*, Vol. 1, pp. 95, 99, 105. Peters, *Das Deutsch Ost-Afrikanische Schutzgebiet*, pp. 252, 254. Baumann, *Durch Massailand* . . . , pp. 157-8. Also many Nguu, Kaguru, Gogo and Hehe informants. See also: Last, *Polyglotta* . . . , p. 15; Erhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 57; New *op. cit.*, pp. 469-70; von Hoehnel, *op. cit.*, I, p. 100; II, pp. 2-3; Roscoe, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31; Stuhlmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 811; Peters *New Light* . . . , p. 534.

Claus sees the Humba (Baraguyu) deriving from Masai through a process of "Gogo-ization": "Selbst im Innern von Ugogo findet man Angehoerige anderer Staemme, die zurzeit noch mehr oder minder ihre Eigenart bewahrt haben. So sah ich in der Landschaft Ibahi Masai (kig. Wahumba) von Stamm 'Laiser. Geschlecht El bartimaro, Untergeschlecht El barsingo. Wie sie erzählten, waren ihre Grosseltern hier eingewandert; sie betrieben nur Viehzucht wie ihre Stammesgenossen in der Masaisteppe. Doch bewohnten sie nicht die heimatliche Hütte, sondern sie hatten sich gegen Bezahlung in Vieh von Wagogo Temben bauen lassen. In ihrem freiemuetigen, offenen Auftreten stachen sie vorteilhaft von den Wagogo ab. Auch in andern Landschaften leben vereinzelt Masai. Claus, *op. cit.*, p. 2. (Even in the interior of Ugogo one finds related people of a different branch who for the time being still more or less pursue their own way. Thus I saw the Masai (Kigogo; Wahumba) of the branch 'Laiser in the vicinity of Ibahi. (These are) of the stock El bartimaro, substock El barsingo. How they would explain, were their grandfathers here, is to be wondered; they drove only cattle just as their relatives (do) in the Masai steppe. Nevertheless, they did not live in huts such as those in their homeland, but had *tembe* built by paying cattle to the Gogo. In their frank, open manner they stood out advantageously from the Gogo. Also in other areas live solitary Masai). See also: Schaegelen, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-6.

§Last, "A visit to the Masai . . .", p. 520; Erhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

‡A few Masai are still apparently entering Baraguyu-land in the north of Kilosa District, where their housing and other customs follow Baraguyu pattern once they have settled there. This may well indicate in microcosm a process which has occurred for over a century.

Thomson reserves his greatest admiration not for the Masai but for the Kwavi, though what people he had in mind is unclear.¹

There are also accounts of Kwavi raids against the Nandi, Kipsigis, Tatoga and Samburu.² Certainly the widespread current characterization of the Kwavi as a cowardly, inferior group could not have been gained from reading Thomson nor could it be gained by contacting the present day Baraguyu (Kwavi).

The Baraguyu staunchly deny ever having practised agriculture, but their Bantu neighbours and some Masai insist that Baraguyu did so and that this is what differentiates them from Masai. Many current as well as historical texts describe Kwavi (Baraguyu) as agricultural Masai. Part of this derives from Thomson's account of how Kwavi supplemented their herding with agriculture when raids or misfortunes necessitated.³ Thomson even describes Kwavi constructing small dams and irrigation works.⁴ I suspect that many such references may actually deal with Arusha, Meru and other such agriculturalists with Masai-type traits. However, there are accounts of agriculture being practised by people who are undoubtedly Baraguyu. Meyer describes Kwavi (Baraguyu) agriculturalists in northern Nguu at the turn of the century.⁵ Last describes Humba (Baraguyu) in the Kaguru area:⁶

This language (Humba) is spoken by a tribe of the same stock as the Masai. The country occupied by them extends in a narrow strip from Mamboia at the south, to many miles north, beyond the great hill, Kilima-njaro. Their headquarters are about Kapotei, Arusha, and those districts. They are always at mortal feud with the Masai, but inferior to them in warfare. Several of them have of late settled in the Sagala hills, and, together with herding cattle, have taken to cultivating gardens. This is a decided change from their former customs; and, from their point of view, degrading; but it is inevitable, through being so closely pressed by their congeners, the Masai.

Roscoe notes:—

The Wahumba have settled down to agriculture, though they still retain large herds, and the young men adhere strictly to pastoral customs. Instead of the poor temporary huts of the nomads they have built villages, and near them they cultivate small tracts. Roscoe, *op. cit.*, p. 30.⁷

At present no Baraguyu I encountered will touch a hoe though they are dependent upon considerable agricultural produce.

Baraguyu have resided in parts of Gogo, Sagara, Kaguru and Nguu for far over a century. They also occupied areas to the east in relatively early times. In 1837 they were reported to be at Lugoha in Bagamoyo District. However,

¹Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

²Wakefield, *op. cit.*, pp. 308, 309, 323; Merker, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

³Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 243, 263-4; Wakefield, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

⁴Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

⁵Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 201. To my knowledge this is one of the few references to Baraguyu houstypes which describes them just as they are today, i.e. distinct from Masai and similar to Gogo. Reports which describe Baraguyu with Masai-type huts: Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 195; Rees, *op. cit.*, p. 54; Pickthal, "An Interesting . . .", p. 165 (photo).

⁶Last, *Polyg'otta Africana Orientalis*, p. 26. See also: Stuhlmann, *op. cit.*, p. 815; Baumann, *Usambara* . . ., p. 277; (Bauman does not state if this grain is produced by Baraguyu.)

⁷Roscoe, *op. cit.* p. 30.

mission informants from there insist that no Baraguyu were present in 1917 so we may assume these Baraguyu were driven out during the intervening years. Baraguyu began attempting to re-enter Bagamoyo District at Sadani in the 1930's but were ordered back to Handeni by the local District Commissioner. They were able to filter in despite this and at present there is a fairly large Baraguyu population in Bagamoyo District.

Baraguyu occur in the plains east of Morogoro. In the vicinity of Morogoro town many Baraguyu appear in transit or to attend court cases or the hospital but none have camps there. During the recent famine in Central Province (1953) the Government allowed a small group of Baraguyu to take up residence in this vicinity, but they soon left due to poor pasturage. Luguru claim they had no close contact with Baraguyu prior to this.

Government reports indicate that Baraguyu entered Iringa District by way of Dodoma and Mpwapwa districts, especially the latter. At present they live in fairly large numbers there. According to Hehe informants these movements back and forth have been going on since long before German times.

While Baraguyu occupy perhaps the largest area of any tribe in East Africa, none of their area is held uncontested and unshared. Instead it is held grudgingly with Bantu. Baraguyu reside only in Tanganyika. They occupy an area which extends from the lower elevations of Lushoto, Pare, to Bagamoyo District and then to Ngerengere and Pugu and then southwest through the northern half of Morogoro and Kilosa districts, most of Handeni district, the extreme south of Masai District, most of Mpwapwa and Dodoma districts, southern Kondo District and northern Iringa* and northern Mbeya districts. They thus share lands with such varied tribes as the Masai, Pare, Nguu, Kaguru, Irangi, Gogo and Hehe, each of which vastly outnumbers them.

The recent Government census of 1957 incorrectly reported the Baraguyu as less than half of their actual number. This was due to many Baraguyu being reported as Masai since many refused being registered by the term "Kwavi" which is somewhat derogatory. The term "Kwavi" appeared on the official census tribal list, as did "Masai," but the term "Baraguyu" did not and was therefore unacceptable.†

The following are the Baraguyu population figures from the Tanganyika Census of 1957. These follow official Government figures with my own alterations and comments added, as aided by my own information and that of A. H. Jacobs' information on Masailand. I have retained the terms used by the Government, merely commenting where "Masai" entries are actually Baraguyu:

*In Iringa District Baraguyu are concentrated to the north, below the escarpment. However, one often sees them visiting in Iringa Town. See also: *Tanganyika Secretariat*: File 26905 "Migration of Masai into Iringa District."

†It is highly unlikely that a Masai would report himself as a Kwavi, but a Baraguyu, if asked if he were Kwavi, would often retort with the term "Masai." We must remember that his proper tribal name was not a name acceptable to the census enumerators. In Kilosa District, for example, Baraguyu whom I knew personally reported as "Masai" and it was only my comments which succeeded in having any of the local Baraguyu population reported as Kwavi rather than Masai. Otherwise, no Kwavi whatsoever would have been reported for Kilosa, even though in Kilosa there are almost no Masai and the Nilo-Hamitic population is Baraguyu. This is evidently what occurred in Mbeya, Iringa, Manyoni and other Districts.

See also population and location references to Kwavi and Baraguyu in: J. P. Moffett, *Handbook of Tanganyika*, pp. 170, 204, 254, 258, 294-6.

Kilosa District:

Kwavi	...	...	679
Masai	...	...	1,110

Baraguyu	...	...	1,789	Almost completely Baraguyu.
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Dodoma District:

Kwavi	...	...	177
Masai	...	...	3,033

Baraguyu	...	...	3,210	Almost completely Baraguyu.
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Kondoa District:

Kwavi	...	...	1,518
Masai	...	...	565

Probably many of those reporting as Masai are Baraguyu.

Mpwapwa District:

Kwavi	...	...	332
Masai	...	...	1,395

Baraguyu	...	...	1,727	Almost completely Baraguyu.
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Bagamoyo District:

Kwavi	...	...	1,183
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Kisarawe District:

Kwavi	...	...	386
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Morogoro District:

Kwavi	...	...	386
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Masai District:

Kwavi	...	...	201
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Iringa District:

Kwavi	...	...	143
Masai	...	...	1,373

All are Baraguyu.

Baraguyu	...	...	1,516
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Mbeya District:

Masai	...	...	286	All are Baraguyu.
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Handeni District:

Kwavi	...	...	1,755
Masai	...	...	1,321

Jacobs estimates that over half of those reporting as Masai are Baraguyu.

Lushoto (Korogwe) District:

Kwavi	...	...	200
Masai	...	...	455

Many of these may be Baraguyu.

Lushoto (Lushoto) District:

Kwavi	...	...	288
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Pare District:

Kwavi	...	...	137
Masai	...	...	1,896

This is the seat of *laibon* Moreto, the ritual leader of the northern Baraguyu, and it is an area of long established Baraguyu habitation. I should not be surprised to find that at least half of those registered as Masai are actually Baraguyu.

Manyoni District:

Masai	...	...	251	All of these are Baraguyu.
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Thus in the case of a relatively small and scattered tribe such as the Baraguyu (Kwavi) enumerator techniques may drastically alter the population picture of the census for that tribe. For example, the 1957 official Kwavi population was 7,378. The population reported in the Census of 1948 was 4,828. The population increase of 53 per cent reflects no fantastic birth-rate but some improvement in enumeration. In the case of the Baraguyu the enumeration is still very poor today since by my own estimates the Baraguyu (Kwavi) population in 1957 was over fifteen thousand. This estimate does not include any of the over four thousand Nilo-Hamites in Handeni, Lushoto, Pare and Kondoa District who were reported as Masai, but who must in many cases actually be Baraguyu.

Baraguyu consider themselves one people or tribe. They share a common language (nearly identical with Masai), common customs, common age-groups, etc., and one important ritual leader (*laibon*) in the north near Same in Pare District and a somewhat lesser one in the south in Iringa District.*

It is the recognition of these *laibonok* (pl. of *laibon*) rather than the Kisongo Masai *laibon* at Monduli which differentiates the Baraguyu socio-politically from the Masai.†

Although the Baraguyu occupy portions of five provinces and extend over an area of about one hundred thousand square miles they are virtually unknown even by experts on Nilo-Hamitic people, and as a people they have no mode of tribal recognition by the Colonial Administration. They are administered through the local native authorities of the Bantu tribes in whose areas they reside and with whom they are often on unfriendly terms. The very nature of the Baraguyu tribe, its diffuse, atomistic social system, hardly fosters any efforts on the part of the Baraguyu to secure tribal recognition by the Government. This does not mean that Baraguyu are content with their present position. Quite the contrary, for there are daily occurrences in Baraguyu-land of conflict between themselves and their Bantu neighbours. In general the present political system gives the Baraguyu few hopes of fair settlement in such inter-tribal disputes. Instead, they find themselves considered offensive intruders, even in areas such as parts of Kaguru, Gogo and Nguu, which they have inhabited for far over a century.

*Perhaps the semi-incorporation of the Baraguyu into Hehe combined with their great distance from Same led to this second *laibon*.

†Baumann, *Durch Massailand* . . . , p. 165 notes: "Der oberste Laibon, gewisser-massen ein Massai-Papst, ist der Mbatyan, der stets westlich vom Kilimanyaro residirt. An diesen glauben alle Massai, nicht aber die Mbaravui (Wakuavi)."

(The paramount *laibon*, so to speak the Masai "pope", is Mbatyan, who always resides west of Kilimanjaro. All the Masai believe in this person, but the Baraguyu (Wakwavi) do not).

Demographically the Baraguyu contrast sharply with the Masai. Masai have lost considerable portions of areas which they could raid or turn to for grazing and water in famine years. With European control, Masai areas of expansion are less large than previously and the population consequently somewhat denser. Baraguyu no longer defend by warfare areas of their expansion. Since they disperse in small numbers and with smaller herds than the Masai, they can occupy neglected areas in lands occupied by agricultural tribes. Since their herds are comparatively small and they are willing to supplement their diet with considerable agricultural produce, this practice is quite feasible. They therefore occupy bits of interstitial land neglected by other tribes. With *pax Britannica* they can do this with a minimum of risk and clashes with their hosts. In this manner they have increased their area of occupancy.

Baraguyu are purely pastoral people. But they differ from the Masai in being not only ready but forced to supplement pastoral produce with grain and vegetables. Despite the many historical sources to the contrary, to my knowledge Baraguyu now practice no agriculture whatsoever although they consume considerable agricultural produce obtained from others. They view any contact with a hoe as extremely disgusting. Their diet appears a matter of necessity and not choice; all Baraguyu maintain that a diet of flesh, milk and blood is the ideal.*

Baraguyu grazing herds rarely exceed one hundred to one hundred and fifty beasts. Some herds are as small as thirty-five although these more usually are combined with others. The largest number of beasts I have seen in one camp is about four hundred. During the dry season herds are divided to facilitate grazing. In cases of grass shortage a secondary temporary bush camp of men and girls may be set up near the dry season grazing area while the women, elders and children remain in the larger camp with a small portion of the milch cows and the calves.

Baraguyu claim that a few of their number own as many as a thousand beasts although such numbers are never herded together or even kept in one camp, but are divided out to sons, other kin, friends, etc. Such claims would seem extremely questionable. No Baraguyu actually can say the precise number of beasts he owns, though they insist that they can recognize all of their animals.

Small numbers of donkeys for transport of loads, sheep and goats are also kept. Baraguyu also keep chickens though they insist that they do not eat these themselves but use them for medicine or to sell to local Bantu.†

*Many undoubtedly have grown to relish flour of maize or millet though few would admit this. Their favourite mode of eating *ugali* is to dip it into milk or yogurt.

†A rough sample of Baraguyu livestock holdings may be gained by use of the 1957 Veterinary Department Survey for northern Kilosa District. These figures probably represent far less than the actual holdings.

				Bovines		Goats		Sheep		Donkeys
Total Baraguyu holdings	...	...	...	5,405	...	501	...	274	...	168
Baraguyu holdings per head of population	...	...	...	3.03	...	.22	...	.15	...	.09

In the six camps I know best livestock *per capita* (children and adults) vary from eight to thirteen bovines. If this is any indication of herd size, the official figures here are grossly inaccurate. This is to be expected since true holdings can only be obtained through prolonged observation which veterinary scouts are unwilling to make and since Baraguyu are unwilling to divulge their holdings because they are taxed solely in accordance with the size of their holdings. In any case, either set of figures contrast with Jacobs' Masai information in which holdings average at least thirteen bovines per head and a slightly higher number of sheep and goats per head.

Baraguyu-land does not seem to support herds large enough to supply all of the food needs of their owners, not even of camps as small as those of the Baraguyu. This is partially due to physical environment but may also be due to certain social factors. All of Baraguyu-land is shared with other tribes, usually Bantu, who practise agriculture and some herding. In Kaguru, Nguu and Irangi, Bantu tribes were no military match for the Baraguyu.* The Bantu relinquished much of their best land and water points. In some areas of Kaguru, for example, the Kaguru virtually abandoned cattle husbandry and retreated into the most inaccessible hills.†

Well-watered land immediately adjoining river-beds is now safe for maize, beans, sugar and tobacco plots. Yet these places are still often utilized by Baraguyu for watering stock.‡

Furthermore, with British order Bantu have resumed herding and now compete with Baraguyu for pasturage. Thus current political conditions limit the amount of pasture now available to Baraguyu in any local area.

It may well be that the amazing extension southward of Baraguyu as far as Mbeya and Iringa Districts and westward into the eastern fringe of Manyoni District is partly a compensation for these losses and a utilization by the Baraguyu of these same peaceful conditions which cost them some of their previously available pasturage which they had secured by force. It is also true that the need for Baraguyu to raid Bantu decreased with the cessation of Masai raids upon the Baraguyu.

It remains a question whether much of Baraguyu-land was ever able to provide sufficient pasturage for herds large enough to supply all the food for a purely pastoral people. According to Kaguru in Kilosa District and Nguu in Handeni District, Baraguyu previously practised some agriculture and/or bartered or pillaged grain from Bantu.§ The tradition of agriculture would fit into the Baraguyu's name of Lumbwa, i.e. agricultural Masai. I believe that this dependence upon agriculture was always present but that it varied enormously in degree from area to area, from year to year, from results of raids, and other factors. Whatever the case in the past, Baraguyu at present *cannot* live on the products of their stock alone. What supplies they may have gathered in the past by force are now provided by cash sales, barter of stock, milk and meat, though it appears that trading with Bantu always occurred to some extent

*In Kaguru small groups of Kamba and Hehe were able to infiltrate and gain land since they offered military aid to the Kaguru in combatting Baraguyu.

†Even today in the Berega-Mgugu-Magubike-Mwandi area of Kaguru, I know of only three or four bovines owned by Bantu as contrasted to over one thousand cattle owned by Baraguyu. Yet the Baraguyu constitute only five per cent of the population in that locale.

‡In many areas sugarcane (for beer) and tobacco often occupy particularly important positions in local Bantu cash economy. Such sugarcane and tobacco are grown especially in the areas at the extreme river bottoms, precisely in those areas which Baraguyu would choose to water livestock during the dry season. Ironically it is the Baraguyu and Bantu with cattle who comprise the most reliable and ready market for such luxuries even though their cattle herds may damage these fields. Sugar and tobacco occupy only a fraction of the land under cultivation, but provide important sources of cash. These crops have the unique advantage of being readily marketable in small quantities by Africans to other Africans within local areas. Such crops are not dependent upon outside factors to determine demand and prices. The value and amount of such crop production are not recorded in Government records since none of these sales are made in official markets.

§Frequent reference to Kwavi theft of Bantu crops is made in Fosbrooke's "Life of Justin," *T.N.R.* (1957).

even during the raiding era. It is the dependence upon some vegetable foods which distinguishes Baraguyu from Masai. Masai also consume some vegetable foods, but unlike the Baraguyu they are not compelled to do this out of necessity.

