



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 of Tanganyika is arranged each month by the Society, to which members and their friends are cordially welcomed.

The Society enjoys the hospitality of the King George V Memorial Museum as its headquarters and members are privileged to use the Museum Library. In return the Library is enriched by the exchange journals reports and books sent for review which are donated by the Society.

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AMERICANS IN ZANZIBAR: 1845-1865*

PART II

By Norman Robert Bennett

In a previous study by the present writer the entry of American traders into Zanzibar and their rise to a position of dominance in that island's commerce has been recounted.¹ The purpose of this essay will be to detail their efforts to meet a rising tide of American and foreign competition and to recount the difficulties these Americans met with from Zanzibari and English officials in an island then "nearly as little known to our curiosity or commerce as a cape of the newly found ice-continent of the South Pole."²

With the departure of Richard P. Waters, the first American Consul and a dominant figure in the local commercial scene, a reorganization of the various interests represented in Zanzibar occurred. Waters, who had in his later years represented the Salem firm of George West, and had worked in close alliance with the Customs Master of Zanzibar, the Banyan Jairam Sewji, had shown the value of having the American Consul as an agent. Thus the competing Salem firm of John Bertram and Michael Shepard immediately prepared to approach the new Consul, Charles Ward. Shepard wrote to his newly appointed agent, B. Frank Fabens, that Ward who came from Maine was reputed to be a good businessman and that he feared the result of his being won over to the West group.³ Fabens however did not think such a step to be necessary. He said: "Respecting the new Consul, I cannot see that he can be of any use to me. The Consul must be a "big man", take things easily, and let others do his work for him, à la Waters."⁴ This estimate was undoubtedly due to Fabens' own inexperience, and perhaps also to a dislike for the dominating Waters, as that individual had worked steadily and efficiently to control the Zanzibar trade. Shepard and Bertram acquiesced in his advice for the moment, but they realized the value of the services of the American Consul and as will be seen secured him in 1848.

The dominant figure in the Zanzibar commercial world was now Jairam Sewji, the Customs Master and former associate of Waters. The aim of both the Salem combinations, Bertram-Shepard and West, now became to draw him into alliance with their own group as Waters had done previously. Jairam however, as the present writer has shown in his previous study, had been moving

Abbreviations used in footnotes:

P.M. Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass.

E.I. Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

F.A. Foreign Affairs Section, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

P.R.O. Public Record Office, London.

M.A.E. Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Brussels.

*The author wishes to thank the African Research and Studies Program of Boston University and the Ford Foundation for grants which aided in the research for this study.

¹"Americans in Zanzibar: 1825-1845," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*. Vol. XCV July, 1959, pp. 239-262. Reprinted T.N.R. 55.

²Editor's preface in J. Ross Brown, "Sketches of Zanzibar," *The American Review*, v.2 (1851), p. 154.

³M. Shepard to B. F. Fabens, 16 August, 1845, "Shepard Papers," P.M.

⁴B. F. Fabens to John Bertram, 3 June, 1845, "Fabens Papers," P.M.

to an independent position during the last part of Waters' term in Zanzibar. He saw greater possibilities for profit in an expanded Zanzibar market and now was to deal with all merchants in an independent manner calculated to bring him greatest returns. Jairam was to remain consistent in this attitude which enriched him personally, and the state of Zanzibar indirectly, until he left the Customs House. The American firms of course were oppose to this development, and especially the West group who had formerly worked through him; their agent had nothing but complaints for the new policy that favored the firm that "pays the most duty."⁵

The first few years after 1845 saw the leading position in commercial matters go to Bertram and Shepard who became known locally as the "big firm." In addition to the West group they had for competition an English firm represented by Robert Cogan. This firm at first dealt almost exclusively in coconut oil but in the late 1840s as the European market for this commodity fell off they branched out into the staple goods of the Zanzibar trade—ivory, copal, and cloves. They were never able to meet American competition and later were forced to leave the trade.⁶ American cotton goods were the key to the East African trade and although English manufactures early tried to deceive native buyers by stamping their cottons with American markings, they were unsuccessful in their efforts to gain trade and the English share in trade remained small.

In diplomatic affairs the American Consulate was to be a center of controversy. The Consul, Charles Ward, a man of determined character, insured this as he was ever ready to deal energetically with any real or assumed threats to the American lead in trade or to the national honor.