Baraguyu supplement their diet of meat and milk with the following foods: *ugali* flour (chiefly maize), beans, squash, cassava, potatoes, bananas, rice, sugar-cane, groundnuts. These are purchased or begged from local Bantu neighbours. The major vegetable food is *ugali*. Most Baraguyu have a "relationship" with some households of their Bantu neighbours.*

During the dry season when milk is scarce, vegetables and grain may comprise the bulk of Baraguyu diet. Herds may be far from the permanent camp and only a few beasts kept at home. At such times Baraguyu could not exist without these non-pastoral foods. The Baraguyu also, at least in Kilosa and Handeni districts, have special relations with Nguu and Kamba. They rely heavily on these two tribes for many of their tools and weapons and view them as friends and allies. They are often involved in assisting each other in cattle trading. Such tribal roles seem somewhat similar to that between the Ndorobo and Masai, e.g. Ndorobo supply honey and metal arms to Masai.

Unlike Masai, Baraguyu make only a small portion of their own beer. This is brewed from honey by women who themselves do not usually drink. This is done chiefly at ceremonial occasions such as circumcisions and at the receiving of bridewealth. The daily intake of beer by Baraguyu elders reaches heavy proportions undoubtedly representing the single greatest expenditure in Baraguyu cash outlay. In areas such as Kaguru, Nguu and Gogo there are many locales where beer clubs run all year around (albeit at times clandestinely). In such areas Baraguyu elders are able to become drunk four or five days a week and occasionally even more frequently.†

All of the tobacco consumed by Baraguyu is grown by Bantu. In Nguu and Kaguru this provides one of the major sources of ready cash for locals. All Baraguyu consume tobacco in the form of snuff.‡ Spears, tweezers, knives, razors, awls, needles, cowbells, derive from Bantu craftsmen or traders, chiefly Nguu. Baraguyu obtain their wooden stools, mortars and pestles, winnowing trays, baskets, gourds from local Bantu, chiefly at the cattle markets. Many medicines, both herbal and magical, derive from local Bantu, chiefly Nguu. It has been reported by both Baraguyu and Bantu (though I did not witness any such occasion) that in some instances Bantu have served as circumcisors for Baraguyu boys.

*In Kaguru the Baraguyu and Kaguru are ostensibly enemies but each Baraguyu has a few Kaguru whom he favours with his bad meat, invitations to beer celebrations, his beer patronage, etc. Few days occur when no Bantu visits a Baraguyu camp. For examples of Baraguyu-Bantu co-operation, See: Last, "A Visit to the Masai . . .", p. 522; Watt, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

†This contrasts with Masailand where such clubs or beer in general are not always available regularly. When Masai get drunk, it is most often with fellow Masai in their camps. When Baraguyu get drunk and pugnacious, it is most often in the hamlets and clubs of Bantu.

‡Contrast this with Baumann's remarks which are not now true for the Masai: "Auch dar er (a Baraguyu) Honigwein trinken und Tabak schnupfen. Letzteres ist dem Massai-Elmoran verboten, dem Mbaravui-(Wakuavi) Elmoran dagegen gestattet." *Durch Massailand* . . . , p. 162.

(Also in regard to this he drinks honey-wine and snuffs tobacco. The latter is forbidden the Masai moran, (but) is by contrast permitted the Mbaraguyu (Wakwavi) moran.)

See also a similar statement in J. Driberg, "Masai," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1959), p. 811.



Baraguyu Moran: Photographed near Idibo Kilosa District

Baraguyu provide considerable revenue for Bantu Native Treasuries. In addition to their personal tax the Government-supervised cattle auction provides treasuries with a percentage of all sales.

Baraguyu are dependent upon other groups besides Bantu. Their cloth, jewellery, cowrie shells for decoration, red ochre, and sugar come from Somali, Arab and Indian shops; from these also come much of the cheap sherry and vermouth that many of the elders now prefer to native beer. Many Baraguyu depend upon European and Native Authority facilities for medicine, both for themselves and their stock. Thus despite considerable hostility, Baraguyu and their neighbours are economically mutually dependent.

So far I have written of Baraguyu-Bantu relations as characterized by violence and ill-will. While this was and is true to a large extent, there are many peaceful and mutually beneficial contacts as well. The Baraguyu and at least some Bantu (certain chiefs, brewers, craftsmen, traders, doctors, etc.), do exchange goods and services. The peculiar ambivalence these two groups show toward each other is understandable only in these terms.* There is every reason to believe that such inter-tribal dependence existed even during the times of the fiercest raids.

Baraguyu are deeply oriented to a cash market, far more than they themselves realize. The local cattle auctions have replaced warfare as a means of economic adjustment between Baraguyu and Bantu. In the past adjustment was by force; now it is achieved greatly by cash. Not only does cash serve to obtain food, goods and services, but it also serves occasionally for bribes, and fines to Bantu courts and chiefs. It thus provides some political stability in lieu of that previously effected by force and intimidation. Cattle marketing provides the Baraguyu with cash all year around. During the dry season such cash is especially difficult for an agricultural Bantu to obtain. The beer clubs therefore are useful to Bantu for this purpose, especially in the lean period just prior to harvest.

Baraguyu utilize their stock for milk, meat, hides, fat and blood. All other essentials are secured only indirectly through cash sales and barter. While Baraguyu measure their social and economic stature through their herds, in reality these alone can provide only a portion of their needs.

Herds are milked twice daily by the women. Herding is done by the boys and occasionally by men and young girls. Ideally *moran* (warriors) should help herd cattle at waterpoints, in leading herds in and out of camp, and always in transfer of herds over large areas, e.g. to dips, to other camps, transfer of herds as part of brideprice, etc. But the small population of Baraguyu camps often makes the availability of *moran* a problem. In any case the responsibility of *moran* does not involve the ordinary routine of herding which is ideally left to uncircumcised boys. It is not unusual to see a young girl aiding her brothers in herding. I have occasionally even seen adult herd-owners themselves herding their stock all day. In a camp with a major owner and some lesser owners of

*A few of these relations appear even in the old literature: with the Sonjo (Wakefield, *op. cit.*, p. 312); with the Zigua (Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 242; with the Arusha (*Ibid.*); with Nguu (Last, "A Journey into the Nguu . . .," pp. 151, 154-5; "A Visit to the Masai . . .," pp. 524-5); with the Wa-Dhaicha (Meru?), (Wakefield, *op. cit.*, p. 318); with the Gogo (Claus, *op. cit.*, p. 2).

Beverley implies there was some sort of herding co-operation between some Humba (Baraguyu) and Gogo (Gogo and/or Kaguru) near Mpwapwa, although no current data support this. Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

stock, the lesser owners may sometimes herd when herdboys or *moran* are not available or sufficient. The smallness of Baraguyu camps often presents a problem in availability of herding personnel. It is for this reason that the routine of uncircumcised boys must sometimes be borne by *moran* or even by older men. This is especially true in the dry season when a herd may be divided, and was well evidenced during the recent Asian flu epidemic when many of the children were ill.

This problem and consequent variation in herding personnel is one of the important differences between Masai and Baraguyu.

Calves are not herded with the rest of the livestock. They are kept near the camp. Herding of these calves is the responsibility of the girls or women of the camp.

Occasionally a Baraguyu will speak of "buying a field." What he really means is that for a certain amount of cash, milk or meat he will obtain all of the crop produced by this field. Despite the Baraguyu's figure of speech, such a field belongs to the Bantu who works it and is not the Baraguyu's, nor is it even located near the Baraguyu's camp.

The physical environment plus the competition for land with Bantu has led to a fairly wide dispersion of Baraguyu camps. Camps are small, usually four or five houses (*enkaji*) and usually only one or two owners (and thus gates or *engishomi*). Population of a camp is about twenty or thirty, including children. Of course, one often finds camps with less than twenty inhabitants. *Manyat* (sing. *manyatta*) or warrior-villages are not built and warriors live with both their parents in the kraal-camp. In the past during the era of raiding and warfare *manyat* were built.

In much of Baraguyu-land the chief herding problem concerns grass rather than water. During the dry season it may be necessary to excavate streambeds but water *is* always present.* I am now referring to eastern and northern Baraguyu-land. Conditions in Central Province, for example, are certainly far more difficult. However, in most of Baraguyu-land water presents no great problem.† But it is near the water points that inter-tribal conflict frequently occurs. In some areas such as Chakwale in northern Kilosa District, Baraguyu and Bantu each have separate water points along the same riverbed. Trouble occurs when Bantu fields border both sides of such streams. There are numerous court cases and violence over Baraguyu herds having trampled a Bantu sugar, tobacco or maize garden.

Relatives and friends will frequently share a camp and herding activities. If these are not kin, they would at least be age-group mates. Such stock associations last from several months to many years. There is a constant shift of camps and partners in any one area. It may happen that a man may build two or three camps all within a mile or two of each other and all within a period of one year. This is partly explicable in terms of grass for the herd of calves. Groups also move from a camp which is run-down and dirty or from areas where human or stock illness has been severe.

The Baraguyu consider themselves as one people, a people united by a common language, basically common social structure, common age-groups, common customs and beliefs. Two things in particular serve to unite them: their common

*This would contrast with Masailand where according to Jacobs the major difficulty is water rather than grass.

†During the dry season Baraguyu *moran* occasionally dig riverbottom waterholes and fashion mud water-troughs which they laboriously fill by means of buckets or pottery containers.

age-groups and the *laibon* (ritual leader) presiding over their age-groups ceremonies. A further factor is their peculiarity as Nilo-Hamites in a sea of Bantu, a peculiarity which draws them together and which sets them vastly apart in language, dress, custom and manner from nearly everyone about them and which they frequently express in violence and arrogance. Modern transportation has made even the great distances of Baraguyu-land quickly traversible. If, on the one hand, Baraguyu may be more dispersed than in the past, so too they have better means for covering such distances. I have yet to travel on the railway between Dar es Salaam and Dodoma or on the Great North Road (between Mbeya and Arusha) without encountering at least a few journeying Baraguyu with whom I might speak or give a ride. I have even encountered Baraguyu in the European shopping area of Dar es Salaam.

The Baraguyu are divided into clans (*engishomi*, pl. *enjomito*) which are patrilineal and non-localized. They are theoretically strictly exogamous, i.e. they are forbidden either to marry or have sexual intercourse with someone of their own clan or someone of their mother's clan, though cases of marriage into mother's clan are said to occur rarely, in which case fines are imposed. All *enjomito* may be grouped into two classes, *ol-domungi* (the black bull) which is of the left hand category, and *l'orkiteng* (the red calf), which is of the right hand.

Here is a partial list of Baraguyu clans:*

Ol-domungi:

ileborkishu

ilmosilya (also termed *ilukumai*)

ilkeringishu (also termed *mokotile*)

ilmoge

ilmosokoite

l'odokishu

L'orkiteng:

l'aiser (or *ilyawarakishu*)

ilmaromai (or *isilya*)

ilyataiyok

ilmoserenge

ilparsilya

ilkindeti

ilmolelyen

While clan is significant to an understanding of marriage, it is not so significant as the combined factors of age-group and kinship in determining a Baraguyu's conduct. Blood money† and other payments are made chiefly through kin groups, though in other cases, such as illness, misfortune, difficulty with the courts or police, etc., factors of general neighbourliness also count. At present it is not even clear whether or not the lineage is an element of Baraguyu social structure.

Certain clans seem to predominate in certain areas, e.g. *ilyawarakishu* and *ilmosilya* seem very common in Kaguru; *ilkeringishu* is uncommon there but common in the Iringa area; *ilmosokoite* is uncommon in Kaguru but common in Bagamoyo District. But no clans are truly localized.

The Baraguyu clan system is extended to livestock. All Baraguyu cattle must belong to some clan, i.e. that of their original owner, and are so marked with clan earmarks (*ol-ponoto*, pl. *il-ponot*).‡

*These two broad categories parallel those of the Masai, and one can recognize some clan names which are common to both the Masai and Baraguyu. The reader should remember that this list is tentative and is certainly subject to addition and alteration.

†Blood money is termed *ingishu ol-oikop* (cattle of the crime) and is still paid. Baraguyu still settle murders within the tribe by such methods and no murder is reported when such reporting is avoidable. Traditionally the payment is supposed to be forty-nine beasts for a male and thirty-nine for a female. Another term for such a payment is *enkiteng nanyokiye*.



ilmosilya



ilyawarakishu



ilmoserenge



ilmolelyen



ilmosokoite



ilmoge



NONE

ilmaromai



ileborkishu



ilyataiyok

Line Drawings by D.J. Gamble, F.S.A. (Scot).

Baraguyu kinship is very close to that of the Masai, both in terms of reference and address and also in the use of livestock terms to express relationships between various consanguineal and affinal relatives.*

By far the most important aspect of Baraguyu social organization is the age-group (*olaji*, pl. *ilajijik*, or *oporor*, pl. *ilborodi*).† They provide the framework and interest on which most Baraguyu values and activities are based.

Baraguyu age-groups follow the Masai pattern though the names utilized are different. All men initiated during a four-year circumcision period are members of one *olaji* or age-group. These initiation periods are followed by periods of approximately ten years in which circumcision is closed. The opening and closing of circumcision and thus of the age-groups, is done by the *laibon* or ritual leader. Thus there is a new age-group approximately every fourteen years.

In the following paragraph I shall list the current Baraguyu age-groups with their respective general statuses in 1957 bracketed after each one. The Baraguyu have no terms equivalent to these terms in brackets. They speak only of warriors (*moran*), elders (*il-moruak*) and uncircumcised youth. The bracketed terms represent English names for the aggregated social activities which each age-group fills. As will be noticed the system operates with four active age-groups. The Baraguyu names seem to have no intrinsic meaning for the age-group nor are they cyclic in nature, as in some tribes.

Baraguyu age-groups:

isyabai (now defunct)

iltapali-ilpaliko (retired elders)

ilkijaro (senior elders)

iseta (junior elders)

ilkidotu (Circumcision occurred in 1942-6; senior warriors, who, however, now try to assume some rights of elders.)

ilmasokile or *ildobola* (Circumcision began in 1956 and is still occurring. This group is still in formation. The names listed are not permanent for this group. The former name was given them in derision by the senior warriors and the latter is their own nickname which they gave themselves. After circumcision is closed the *laibon* will give them a permanent and proper age-group name.)

The age-group initiation is opened by the *laibon* or ritual leader. This is done after considerable petition by the candidates and their sponsors (*il-piron*). As with the Masai, alternate age-groups are *il-piron* or sponsors to each other and consider each other as fitting a kind of father and son relationship and thus as persons obligated to aid, advise and respect each other. Contiguous age-groups are considered rivals and "enemies." This is not surprising since the age-group immediately below a person will one day furnish men to replace him in power and prestige. It is the senior warriors (*ilkidotu* in 1957) who have furnished the warriors now being initiated with the abusive name of *ilmasokile*.

*This will be covered in a later article.

†As far as I could determine both of these terms, *olaji* and *oporor*, are used interchangeably and have exactly the same meaning.

It is the junior elders (*iseta* in 1957) who are the *il-piron* to these newly initiated warriors. The most powerful group at present are the current senior elders (in 1957 *ilkijaro*) who are the *il-piron* of the senior warriors, the most physically able-bodied age-group at present. However, with the recruitment of new age-groups through time, the *ilkijaro* will become retired elders, the *iseta* senior elders, the *ilkidotu* junior elders, etc., each age-group advancing one level.

Many senior warriors at present conduct themselves as elders (*il-moruak*). Many cut off their pigtails and remain close-cropped, wear elders' cloaks, carry no long spears, have several wives and children and drink profusely. Elders deplore this and blame this on the lack of warfare. The senior warriors have not yet had the *ol-ng'her* ceremony, the ceremony which officially makes them no longer warriors but elders. Likewise, the warriors who have just recently been circumcised are often mere boys of twelve and thirteen and certainly unable to fight as they would have been expected to do in the past. Elders insist that none of this could have occurred in the past and lament that true traditions are being lost. To them now that warfare and raiding have nearly (though not entirely) vanished, much of the best in Baraguyu life has disappeared.

Some elders say that a youth will "bribe"* his father, his *ol-piron*, to intercede for him with the *laibon* and thus help open the new age-group. Some say such a father receives a *debe*† of beer and also some cows. This probably goes to the *laibon* since it would appear illogical for a father to receive from his own son, whom he alone must finance, except for that livestock which a *morani* can steal from neighbouring Bantu.

The entire age-group system operates on the principle of cohesion within an age-group and between alternate age-groups and tensions and competition between contiguous ones.

Baraguyu circumcise only one person at a ceremony.‡ These are always held in the rainy season when milk is plentiful and the group less scattered. The *elatim* tree is placed at the door of each house from which a child has been taken for circumcision. The cult of bravery is strongly preached at circumcision and in general young people face it with bravery and composure. Baraguyu boys have the Masai custom of donning blackened woman-type garb and of blackening their faces after circumcision. Thus attired they wander about armed with blunted arrows and wearing ostrich plumes on each side of the head. In this manner they contact girls for eventual liaison.

Unfortunately, I was unable to get any information concerning female initiation, i.e. clitoridectomy.

The first two years of the circumcision period produce junior warriors of the *emurata etatene* (right hand); the next two years those of the *emurata ekedyenye* (left hand). After this four-year period of circumcision the age-group is closed. At this time a curse is laid upon the circumcision knife and fire-sticks are broken.§

*They use the Swahili word *rushwa*. Almost all of my inquiries were made in Swahili. Some of the Baraguyu elders and local leaders were moderately fluent in basic Swahili. The Swahili of most women and most warriors and children was far more limited.

†A four-gallon tin.

‡Boys are cut in the manner of Masai, i.e. the foreskin is not removed completely but merely cut back and allowed to form a pendant. See Johnston, *The Kilima-njaro Expedition*, pp. 412-3.

§Baraguyu do not seem to have the *engibata* or mustering process described by Fosbrooke for the Masai. Nor do age-groups have distinctive terms for each year in which their members were circumcised.

The ceremony of *eunoto* is held two or three years after the age-group is closed. With this ceremony the junior warriors become senior warriors. The *laibon* is supposed to officiate at such ceremonies.*

About a year prior to the time that circumcision is closed, those already cut select their spokesman, their *ol-aiguenani* (pl. *il-aiguenak*). Such a man is chosen only by the members of his age-group for which he is chosen to speak in his district. While *il-piron* may advise an age-group on this, the ultimate choice rests with the age-group alone. The Baraguyu do not think it is fortunate to be chosen *ol-aiguenani* or spokesman for an age-group. It is spoken of as a thankless, burdensome task.

Several years after the age-group is closed, the group selects an *ol-laononi* or ritual leader.† He is chosen at the ceremony of *eunoto*, which is held by the *laibon* and attended by the *il-aiguenak* of the area. Such an age-group ritual leader is supposedly chosen to represent all of the members of this age-group in all of Baraguyu-land. Such a youth chosen to be *ol-laononi* is highly respected but is considered unfortunate. At this time the new *ol-laononi*'s head is shaved by his mother "who weeps at this misfortune." The youth performs sacrifice for the age-group only on this single day of selection. He is garbed in leather similar to the attire worn at the time a youth is recovering from circumcision. He wears metal scroll-discs (*isurutia*) such as married women wear and will wear these attached to his ears all his life. He embarks ahead of his compeers into marriage, householding and those other hazards of adulthood. He may have only one wife and, if she dies, he supposedly may not obtain another. She is purchased by all of the age-group members, and they refer to her as the mother of the age-group. It is also at this same ceremony that an age-group receives its formal and permanent name from the *laibon*.

Many years later, as much as sixteen or seventeen years after the circumcision period for an age-group was closed, an age-group passes from warrior (*moran*) to elder (*il-moruak*, sing. *ol-morua*) status. This is an extremely important ceremony held by the *laibon*, for in effect it acts to move up one rank all of the Baraguyu age-groups. This is the ceremony of *ol-ng'ehet*.

Age-group membership should evoke comradeship, sometimes sharing of wives, mutual aid, etc. In practice these days kin and other factors often seem to play far more important roles in such behaviour.

Baraguyu are united under a *laibon* or ritual leader. Their *laibon* occupies a position comparable to the Masai *laibon*. The Baraguyu, however, are not in full agreement upon their paramount *laibon*. The majority (i.e. those in the north and east) recognize *Laibon Moreto* of the *l'aiser* clan who resides near Same in

*At present Baraguyu boys are circumcised at varying ages. I have seen boys who were not cut until they were over sixteen. People insist that some men of twenty are still uncircumcised though I have never seen such a case. Generally, it is true that circumcision is now occurring at a comparatively earlier age than previously. This may be due to the fact that the duties of warfare and raiding are no longer required of a warrior. Furthermore, warriors themselves, especially the senior warriors, are clamouring to be elders and thus accelerate the entire process. The prospects of profit and social ambition are beginning to be felt more keenly by some of the senior warriors. They are no longer content to wander about in the warrior manner, dancing, visiting girls, running errands for their relatives, etc. At present the senior warriors almost entirely present the picture of elders in their dress and bearing, in their relatively settled way of life, in their dealings with Government officials, and in their conspicuous drinking.

†Some informants say as much as nine years elapse; others say usually about three years after the age group is closed.

Pare District. This is the same clan, by name, as that of the Masai *laibon* at Monduli, but, according to Jacobs, the Monduli *laibon* is of a different sub-clan from Moreto.

Laibon Moreto holds sway over all northern Baraguyu-land as far south as Kilosa District, eastward to the coast, and west past Mlali in Mpwapwa District and northward into Kondoa District, Pare District, etc.

The Baraguyu in the south recognize another *laibon*, Kipondo Madumba, of the *ilkeringishu* clan, who resides in Iringa District. Those in the south insist that Kipondo is utterly independent of Moreto while the majority of those in the north like to say that Kipondo is subservient to Moreto. Kipondo's area extends north through Dodoma District and south into Mbeya and Iringa District.

The *laibon* performs functions similar to those of the Masai *laibon*. His role is therefore chiefly related to age-group ritual, divining, selling of charms (*emaho*) and fertility magic (i.e. fertility of both livestock and women). He occasionally still exerts some clandestine influence on inter-tribal violence. His power is immense but not exerted in formal, consistent fashion or through any well integrated social structure. The *laibon*-ship is inherited from father to son, but which son is theoretically determined by the *laibon* shortly before his death. Baraguyu avoid discussing who succeeds when a *laibon* dies suddenly* but it seems to fall upon the most opportunistic of the deceased's kin.

The Government does not recognize the Iringa *laibon*, in fact it seems he is not officially known to exist. The Government does have a kind of semi-official recognition of the *laibon* at Same.† However, the Iringa administration does recognize one Baraguyu headman (*jumbe*) who is under a sub-chief in Hehe. This is said by Hehe to be part of a pre-colonial system in which the Baraguyu, after having been defeated by the Hehe, were allowed to remain in the area. Unlike Kaguru, Gogo or others, Hehe tolerate Baraguyu with a kind of amiable disdain.

Such a vague official position is very acceptable to the *laibon*, who does not seem to have any desire for administrative responsibility. Baraguyu describe their *laibon* to Europeans as "*kama Bwana Guvna*"‡ and thus to some extent see him as fitting into a modern political pattern. An *ol-aiguenani* is described as "*kama Bwana Disi*."§

There are lesser *laibonok* operating in Baraguyu-land, selling charms and officiating at minor ceremonies. All of those in the north, at least, are said to be of the *l'aiser* clan.

An age-group or *olaji*, which is the most important element in Baraguyu social life, should have a spokesman (*ol-aiguenani*, pl. *il-aiguenak*) in each local area. But the actual number of *il-aiguenak* varies from district to district. For

*Probably because this may involve suspected witchcraft.

†I can give two instances of this from Kilosa District: (1) The District Commissioner at Kilosa summoned the *laibon* in regard to his suspected encouragement of Kaguru-Baraguyu conflicts in Kaguru (Nov. 1957). (2) The *laibon* led an angry delegation of Baraguyu to Kilosa town to complain to the District Commissioner about the closing of the sole Baraguyu court in the Kilosa District (Sept. 1958). He was heard and while no solution was found his role as tribal leader was thus recognized.

‡"Like the Governor".

§"Like the D.C." (District Commissioner).

example, in Kilosa District for over a year only one age-group had an *ol-aiguenani*, that of the senior warriors. Finally a replacement was selected for the junior elder *ol-aiguenani* who had created a vacancy by moving out of the area. I suspect this selection was pushed through due to the junior elders being the sponsors of the current junior warriors who were to close their age-group in the coming year, a step requiring organization on the part of the sponsors. However, there is still no spokesman for the senior elders. As another example, in Dodoma District there are only two age-groups which have spokesmen. Baraguyu try to explain the lack of such spokesmen for some age-groups in some areas as due to the death or moving away of such leaders and to the apathy of age-group members to replace them. This seems an inadequate explanation. Obviously this problem of apparently leaderless age-groups in some of these districts requires more thorough explanation in view of the importance of age-groups in Baraguyu society.

At present Baraguyu discuss their political system in terms of the current Government Districts of Tanganyika in which age-group spokesmen reside. After each district I list the age-groups which have such spokesmen in that district:

Kilosa District:	<i>ilkidotu</i> (senior warriors)	<i>iseta</i> (junior elders)
	<i>ilmasokile</i> (junior warriors)	
Iringa District:	<i>iseta</i> (junior elders)	
Pare District:	<i>ilkijaro</i> (senior elders)	<i>ilkidotu</i> (senior warriors)
Bagamoyo District:	<i>ilkidotu</i> (senior warriors)	<i>iseta</i> (junior elders)
	<i>ilkijaro</i> (senior elders)	
Dodoma District:	<i>ilkidotu</i> (senior warriors)	<i>iseta</i> (junior elders)
Handeni District:	<i>ilkidotu</i> (senior warriors)	<i>iseta</i> (junior elders)
	<i>ilkijaro</i> (senior elders)	<i>ilmasokile</i> (junior warriors)

Mpwapwa District: data lacking.

Il-aiguenak have no formal authority. They are merely spokesmen and arrangers for their age-group. Their authority rests entirely on their personalities, forcefulness, fairness and eloquence and on the consensus of their adherents.* They are chosen by the members of their own age-group supposedly for their youthful promise of such qualities. Upon selection they may carry a black, knobbed baton as sign of office. Once he is chosen, it is said that he cannot be expelled though some say an additional one may be chosen if the first choice proves extraordinarily bad.† The choice of *il-aiguenak* need not be approved by the *laibon*. I have witnessed occasions of blatant disagreement between a *laibon* and an *ol-aiguenani* in discussing a disputed case.‡ At no time, however, could any *ol-aiguenani* succeed in opposing a *laibon*. His role as spokesman is not to oppose anyone, but only to express and effect the group's decision.

The chief functions of the *il-aiguenak* are to mediate in disputes, serve as focal points for collection of livestock for payments or gifts to the *laibon*, and to serve as emissaries from the age-groups to the *laibon*. The role of *ol-aiguenani* is not seen as one to be coveted, though he is generally respected.

*See Fosbrooke, *op. cit.* on Masai *il-aiguenak*.

†This would, if true, contrast with the Masai who can depose an *ol-aiguenani*.

‡The *laibon* does not function to settle disputes. However, I have watched him listen to disputes which were brought to his ears because of his superior wisdom, not because he was a recognized dispenser of justice.

No *ol-aiguenani* has been officially recognized by the Government. This is perhaps fortunate since they have a positive aversion to such recognition, chiefly because they undoubtedly realize that their functions are grounded strictly on informal sanctions. They are only as powerful as popular support and this is notoriously lacking in regard to most Government measures concerning Baraguyu.

Those Baraguyu who are formally recognized by the Government are usually not the more important ones socially. Their roles are dubious at best.* Baraguyu place little value on group service or Government organization. They expect bribery and are not surprised or especially resentful of corruption in their own *jumbes* or sub-chiefs.†

Baraguyu local affairs are discussed chiefly at local cattle auctions and at Bantu beer clubs and less frequently at rituals and celebrations held in Baraguyu camps during the rainy season. Beer clubs especially serve as focal centres for the activities of both *il-aiguenak* and Government-appointed Baraguyu headmen.

The Baraguyu political system may be better understood by a brief description of the situation in Kaguru, i.e. northern Kilosa District.

In pre-colonial times the plains and watering points adjoining Masailand were occupied solely by Masai and Baraguyu. North-western Kaguru at Kitange was evidently the most important watering point between Mpwapwa on the Kaguru-Gogo border and Njoge and Kiteto in south Masailand. Prior to British rule the entire Kitange Valley was held by Baraguyu and/or Masai. It is very possible that these two tribes fought over the area. With peace, Kaguru returned in increasing numbers and their settlements and herds deprived many Baraguyu of pasturage. Previously the Kaguru had been driven to the high hills and mountains above the valleys. Kitange and Mamboya present a line of water points where Baraguyu could obtain water even in the driest periods. By 1870 and probably long before then Baraguyu had made themselves very strongly felt in local Kaguru politics in all these areas.

In pre-colonial times the northern Kaguru had fled to the safety of the more inaccessible mountains and had given up cattle husbandry. To a large extent Kaguru leaders derived much of their power through support of local Baraguyu. That Kaguru chief who could make "blood-brotherhood" with a Baraguyu and who could pay a Baraguyu in gifts was *primus inter pares* in his area.‡ The Kaguru had no paramount chief prior to German times; it is significant that the leaders who were sufficiently prominent and powerful to secure ultimate recognition from the Germans and British were also those Kaguru opportunists who were on good terms with the Baraguyu and who had made brotherhood pacts with them.

*The senior warrior spokesman of Kilosa District was invited to sit in on the Kilosa District Council, but he refused. The junior elder spokesman sits in on these meetings, but he was not chosen for this reason for he was invited to the Council before he was selected as a spokesman for his age-group. These Baraguyu were invited to attend because they are well known Baraguyu, and such attendance confers no official position or obligation.

†In Kilosa District three Baraguyu occupy official political positions. One is a Baraguyu sub-chief, who is half Gogo. The other two are Baraguyu headmen (*jumbes*). These have jurisdiction over Baraguyu only. None of these is an elder.

‡Baraguyu project this bribery concept on to all politics. They even sometimes insist that a Provincial Commissioner and a District Commissioner agree because one has bribed the other.

§Supposedly by drinking milk into which small quantities of human milk from women of both tribes had been mixed.

In Kilosa District Baraguyu have no court at present. They had one in the past, but it has been closed twice in the period between August, 1957 and November, 1958.* The Baraguyu in adjoining Handeni District have never had a court of their own. Thus those Baraguyu cases which do come to court are settled in Bantu courts by Bantu judges.

Baraguyu settle most of their own internal disputes through their own elders and *il-aiguenak*. They remark that a Bantu court does not know Baraguyu customary law and that such a court would extract exorbitant court fees from them. However, if two disputing Baraguyu do not agree, the very nature of Baraguyu society, with its age-groups and very loose authority structure, hinders enforcement of any decision not reached by these two disputants. Cases are settled by general consensus or local exertion of force between disputants, but not via channels of formal authority.†

There are frequent court cases between Baraguyu and their Bantu neighbours, the Kaguru and Nguu. Most such cases fall into one of three categories: (1) livestock thefts by Baraguyu; (2) assault due to drunkenness; (3) damage to Bantu fields or destruction of Baraguyu stock due to Baraguyu livestock trespass onto Bantu fields. In such cases Bantu courts sometimes become scenes of strong inter-tribal hostility.

Such inter-tribal conflict is especially notorious in the relations between Baraguyu and Kaguru. In the past Kaguru were accustomed to creeping up to Baraguyu camps at night and shooting poisoned arrows at stock in order to drive Baraguyu from an area. Many cases still occur in Kaguru of such secret killing of Baraguyu stock which has trespassed onto fields or has strayed away and little redress short of violence is found by Baraguyu. Some of the grass burning in these areas is due to Bantu hoping to force Baraguyu to move on. Other fires, however, are sometimes due to Baraguyu who want new grass or who believe that burning combats some cattle diseases. Another area of Baraguyu and Bantu conflict is at cattle auctions where the two groups compete for the earlier, more profitable, sales, and here too fights and abuse are common, especially at the moment when beasts are driven by sticks into the auction pit.

Previously Baraguyu political structure operated through the war activities of the warrior age-group. Co-operation from Bantu was often exacted by force and intimidation. At present the locus of power is reversed and the previously aggressive Baraguyu minority now occupy a political position subordinate to the Bantu courts in whose areas they reside.

Modern conditions demand more extensive co-operation on the tribal level and some consolidation under central leadership. Neither the Baraguyu *laibon* nor the age-groups seem to offer very efficient means for articulating Government policy with Baraguyu life.

*The reason given was that many Baraguyu had not paid their required tax and that they had recently been the cause of some serious outbreaks of violence with the Kaguru. Furthermore, few cases were heard in the Baraguyu court since Baraguyu prefer settling cases privately.

†The main exception to this seems to be that of retrieving runaway women who have fled to different administrative districts.



Baraguyu Tembe-Type House and Kraal Fence: Photographed in Western
Handeni District

2. Baraguyu Camps Households, General Roles as Determined by Age and Sex.

Baraguyu camps (*boo*) differ radically from those of the Masai. They are small and widely dispersed. It is rare to see camps of more than eight or less than three houses. I have seen larger ones as well as a camp with only one house. Sites tend to be on low hilly rises, often in wooded areas some distance from Bantu cultivation but never more than half an hour's walk from such fields and villages. I have even seen camps less than one hundred yards off major roads. In areas favourable for pasturage there may even be a series of camps a mile or two apart. Less often one finds two or three camps adjacent to each other, these often consisting of close kinsmen, such as men with a common father or grandfather, who co-operate in many herding activities but who do not care to share one camp.

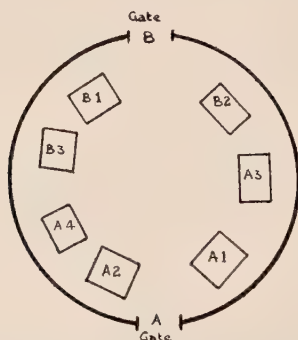
A camp is surrounded by a branch and thorn fence. Each camp has one or more gates (*engishomi*), theoretically one for each independent owner living within the camp. While there must be at least one gate for each such owner, any owner may have several gates if necessary, depending upon the number of his stock. His stock must leave and enter the camp by his gate (or gates) and no other.

The Baraguyu houses themselves are radical departures from the cow dung igloos built by the Masai. Instead the Baraguyu build long, low *tembe*-type houses, which are three to five times larger than most Masai homes. Except for being less nicely constructed and being arranged about a central cattle-kraal, they are replicas of Gogo homes.*

Houses are aligned on each side of each gate, theoretically following the right-hand, left-hand method of ranking wives. A man's first wife is senior wife of the right-hand (*olpahe tatene*)†; the second wife is senior wife of the left-hand (*olpahe kedyenye*); the third wife is *olpahe tatene*; the fourth wife *olpahe kedyenye*, etc. The death of a wife, even if without issue, would not alter this ordering. Thus a camp might resemble this if there were two independent owners of two gates:

The owners are A and B.

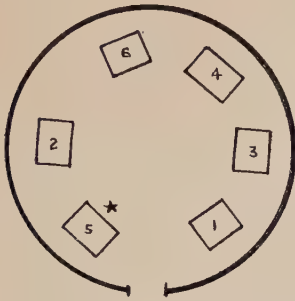
The numerals refer to the wives in order of their acquisition by their respective husbands.



*Baumann presents a variation of this. In Sambara he saw *tembe*-type camps in which all of the huts joined so that they formed the walls of the kraal. Apparently there was no separate fence. Each hut had two entrances, one leading inside to the cattle-kraal and one leading outside. *Usambara und seine . . .*, p. 276. Meyer also describes *tempe*-type houses of Baraguyu in northern Nguu, *op. cit.*, p. 201. See also: Johnston, *The Kilima-njaro . . .*, pp. 419-20.

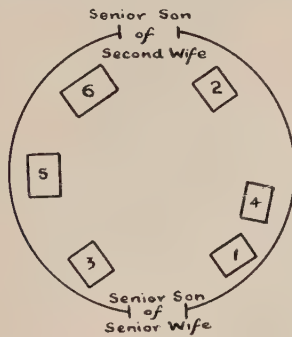
†Also pronounced *ol pashe*.

Here is a single gate camp of a man with several married sons:



1. Owner's senior wife and her unmarried children.
 2. Owner's 2nd wife and her unmarried children.
 3. Married son of 1st wife and his wife and child.
 4. Married son of 1st wife and his wife and children.
 5. Owner's 4th wife and her child.
 6. Married son of 2nd wife and his wife and children.
- Owner's 3rd wife is dead and without issue.

On the owner's death, the senior son of each *olpae* would inherit control of all of the wives of that *olpae* he headed; and a second gate would be constructed:



Note that there is some variation in this pattern. Ideally 2 should reside nearest the gate on her side. I encountered even more radical departures from what was theoretically correct. In each such camp, however, upon being questioned, informants supplied some logical reason why their actual building pattern had departed from what they said was the ideal, e.g. a wife was away when the camp was built and erected her hut after the rest were finished, etc. All insisted that each wife still knew her proper location in regard to the gate of her husband.

There is one house for each adult woman in a Baraguyu camp. Warriors and children sleep in their mother's hut. This is, of course, a big departure from the *manyatta* (warrior villages) system associated with most Masai.

Cattle are quartered in the middle of the camps while calves are quartered within the huts or occasionally in adjoining enclosures.

A man's herd is divided amongst his several wives. A senior or a favourite wife may have somewhat more than others, but in general, division seems to be by needs, i.e. children in a wife's household. Stock from one wife must never be used in the household of another. A wise man will keep a reserve herd of his own and use that as he sees fit.

Most Baraguyu camps have only one owner: a man and perhaps his sons and their wives and children. Ideally a son should remain with his father until the father's death. Major division amongst brothers may occur after that, although ideally the eldest son should continue the system in the father's place, but with two rather than one gate in the camp. Just as the *olpae tatene* wife was senior wife, so too the eldest son by her is senior son and it is he who should



Married Baraguyu woman: Photographed near Chakwale,
Kilosa District

perform a sacrifice following his father's death. He should replace his father in authority. In actual fact, sons by different mothers may well not be close and may even in some cases bitterly dislike each other.

In those camps with two independent owners, i.e. two gates, almost any combination may be found: two sons of a dead father, two cousins, two friends, a man and his brother-in-law, etc. In the case of distant kin and friends, such stock associates tend to last only a short time and then to disperse. Most associates divide amicably yet fairly frequently. Associates who are not father-son, are nearly always of the same age-group.

The roles of male Baraguyu are related to age-group status. An uncircumcised youth (*ol-aiyoni*) is not allowed to sleep with circumcised girls. He is forbidden warrior regalia and the long spear, he may not dance, etc. Such boys bear the chief burden of herding routine. Often in households with few boys, one unfortunate may have his initiation postponed to keep him herding and not wandering off as warriors are entitled to do frequently.