Captain Atkins Hamerton, the British Consul, an equally determined individual, had not had very good relations with the first American Consul. The situation did not improve with the coming of Charles Ward. Before passing to the English-American dispute, it might be mentioned that Ward also managed to embroil himself with the French Consul. In the fall of 1846 relations were broken off between this representative and Ward. The cause of this difficulty lay in the failure of Ward to raise his nation's flag to celebrate the birthday of the ruler of France; all other nations in Zanzibar did so. Ward later pleaded illness and tried to resume relations, but the Frenchman remained steadfast for some time. The real cause of the quarrel may have been in an early friction Ward had with the French; in 1844 he had complained of his inability to secure an appointment with the Sultan and became aroused when the Frenchman was able to obtain one.⁷

Ward's dispute with the English Consul was of greater importance. The point of issue was the status of the Indian residents of Zanzibar: were they subjects of the Sultan or of the British who ruled or protected their states in India? When Ward first arrived in Zanzibar Hamerton had told him that if he had difficulty with the Indian merchants to come to him and utilize his long experience from service in India. Ward had an immediate problem but ignored Hamerton's offer and instead took his problem direct to Said ibn Sultan.

⁵W. H. Jelly to R. P. Waters, 3 September and 17 December, 1845, "Waters Papers," P.M.

⁶B. F. Fabens to M. Shepard, 22 April 1845, "Shepard Papers."

⁷M. Guillain, *Documents sur l'Histoire, la Géographie et le Commerce de l'Afrique Orientale* (Paris, 1856), v.2, p. 22, 24; C. Ward to B. F. Fabens, ? 1844, "Fabens Papers."

The issue that Ward brought to the ruler was an unsettled bankruptcy case that the former American Consul had left with him to finish. A Banyan merchant had failed and all his debts except that owed to Waters had been fully paid. When Ward called on the Sultan to discuss the case he first asked whose subjects the Banyans were. Said answered that they were his. Ward then stated his business and asked his advice on how to secure the claim. Said replied that he would help him but that Ward should aim only to recover what was possible from the bankrupt's assets. Ward agreed at once but added that this Banyan's books were not in order and that he could prove it and thus receive Waters' full share. At this Said became angry and said that if Ward could really prove this he would make the offender pay double. An examination followed in which Ward was aided by Samuel Masury, the agent of George West, and the results showed more than enough assets to meet the full claim. When Said was shown the results however he hedged on his original statement and finally Ward was forced to settle for seventy per cent of the sum owed. Ward claimed that Hamerton had intervened frequently to uphold his claim to exercise British sovereignty over the Banyans during the fifteen months these negotiations required and contributed strongly to the final unsatisfactory result. As a result of this Ward and Hamerton ceased to hold communication with each other and were still in that state when the American captain who supplied the above information visited Zanzibar in October 1848.⁸ A report by Fabens upholds Ward's charges as this agent reported that Hamerton frequently intervened to prevent Banyans from paying the full sums owed by them.⁹

Ward was so incensed over this result that he wrote to the State Department on the quarrel. He reported that Said ibn Sultan had soon recanted his original statement to him on the nationality of the Banyans. To Ward's repeated importunities he had answered in February 1847: "My friend, there is no necessity for your asking such a question, for all the people understand who are Arab people and who are English people." Ward answered this diplomatic evasion by inquiring that if they were British subjects, as they at times maintained, why were they allowed to participate in the slave trade of the East African coast and to hold slaves in Zanzibar. He also asked why they were not excluded from the coastal trade; English subjects were not given the right to visit a certain area of the African coast by the terms of the English treaty of 1839, yet all the Banyans did so. No satisfactory answer was given.¹⁰ When Ward approached Hamerton on these points he was also put off. Hamerton said: "Mr. Ward, it is best not to agitate this slave question in Zanzibar as the natives do not understand it."¹¹

The question of nationality was eventually settled, but in a manner that left a strong feeling of injury on the side of the American representative. Said ibn Sultan clearly realized that he must remain on friendly terms with the British, the major power in the area, and had early decided to meet their wishes. He said to Ward: "Now my friend I am going to tell you something that perhaps you won't like very well." He pointed out that the English had earlier helped him in Arabia against his enemies and therefore it was immaterial to him whether the

⁸E. A. Emmerton, "Journal of a Voyage from Boston to Mozambique and c. in the bark *Sophronia*. . . in 1848-49," E.I.

⁹B. F. Fabens to M. Shepard, 28 January, 1845, "Shepard Papers."

¹⁰C. Ward to James Buchanan, 6 March, 1847, "Zanzibar and Muscat," F.A.