Warriors are obliged to be properly groomed. They are still considered potential fighters and for this reason get into considerable difficulties with Bantu in some areas. They still practise livestock theft in some areas, although this is less frequent than the Bantu seem to maintain. Warriors, especially newly circumcised ones, enjoy general harassment of neighbouring Bantu in order to gain prestige.* Junior warriors are forbidden to drink beer but do use tobacco freely in the form of snuff. They have access to all unmarried, circumcised girls. They cannot be denied milk in any camp they visit but they are not allowed to drink milk without an age-mate. They are forbidden to eat any meat from an animal whose slaughter has been witnessed by a married woman. They are always welcome at any local meat feast since meat and fat-soup are supposed to build up their strength and virility. General etiquette manages to segregate warriors from their immediate seniors—however, in some camps where an elderly man has young wives, his sons or other warriors may have secret relations with these women.†

Warriors are allowed great travel and tour much of Baraguyu-land. They are expected to supervise the herding of their father's cattle but manage to ration this out amongst themselves or when possible to foist it onto younger brothers or onto other fellow age-mates who are sleeping with their sisters. Such supervision as control at watering and taking stock to market requires somewhat more know-how than an uncircumcised boy may possess. In the cases of watering and trek to stock auction the arms of the warrior may provide very necessary protection. I have fairly often seen warriors tending herds all day, but this is made necessary by the small size of the Baraguyu camps and does not constitute the warriors' main duties.

Warriors are encouraged in their preoccupation with adornment, weapons, and grooming and spend long hours braiding one another's hair, shaving their bodies, oiling and painting themselves, sharpening weapons, etc. Fathers do not seem eager to lose warriors as available labour or to pay brideprice for them to obtain wives. They tend to forestall a warrior's maturity as much as possible. A son may remain with his father, but after he is married he is far less subservient

*Several murders of Kaguru by Baraguyu and of Baraguyu by Kaguru took place in Kilosa District in the last few years. Some were due to such activities, but these days the danger area for such violence is often the beer club and at present junior warriors are still absolutely forbidden to drink.

†It is not uncommon to find a rich but senile man with infant children by a young wife. A span of forty years is not impossible amongst sons of such a man. It sometimes happens that an elderly man with very young wives closes his eyes to his sons' sleeping with such young wives.

to him since he then has a household of his own to direct. Senior warriors or even some junior warriors eventually select one girl for whose father they perform favours and pay beasts and make gifts (such as cloth and honey) through the years until the brideprice payment is completed.

Adult Baraguyu males have few chores. A herd owner may occasionally supervise the watering of his livestock if he feels the boys or warriors in charge are not too adept. He will organize his friends to help in constructing a new camp fence and gates. He will scout about to choose new camp sites or new grazing areas. He will always supervise the auction of his stock. Unless quite old and infirm, he will travel over much of the area visiting and discussing affairs. He is engrossed with drinking and the social amenities surrounding the beer club. Almost no appreciable physical demands are made upon elders; his tasks are almost entirely in the realm of supervision and decision-making.



Baraguyu Moran: Photographed at Chakwale, Kilosa District

In Kaguru and Nguu many Baraguyu elders spend over half of their days in beer clubs. From what little I know of Gogo, Hehe, Pare, etc., I see little reason to doubt that the pattern is not similar there. I have seen such elders appear drunk daily for over a week at a time at various beer clubs.* In a society in which the tedious routine of labour is entirely in the hands of boys, young men and women, such intensive drinking does not seem in the least dysfunctional to the social system. As is well known, the Masai and Baraguyu *laibonok* divine properly only when intoxicated. This belief is a good example in miniature of the more general Baraguyu conception that drinking has positive value and that it in no way impairs certain mental abilities. It is recognized that drink is incompatible with physical fitness. For this reason junior warriors and boys are expressly forbidden to drink, and women rarely taste beer and are never found drunk (at least not to my knowledge). But physical labour has a very low place in Baraguyu values. Therefore, it is only proper that those at the social apex in Baraguyu society both indulge in drink, one of the really good things in life, and abstain from physical labour, one of the really bad.

Baraguyu men have a relatively narrow range of tasks. They are responsible for livestock husbandry, warfare and defence, repair of metal tools and weapons, building livestock fences around a camp, drawing water at wells or river-troughs, butchery of stock, litigation. Men of several camps will often pool labour in sending stock to market or building a livestock crush for dipping. Co-operative efforts of elders or senior warriors invariably are celebrated with a beer party.

Baraguyu women are assigned a wide range of tasks. They fetch all of the water which is often at great distances from a camp, they fetch the firewood, they prepare all food, do the milking and control milk distribution, they pound flour, prepare hides and skins, put up bad meat for sale†, build the houses, do the loading and supervise the moving of goods by donkey whenever changing camps, make most of the jewellery, make their dresses, prepare beer, tend the calves, pulverize tobacco for snuff, prepare the gourd containers, clean the camp and houses.

Baraguyu women are classified into several age levels: uncircumcised girls, circumcised girls who are unmarried and thus entertain warriors, married women, and elderly women beyond child-bearing age.

Brideprice is paid over a fairly long period and is paid in honey, blankets, cattle (supposedly forty),** and some services. It is never paid at one time, even when the wealth is available. Brideprice is paid for the rights to children and the labour of the wife. Children belong to the payer of the brideprice, not to the genitor. I have seen men encourage age-mates to sleep with their wives even while they themselves were present in the same camp. The physical father of a man's wife's child would be considered a special friend.

Often before their *eunoto* ceremony warriors have prospective wives already chosen and have begun marriage payment. A fair father will distribute some of his calves amongst his warrior sons who thus may build up their own herds and start such payments. Brideprice is entirely the responsibility of a warrior and his father. A mother's brother may furnish one or two beasts but this does not seem to be obligatory.

*I have often observed beer clubs in action. I base this on my visits to well over one hundred Baraguyu beer parties of various kinds from full ceremonies in Baraguyu camps and parties honouring the *laibon* to the more usual handful of drinkers at a Bantu beer club or illegal home brewery.

**If this is true, it would contrast strongly with the Masai who pay far less.

†Good meat is not usually sold.

3. Conclusion.

Thus I find the Baraguyu strikingly similar to the Masai from whom they apparently derived in distant times. Those points in which they differ from Masai are easily understandable when we consider two inter-related factors: their economic and their political environment. Due to the greater fertility of land in their area, it is shared by Bantu agriculturalists. The remaining pasturage is not sufficient to support large numbers with a purely pastoral economy. Due to this presence of large numbers of agriculturalists, Baraguyu are a minority and must contend for their pasturage and other food supplies. In the past this contention took varying forms—sometimes warfare and raiding, sometimes intimidation or even barter. With colonial rule this struggle has lessened and is now carried on only occasionally in the form of cattle theft and intimidation. Baraguyu needs are now chiefly met by new means, a cash economy, as well as some begging and barter as of old.

The great preponderance of the Bantu and the occurrence of Masai raids encouraged the Baraguyu to raid constantly in order to retain their position. Krapf expresses it thus:

“Residing in open plains of large extent, and being compelled by their flocks (the only subsistence of their life) to maintain their ground against all other nations, the Wakuafi are forced into a war-like spirit and life, which keeps them in constant readiness for defence and attack. Only by keeping the agricultural tribes and all other nations (which are more or less inhabiting mountains and elevated country) in awe of their name, the Wakuafi can secure their existence.†”

Some Government officials consider Baraguyu a poor variety of Masai and suggest that the Baraguyu return to Masailand. While there may be room for them there, it is difficult for most Baraguyu to accept this since they do not consider that country their homeland. In some parts of Baraguyu-land they appear to have resided there nearly as long as their neighbours the Bantu. Baraguyu feel that they should no more be restricted to Masailand than the Kaguru feel they should return to north-western Tanganyika or that the Ngoni feel they should return to Zululand.

While Colonial Government has severely weakened Baraguyu power, it has introduced a cash economy and the cattle markets, which have led to a kind of economic symbiosis between the Baraguyu and some of their Bantu neighbours. While Baraguyu are politically weaker than they ever were, they have now become incorporated by the Bantu as a necessary though perhaps unwelcome part of the local economy. They thus maintain their ambivalent position *vis-a-vis* most of the local Bantu tribes.

The Baraguyu have been less fortunate than their Masai relatives. The Masai, occupying a vast, essentially untillable area, held territory uncontested by the Bantu. They conflicted as they expanded, but their heartland remained their own. The Baraguyu, however, chiefly hold areas which they share with Bantu agriculturalists and herders. In the remote past both tribes evidently came from outside Tanganyika. In the Masai's case, their position was officially recognized and confirmed. In the Baraguyu's case it still is not.

†Krapf, *The Vocabulary* . . . , p. 13. However, the phrase “open plains of large extent,” hardly fits either the bulk of Masailand or Baraguyu-land.

ADDENDA

Jerrard refers both to Baraguyu (Kilosa and Mpwapwa District) and to Kwavi (Handeni District). He describes those of Mpwapwa and Handeni as exclusively pastoral; those of Kilosa as practising limited agriculture. He provides no further information or support to this. He described these people in all three districts as consumers of some agricultural produce in addition to the products of their herds. Jerrard, R. *The Tribes of Tanganyika, Their District, Usual Dietary and Pursuits*, Government Printer, Dar es Salaam, 1936.

A private Manuscript of Rees described Baraguyu-Kaguru alliance in raiding Nyamwezi caravans near Mlali, Mpwapwa District about 1902.

Last, on the authorities who uses the term "Kwavi" and "Humba" some what indiscriminately, clarifies his error in a generally unknown article in which he states: "I long suspected that the Wahumba and Wakwafi were district tribes, but, judging from their language, I am led to think they are not. These Wakwafi; . . . are natives of Uhumba district, lying to the north of Ugogo. They left their home, being oppressed by the Masai, and have settled down at Kitange and Lebehu." Last "Two Tribes on the Road to Mpwapwa," *Church Missionary Intelligencer* (November, 1879), p. 663.

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HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE EAST AFRICAN COAST

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A paper presented to the Conference of historians and archivists of the Indian Ocean, Tananarive, Madagascar, April, 1960

The distinguished suggestion of Dr. Toussaint and others to hold a meeting of historians and archivists of the Indian Ocean has given me the greatest pleasure, and it is my great regret that family reasons prevent me from attending. To me, at any rate, no writer has ever depicted more graphically the complex and diverse unity of the Indian Ocean than Tome Pires. In one brief passage, written c.1515, he gives us an almost breath-taking conspectus of the trade of the Indian Ocean as a whole: on the western side Ethiopia, Aden, Kilwa, Malindi, Barawa, Mogadishu and Mombasa, with Aden as the connection for merchandise from Italy, Greece and Damascus passing westwards to India: *Cambay trading with Malacca, her ships, with Gujerati agents, carrying Egyptians and Arabs, Ethiopians, and people "from Ormuz, Kilwa, Malindi, Mogadishu and Mombasa, Persians to wit, Rumes (? Greeks from Asia Minor), Turckmans, Armenians, Guilans (?), Khorasans and men of Shiraz. There are many of these in Malacca; and many people from the kingdom of the Deccan used to take up their companies in Cambay"(1). This was in 1515, but for sure the oneness of the Indian Ocean as a trading and cultural unity is far older, and there are many more names too that one would add to his list. The earliest document known to give some idea of this unity is the first century *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, an Alexandrine description of the ports of the Red Sea, East Africa and western India as far as Ceylon, and mentioning a connecting sea route as far as China (2). No doubt the *va-et-vient* he describes goes back long before, and no words of mine are needed to emphasize its unity and continuity.

The writer has, for the past eight years, concerned himself with pre-European East African history, and especially that of the coast, and perhaps it may be of some use to review the progress of these years and to offer some thoughts for the future. Indeed, until after the Second World War, this was a virtually unexplored province of history, and even now it can be said that its surface has been no more than scratched. Much of that progress has been recorded in the papers presented to the two *Conferences on African History and Archaeology* held in 1953 and 1957 at the London School of Oriental and African Studies (3). In West Africa within the British Commonwealth there have been important research schemes which have gone beyond anything so far seen in East Africa. Nevertheless, there have been many detailed studies in *Tanganyika Notes and Records* and in the *Uganda Journal* by a considerable number of persons, amongst whom the contributions of Sir John Gray have been the most prolific and the most

(1)Ed. and trans. A. Cortesao, 2 vols., HS, 1944.

(2)Ed. W. H. Schoff, New York, 1911; a new edition is at present being prepared for the HS by the Rev. Dr. A. G. Mathew, F.S.A.; cp. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, 1954, 138 ff.

(3)Papers presented to CAHA 1953 have been printed and circulated privately; those of CAHA 1957 were not available until after this paper had been presented.

*Cambay is a town on the East Coast of India, Lat. 22° in the Province of Gujerat.

notable⁽⁴⁾. In Kampala, the *Journal of the East African Swahili Committee*, under the aegis of Dr. W. H. Whiteley, and now under J. W. T. Allen, has produced invaluable material not only for the study of the Swahili language but also of the Swahili culture⁽⁵⁾. In Kenya, J. S. Kirkman has excavated at Gedi and elsewhere with results which have opened a new field for the comprehension of the middle ages and after⁽⁶⁾, while the *Kenya Historical Society* has commenced a valuable series of monographs⁽⁷⁾. In Tanganyika we welcomed in 1957 a new Antiquities Department, which is already beginning to produce valuable material⁽⁸⁾. A British Institute for research into the history and archaeology of East Africa is being set up this year under the auspices of the British Academy, with headquarters at Dar es Salaam, which without doubt will produce most far-reaching results. Finally, at the present time, a consortium of scholars, under the editorship of Professor Vincent Harlow, the Rev. Dr. A. G. Mathew and Dr. R. A. Oliver, is engaged in producing an *Oxford History of East Africa*, in three volumes, the first of which will be available in 1960 or 1961. For myself, I have completed a *Medieval History of the Coast of Tanganyika*, which I hope may be available towards the end of this year⁽⁹⁾, together with a chapter on the coast during the period 1500-1840 in the *Oxford History* already mentioned.

If, therefore, steps are being taken to establish the state of our knowledge at the present time, it is because there are real gains to be consolidated. None the less, to the present writer at least, there is an immense amount yet to be done, much yet to occupy the lives of many men. If the general lines are known, there is much detail yet to be discovered; and, if this meeting should eventuate in some central exchange of information concerning archives and archaeology for the whole area of the Indian Ocean, I venture to believe that no area would gain more than the East African coastland.

The history of this area falls roughly into five periods: what broadly we may describe, with the Muslim historians, as *al-Jahiliyyah*, *The Times of Ignorance*, but extending somewhat beyond the Birth of the Prophet; a medieval period in which city-states, like Kilwa, flourished; a Portuguese period in which a struggle for Swahili independence slowly matured—which imperceptibly mingles with a Swahili period culminating in the long reign of Sayyid Said of Oman and Zanzibar (1804-1856); and, finally, the division of the area and its administration by the Great Powers. It is not proposed to outline these periods, but rather to give an account of certain aspects of them which further researches and especially those demanding international co-operation, may reasonably be expected to elucidate.

Although the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* enumerates a series of ports in East Africa, the actual site of not one of them has so far been physically identified or excavated. The most important, the metropolis of Rhapta, has been credibly

(4)Cp. P. Moreton-Williams, Yoruba Historical Research Scheme, CAHA 1957; J. M. Akita, Archives of Ghana, CAHA, 1957; Bibliography of the Works of Sir John Gray, TNR no. 53, 1959.

(5)Address as given above.

(6)J. S. Kirkman, *The Arab City of Gedi*, 1954; his *Historical Archaeology in Kenya*, *Antiquaries Journal*, 1957, gives a survey of his work to date.

(7)Sir John Gray, *The British in Mombasa, 1824-26*; Macmillan, 1957; a translation of J. Strandes, *Die Portugiesenzeit in Deutsch und Englisch Ost-Afrika*, by M. Wallwork, ed. J. S. Kirkman, is shortly to be published.

(8)Tanganyika Antiquities Department, Annual Report, Government Printer, Dar es Salaam, 1958.

(9)To be published by the Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin; in addition, since this paper was presented, the Clarendon Press has accepted the writer's *The East African Coast: Select Documents from the 1st century to c. 1800*, for publication in 1961.

placed by J. W. T. Allen somewhere in the Pangani estuary, north of Dar es Salaam ⁽¹⁰⁾. Professor Leclant, of Strasbourg University and the Ethiopian Antiquities Service, has declared his intention of excavating at Ras Hafun, believed to be the Opone of the *Periplus* ⁽¹¹⁾. At Port Durnford in Somalia an important find of coins beginning with the Ptolemaic era was made some fifty years ago ⁽¹²⁾, and, apart from stray finds ⁽¹³⁾, a small quantity of Parthian, Sassanian, Roman and Byzantine coins has been found in the Zanzibar Protectorate ⁽¹⁴⁾. Unfortunately there is no precise indication of provenance for the latter, largely because the museum records have been so badly kept. There are no known finds of pottery of this period.

For Graeco-Roman times, then, we are as uninformed as was the case in South India in 1944, when Sir Mortimer Wheeler made his remarkable discoveries at Arikamedu. It is important, however, even if we must look to archaeological discovery for the next step, that we should keep our eyes fixed upon India. In his recent excavations at Ras Mkumbuu, Pemba, J. S. Kirkman found medieval porcelain which he was only able to parallel by reference to finds at Bhambore, which may well be the ancient city of Debal. Very recently Umayyad coins of the eighth century have been found there, and it is possible that the site may be of greater antiquity, and may provide a sequence applicable to East Africa ⁽¹⁵⁾. For at very many places on the Tanganyika coast there is an oral tradition of a people variously known as Wa-Debri, Wa-Dabri, Wa-Dabuli: in Arabic the form appears as *Dabul*, and this is the name too of a puppet Sultan of Kilwa who formerly had been in charge of its Treasury and who was set upon the throne by the Portuguese in 1505—Muhammad Rukn al-Din al-Dabuli ⁽¹⁶⁾. The evidence is at present slight and its links tenuous, but the strength of the oral traditions of the coast, which will be discussed later on, suggests that we should be wrong to ignore the indication.

Although so far excavation has only been on any scale in Kenya, with little in Tanganyika and Pemba, none in Zanzibar, some consecutive history of the coast in medieval times can be extracted from the histories of Kilwa and of Pate. In the former case the minting of coins from the end of the thirteenth century to the end of the fifteenth will make the excavation of Kilwa, when it takes place, more easy, for the coinage provides an index which can be related to the documentary history. With the exception of Ibn Battuta, the medieval Arab writers give few sufficiently precise indications to be of any positive value ⁽¹⁷⁾.

⁽¹⁰⁾Rhapta, TNR no. 27, 1949.

⁽¹¹⁾J. Leclant, *Egypte-Afrique, Quelques Remarques sur la diffusion des monuments égyptiens en Afrique*, Bulletin trimestriel de la Société Française d'Égyptologie, no. 21, June 1956, 38.

⁽¹²⁾H. Mattingly, *Coins from a Site-Find in British East Africa*, NC, 1932.

⁽¹³⁾M. P. Charlesworth, *A Roman Imperial Coin from Nairobi*, NC, 1949.

⁽¹⁴⁾G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *Coinage in East Africa before Portuguese Times*, NC, 1957; idem, *East African Coin Finds*, Journal of African History (vol. 1, 1960).

⁽¹⁵⁾Wheeler, op. cit., 156 ff.; J. S. Kirkman, *The Excavations at Ras Mkumbuu*, TNR no. 53, 1959; "The Times", 13 February 1959, 8, col. 6.

⁽¹⁶⁾S. A. Strong, *The History of Kilwa*, JRAS, 1895, 429; Sir John Gray, *The Wadebuli and Wadiba*, TNR no. 36, 1954.

⁽¹⁷⁾Strong, op. cit.; J. de Barros, *Da Asia*, 1552, ed. A. Baiao, Coimbra, 1932, Vol. 1, 308-311, 380-1; Freeman-Grenville, *Medieval History*, ut supra; C. H. Stigand, *The Land of Zinj*, 1913, 29-102; A. Werner, *A Swahili History of Pate*, Journal of the African Society, 1914-5; M. Heepe, *Suaheli Chronik von Pate*, Berlin, 1927; unpublished papers in the Lamu District Office, and listed A. H. J. Prins, *On Swahili Historiography*, JEASC, No. 2812, July 1958, 30-31; L.-M. Devic, *Le Pays des Zendjs*, Paris 1883; G. Ferrand, *Relations des Voyages*, 2 vols., Paris, 193; Ibn Battuta, apud C. Deffrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, *Les Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, 4 vols., Paris 1862 ff., Vol. II.

The Kilwa documents have already received detailed attention and will shortly be available. An urgent need is the comparison and detailed study of the Pate documents—backed if possible by excavation. These describe its dynasty from c.1204 A.D. until its eclipse c.1890. All the published versions would seem to depend on a single oral source, Bwana Kitini, a member of the royal family who, incidentally, has been stated to me to have been very unreliable. There are, however, certain incidents which demonstrably he could not have invented, and the names and chronology of the Pate rulers remain to be checked against the frequent references to them in the Portuguese and other later writers⁽¹⁸⁾.

Perhaps the most perplexing incident in the Pate history is an alleged expansionist attempt to dominate the entire coast towards the end of the fourteenth century. In 1857 Sir Richard Burton noted at Songo Mnara that the largest mosque was called the Nabhani Mosque, the surname of the royal family of Pate. In 1951 Dr. Gervase Mathew was told the same tradition, and again in 1955, when I accompanied him. At Ras Mkumbuu J. S. Kirkman noted certain architectural characteristics which clearly suggest a relation with Songo Mnara, a further link in the chain. Elsewhere I have suggested that the coins of Muhammad ibn Sulaiman of Kilwa (1412-21), which celebrate him as a conqueror, may well allude to the termination of the Pate rule on Songo Mnara⁽¹⁹⁾. Recently I have found in the region of Kilwa, and a hundred miles south in the little village of Mchinga, in Lindi District, that there are still people there who call themselves Nabhani. It is too early to speak of any results, but Dr. P. A. Lienhardt has recently been investigating the matter at Kilwa Kivinje. However unreliable Bwana Kitini may have seemed to some people, it seems that there was a genuine expansion of the Nabhani of Pate.

In such ways it is still possible, by judicious and skilled enquiry, to add knowledge to the exiguous documents at our disposal for this period. Again I learnt recently that there are still persons in the region of Kilwa who claim descent from the medieval sultans, and who recollect that the royal Horn, the symbol of authority, was cast in the sea when the Germans arrived lest they might seize it. It is said that they will not give information for fear of the government: while the suggestion that there is anything to fear is wholly absurd, a man who feels he has a valid claim to a throne may not unreasonably consider that he is representing himself in a false light if he says so. The last person recorded to have spoken with a member of the royal family of Kilwa was Captain Beaver of the Frigate *Nisus*, in 1811⁽²⁰⁾. This matter too has been investigated by Dr. Lienhardt.

Although Maldivian cowries served as the currency of medieval Gedi⁽²¹⁾, there are but few mentions of India in the documents. In 1332, when Ibn Battuta left Kilwa, he sailed to India directly, via Dhufar in South Arabia. In the following century, when a deposed Sultan of Aden sought refuge in Kilwa, and for a time enjoyed the support of the throne, he was ultimately asked to leave the

⁽¹⁸⁾Cp. G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *Medieval Evidences for Swahili*, JEASC, no. 29/1, January 1959.

⁽¹⁹⁾Cp. idem, *Swahili Literature and the History and Archaeology of the East African Coast*, JEASC, no. 28/2, July 1958.

⁽²⁰⁾J. Prior, *Voyage in the Nisus Frigate*, 1819.

⁽²¹⁾J. S. Kirkman, *Gedi*, 155; Freeman-Grenville, *Coinage*, 173.

city, for, says the history, they could no longer afford the expense. He went to India and settled there (22). Numerous Cambay beads have been found in Kilwa, and other beads from the eastern side of the Indian Ocean, which are only just beginning to be seriously studied (23), and an even more difficult problem is raised by the Kilwa coinage. Like many Indian and Persian coinages of later date, these coins rhyme the obverse with the reverse. This characteristic, although certain Fatimid coins have rhyming mottoes on one face only, can surely hardly have spread from an unimportant African sultanate to the proud kingdoms across the sea! A rhyming coinage is not only found at Kilwa, but, as I have recently been able to establish, also at Mogadishu, albeit later in date than the earliest Kilwa coins. The solution to this problem resides somewhere, I venture to think, in the sea-coast towns of South Arabia or of Persia, whose coinages are little known, and where recent discoveries have been made by Dr. P. A. Lienhardt and Dr. A. D. H. Bivar (24). These towns would certainly provide a more satisfying dispersal point for the idea, and it is certain that major exploration and research along the whole South Arabian coast is urgently needed.

Of the essential connection of the East African coast with India we need have no doubts, and in 1498 Vasco da Gama found several pilots acquainted with the route to India. Among the people of Mombasa and Malindi were Hindus, whom he mistook at first for Christians. Already in the time of the *Periplus*, East Africa exported its ivory to India, and in the tenth century al-Masu'di, who possibly visited Madagascar and some parts of the coast, gives a long account of the trade with India, and beyond to China. Marco Polo likewise is a witness to it (25). Even today India consumes more than half the world supply of ivory, and of this half is used to make the bangles used by Hindu brides (26). Apart from the fact that the ivory of the Indian elephant is much smaller, that of the East African elephant alone is soft to work and alone possesses, in the large and medium male tusks, the right dimensions for bangle manufacture. There are stray references in medieval Arab literature and in the Portuguese writers to the ivory trade, and surely there is much to be learnt of this in India itself, in Ceylon, and also in China, itself a major consumer. An account of the ivory trade, and especially of Indian ivories, from the chronological point of view would be of immense value to the historian of East Africa, more particularly if it were possible to evaluate its quantitative import into India even for a few separate years. This indeed is a matter which demands the co-operation of both Indian and East African historians.

(22)Strong, *op. cit.*, 420-3.

(23)W. G. N. van der Sleen, *Ancient Glass Beads, with Special Reference to the Beads of East and Central Africa and the Indian Ocean*, *Journal of the R. Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 88, part II, July-December 1958; an important collection made by Miss M. F. E. Pelham-Johnson, O.B.E., is to be seen in the King George V Memorial Museum, Dar es Salaam.

(24)Freeman-Grenville, *Coinage*, 1957; *idem*, *Some Problems of East African Coinage*, TNR no. 53, 1959, 254-257, with numerous references given there; *The Coinage of Oman under Abu Kalijar the Buwayhid*, A. D. H. Bivar and S. M. Stern, NC, 1958.

(25)*Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, 1497-99*, ed. E. G. Ravenstein, HS, 1898; Schoff, *op. cit.*, 29 ff.; C. B. de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, *al-Masu'di, Les Prairies d'Or*, 9 vols., Paris, 186, ff., esp. vols. I and III; *The Travels of Marco Polo*, tr. R. E. Latham, 1938, 275 ff.

(26)I am grateful to Mr. A. M. Chatoo, one of the principal ivory dealers of Dar es Salaam, for this and other information concerning the ivory trade, in which his family has been engaged for many generations.

In the Portuguese period the whole of the East African coast was at different times under the Viceroy of Goa. Of this we know the main outlines with clarity, but as yet there are few details. No less than 15,000 Portuguese documents from the libraries of Goa, Lisbon and the Vatican have been microfilmed and await publication by the Central African Archives at Salisbury, Rhodesia. All these relate to Africa, and, although the first volume was promised in 1955, it is still awaited. We owe a considerable debt to Dr. E. Axelson for an admirable volume on the period 1484 to 1530, and I would complain that it has been allowed to remain out of print (27). It is good news that he has now continued his researches into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and that we shall shortly have further work from his pen (28). There are also valuable Portuguese archives for this period to be found in the British Museum (some of which are alleged to have been stolen from Portuguese libraries in the eighteenth century), in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and a number of other libraries. Dr. Axelson's list published in 1940 has now been demonstrated by him to be incomplete, and one wonders how much more material remains in other European libraries, including Germany and Russia. Nor must one forget the libraries of the United States and of South America: it is too easy to forget that in 1500, when Cabral arrived at Kilwa, he came hot from the discovery of Brazil (29). It is known that the libraries of Portugal are insufficiently catalogued, and most especially that of the Torre do Tombo, Lisbon. There has been no recent study of the Arabic manuscripts in any of them, (30) and assuredly here there is the greatest scope for effort and for international co-operation.

It is good news, too, that a second edition is about to be published of Sir John Gray's *The Early Portuguese Missionaries in East Africa* (31). Sir John, who has rendered an untold service to East African history in now nearly twenty years continuous residence in Zanzibar, could no doubt have produced a longer and more detailed work had all the religious archives of Europe been more accessible. Here again there is a major need, for although the Jesuits have rendered a splendid service to history in the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, we need similar volumes of the records of the Dominicans in Mozambique, of the Augustinian Canons, who had Vicars in East Africa at Zanzibar, Faza, Pate and Mombasa, and who, although the Franciscans maintained some chaplains in the early sixteenth century, were the first real missionaries in East Africa proper (32). To the Dominican, Fr. João dos Santos, we are indebted for the only really full account of the terrible Zimba invasions of the sixteenth century, which, as the Swahili traditional histories show, were responsible for depopulating the East African

(27)E. Axelson, *South-East Africa, 1484-1530*, 1940.

(28)CAHA, 1957.

(29)I am grateful to Sir John Gray for a considerable body of information contained in annexures to a letter addressed to the Government of Zanzibar on 10 September 1957. In regard to the U.S.S.R., cp. A. B. Davidson, *African Studies in the Soviet Union*, Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., no. 4, 1958, which gives a brief summary: for its translation I am indebted to Mrs. A. Crawford, late of H.M. Foreign Office.

(30)I know nothing later than J. de Sousa, *Documentos Arabicos para a historia portugeza copiados dos originaes da Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon, 1790; Dr. E. Axelson assures me there are numerous Arabic manuscripts, and that it is even possible that the version of the History of Kilwa, from which de Barros worked, ut supra, may yet be found in the Torre do Tombo.

(31)Originally published in 1958.

(32)Ibidem. cp. G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *Islam and Christianity in East Africa*, *African Ecclesiastical Review*, Vol. II. No. 3, July 1960.

coast c.1590. We badly need a critical edition of his work ⁽³³⁾. One wonders how much more exists among the archives of ancient religious foundations. That such research is urgent and necessary is shown by the fact that Dr. R. Reusch was able to publish a tendentious and inaccurate account of the history of Mombasa ⁽³⁴⁾. Of his work we shall have more to say.

There remain also the Turkish records, concerning which, in spite of enquiry, I have made little headway. It is well known that in 1547 the Turks, who had captured Cairo in 1517, succeeded in pushing their empire as far as the Yemen. Professor Si. Reginald Coupland, in his *East Africa and Its Invaders*, 1938, treats the raids of the Amir Ali Bey into East African waters between 1587 and 1589 as a mere incident, the raids of a corsair. That this is incorrect is shown by the Jesuit Fr. Monclaro, who describes large scale raids earlier than 1569, a matter which Coupland overlooks ⁽³⁵⁾. My friend Sheikh Hyder Muhammad al-Kindy, of Mombasa, has most kindly given me information of a history of the small sultanate of Faza, on the Kenya coast, and not far from Lamu, where a Turkish dynasty known as Stambuli was established in 1590. In Mogadishu a gentleman who wishes to remain anonymous, and who has collected there some 7,300 coins in the past twenty years, has most kindly allowed me access to his collection. It establishes—and I have yet to publish it in detail—twenty-three rulers unknown alike to history and to numismatics. Of these, eight rulers minted coins bearing the *tughra*, the elegant monogrammatic device typical of the Turkish coinage from 1402, which was to be imitated in many other places, and which still appears in the modern coinage of Pakistan. Surely we have much more to learn about the Turks in East African waters. It is inconceivable that Coupland should have been right: we have yet to discover the aims, the extent and practice of the Turkish policy.

The later seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries are the most difficult period from the point of view of Swahili history. If, in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the Portuguese relinquished all pretence of control, they had not wholly relinquished interest, and several times in the following half century they even found themselves invited to interfere in affairs outside Mozambique. There are Swahili histories of Pate (already mentioned), and of Lamu, of a number of towns on the Tanganyika coast, of which the most important are those of Kilwa Kivinje, Kilwa Kisiwani and Dar es Salaam, all of which were collected by Velten at the end of the nineteenth century ⁽³⁶⁾. More recently there have been Cerulli's publication of the *Kitab al-Zanuj*, various publications of E. Dammann, and the valuable Mombasa traditions recovered by H. E. Lambert. For myself, I have been able to recover part of a history of Kua, Juani Island, Mafia, while Sheikh Hyder Muhammad al-Kindy has found not only a history of Faza from the end of the sixteenth to the late nineteenth century, but also an Arabic history of the whole coast. I have not yet seen either of them. These coastal documents are not less important than the late medieval *History of Kilwa*, for, however difficult they may be to interpret, they do express the ideas of the

⁽³³⁾J. dos Santos, *Etiopia Oriental*, Evora, 1609; C. Velten, *Prosa und Poesie der Suaheli*, Berlin, 1907.

⁽³⁴⁾The Struggle of Mombasa for its Freedom, TNR, no. 35, 1953.

⁽³⁵⁾1938, 58-60; Monclaro, Account of the Journey made by Fathers of the Company of Jesus with Francis Barreto in the Conquest of Monomotapa in the year 1569, apud G. M. Theal, *Records of South-East Africa*, III, Cape Town, 1899.

⁽³⁶⁾Velten, op. cit., 243-312; I have an edition of these histories in hand.

coastal people on their own affairs. The Portuguese were remarkably disinterested in the people amongst whom they lived: it is surely no accident that no Portuguese reference has so far been found even to the existence of the Swahili language, although it was already the court language of Kilwa and of Pate in the fourteenth century, and possibly long before (37). Apart from history, there is a considerable body of poetry, some epic, some lyric, some apothegmatic, some the simple catches and ballads of fishermen and agriculturists. Not long ago Dr. W. H. Whiteley collected eight reels of recording tape of poetry at Tongoni, near Tanga, while Sheikh Hyder Muhammad al-Kindy has made such a large collection in Lamu that it will take a typist, so it is estimated, six months to transcribe it (38). The value of this poetical literature is not, perhaps, immediately obvious to the historian, but anyone who has read the late Sheikh Sir Mbarak Ali al-Hinawy's *Al-Akida and Fort Jesus, Mombasa* (39) will at once recognize how intimately the poetry and history of the Swahili are intertwined. The great religious epic *al-Inkishafi*, written towards the end of the eighteenth century and deploring the decline of Pate, develops the theme of the Divine Judgement in a manner at which Dante would not have scoffed, and also preserves much information about the civilization of the day (40). In the Garesa Museum, Mogadishu, there is a collection of Arabic manuscripts of which no satisfactory account has yet been given (41), while a recent tour along the coast undertaken by J. W. T. Allen, as Secretary of the East African Swahili Committee, has confirmed not only that there are numerous documents in private hands, but also a rich source of oral traditions both of history and of poetry which is ready for the harvest if only it can be gathered (42).

It is important that we should evaluate this oral material correctly. Elsewhere I have deplored Dr. R. Reusch's *History of East Africa*, which claims to refer to ninety oral traditions which would supplement, and frequently contradict, the Arab and Portuguese historians. This latter, of course, as Sir John Gray has pointed out, is counter to the normally accepted standards of criticism. The *District Books*, which are the compilations over many years of local history and legend made by the District Commissioners in Tanganyika and Kenya—I have been able to read most of the Tanganyika books—contain a most valuable mine of information. Much of it requires sifting and checking, but in almost every case it is not difficult to establish the informants and the place of origin of the tradition recorded. They have proved an invaluable source for the reconstruction of tribal movements in times past both inland and on the coast (43). Contrast Dr. Reusch. Among ninety traditions related, on only eight occasion-

(37)E. Cerulli, Somalia, Scritti editi ed inediti, I, Rome, 1957; E. Dammann, German Contributions to Swahili Studies in Recent Decades, JEASC no. 26, 1956, contains valuable footnotes; Freeman-Grenville, Medieval History, ut supra; idem, Medieval Evidences, ut supra; H. E. Lambert, Chi-Jomvu and Ki-Ngare, Studies in Swahili Dialect III, East African Swahili Committee, 1958.

(38)It is hoped that in due course they will be published by the E.A. Swahili Committee.

(39)1950.

(40)ed. W. Hichens, 1939.

(41)Regio Governo della Somalia, Museo della Garesa Catalogo, Mogadishu 1934.

(42)The Collection of Swahili Literature and its Relation to Oral Tradition and History, TNR no. 53 October 1959.

(43)R. Reusch, History of East Africa, Stuttgart, 1954, with an introduction by Sir E. F. (now Lord) Twining; Freeman-Grenville, Swahili Literature, ut supra; R. A. Oliver, Bush Peoples of Central Tanganyika CAHA 1953; the historical sections of the Tanganyika District Books are available in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

does he mention his informants, while the place of origin is given on only thirty-eight occasions, less than half. It is small wonder that he has been so severely handled by his reviewers (44).

Certainly an oral tradition has not the same value as a document near to the event. But we have very few documents indeed if we compare our lack with the same period in Europe. The oral traditions are all we possess for the inland tribes and those near the coast: the *Habari za Wakilindi* (45), a late nineteenth century Swahili history of the Usambara kingdom which started in the earlier eighteenth century, is the only history properly speaking of any tribe, and is itself dependent upon oral tradition and not upon documents. We need urgently to follow up the clues provided by the *District Books* and to supplement them with what survives in the memory of old men before their knowledge has perished. As the *District Books* themselves show, it is a matter of no great difficulty to check one tradition against others—no more difficult than the comparison of written documents. Provided oral traditions are handled with a reasonable prudence, they can be not less valuable than written documents, and they are all we can hope for in pre-literate tribal Africa. They are essential to the study of the coast, and without them we shall tend to think, as some have done, as if the coast were an island isolated from the interior.

As to the nineteenth century there are valuable collections which remain yet to be exploited, and which can show light from time to time upon traditional material. I shall confine myself to citing one example only. In the traditional *History of Kilwa Kisiwani*, a late nineteenth century record, there is mention of a mysterious Frenchman who came to trade there, apparently toward the end of the eighteenth century. We should have no particular reason to believe or disbelieve this, had it not been for the fortuitous discovery in a second-hand bookshop of what is now known as the Morice Manuscript, now in Rhodes House, Oxford. It is a detailed description of this Frenchman's activities at Kilwa and along the coast between 1776 and 1779 (46). In Rhodes House there are many papers which have not yet been fully exploited. In Zanzibar itself the archives are currently being arranged by C. H. Thompson: their contents are virtually unknown, although they constitute a complete record from c.1840. In the United States there are known to be valuable collections of material in the Peabody Museum, some of them in Arabic and from Zanzibar, and in the Essex Institute at Salem, Massachusetts. Coupland has already provided a mine of information in regard to the collections of the former India Office and in the Public Record Office, London (47). One wishes it were not all so far away and so far apart!

(44) Sir John Gray, TNR no. 38, 1955, a review especially valuable for its consideration of the evidential value of oral traditions; R. A. Oliver, *Africa*, vol. XXV no. 3, July 1955.

(45) Part I, JEASC no. 27, 1957; Parts II and III, U.M.C.A. Press, Msalabani, Tanganyika, 1904 and 1907, are out of print; Swahili ms. in Arabic script, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, of which I have a photostat; Part I trans., with slight abbreviation, R. Allen, *The Story of Mbega*, TNR no. 1, 1936.