¹¹Emmerton, "Journal."

Banyans were subjects of England or of Zanzibar. He added that he considered the English and the Arab people as one! Said finished by saying that from now on each Banyan when dealing with an American would set down in writing his nationality and that he would accept this. Ward could only accept this decision and the controversy was outwardly settled. The American was not satisfied however since he considered that in the negotiations disrespect had been shown to the United States and its representative. He reported to the State Department that the activities of Hamerton were the main reason for this disrespect. He had suggested to Hamerton that each nationality dispute should be brought directly to the Sultan for his decision; Hamerton had refused this face-saving device and had carried his own interpretation through to acceptance. Ward was even more upset by his suspicion that in these negotiations with Said he could not even trust that ruler's officials; he said he could not use the official interpreter as "he is supposed to be in the pay of the British Consul."¹²

Unknown to Ward this problem of nationality had been settled between Hamerton and Said as early as 1841. At that time the Sultan, urged on by R. P. Waters and Jairam, had attempted to force the Indians resident in Zanzibar to sign a paper that they no longer held themselves to be citizens of the British but were nationals of the island. Hamerton had at once protested such a document was illegal and when many of the Indians had threatened to leave Zanzibar rather than to sign such an agreement the Sultan had unwillingly backed down.¹³ Hamerton then apparently let the matter ride and did not inquire too closely into the conduct of the Indians so long as no foreign power questioned their status. An English merchant of Zanzibar in this era pointed this out to the Foreign Office and thus supported the American's claim. He reported that the Indians continued to give the Sultan trouble as they changed their nationality to suit their immediate needs, hoisting the English or Arabic flag as the occasion required, and thus securing access to the closed area of the African coast.¹⁴

When the Sultan had hedged on the Indians' status to Ward he was probably trying to avoid his earlier agreement with Hamerton if possible and to keep his relations with the United States at a friendly level. However when Hamerton remonstrated to him he soon fell into line. He told Hamerton that he had heard from "many persons of different nations" that long residence in a country made an individual subject to it. Hamerton replied this did not apply to English subjects and the matter was closed. The English Consul added in his despatch to the Foreign Office that he had asked the Sultan if he had ever known an Indian to use both flags; the Sultan of course said he had never heard of such a thing and Hamerton added that he never had either!¹⁵ Lord Palmerston later wrote on the problem of Indian slaveholding that British subjects residing in foreign countries were liable to punishment either by receiving and becoming the owner of slaves in payment of debts or by selling slaves or exchanging them for money to settle a debt.¹⁶ The despatch was not acted on however as

¹²C. Ward to James Buchanan, 21 February, 1846, 6 March and 13 March, 1847, "Zanzibar and Muscat."

¹³A. Hamerton to J. P. Willoughby, 26 September, 1841, F.O. 54/4, P.R.O.

¹⁴"Memorandum of Captain Cogan relative to British Indian subjects residing at Zanzibar, 29 January, 1846," F.O. 54/10.

¹⁵A. Hamerton to Lord Aberdeen, 24 September, 1846, F.O. 54/10.

¹⁶Lord Palmerston to A. Hamerton, 19 March, 1847, F.O. 84/1847, P.R.O.

Hamerton maintained the attitude expressed above to Ward over interfering with local slaveholding. Finally it is interesting to note in view of the above reported conversation of Hamerton with the Sultan over Indian actions a later report of the English Consul. In reply to a question over the treatment of British subjects in Zanzibar Hamerton reported that the Indians had more rights than any other inhabitants of the island; they were free to visit the closed section of the coast "under the Imaum's Flag."¹⁷

The question of nationality was not alone in disturbing relations between Zanzibar and the United States. Other difficulties arose from the Sultan's entry into direct trade with England, from his tentative plans to send further vessels to the United States (a Zanzibari vessel had visited New York in 1840), and from his related efforts to preserve his monopoly of trade with that section of the coast prohibited to all foreign traders in all treaties but the American. The Sultan was in a powerful position to influence trade relations by his actions because on his own plantations he produced a million pounds of cloves and a quarter of a million pounds of sugar yearly. He also was able to gain products from the coast for the export trade at a cheaper rate than foreign merchants. All exports from Africa into Zanzibar had to pay an import tax to the Customs Master, thus raising their cost to the European and American agents. Said did not pay this duty and could undersell all competitors.

Before passing to the foreign merchants' agitation against these actions the story of the first visits of a Zanzibari vessel to New York and London bears recounting. The Sultan's ship *Sultani* arrived in New York harbor on 12 March 1840 bringing gifts to the President of the United States; it was under the command of an Arab captain, Sliman, and had a crew of fifty Arabs. The crew in their native dress made quite a sensation in the port and a New York paper reported: "The Collector and the District Attorney we are told spent all day yesterday engaged in brushing up their Arabic to work out the ship's papers."¹⁸ Said ibn Sultan later told Hamerton that his crew were a little too much of a sensation. Hamerton wrote:

They were tormented continually by the mob crowding the vessel to see the Arabs, looking on them as a curiosity—their privacy was intruded on, they were pulled by the beards, and otherwise insulted.¹⁹

The captain had brought presents for the President—two Arabian horses, a box of pearls, a Persian rug, etc.—but soon learned the Constitution was held to prevent gifts to government officials from foreign powers. It was first reported that the captain would not present them as they would be sold at auction, but he later presented them to the United States Government as the President refused them. Congress accepted and ordered them to be sold with the funds going to the Treasury. Congress then voted \$15,000 for gifts to the Sultan including a pleasure boat and examples of every kind of firearms available in the United States. In addition the *Sultani* was repaired and painted at government expense in the New York navy yard and given fourteen new guns to replace the four old

¹⁷A. Hamerton to Lord Palmerston, 15 December, 1848, F.O. 54/12.

¹⁸*Essex Register*, 7 May, 1840, quoting the *New York Courier and Enquirer*, and *Essex Register*, 14 May, 1840, from an article in the *New York American*.

¹⁹A Hamerton to Lord Palmerston, 10 February, 1842 F.O. 54/4.

ones she then possessed.²⁰ Thus ended the visit of the *Sultani*. The American gift to the Sultan fared about as well as his gifts to the United States. The pleasure yacht, costing about \$3,000, was found on arrival in Zanzibar to be impractical for the Sultan to use and he soon passed it on to the British Consul.²¹

The Zanzibari vessel *Caroline* arrived in London in July 1845 under the command of Captain Hassan ibn Yussuf. This visitor was a ship of war carrying a small cargo of cloves, coffee, dates, and coconut oil as an experimental venture on the English market.²² Hamerton had passed on the Sultan's request for better treatment for his crew in London than it had received in New York and although they were unmolested by the populace the visiting Zanzibaris had troubles of a different kind. One of the crew, an Englishman converted to Islam, deserted to the Anti-Slavery Society (it was later claimed he did so for money) who brought him to court to testify that twenty of the vessel's crew were slaves and that one of the crew had been murdered on the passage to England. This sailor also affirmed that the crew were harshly treated and were held against their wills. The London Police came to the vessel to investigate the charges and found no proof for any of them. Sir George Stephen of the Society persisted in his charges and published a letter concerning them in *The Times*. As a result fifteen of the crew were brought into the courts. They were all released when after examination all were held to be free. The agent of the Sultan in London felt all this action was a plan on the part of the Anti-Slavery Society to embarrass the slave-holding Sultan and requested the government to reimburse the Sultan for the expenses falling to him from these actions. A letter of the Sultan claimed the costs as £211.10.10.²³ No further record of the incident is given so probably the whole affair was allowed to lapse.

An American captain in Zanzibar reported on the measures used to dispose of the cargoes of a later vessel the Sultan had sent to England. This vessel, on which 35 to 40 members of the crew had died due to the climatic changes during the voyage, brought to Zanzibar cottons, muskets, brass wire and other popular goods for the local markets. Said had assembled all the native merchants and had told them what he had to sell; in the captain's words, this "amounted almost to an order that they should buy them." Said also fixed their selling price. The merchants then agreed among themselves as to how much of the goods each should receive and paid accordingly. It is interesting to note that when one of these merchants was unable to meet his payments for these goods the Sultan went to Hamerton and requested him to use his influence to have him imprisoned, demonstrating that he was willing to use the English claim of sovereignty to his own benefit.²⁴

The English merchants were naturally aroused over this transaction which if continued would drive them from Zanzibar. They petitioned the home government to end this situation but in Zanzibar received little support from Hamerton

²⁰*Essex Register*, 20 May, 1840, from an article in the *Providence Journal*; *Essex Register*, 4 June, 1840; *ibid.*, 30 July, 1840, from an article in the *New York Commercial Advertiser*.

²¹Joseph B. F. Osgood, *Notes or Recollections of Majunga, Zanzibar, Muscat, Aden, Mocha and Other Eastern Ports* (Salem, 1854), p. 66.