(46) Rhodes House ms. Afr. r. 6, of which I am at present preparing an edition; Velten, *op. cit.*, 247 ff.—the Swahili author displays no shame in describing how the French were cheated; Sir John Gray, *The French at Kilwa, 1776-1784*, TNR no. 44, 1956; *idem*, *A Note on Joseph François Charpentier de Cossigny (1736-1809)*, TNR no. 51, 1958.

(47) I am grateful to Sir John Gray for some notes on the American collections; Coupland, *op. cit.*, *passim*, and *The Exploitation of East Africa, 1856-90*, 1930.

In the later nineteenth century, and the period which follows upon the arrival of the Great Powers in Africa, we have certainly an *embarras de richesse*. Documents are so numerous for the political and economic history of the area that the historian is faced with the need for selection. But there are three sources of information for this period which up to the present have remained virtually untouched. Although Dr. R. A. Oliver's *The Missionary Factor in East Africa* exploits many of the records of the Protestant missionary societies in Africa, he saw few of the Catholic records (48). The valuable papers left by the great Swahili lexicographer, Père Charles Sacleux, are at present being examined by Dr. Lyndon Harries, but there is no account yet of the archives of the *Congregation of the Holy Ghost* in Paris, in which they are contained. These archives as a whole constitute an important source for the life of Zanzibar and the coast over the past hundred years. The *White Fathers'* archives have recently been moved from the Maison Carrée in Algiers to Rome, but I have not yet heard that anyone has exploited them. Sir John Gray has perused some of the earlier archives of the *Universities' Mission to Central Africa*, and found them a valuable source from which, not infrequently, he has been able to check upon the political documents of the period. It is important that these archives should be thoroughly examined, not merely from the point of view of the history of missions, but also from the point of view of what they relate about those whom they had set out to convert(49).

Second, it is lamentable that no detailed study has been made of the history of Indians in East Africa. They were certainly resident on the coast in the late fifteenth century, and probably long before. In the reign of Sayyid Said there was a great influx of Indians into Zanzibar, and the stream has steadily swelled. It is not to be forgotten that an Indian merchant saw Lake Victoria more than thirty years before the first European explorers (50). Their patience and industry has built up much of the commerce and industry of East Africa, and there is no doubt an immense number of documents in private hands. It was welcome news last year that the Conference of the Bohora Community held in Nairobi proposed that the history of the community should be written. This needs to be followed by detailed studies, which can only be conducted by those expert in Indian languages, of the other Indian communities. Finally, so far as Tanganyika is concerned, although there is a rich contemporary literature of the German period, hardly any recent work has been done upon it, and the whole archives of the former German Colonial Office and the private papers of the period remain to receive modern consideration. This is indeed a sad gap in our present knowledge.

All in all, if we know the main outlines of East African history with a fair accuracy, we cannot claim to have more than a sketchy knowledge of its detail. Indeed we are only at the beginning of its serious study, and there is a vast field for research in the collection of oral traditions and of documents in private hands, as well as for the classification and study of documents in libraries scattered all over the globe. A new province in the study of history has been opened, and there is a

(48)Published 1952.

(49)I am grateful to Dr. Lyndon Harries, Père Navarre, Secretary-General of the *Congregation of the Holy Ghost*, The Very Rev. R. M. Walsh, W.F. and Sir John Gray, and other correspondents for this passage, Père Sacleux was not only an outstanding Swahili scholar but also a distinguished botanist.

(50)Sir John Gray, *Trading Expeditions from the Coast to Lakes Tanganyika and Victoria before 1859*. TNR no. 49, December 1957, 234; since this paper was presented, Dr. L. W. Hollingsworth's admirable introduction to the subject, *The Asians of East Africa*, Macmillan, 1960, has appeared.

life's work and more to occupy the lives of many men. I can only have touched on the surface of the matter, for there is much yet to be discovered in documents, in archives, in oral traditions, in archaeology, in linguistics, in anthropology. I would venture one suggestion to this Conference: it would be of immense profit to all students in this field if there could be set up some central clearing house of primary information, not only for East Africa but for the whole Indian Ocean. I have in mind W. H. Whiteley and A. E. Gutkind's *A Linguistic Bibliography of East Africa*, which has been published in a loose leaf folder to which supplements can be added from time to time ⁽⁵¹⁾. If this Conference were to arrange the publication of a progressive Bibliography of the whole field of Indian Ocean Studie; (including East Africa), covering archival as well as other material, it would be, I feel, of the greatest utility and benefit to us all.

⁽⁵¹⁾Revised edition, 1959.

NOTES

Sigla

- CAHA 1953: Papers presented to the Conference on African History and Archaeology, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1953.
- CAHA 1957: Idem, 1957.
- HS: Publications of the Hakluyt Society, London.
- JEASC: Journal of the East African Swahili Committee, P.O. Box 262, Kampala, Uganda.
- JRAS: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
- NC: Numismatic Chronicle, London.
- TNR: Tanganyika Notes and Records, P.O. Box 511, Dar es Salaam.

N.B.—The place of publication is omitted in all cases where it is in the United Kingdom.

STIEGLER'S GORGE, RUFIJI

By R. de la Bere Barker

Stiegler's Gorge is situated where the Rufiji River flows first north and then sharply east through a narrow rocky cliffed enclosure to debouch into the Rufiji Flats. These flats were built by the sediment from almost half of Tanganyika filling what was once part of the Indian Ocean. Stiegler was a German engineer killed by an elephant it is said, when his escort fled with their rifles. He left bench marks—iron pegs still fast in the rocks to mark dam sites envisaged.



Stiegler's Gorge

At Stiegler's elephants are almost daily around. When a surveyor groans and says, "There goes my metal-boat for a burton", I astonish him by saying that the appalling noise is made by elephants pushing over a big tree to get at the buds on top. We are surrounded by well watered trees. The verdure is so luxuriant that newcomers have to be led to points in the camp clearing and shown the waters of the river shining far below, visible through foliage and tree trunks. In the dry season—all too brief—the rocky hills and gulleys, red scars where the landslides of the rains fall, are seen.

There was once a drought which seemed to have killed all the trees, but so much water was on a lip of a watershed from high forested land to the south, that although wood rot entered the trunks through fire scars, the sapwood continued to grow because the deeply ramifying roots managed to draw upon this deep water table. Eventually the sapwood formed an almost continuous sheath around the now rotten and hollow hearts of the trees. But in many of the trees, which had been only slightly burned and charred, the traces of old fire damage had been completely covered and it is not until the trees have been felled that the heart rot within can be seen.



Tree showing recovery from damage

Klipspringers, the chamois of Africa leap on the rocks, and rock rabbits or hyrax, which are related to elephants, make wolf whistles to each other and even across the gorge at all hours. They seem happy and communicative. A monstrous bull elephant, with ears blowing about like boat sails, may stand across the gorge and it is hard to believe there is a hundred and fifty yards of water between him and us about the same distance below. A climb to the south, and from rocky scarps one sees the broadening river winding away through the flats to the delta and the sea.

Buffalo, and an occasional rhinoceros, greater kudu, impala, sable antelope, hippo, zebra, waterbuck, duiker and kongoni are usual. Birds fly up by the gorge or take a short cut over the camp to the river west at Mkalinso, the nearest habitation nine miles distant. Large emerald, red-gold and black *Urania* moths soar overhead and around us through the year. Elephant dung attracts various butterflies, magenta-backed scarabs and huge whirring beetles come within minutes of the dropping of the mighty turds. When the ngongo trees (*selerocarya* spp.) fruit the elephants brush our windows to feed. They eat our small efforts at growing rice, and baboons and monkeys eat our vegetables.

At full moon a hippo came to gaze at him or herself in the reflecting sides of the aluminium store, much as the passing water-carriers did by day. Bird parties travel through the wood, hoopoes noisily gobbling grubs in the bark of the trees, clinging in all attitudes. Red-billed Retz's shrikes are with them; when close their sombre plumage is enlivened by the orange feathered rims to their eyes. Crowned hornbills sometimes join the party. Cardinal woodpeckers are frequent grub eaters. Chanting goshawks overhead bring music and the sea-eagles together with bateleur eagles add calls to warbling of birds or piping of francolins. Civilization is distant. Even drums are only heard when a wind blows from a dance down river or over at Mkalinso. Rarely a plane passes overhead to disturb the pattern of life.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

T. O. BEIDELMAN, has his A.B. and A.M. degrees from the University of Illinois. He has spent the past three years as an anthropological research student for that University and during that time he spent eighteen months in Tanganyika covering a wide range of subjects including problems in African local courts and law, matrilineal social structure and intertribal relations. At the present moment he is reading for a doctorate in Social Anthropology at Trinity College, Oxford.

R. DE LA BERE BARKER, needs no introduction to our older readers, the first of many articles of his was published in *T.N.R.* in 1936. He was born in Christchurch, New Zealand in 1889. He has travelled widely and lived many lives. He joined the Frontiersmen Battalion in 1915 to fight the Germans in East Africa and stayed after the war was over. He has been a District Officer in Kenya, has shot elephant in Uganda and has been a Game Observer in Tanganyika. He is well known for his books on wild life, which are written under the nom-de-plume "Rufiji," and several of which have been translated into Swahili. In 1956 he was working with the Rufiji Basin Survey for F.A.O.

R. F. EBERLIE, was born at Luton in Bedfordshire, and went to Sherborne School. From 1950-53 he was with the Dorest Regiment, some of the time in Hong Kong. In 1953 he went to Cambridge, taking a History Degree in 1956, and then joined the Colonial Administrative Service. He came to Tanganyika in 1957.

D. KEITH THOMAS, was born at Halstead, Essex, educated at Eastbourne College and qualified at the London College of Veterinary Surgeons in 1937. At the outbreak of war he joined the Royal Artillery and then the Parachute Regiment. He was awarded the M.C. and was taken prisoner of war, escaping soon afterwards to rejoin his regiment. In 1945 and 1946 he was with the 6th Airborne Division in Palestine. In 1947 he joined the Veterinary Service in Tanganyika, transferring eight months later to the Game Department and is now Deputy Game Warden.

Correspondence

SPEKE'S DEATH

Dear Sir,

The letters of Sir John Gray (*T.N.R.* 51 p. 272) and G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville (*T.N.R.* 52 p. 137) are most interesting but permit no conclusive reconstruction of the circumstances attending Speke's death. The coroner's jury found the death to have been accidental, in that Speke was climbing a wall with a loaded gun. Burton, all but says that Speke, under stress of ill-health and an undefensible cause, committed suicide rather than face the ordeal by debate. Matters have stood at this impasse for nearly a century. No new evidence has been introduced. But now that all those immediately concerned in the bitter Burton-Speke controversy are long dead, it should be possible to delve into records, diaries, personal correspondence and other such documents of the time and arrive at an impartial judgement. This is properly a task for an historian. Some young aspirant could well make it the subject of his thesis for academic degree.

In evaluating the pros and cons of the matter, one must bear in mind the Victorian attitude towards suicide, horror of the sinful act, and the stigma, amounting to a loathsome taint, that attached to the family of the cowardly perpetrator. And Burton, vindictive though he was thus to continue his vendetta against Speke, may merely have been repeating a most uncharitable version of what "everybody" knew did happen. Burton also implies that the whole proceedings and findings of the coroner's inquest were a calculated cover-up of the suicide, to avert disgrace from Speke and his family, and especially from Lord Methuen and his son who were not only close relatives of Speke but also local notables and neighbors of the coroner and jury. These are serious charges—would they not, even as worded, be grounds for a libel suit? How were they received when published in 1872? One would expect at the very least that Speke's friends would rise hotly to his defence. Did they? Did they offer proof to discredit any of Burton's allegations? It should not be difficult even now to ascertain the truth about Speke's physical and mental condition that last day, for other people saw and talked with him at the meeting. It is easy to show that Speke could not have been very familiar with the gun he was using, because it was a type of breech-loader of which few were ever made, because breech-loaders did not come into vogue in England until about 1860, and because Speke had had only muzzle-loaders on his African trips. And so on. From diaries, personal letters and other unpublished sources it should be possible to discover the general opinion as to whether the death was accident or suicide, and to compare the different versions of the circumstances.

The digest of the evidence at the inquest (from Sir John Gray's letter, cited above) reads logically enough. But when one comes to analyse it, to act it out item by item, one comes up against some surprising matters. If a transcript of the proceedings of the coroner's inquiry does not clear them up, there is reason to doubt the validity of the finding. About forty questions are involved, too many to include here. If anyone is interested to go into the matter further, correspondence will be welcomed, but first please act it out and draw the

conclusions. (Two peculiarities of the Lancaster breech-loader are pertinent: it is best loaded when standing still, and its "hammer" is just a cocking lever corrugated for the thumb-hold but lacking a nose. As usual with all guns of that time, the hammers must be at half- or full-cock before the gun can be opened, preferably half-cock as the gun is then on "safe"; there is no safety except the half-cock position; safe practice with breech-loaders required guns to be unloaded when crossing an obstacle, with muzzle-loaders one had merely to remove the caps from the nipples.) Can a logical sequence of events place Speke standing on top of the wall, holding his gun with its muzzle close to his body and pointing diagonally upward on the left side?

The facts that Speke was busily preparing for another expedition, was promoting anti-slavery measures and other worthy projects, can not be given much weight. Men who, as one says, "have everything to live for", do commit suicide—no sane man can say why. And not uncommonly the suicide attempts to make his death appear accidental—or his friends do so "for the sake of his good name". In Victorian times the urge to cover up a suicide verged on desperation. Today we know a bit more about the uncontrollable impulse to escape that can engulf a sickening mind. One could feel deep sympathy for a Speke who broke under the strain of a will to achieve too much—but little for a Speke who blasted both life and high hopes through his own gross negligence.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK R. DODGE

418 BELOIT AVENUE,
BERKELEY 8, CALIFORNIA,
22ND MARCH, 1960

Dear Sir,

I should be very sorry to see the Burton-Speke controversy revived in the manner which Mr. Dodge suggests. At this late date I should like to be able to say of the two antagonists *requiescant in pace*. In *T.N.R.* No. 51, whilst seeking to clear Speke's name of the obloquy attaching to it by reason of any allegation of suicide, I was equally decided not to revive in any way this most regrettable controversy between two great explorers. I deliberately wrote the Note in that number of *T.N.R.* on *Burton on Kiswahili* with the avowed object of showing that I was not taking sides in the matter.

I write after six years' military experience of having to deal with gunshot wounds, including self-inflicted wounds, and thirty-nine years' experience as a magistrate, coroner and judge of cases in which injuries caused by gunshot wounds have had to be investigated. In all such investigations I have relied upon the evidence before me and have never condescended to give ear to what can only be described as gossip.

Looking at the coroner's proceedings in Speke's case, of which a very full report appeared in the *Times*, with the eye of one who is approached with a request to hold that the findings of the inquest should be set aside and a fresh inquiry ordered, I cannot see one jot or tittle of evidence, which would support an allegation that the finding then reached was not that of honest men uninfluenced by any of the motives which the writer of the letter suggests. The

very nature of the wound very clearly shows how it came to be inflicted, namely, by Speke, having climbed up onto the top of a stone wall. There were at least two persons in close vicinity to him when he did this. Both reason and common sense point to the fact that it was an accident. It is idle to suggest that it was suicide.

I note that your correspondent expresses the hope that "some young aspirant could well make it the subject of his thesis for an academic degree". I most sincerely hope that no young aspirant will ever do so. If he does, I hope that the board which examines his thesis will recall the dictum of the late Mr. Justice Avory respecting a very baseless and cowardly attack on the private character the late W. E. Gladstone, namely, that "if history consists of the tittle tattle of Upper Tooting tea tables, we are better without it".

Yours faithfully,

J. M. GRAY

c/o LLOYDS BANK LTD.,
(COX'S AND KING'S BRANCH),
6 PALL MALL,
LONDON S.W.1.,
21st AUGUST, 1960

"DID YOU SEE ME FROM AFAR"

Sir,

Those who have read "Did you see me from afar", on page 48 of *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 54, will also enjoy "Water Gipsies of the Malagarasi" on page 61 of *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 9 of June, 1940.

The author is that grand old man, Charles Macquarie, M.B.E., whom so many Africans in the Western Province remember. An Agricultural Surveyor in the then Sleeping Sickness Division, he died in harness in 1947 at the age of sixty-nine.

BRYAN SAVORY

"MIRACLE TREES",
BURLEY,
RINGWOOD,
HANTS,
30TH MAY, 1960

"MAFIA ISLAND"

Sir,

In view of the prefatory note thereto, may I give the origin of Dr. Baumann's paper on Mafia Island which was published in *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 46.

While I was stationed on Mafia Island in 1930, I borrowed from the good-natured Mr. Wydeman, who was then the Manager of the German owned East African Coconut Estate Company, part of the proceedings of the Leipzig Geographical Society, which included Baumann's *Die Insel Mafia*.

I had begun, rather laboriously, putting the latter into English, when it transpired that the Senior Customs Clerk at Kilindoni, Mr. Yeshurun Ranade had served in the German Administration, and spoke German well. We had many enjoyable, and often amusing sessions translating the pamphlet, sometimes Mr. Wydeman's assistance was invoked.

When we had finished, I typed three copies. Each of us kept one (I still have mine) and the third we bestowed on the District Office. It is interesting to learn, so long afterwards, that this copy was, at some time, embodied in the District Book which, in common with *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, had not then come into being.

“MIRACLE TREES”,
BURLEY,
RINGWOOD,
HANTS,
30TH MAY, 1960

BRYAN SAVORY

TANGANYIKA PLACE NAMES OF EUROPEAN ORIGIN

Dear Sir,

In his interesting list of place names which appeared in *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 54, Mr. Shann omitted that of Sphinxhafen. The name seems to have disappeared from the maps and even the British copy of the German 1: 300,000 map does not show the place although it shows New Heligoland or Papien Island at the mouth of the Bay of Sphinxhafen. As to the origin of the name the late Archdeacon Johnson in his book “Nyasa the Great Water” remarks that anyone seeing the headland at the south side of the bay would understand why it was thus named. Sphinxhafen is now better known as Liuli and it was here that in August 1916 the German steamer *Heiman von Wissman* was captured and disabled by a British Force from Fort Johnstone.

With regard to Amelia Bay or Weidhafen, the latter name seems to have been applied to the northern end of the Bay where there was a German Boma in red brick which in appearance strongly resembled a brick-kiln. The Post and Telegraph office there maintained communication between Songea and the outer world via Tandala. Manda was the large African settlement on the south shore of the Bay and south of it and across the Ruhuhu is Eltzhafen which appears on the 1: 300,000 map but the origin of the name is unknown to me.

Jacobi or Pangire: Pangire was the elder son of the Bena Chief, Mbegere who refusing to submit to the Mhehe Chief, Mkwawa moved to the south side of the Ruhuje River. Both he and Pangire met their deaths in the Maji Maji affair in 1905/6.

Milo: an oil painting of the Freiherr mentioned by Mr. Shann used to hang in the office when Milo was an administrative station in 1920.

P.O. Box 141,
TANGA,
30TH JUNE, 1960

Yours faithfully,

G. A. HATCHELL

SWAHILI BORROWINGS

Dear Sir,

With reference to Dr. Freeman-Grenville's letter on Swahili Borrowings which appeared in No. 52 of the Journal: *Chidiko* is certainly more elegant than *Archidikoni* which is awful but I venture to suggest that *Kidikini*, the title given to the late Archdeacon Johnson and by which he was known all up and down the shores of Lake Nyasa is more pleasing.

I take the opportunity to contribute one or two further examples of borrowings:
Naona shem sana. Shame.

La sikufanya raff hatta kidogo. Rough.