²²Newman, Hunt & Co., to Lord Aberdeen, 11 and 23 July, 1845, F.O. 54/8.

²³R. Hunt to Lord Aberdeen, 31 January, 1846, F.O. 54/10. Enclosures include the Stephen letter to *The Times* and the Sultan's letter.

²⁴Emmerton, "Journal," and Horace B. Putnam, "Journal (1847-48)," E.I.

who was reported by the American Consul to be somewhat indifferent to commercial matters. Hamerton after all was not a merchant as was his American counterpart and viewed such matters in a different light. The American merchants were also disturbed at what they considered the unfair competition of the Sultan, a fear that was increased by the report he was now considering direct trade to the United States. Ward felt Hamerton was influential in this threat since "he would enter into any intrigue to ruin American interests in this quarter". The Americans therefore joined with the British in protesting Said's actions and both groups threatened to leave Zanzibar and establish themselves directly on the African coast. This was a powerful threat since if the Americans did so, as their treaty allowed, the English and French could follow as they were given the rights of the most favored nation in their treaties.²⁵

It was true at least that Hamerton did not wholly support the two unhappy British merchants then in Zanzibar, Mr. Peters and Mr. Pollock. His main task was to insure good relations with the Sultan and to utilize these relations to check the East African slave trade. Although Fabens may have exaggerated when he reported earlier that Hamerton "interferes sadly with the English house," he did in this instance little for them. He wrote to the Foreign Office on the problem saying merely that the threats of monopoly by the Sultan were as yet merely rumor; Said so far had only sent to Europe the produce he grew himself and thus the English had no grounds for complaint. He discounted the threat of trade to the coast by the Americans by saying that Said's authority there was too limited to allow the Americans to do so safely (there was much truth in this contention). Palmerston agreed with Hamerton and no steps were taken; he wrote that since the Americans had a treaty giving this right the English were powerless to act in any case.²⁶ The affair soon became of little importance to the English since R. N. Hunt died in 1847 and the English firm closed down its operations in 1848.²⁷

Ward was not deterred by the lack of English support against the Sultan's plans and soon was undergoing diplomatic bickering with Said. This ruler was thoroughly aroused over the American threat to go to the coast and tried to force Ward to promise it would not be done. Ward emphasized that the Salem merchants had as yet made no move to utilize their treaty rights but would make no promise for the future. This was the essence of the American attitude; Fabens had written earlier that the American right should never be acted upon but merely kept as a weapon against the Sultan since the United States had no warships in the area to defend its rights as the Europeans did theirs. Said however did not know Ward's statements were diplomatic bluffing and soon became so aroused that he said he was ready to prevent the Americans from going to the coast by the use of force. To this threat Ward rather ungraciously answered that if the Sultan had the power to do this, why was he making such an effort to have the United States government restrain its subjects in this affair? Said's answer to this threat is not given but he did continue to press his claims and stated that he wanted a letter from the President securing him his coastal monopoly. The Sultan then scored a point for himself by adding that as the

²⁵C. Ward to B. F. Fabens, 3 January, 1848, "Fabens Papers."

²⁶A. Hamerton to Lord Palmerston, 25 and 26 March, 1847; Palmerston to Hamerton, 16 October, 1847, F.O. 54/11; B. F. Fabens to M. Shepard, 13 June, 1846, "Shepard Papers."

²⁷Guillain, *Documents*, v. 2, p. 368; A. Hamerton to Lord Palmerston, 26 July, 1849, F.O. 54/13.

American treaty did not prevent him from participation in trade to the United States, why were the Americans protesting? Ward did not answer this question and in the end both questions were referred to the State Department by Ward and the Sultan. Said, harking back to the conduct of the first American Consul in delivering his messages, took no chances this time and forwarded his note through an independent Salem captain, Andrew Ward, rather than through official channels.²⁸

Said's letter to President Polk stated that he had earlier asked to have American merchants forbidden officially to trade upon the coast but that he had not been satisfied with the answer and felt that hostile forces had not allowed the true wishes of the American government to be known. Said maintained that no foreign vessels had been allowed to trade on the coast for many years and thus the Americans were endeavoring to destroy an established custom of his people. He then appealed to the treaty itself and tried to block the American threat by stating that this document said that Americans could trade only where there were established customs houses. There were none on the coast and therefore the Americans would be acting in violation of the treaty by such acts.²⁹