Fundi amefunga mistake. In the case of a motor car broken down
for the second time.

Kwa kazi ya relieving.

Kila siku matipatis ghrāma nyingi. Advice to a young man to avoid the
temptations of the big town. (Tea-
parties).

Kurudi karibu yaani hapa tumewin. News of victory in the middle east from
a soldier.

Usiende ngomani maana hawa vijana Advice to a wife from her husband on
vya huku watataka kukusukumie safari: perhaps some reader can suggest
bogie lako. to what part of her anatomy this
referred.

A bogie is the large covered railway
wagon.

Yours faithfully,

G. W. HATCHELL

P.O. Box 141,

TANGA,

15TH JUNE, 1960

MASAI WALLS OF MOA

Dear Sir,

Mr. Fosbrooke, in his addendum to his article on the "Masai Walls" of Moa (*T.N.R.* 54, pp. 29-37) asks whether a defensive wall was ever built at Vanga. It was: according to Hollis (Notes on the History of Vumba, J. Anthropological Institute Vol. XXX (1900), pp. 294-3) the work was carried out by Diwan Pinda. This ruler died in 1863: since Thornton indicates that building had not begun in October 1861, it must have been constructed between these two dates. Hollis records that Diwan Kilimia, brother and successor to Pinda, who ruled from 1864 to 1869, carried out improvements to the wall. Baumann in his book *Usambara* (1891), refers (if my memory serves me) to a *Steinmauer* at the village of Vanga without giving further details, which suggests that the wall was either ruinous, or rather poor of its kind, since a more extended description is given of similar remains in certain other villages where they are considerable. Hollis quotes a Report by Sir Arthur Hardinge which states that portions of the wall were still in existence in 1894, and that they were said to date from Portuguese times! An indication of how quickly the wildest traditions can be born. I myself paid a short visit to Vanga last year, and saw no traces of the wall. The

Ngoma Kuu are still to be seen, though, sitting on their special (plaited) stools, and the *Siwa* is said to be in someone's house; but the owner, I was told, was away.

Mr. Fosbrooke quotes from C. Gillman's articles in Numbers 17 and 19 of your Journal. I have not found any trace of a defensive wall at Tongoni (referred to in the quotation from Gillman's article in *T.N.R.* 17), and I do not think earlier accounts of this site mention one, nor could I discover any wall at Boma la Ndani. Mvuhuni and Gomani I have not visited. Kizingani (so spelled) is probably the most interesting, apart from that at Ndumi, of which a plan is published in the Report to which you refer. It is proposed that all the surviving defensive walls should shortly be scheduled as ancient monuments.

While writing to you on this subject, may I also refer to Dr. Freeman-Grenville's article on East African Coinage in *T.N.R.* 53? I think we should do well to accept, until we have cogent reasons for not doing so, that the coins at the Beit al-Amani Museum in the envelope marked CTESIPHON were indeed found, or bought, at that popular resort of the foreigner visiting Baghdad, or in Baghdad itself. It seems probable, however, that the Ptolemaic coin (which is of silver, not gold) was really found on our coast. I think it is somewhat misleading to say that "Stuhlmann was most careful not to make a definite statement" about its provenance. As the passage, which is illustrated by good photographs of the coin, is not easily accessible, it is perhaps worth translating in full here:

"It is exceptionally important that in 1907, in the course of digging (*erdarbeiten*) in a small village on the coast near Dar es Salaam a genuine Ptolemaic silver coin was found; the coin is now in the possession of Herr J. Strandes in Hamburg. The representative of Hansing & Company in Dar es Salaam, Herr Dieckmann, bought it from the negro who found it, but unfortunately did not purchase a dagger alleged also to have been found there; about the subsequent history of this dagger I have learnt nothing. Should these lines come to the notice of the present possessor of the dagger, I would beg him to allow this exceptionally important find to be examined by an expert and to allow the result to be published. The coin has been identified as one of Ptolemaeus X Soter, King of Egypt 115-80 B.C. A single find means, of course very little, but at least gives us hope of further discoveries. The Government should spare no expenses to enable further investigation to be made at the same place, for it would be exceedingly important if we really found there (near Msasani?) the remains of a Ptolemaic settlement."

Whether or not this coin was imported in modern times and dropped by a (presumably European) owner is another matter. The possibility is I think very unlikely, assuming that the seller was telling the truth, in view of the fact that it was found in the course of digging in a native village. It would seem that the tentative identification of the place with Msasani is only a suggestion of Stuhlmann's.

Yours faithfully,
NEVILLE CHITTICK

DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES,
BAGAMOYO,
31ST JULY, 1960

A COLLECTION OF SNAKES FROM IFAKARA

Dear Sir,

Since my article "A Collection of Snakes from Ifakara" was published in *T.N.R.* 54, page 89, Dr. E. Ernst has brought back a new snake from Ifakara which has been determined as *Telescopus semiannulatus semiannulatus* Smith, or Eastern Tiger Snake, and this should be inserted in my list of COLUBRIDAE after *Philothamnus semivariegatus semivariegatus* (Smith) (Spotted Wood Snake).

Yours faithfully,

THIERRY A. FREYVOGEL

SWISS TROPICAL INSTITUTE,
BASLE,
SWITZERLAND

Book Reviews

SNAKE MAN, THE STORY OF C. J. P. IONIDES

By Alan Wykes

(Hamish Hamilton, 221 pages, 2 appendices, 17 photographs, local price 22s. 50 cts. net.)

What a difficult task Mr. Wykes undertook when he set out to capture so elusive an animal as Mr. Ionides; how well he has succeeded is reflected in his admirable account of the hunt, including the first detailed nature notes on this all too rare specimen. There are, it is true, some exaggerations, some inaccuracies and some dramatization; but all in all, it is excellent entertainment. Those who dislike snakes should not be put off by the title, which is frankly misleading. "Snake Man" is a briskly written biography in which snakes play only a small part; Mr. Wykes's chief preoccupation is in presenting to the public an original and most interesting character.

Mr. Ionides was a soldier for seven years, a professional hunter for five years, a game-ranger for twenty-three years and has spent thirty-four years in Tanganyika. Since childhood he has pursued his love of natural history persistently and single-mindedly and has for many years been a distinguished field naturalist. During his active years of hunting he collected, for museums, specimens of most of the rare, larger mammals of Africa, including such difficult prizes as addax, bongo and okapi. In recent years lameness has precluded the hunting of rarities and Mr. Ionides has concentrated increasingly on collecting reptiles, particularly snakes. His success in this field is almost certainly unique, who else has ever returned from a collecting trip with over two hundred live specimens of green mamba and gaboon viper?

But this is very much more than just another book about hunting. Mr. Ionides is a memorable conversationalist and Mr. Wykes has made the most of this by allowing him to tell his own story. The book is cleverly compounded of descriptions of the Tanganyika background, against which he lives, with biographical flash-backs told by Mr. Ionides. The result is a highly successful study of a rare character, widely read and travelled, devastatingly logical, who has worked out a philosophy of life in which courage, persistence and humour predominate. To all who like looking out of their office windows I recommend this book most strongly.

R. H. C. RISLEY

FOODS AND FEEDING HABITS OF THE PEDI

(With special reference to the Identification, Classification, Preparation and Nutritive Value of the Respective Foods)

By *P. J. Quin, B.Sc. (Agric.), M.Sc. D.Sc. Ph.D.*

(Witwatersrand University Press—price, £3 10s. 0d. net.)

This publication is a thesis approved for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, and represents a lifetime of study of a rural Bantu tribe.

Dr. Quin has realized that a study of foods and food habits of a community does not reveal its true nutritional status and he has, therefore, studied most aspects of Pedi life in great detail. An initial study of demography and the ethnological and historical background of the tribe is followed by an account of Pedi agriculture and an appraisal of the effects of the introduction of modern implements into a traditional agricultural system. This is followed by extremely detailed accounts of the crop plants and crop yields and the edible wild plants, fruits and insects and fauna which contribute to the Pedi diet. The second half of the volume is devoted to food preparation and the menus and recipes of the Pedi culture and an account of their cooking utensils. There is an analysis and discussion of diet surveys carried out on a number of individuals over a prolonged period of time and there is finally a review of the health of the tribe.

Although some of the food values are misquoted, it is a most comprehensive treatise of great value as a reference book for nutrition workers yet much of it is of general interest to any student of African ways of life.

J. R. K. ROBSON

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES FOR THE YEAR 1958

(Government Printer, Dar es Salaam, price 5s. net.)

There are two kinds of historical works that are difficult to review. One of these are those articles, not uncommon in the East African Press, which are so inaccurate as to curdle the milk of human kindness, small quantities of which survive even in the breasts of archaeologists. The others are so good as to leave nothing to be said except praise. The Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities for the year 1958 belongs to the latter category. All that can be done by the baffled reviewer is to give the reader a synopsis of what he is going to find. In this admirable publication, there is a description of over 60 historical sites in Tanganyika, including Tongoni and Kaole, where there are remains of the past, 1 distribution map, 2 site plans, 4 mosque plans, 2 line drawings, 1 section, and 7 plates. Kilwa is only briefly mentioned as it is covered by the articles in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, October 1959. The price is Shs. 5/- and it is printed by the Government Printer, Dar es Salaam. Go and buy it. It is the best buy in the three Territories.

J. S. KIRKMAN

EAST AFRICAN EXPLORERS

Selected and introduced by Charles Richards and James Place

(Oxford University Press 1960. 8s. 6d. net.)

This little book is a very welcome addition to the World's classics series of selections from the writings of explorers, in which volumes dealing with West African, South African and Australian exploration have also been published. It contains extracts from the accounts of their travels by seventeen travellers in East Africa in the nineteenth century, beginning with Krapf and Rebmann in the 'forties and ending with Lugard, Macdonald, Gregory and Austin in the 'nineties. A surprising omission is that there is no example of Burton's individual prose style.

This book contains much that will be of great interest to Tanganyika readers, in particular the accounts of Rebmann's travels in Chaggaland and his first sight of the snows of Kilimanjaro, Krapf's journeys in Usambara, Charles New's ascent to the Kilimanjaro snow-line, Cameron's Livingstone Relief Expedition, and the remarkable journey through Tanganyika of twenty-two-year-old Joseph Thomson, as well as extracts from the better known works of Livingstone, Stanley, Speke and Grant. The modern reader for whom travel in East Africa has been made easy by road, rail and air must needs wonder at the qualities of body, mind and character which enabled these men to face and surmount the dangers and difficulties of every kind with which they had to contend. It is wellnigh impossible nowadays to imagine the separation from their own world which the journeys of the nineteenth century explorers of East Africa involved. Nevertheless, although these men must have had qualities in common, it is impossible not to be struck by the differences in character revealed in their writings. The conclusion seems to be that there is no single "explorer type", there is a definite "exploring spirit".

It is a pity to have to find fault with such a useful and interesting book, but it must be stated quite firmly that the only map it contains is, regrettably, deplorable. It is full of misprints and does not sufficiently illustrate the journeys described in the text. Without adequate maps a travel book necessarily loses much of its value and interest. It is to be hoped that there will be further editions and that the opportunity of remedying this defect will be taken, even if it means a separate map for each section and an increase in price. A further improvement would be short footnotes on some of the more interesting places and persons mentioned in the text.

W. WENBAN-SMITH

THE ASIANS OF EAST AFRICA

By L. W. Hollingsworth

(Macmillan, 1960, 20 illustrations, price 8s. 6d. net.)

East Africa is already greatly in Dr. Hollingsworth's debt. *His Short History of the East Coast of Africa*, first published in 1926, and intended for school use in Zanzibar, has deservedly had a far wider circulation. It has been the introduction to East African history not only for countless Africans but for very many others as well. This work was the pioneer history of the East Coast, and if, as might be expected, more recent discoveries have caused some of it to be superseded, and if more is known in detail now than was known then, it still remains accurate in its general outlines.

In a recent article in *Tanganyika Notes and Records* No. 55 (The Historiography of the East African Coast) I called attention to the need for the study of the history of Asians in East Africa—Asians form 1 per cent only of the East African population. But, together with Europeans, they pay no less than 80 per cent of the taxes. Thus the importance of the Asian community (or communities) is out of all proportion to its numerical strength. It dominates the commercial life of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar, and began to do so as long ago as the late fifteenth century. Thirty years before Burton and Speke set eyes on Lake Tanganyika, Asian traders were the first non-Africans to see the waters of Lake Victoria; and, in the nineteenth century it was Asian enterprise that opened up East Africa to European commerce. Under different forms of government, German and then British in Tanganyika, British in all the rest, the commercial achievement of the Asian community has gone from strength to strength. It is with amazement that one must record that no previous historian has attempted to measure their achievement. Once again, Dr. Hollingsworth's brief (perhaps too brief!) introduction to the subject has placed all the peoples of East Africa in his debt. His present work is one which has been badly needed for a long time.

He begins with a review of early contacts with India. Little is known of Asians in pre-Portuguese times, but for certain there were Hindu merchants in all the ports when the Portuguese arrived in East Africa. He attempts no account of Indian Muslims in this period. The Hindus were the community especially encouraged by Sayyid Said of Oman and Zanzibar (1804–1856) to settle in Muscat, and to follow him when he moved to Zanzibar, finally in 1840. They form the majority among the Asian community, and no explanation is offered why the settlement of Muslim Asians from India was a slower and less numerous development. Sayyid Said gave the greatest encouragement to Asian settlement and trade, and under him and his successors until 1890, when the post was abolished, the key appointment of Customs Master—which in fact was the principal financial post of the Busaidi government—was in Hindu hands except for one brief period of five years when it was held by Stanley's friend Taria Topan, a distinguished Ismaili. In this period not only did Asian business houses lay the foundations of commercial prosperity throughout the coast, but individual traders set themselves up and brought to the African producer some share of the consumer goods which they had never enjoyed before. This development has continued with even greater strength in the present century.

In the period between the Scramble for Africa and the end of the first World War the Asian population was greatly reinforced by the introduction of Indian troops by the British, and even more by the importation of Indian labourers for the building of the railway from Mombasa to Uganda. A peak figure of 19,742 railway employees was reached in 1900. At this period there could be no question of employing African labour, for the tribesmen were not prepared to enter such employment. Many of these Indians died from the climate and from unsatisfactory sanitary conditions, but sufficient remained to form a nucleus of skilled artisans, clerks, and, above all, small traders. These last were the founders of the new prosperity, both in the collection of primary produce for export and in the distribution of consumer goods in a manner with which no European could have competed. Chapters follow in which certain of the more important aspects are dealt with in some detail: Indian agricultural development of sisal, cotton and sugar; the especial political problems of Indians in Kenya, and the contentious questions of the reservation of land to Europeans in the highlands, the segregation of Indians in townships, Indian representation in the legislature and the restrictions upon Indian immigration. These difficult matters are most fairly and judicially considered, with ample and valuable references to government and other documents. The equally contentious question of the clove industry of Pemba and Zanzibar likewise receives separate consideration, and the thorny matters of restrictions upon trading outside townships and of immigration other than into Kenya. To Africans as to Europeans a chapter of particular value is the description of the religious tenets of the various Asian communities, Hindu, Ismaili, Ithna'ashari, Bohora and the very small group of the Ahmadiya, together with a review of the growth of their educational system. Dr. Hollingsworth points out that these religious differences and the fact that in all four territories Asian education has been organized chiefly upon denominational lines has tended to breed a strong sense of separation between the communities rather than a sense of a single Asian community. To him "perhaps the gravest sources of Asian weakness lies in the extremely heterogeneous nature of the Asian community itself, for it is divided by strong religious and sectarian rivalries". It is urgent, in his view, for Asians to find a solution to the problem of living in a multi-racial (or non-racial) community, and this, as he points out, can only be achieved "by the co-operation of the Africans who constitute nearly 99 per cent of the population". In the occupations which Asians have especially made their own, Africans are now entering as competitors. Nevertheless, "in the opinion of the Royal Commission, the East African territories still urgently need outside capital, enterprise and skill". Indeed, without this help from Europeans and Asians, the African peoples might find it impossible under the pressure of growing numbers of population to maintain "even the degree of improvement which has already occurred".

This is clearly a book which everyone should read if he is to be at all informed on a number of questions of burning moment. Its style is easy and pleasant, and each chapter is followed by Reference Notes containing material for further reading. It is admirably illustrated.

Some very minor criticisms may be offered. Lord de la Warr's name has been consistently mis-spelt de la Ware. A most important Asian figure in East African history who has been overlooked is Ahmad ibn Majid, whose

logbooks have recently been published in Russia, and who was the Indian Muslim pilot who took Vasco da Gama across the Indian Ocean on his first voyage. It would have been valuable to have considered the part played by Indian mariners in the middle ages, and especially by Muslims. Among these one would have expected specific mention of Muhammed Rukn al-Din al-Dabuli, who was Treasurer of Kilwa with his brother when the Portuguese arrived. Muhammed became a puppet ruler for a while in 1506, only to be murdered and succeeded by his son in less than a year. This matter leads to the omission of an important matter which was discussed by Sir John Gray in *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 36, 1954, and the Wadebuli and the Wadiba. The Wadebuli appear to have come from Gujerat, and the Wadiba from the Maldives. The evidence in this matter is by no means as full as one would like, but Sir John Gray's thesis has won general acceptance amongst scholars. Surely the Wadebuli merit attention if only because tradition asserts that they introduced firearms to the coast and also brought in a new style of building? Finally, in the description of the different Asian communities, there is a notable omission of any discussion of the Sikhs, who are surely more numerous and important than the Ahmadiya.

Some several years ago your reviewer had the pleasant privilege of giving a series of lectures on East African history to a large group of Asian teachers at Tanga. Dr. Hollingsworth's book suggests to him that it may be worth repeating some of his own remarks on Asians in East Africa. We know far too little of the economic growth of East Africa in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Hardly any of what we do know comes from Asian sources. This is a most serious gap, for it causes a risk that accounts of Asian endeavour may be one-sided. Yet in many of the older Asian business houses there are accounts and family papers which could illumine the growth of the commerce of East Africa and which could give a lively account of their struggle. Most of these papers are in Gujerati, some in other Indian languages. Such enquiry as I have been able to make suggests that there is no European historian equipped to review or interpret them. In 1957 the Bohora community, at their conference in Nairobi, announced their intention to have their own history written. Since this community includes some of the oldest and most important business houses, such a work cannot fail to be of absorbing interest. Your reviewer therefore hopes to hear more of this project, and hopes too that other communities may follow the Bohora example. But we need to know not only of the great business houses. The determined and courageous struggle of the smaller Asian traders in small townships and even in the bush are in sum of no less interest and importance. If these needs are not fulfilled, there will be a most serious gap in the history of East Africa. It may be said that there are many competent historians in present-day India and Pakistan who would be capable of undertaking such major tasks. But there is also ample room for the publication of articles of more limited scope, for which a forum is provided by *Tanganyika Notes and Records* and also by the Uganda Journal.

For such future work Dr. Hollingsworth has paved the way by an admirable introduction to the subject—just as thirty years ago he paved the way for detailed studies in the history of the coast. May his new book enjoy as wide a circulation as the old!

G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE

AHMAD IBN MAJID

(Three unpublished log books, translated and edited by T. A. Shumovsky,
Leningrad 1957, 195 pages, with map)

Captain Alan Villiers tells me that the name of Ahmad ibn Majid is still vilified at Malindi, from which in 1498 he set out and showed Vasco da Gama the way to India.