Another dispute referred then to Washington must also be mentioned. American seamen had early introduced an element of disorder into Zanzibar when they came on shore for leave. One such incident is reported in 1843 when two Zanzibaris were shot by American seamen. Waters had tried to prevent further excesses by issuing a circular to all incoming vessels informing them that no firearms were to be allowed on shore and that all ship's crews had to return to their vessels at sundown.³⁰ In 1846 however seamen on shore from the whaler, *Ann Parry*, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, murdered a Zanzibari customs official. Several sailors were implicated and made a statement to the American Consul that fastened the guilt upon one of their number. These men were then brought to trial before a local judge in the presence of the Consul to formally settle the question of guilt. Ward in the meantime by further questioning had discovered that there was no actual proof to determine which of the group of sailors had actually committed the crime. The judge however refused to let Ward pursue the matter in court by cross examination and declared the seaman implicated in the original statement guilty. This individual was not considered guilty by Ward and therefore was allowed to return to his vessel which left the port without any punishment for the crime being inflicted. The Sultan became extremely angry over this procedure and strongly defended the action of his court. He maintained that Ward was now responsible for the restitution of the loss brought about by the crime. The Sultan suggested that a sum of \$800 would meet the loss caused by the Arab's death and would close the case. Ward of course refused to pay and this question was sent on with the others to the State Department. In the meantime local feeling was aroused against the Americans and against all whites in general and they were threatened with reprisal if they ventured on the streets after dark. The threat happily was not carried out.³¹

²⁸C. Ward to James Buchanan, 13 March, 1847; B. F. Fabens and S. Masury to C. Ward, 1 March, 1847; A. Ward to J. Bertram, 1 September, 1847; Said ibn Sultan to A. Ward, undated, "Zanzibar and Muscat;" B. F. Fabens to J. Bertram, 10 April, 1846, "Fabens Papers."

²⁹Said ibn Sultan to President Polk, 11 March, 1847, "Zanzibar and Muscat."

³⁰Circular, 16 March, 1843, "Waters Papers."

³¹Said ibn Sultan to President Polk, 7 March, 1847; C. Ward to J. Buchanan, 5 and 14 September, 1845; Said ibn Sultan to C. Ward, 4 September, 1846, "Zanzibar and Muscat."

The State Department replied to these many importunities in 1847. On the Sultan's request to forbid the Americans from trading on the coast, the President replied that as treaties in the United States were ratified both the Senate and himself he could not interfere to take away American privileges granted by treaty. The Secretary of State added in his letter to Ward that he should use his influence to restrict friction upon this point and while not actually forbidding Americans to trade on the coast, "to render their intercourse with that portion of his dominions as unobjectionable as possible" Said's demands on the murder case were turned down as being outside of treaty stipulations and Ward was instructed to act as he had previously—to use the local courts for American offenders in Zanzibari-American disputes. It was stated however that he should have the right of cross-examination recently denied to him. The case of the disputed sovereignty of the Indians of Zanzibar was quickly disposed of: the Secretary merely said the United States had no intention of intervening in this dispute. Finally, the Department informed Ward that he was to answer the American merchants' petition against Said trading directly with the United States by stating that our treaty allowed such action and it had to be upheld.³² As earlier the United States' government had demonstrated it would not push for any extreme rights in Zanzibar. American interests there were a minor point to the national government and the State Department acted in a fashion designed to keep friction at a minimum while not sacrificing any recognized American rights.

In Zanzibar these decisions were accepted and the disputes lost their acerbity. The American merchants and the Sultan made an informal agreement to end their disputes concerning the coastal trade; the Sultan gave up his attempt for a coastal monopoly (much to the joy of Jairam) and the Americans promised not to open a direct trade there. On the judicial question the Sultan soon refused to intervene in any disputes involving Americans and Zanzibaris and allowed the American Consul *de facto* extra-territorial rights in such matters. The Americans also accepted the decision on the nationality of the Indians, though unhappily, and this problem was heard of no more. A period of quiet in diplomatic relations then followed—but it was to be of short duration.

Before passing to new disputes let us examine the course of American trade in the years between 1845 and 1850. As related earlier the Americans, represented by the firms of Bertram-Shepard and of George West, were holding first position in the trade of Zanzibar. The main problems in the first part of this troubled five years arose from the intensive competition between these two firms and from continual friction with Zanzibari officials and merchants who welcomed the frequent unscheduled merchant vessels, both European and American, into the local market. It is a story of repeated attempts to monopolize the trade by one firm, or by both, in combinations with local merchants, and soon involved the American Consul in a manner reminiscent of the earlier R. P. Waters.

In the first years after 1845 the main threat to the Salem dominance was from vessels touching at Zanzibar from Boston and from Providence, Rhode Island. Boston vessels had visited Zanzibar from the first years of American contact, but the Providence vessels, reported from 1845 on,³³ represented new competition.

³²President Polk to Said ibn Sultan, 11 October, 1847; James Buchanan to C. Ward, 7 October, 1847, "Papers of the Zanzibar Consulate," F.A.

³³The logbook of the *Richmond* of Salem reports the *Montgomery* of Providence in Zanzibar, entry of 5 July, 1845, E.I.

Providence was an old trader in the West African markets and was soon to be important here, a firm sending an agent in the 1850's. In the meantime their occasional ships did much to rouse the ire of the Salem group.

Captain Emmerton of the *Sophronia* of Boston has left an account of how a non-Salem vessel fared under these conditions. He arrived in Zanzibar in July, 1848 and was advised by Hamerton to do business through Jairam. Emmerton agreed and found Jairam ready to accommodate him at once. The merchant Topan, father of the well-known Taria Topan, was contacted and a contract was soon agreed to. Topan took the American's cargo and agreed to dispose of it in five and one-half month's time. In return he would supply Emmerton with ivory and copal delivered within four months. A sample of the copal to be loaded was brought for inspection and when Emmerton accepted it Topan was bound to deliver a cargo consistent in content with the sample.

Topan had been eager to make this contract as there were then no other American vessels in port. One belonging to Shepard and Bertram arrived soon after however. Topan then tried to back out of the favorable terms given Emmerton but the Captain remained firm and the contract was forced to stand. Consul Ward, by then agent for Shepard and Bertram, then intervened. He visited Topan and inquired if that merchant would deliver the required goods to Emmerton if the Captain returned from his voyage to other ports before the stipulated time had expired; the Zanzibar market was limited and Ward wanted these goods for his own employers. Topan refused. Ward became very angry at this but did accept the decision. Emmerton later met with Ward and found him openly friendly. He reported though that Ward was very unpopular with the local merchants and succeeded in trade only because of the strength and reputation of his firm in Zanzibar.

When Emmerton returned to Zanzibar for his cargo in October he found that Ward had been very active in trying to prevent the delivery of his goods before the contract date. The Consul had requested both the Sultan and Jairam to intervene in his favor but both had refused to interfere. Ward had to accept this as final but told Emmerton before he left that he would not succeed again; he would force Topan henceforth to wait out the full time on contracts by threatening to give him no more of the firm's business.³⁴

The Shepard-Bertram firm was active also in trying to control the market so completely as to drive out the other competing Salem firm. When the first full-time agents of the West organization came, Fabens wrote to Shepard that he had joined with the English agent to try and prevent them from succeeding. This attempt failed because Jairam intervened in the new group's behalf in order to secure the benefits of increased trade.³⁵

Fabens soon found however that though Jairam would not act only for his benefit he remained the most useful factor for his firm's trade on the island. Fabens managed to keep his concern in a leading position in the commercial scramble and as long as he did so Jairam was ever ready to aid him, though he gave similar aid to other merchants at the same time. This became clear when the American merchants began to have difficulty in securing the necessary

³⁴Emmerton, "Journal," entries for 23 July and 19 October, 1848.

³⁵B. F. Fabens to M. Shepard, 4 January, 1845, "Fabens Papers."

specie for trade due to market disturbances in the United States resulting from the Mexican War. The Salem firms were then so necessary for the prosperity of Zanzibar that Jairam immediately began to lend them sums of money whenever the Americans were in need. He advanced them without interest and gave liberal lengths of time to repay. Individual loans often reached the sum of \$20,000 and the Americans usually owed much more than this at any one time. Jairam of course was not acting from benevolence; though he did not collect interest he in effect received it from the customs revenues and from percentages he received when the American goods were sold on the market.³⁶

Intra-American rivalry remained strong in this difficult period and the West group began to threaten the primacy of Shepard and Bertram. This fact, along with the increasing entry of European vessels into Zanzibar, led John Bertram to write in 1847 that he felt that the Zanzibar trade of his firm had seen its best days.³⁷ This passing reflection however did not influence that merchant to stop his efforts to control that trade in whatever manner possible—and his partner was able to say later of Fabens: “he has made a large fortune for so short a time.”³⁸