Ahmad ibn Majid was probably the leading Arab pilot of his age, and a description by himself of the extent of his knowledge is in itself a description of the trade routes of the Indian Ocean. The present work, a facsimile Arabic reproduction of the manuscript at Leningrad, illustrates his voyages between Sofala and Kilwa on the one hand and far away to Calicut on the other. It is illustrated by a map, of contemporary date, but which I find it hard to believe Ibn Majid can have drawn up himself; for Pemba is shown as two separate islands, the northern half being shown as Kanbalu (which is, of course, as Dammann has shown, the Mkumbuu peninsula on which the recent excavations have been described in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*). There is also a Russian translation of the Arabic, a historical introduction and a commentary, together with a useful, if somewhat old-fashioned, bibliography.

This work deserves translation into English—and, indeed, Swahili too. It is wholly objective in its treatment. It deserves to be widely read as a first-hand document for the trade and navigation of the Indian Ocean in the late fifteenth century, of which the gold and ivory producing state of Kilwa was by no means an unimportant component. But few people indeed read medieval Arabic and, outside its homeland, few Russian. The book could have had the wider sale that it merits had it been provided with a parallel translation, or at least some summaries, in English.

G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE

FORT JESUS AND THE PORTUGUESE IN MOMBASA

By C. R. Boxer and Carlos de Azevedo

(Published by Hollis and Carter, London: 1960 Price:—2ls. net.)

This book is divided into two parts, each by a different author; the first part comprises a history of the Portuguese presence on the Swahili Coast, 1593–1729; the second is a detailed account, embodying much research, of the building of that sole surviving monument to Portuguese colonialism in East Africa—Fort Jesus. The book as a whole is inspired by the generous offer of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation to finance the restoration of Fort Jesus, and a timely guide to an aspect of East African history on which the standard work (by Justus Strandes, in German), has long been out of print.

The first part is by Professor Boxer, whose underlying thesis is that the collapse of Portuguese influence on the Swahili Coast was due mainly to the incompetence of the Portuguese leaders involved; not, as is often supposed, to “the inherent rottenness of the Indo-Portuguese colonial system”, as Justus Strandes believed. If only, Professor Boxer thinks, “the daring Joseph Pereira de Brito” had been in charge of the expeditions to relieve Fort Jesus, “instead of

the irresolute Luis de Mello de Sampaio or the inept Francisco Pereira da Silva", then a "crushing defeat" would have been inflicted on the besiegers. "Similarly, had the tactful Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho been appointed Governor of Mombasa instead of the tactless Alvaro Cuetano de Mello, the rebellion of 1729 would in all probability never have occurred."

However one judges this hypothesis-in-retrospect, the average reader will undoubtedly suspect that Professor Boxer has a curiously obsessive tendency to defend Portuguese administration of the Swahili Coast, sometimes even to the extent of uttering a non-sequitor:

"The Portuguese were usually most uncomplimentary about the character of the Swahili, but their English successors were no more flattering to them."

Part II of the book, by Carlos de Azevedo, will be a delight to those interested in military architecture. A writer once described Fort Jesus as "the grim shapeless mass of rock known, by some blasphemous irony, as Fort Jesus". But however much we may have subscribed to this outlook in the past, the expert's eye now guides us to the view, well documented, that what we perceive is not a shapeless mass of rock, but a "remarkable product of sixteenth-century architectural theory", the conception of which "marks a high point of Renaissance thought". If you are interested in the details of military architecture in any age, Part II of this book will repay study.

Some twenty-one pleasant photographs illustrate the book, and six maps or diagrams; it also has seven appendices, a Glossary and a Bibliography. The ordinary reader may find a distraction in the profusion of footnotes, richly studded with quotations in Portuguese, and in the fact that, for example, Appendix E, giving the quotations from documents on which the account of the building of Fort Jesus is based, is incomprehensible to anyone who happens not to understand Portuguese. Nevertheless, this is not a book to be ignored by serious students of East African history. Furthermore, anyone visiting Mombasa and tempted to look at Fort Jesus may now feel lost without having read this fresh assessment.

BERYL L. LAKE

INDIAN PEOPLE IN NATAL

By Hilda Kuper

(Natal University Press, 1960. 305 pages)

At a time when South African social policy is the subject of widespread criticism it is refreshing to be reminded of the tradition of objective scholarship at some of its universities. In the field of Social Anthropology it is a long and vigorous tradition associated with the names of Shapera, Wilson, Fortes, Krige and many others. Understandably, their energies have been mainly devoted to the study of African Society and an imposing literature now exists in this field; but until recently little academic interest has been shown in the South African Indian Community. Hilda Kuper has pioneered the study of Indian Society in the Durban area, and during the past six years has contributed a

number of informative articles to South African and overseas journals. It is most appropriate that her first major work on the subject should be published in the centenary year of the arrival of the first immigrants from India.

The introductory historical sketch, tracing families back to their widely scattered districts of origin in India and classifying them according to language, religion, caste and occupation, is sufficient to equip the reader for the main theme of the book. This is essentially a study of the family, its structure, practices and values, and its adaptation to the environment of Natal. It would have been easy for the author to succumb to the temptation of attempting too much in one volume, for although the Indian Community comprises no more than 3 per cent of the South African population, it is more diversified in origin, culture and social divisions than any other section of the country's multi-racial population. All the numerous divisions of the Indian Community deserve detailed study, but the author has rightly concentrated upon the Hindus who comprise three-quarters of the total Indian population of the Durban area.

Yet to have studied the Hindu social structure in isolation as something entirely separate from the rest of the Indian Community would have produced a distorted social picture, for apart from the emergence of new social groupings, there is a growing number of relationships and associations which transcend sectional divisions. In recent years the decline of sectional exclusiveness has become even more marked, for in addition to the normal forces which make for greater social cohesion, the pressure of apartheid legislation has drawn together people of diverse backgrounds, motivated by a common urge to defend their established rights. Due weight has been given to these forces and to their effect upon the Hindu way of life.

Isolated from India by distance and by the ban of further immigration, Hindu society is largely cut off from its cultural roots. Yet the forces of tradition remain strong. South African Hindus, it is emphasized, tend to ritualize more than they philosophize, and it is the ritual and form, rather than the philosophy and beliefs of the community that claim priority in this volume. Making use of numerous case studies the kinship structure and behaviour patterns of the Hindu community have been analysed, showing how the complex rituals, customs and symbols have been preserved or modified.

Much that this book contains is picturesque, but it also has a tragic element. Throughout, there runs the story of a people who in the sugar fields and market gardens, in the shops and factories have contributed greatly to the economic development of their new homeland. In their efforts to adapt themselves to a society dominated by predominantly European values and conventions they have become ill-fitted to return to their country of origin. They claim to be an integral part of South African society, but by the government they are regarded as unassimilable aliens.

The author has made few academic concessions in order to attract a wide reading public, but the natural fascination of the subject matter has been enhanced by a pleasant literary style and well-chosen illustrations. One would naturally like to see a similar study undertaken in East Africa.

A. T. C. SLEE

LAND AND POLITICS AMONG THE LUGURU OF TANGANYIKABy Roland Young and Henry Fosbrooke*

(Routledge and Kegan Paul price 35s. net.)

This is a welcome book by two most competent sociologists, Henry Fosbrooke, formerly Senior Sociologist in this territory and now Director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in Northern Rhodesia, and Roland Young, Professor of Political Science at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois. Henry Fosbrooke spent much time on the Uluguru while in Tanganyika and is the author of chapters III and IV and part author of chapter II and the appendices; Professor Young studied in Morogoro for several months in 1958 and in addition to part of chapter II and the appendices is the author of chapters I, V, VI, VII and VIII.

The book is the fourth in the Northwestern University's programme of African Studies, the purpose of which "is to make available to scholars and the general public first-hand knowledge about Africa"; it certainly succeeds in its object and will be welcomed by both classes of readers. It is an excellent example of useful collaboration, its facts are authentic, and the style cleverly avoids the jargon of sociology proper and "writing down" to the ordinary person.

The story is generally of the political and social development of the Waluguru over the past decades and of the grafting of modern administrative methods on to the old tribal organization, with the results thereof; and more particularly of the reasons for the riots at Matombo in July, 1955 which followed an attempt by Government to get the Waluguru to terrace their lands. The "smoke in the hills" is the smoke which was daily to be seen after the riots as the tribesmen, having rebelled against agricultural laws designed for their benefit, triumphantly and defiantly set fire to the trash on their holdings. There is a masterly and (appropriate phrase) "down to earth" analysis of the stresses between the people, their headmen and the Government; between the technical officers, purist in intent, and the administrative officers who had to try to "put across" unpopular measures; and of the weaknesses, but good intentions, of the Uluguru Land Usage Scheme itself.

Henry Fosbrooke, in supplying the background of the Luguru social and cultural organization, is, as you would expect, factual, interesting and clear. Professor Young, giving the remainder of the story, has obviously dug deep for his material: and he gives a useful final chapter, written in 1959, stating the difficulties then facing African chiefs as a class and giving, with some vision, possible future trends in the relationship between local government bodies and the future nationalist central government. Everyone will agree that "the establishment of political controls on a territorial wide basis may be the most profound of all changes that have come over Africa". Then, says the Professor, "new political forces, commanding great allegiance, are being created and there are new political leaders whose power is not based on tradition and who . . . bring the African masses along with them. Once the old restraints have been broken and the old system pushed aside, the possibility of strong, perhaps autocratic control from the centre is considerable. The transformation in the locua of power may be unexpectedly rapid". No one will be likely to disagree with this, either.

F. H. PAGE-JONES

*Published in United States of America by Northwestern University Press under the title "Smoke in the Hill." Price \$ 5/50.

EAST AFRICAN CHIEFS

Edited by Audrey Richards

(Faber and Faber, price 42s. net.)

Dr. Audrey Richards was Director of the East African Institute of Social Research at Makerere from 1950 to 1956, and while there acted also as co-ordinator of studies for various sociologists and historians working under grants made by such bodies as the Colonial Social Research Council, the American Social Science Research Council and others, and by the Dutch Government. This book, a study of political development in certain Uganda and Tanganyika tribes, is a collection of papers written by, or from notes by, her own staff and these outside scholars. There is also a valuable chapter by Mrs. E. M. Chilver, Director of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies at Oxford, and there are general introductory chapters and conclusions by Dr. Richards herself.

It was always a source of disappointment to the Administration in Tanganyika that Dr. Richards and her helpers in general confined themselves to studies of the lakeside tribes of Uganda (Lakes Victoria and Albert) and of the few tribes in Tanganyika allied to them, namely the Bahaya, Bazinza and Baha, with only occasional excursions elsewhere. This programme was logical from Dr. Richards' point of view since these tribes were all within comparatively easy reach of her Makerere headquarters, had much in common and a standard pattern of study could be devised for them. But of Tanganyika tribes the book deals also only with those mentioned (with an additional excellent chapter, by "Gus" Liebenow, on the Sukuma Federation), and since it leaves so much of the rest of the vast field untouched, will be equally disappointing to Tanganyika readers.

Another important limitation of the book is that all the material gathered for it dates back to the early fifties. At that time the great wind of political change in Africa was scarcely more than an indiscernible breeze, at any rate in East Africa. The papers deal with the adaptation of the tribal structure to modern trends in local Government only and so, by themselves, accurate and informative as they are, are very much of academic interest only today.

What is wanted now is further volumes on the development of national political parties and the interaction of these with tribal and local government structures: not only of the Haya, Zinza, Ha and the Sukuma, but of the remainder of Tanganyika as well. A tall order, no doubt, and one that may remain unfulfilled.

Within the limits described, however, the book, as stated, is a most valuable record. Accounts are given of the traditional ways of selecting chiefs, sub-chiefs and headmen at all levels and of the elaborate and intricately balanced systems of inheritance and patronage which seemed to assure power or influence to all parties as needed. Then follow descriptions of the efforts of the British Administration to introduce first steps in democracy on the western pattern in East Africa, namely by the introduction of elected local government councils; and to widen the field of local government authority to include social and agricultural services hitherto unknown. Interesting tables are provided giving the comparative ages, standards of education, length of tenure of office (woefully short in many cases), previous employment (as clerks in central or local government) and other useful data in respect of chiefs and headmen.

With the advantages of hindsight Dr. Richards' comments on the reaction of both chiefs and people of the time to efforts to "train, supervise and push" them along the path of progress are illuminating. "There is already evidence", she says, "of a sense of irritation among villagers at the constant pressure they have been under to build better houses, cultivate in different ways and generally to adopt more European standards. The feeling is rarely expressed except in time of crisis"—and here one remembers events in Uluguru, Uhehe, Sukumaland and elsewhere—"but it is a striking fact how (the first emergent political parties) are said by the villagers to favour a return to the old ways and to a world where there will be no latrines to dig and no anti-erosion ridges to make". And there is the chief who says to the administrator "Why don't you enforce the soil erosion measures yourselves since you think them necessary? Then the people would not hate me."

Written of Uganda, that certainly goes, or had gone, for Tanganyika too. "Even elected councils", says Dr. Audrey, "might vote for the continuance of systems which appear to the European observer to be undemocratic because they have become symbols of a way of life".

Time goes on and ideas change and there is much virtue and profit in people doing things for themselves. But with our present wide variations in education and standards of living in Tanganyika it seems clear that the treatment of these fundamental problems, in 1960 and succeeding years, is still bound to be a severe test for the men of the new responsible government. They will have the best wishes of us all.

F. H. PAGE-JONES

EAST AFRICAN CITIZEN

By Ronald E. Wraith

(Oxford University Press—price, 9s. 6d. net.)

It is a measure of the speed of recent advance in East Africa that the political parts of this admirable text-book on the problems to which students should be applying their minds today are already dated. This is inevitable at a period when political change is measured in months rather than years: but the economic and social problems remain and change, if at all, more slowly and with far greater effort. For with them the struggle is not with a paternal over-lord in a hurry to be done with the embarrassments of empire, but with the unsympathetic and unyielding facts of East African life, in a region poor in minerals, in soil and water, and in human skills.

Mr. Wraith states his problems with the necessary clarity, and readably (so much so that this volume of 219 pages will undoubtedly be read by a wider public than the "teachers, undergraduates and extra-mural students" to whom it is addressed). It is forthright in style and in opinion, and wisely takes as a basic source that huge collation of fact The Royal Commission Report of 1955.

If there is to be a criticism, it is likely to come from Tanganyika, in that Mr. Wraith has fallen into the too common fault of using the title "East African" and then discussing Kenya and Uganda. This is particularly to be seen in the chapters on urban conditions, which are so different in Tanganyika from those in the other territories. The picture (page 54) of Africans "wedged into one or

two corners of the city, or round the outer fringes, possibly outside the municipal boundary altogether or possibly on huge bleak municipal housing estates far away from the centre", while true enough of Nairobi or Kampala, is simply not true of Dar es Salaam where well over 12,000 African-owned houses, scattered in all areas from the very centre to the fringes, but never far from the areas of employment, quite outweigh the 1,840 municipal quarters in their four groups.

Again the reference to bed-spaces and all the paraphernalia of controlled housing is inapplicable to the large Tanganyika towns, which impose in practice no such control either on the standards of building or on the numbers who may live in each house. Perhaps the most damaging is the statement (page 118) that when a town expands Africans are moved without compensation. If this is true elsewhere in East Africa it is certainly not true in the towns of Tanganyika.

In one other passage (page 110) Mr. Wraith is hardly to be blamed as he merely repeats an error made by the Royal Commission, which quoted a calculation that "the average number of persons living (in Dar es Salaam) in a room 16 feet by 20 feet is eight". This is based on a sample taken by E. C. Baker in 1939 which found an average of eight persons, not in a room 16 feet by 20 feet, but in a house of six to nine such rooms. The most recent figure (1956/7 Social Survey) is a little under two persons to a room.

With these minor criticisms *East African Citizen* may be commended as a refreshingly concise, direct and honest statement of the problems of this region.

J. A. K. LESLIE.

THE SKELETAL REMAINS OF BAMBANDYANALO

By Professor A. Galloway

(Witwatersrand University Press—price £2 0s. 0d. net.)

The pre-history and proto-history of Man in Africa has naturally been less well worked out than in other parts of the world with a longer history of anthropological research. Any publication, therefore, which throws light on the nature, habits and distribution of earlier peoples in this continent is sure of a welcome. The South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research are to be congratulated for sponsoring the publication of this book, the main substance of which is the thesis submitted by Professor (then Doctor) Galloway for the degree of Doctor of Science of the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. This thesis dealt with the human remains discovered during excavations near Bambandyanalo Hill, south of the Limpopo River in the Transvaal. The thesis has been amplified by the author and extended by a Foreword and an Epilogue written respectively by Professors Dart and Tobias.

Since the earlier work of such men as Elliot Smith and Keith, many anatomists have quite naturally given a great deal of thought and time to the morphology and anthropometry of human remains. Professor Galloway was fortunate enough to be able to study 37 part skeletons from one site in a good state of preservation and he has undoubtedly made the most of his opportunity. Whereas conclusions drawn from a small number of bones are apt to be challenged due to the operation of random variation, no such criticisms can be levelled at the general findings resulting from a careful examination of a large number of such specimens found in close proximity to one another.

The book falls naturally into three divisions. In the first, amongst other things, is a foreword by Professor Dart which summarizes the story of the remains. It seems that in 1932, a farmer, his son and some friends scaled a hill called Mapungubwe, adjacent to Bambandyanalo, a "place of dread to the local Bantu". There they found evidences of human civilization, including gold and other metal objects. Excavation of this site brought to light 11 skeletons which were examined by Dr. Galloway. Probably due to the examination of the cultural objects in the upper layers only, it had been considered that the sites were Bantu. This conclusion was strongly challenged by the author. Later, excavation extended to the site K2 near Bambandyanalo, and the bones discovered here were also examined by Dr. Galloway before the second World War. He concluded, as he had done after his previous work, that the remains "represent a homogeneous Boskop-Bush population physically akin to the post-Boskop inhabitants of the coastal caves," (p. 125). These are pre-Bantu indigenous types. A dating of the charcoal found on the two adjacent sites and some from Zimbabwe (using radio-isotope methods) gave the following results:—Bambandyanalo was probably occupied in the 11th century A.D., Mapungubwe in the 14th and Zimbabwe in the 6th to 8th centuries A.D.

The second part of the book records the extensive work of Professor Galloway in measuring and describing the bones. The mass of detail that has resulted will probably only appeal to professional anatomists, but one can only be impressed by the author's application. As Professor Tobias points out, the work has not been restricted to a mere catalogue of measurements, for each of these is liable to be influenced by several variables, but has involved accurate descriptions and comparisons of minor morphological details of the bones of Boskop, Bush and Negroid types. Professor Galloway's conclusion is quoted above.

In the final section, Professor Tobias sketches the development of South African Anthropology from 1938 to 1958. He defines the Boskop concept. They were a race with large and massive skulls and short, broad faces, first detailed by Galloway as a type. They pre-dated the Bush people, living in the Middle Stone Age. They persisted into proto-history, as at the sites under discussion, in groups with mixed Boskop-Bush features. They were probably active in mining, amongst other things, and had links with Arabia via the coastal settlements. Professor Tobias attempts to develop a thesis that the Bush type had developed locally from one of these earlier Boskop peoples by local evolution and then digresses somewhat, and not too happily, to discuss nomenclature of types of early indigenous inhabitants, for there is now considerable evidence that the Boskop is only one of a number of physical types existent in those early days. Some of the remains at the sites excavated in the area discussed in this book show evidence of slight hybridisation with Kakamas (Hottentots) and Europoid strains, for successive invasions of these peoples occurred during the period under review, and much later a Bantu element arrived. It is probable that the same early indigenous populations and invasion patterns will be found in East Africa—the few skulls examined so far fit into the pattern mentioned.

Mistakes are few, the format is good and the type clear. This book can be recommended to all those interested in the early history of this continent.

V. BLACKMAN.