In 1849 the establishment of an agency for a Hamburg firm made competition even more active. Also in this year Jairam was absent visiting his home in Cutch and his son, Abji Sewji, who had been left in charge of the Custom House decided to take advantage of the favorable opportunities for larger profits given by the increased competition.³⁹ Loans to the Salem men were still to be given, but on terms objectionable to them—Abji wanted interest! Jairam had acted in such a manner at times, but only when he was hard-pressed for funds, and he had usually cancelled the interest as his fortunes changed for the better. Said ibn Sultan who had also on occasion advanced sums to the Americans was now engaged in suppressing political difficulties in his dominions and also consequently refused all interest-free loans. With the American merchants thus hampered by lack of ready money Abji took a further step and formed a combine of his own that attempted to corner the market on various important goods—beads, wire and ivory—and he openly boasted to the harassed Americans that his final aim was to completely control all trade himself.⁴⁰

As a result of the increased competition the office of American Consul was again drawn into dispute. William Jelly and Samuel Masury, the agents of George West, protested to their employer against Ward's continual abuse of the office and West took the matter to Washington. The case of the *Sophronia* of Captain Emmerton mentioned above was brought to the notice of the State Department and West with the aid of Richard P. Waters attempted to have Jelly appointed Consul in place of Ward. John F. Webb, an earlier agent of Shepard and Bertram, was sent to Washington to work in their favor and was able to convince the authorities not to dismiss Ward. Shepard nevertheless felt

³⁶C. Ward to M. Shepard, 13 May, 1848, “Fabens Papers;” C. Ward to M. Shepard, 23 February, 1849, “Shepard Papers.”

³⁷J. Bertram to B. F. Fabens, 16 October, 1847, “Fabens Papers.”

³⁸M. Shepard to C. Ward, 29 November, 1848, “Shepard Papers.”

³⁹A brief description of the various members of the Sewji family at a later date is found in a memo to the Belgian Foreign Office, H. Grefülhe, “Etats de l'imam de Muscate: Zanzibar: Douanes,” undated, Af-6-B-A, M.A.E.

⁴⁰W. McMullan to B. F. Fabens, 24 September, 1848, “Fabens Papers;” C. Ward to M. Shepard, 14, 15 and 17 April, 1849, “Shepard Papers.”

the situation to be serious and advised Ward to send in his resignation to him to be presented if conditions should turn against them. Ward complied but this plan never had to be utilized. Shepard was able to report that no new man seemed interested in the position and that the drive in Jelly's favor had abated. He thus felt it was better for Ward not to leave office under such circumstances as the Department might then appoint a non-commercial man (*i.e.* not from Salem) and thus injure their position.⁴¹

It appears from the above settlement that some agreement was reached between the two Salem firms to settle this dispute which might bring them into discredit with the State Department. The agents in Zanzibar had long been calling for such an agreement because their continued rivalry was driving prices to new heights. Shepard seemed to substantiate this by writing in 1850 that the opposing firm was now disposed to better relations and thus the quarrel over the Consulate could be dropped.⁴²

As these commercial disputes were being resolved the most serious quarrel in the history of American-Zanzibari relations erupted. The dispute arose in 1850 over the failure of the Sultan to give a public salute to the American flag on the Fourth of July, a sign of respect that was given to all other nations represented there on their national holidays. The Americans gathered to celebrate this day every year (a sympathetic British official later called the Fourth "the day they spread out their tails and crow like game cocks.")⁴³ and Ward in this instance felt the action of the Sultan to be a direct insult to the United States. The dispute was an old one but on this particular Fourth, Ward had received a promise from Said that the salute would be fired. Many of the inhabitants of the island had gathered for this anticipated salute but it was not forthcoming and no apologies were offered by the Sultan. Ward went to the Sultan and demanded a written apology and a salute of twenty-one guns to restore what he considered the loss to the national honor. Said hedged and said that R. P. Waters had always fired first during his term and now offered to provide the powder if Ward would do the same; a salute from the Zanzibari guns would then follow. Ward agreed to this even though Said in an effort to save face added that he must delay the salute as he was now in mourning for a deceased official. Ward agreed to this but no decision was reached as Said refused to sign an apology acknowledging he was in the wrong in refusing the salute. He offered merely a verbal apology. As a result Ward hauled down the American flag and closed his Consulate.

The Consul had acted in this extreme fashion because he felt that Hamerton was advising the Sultan in this affair. After referring the dispute to the English and French Consuls the Sultan had made a final unfavorable decision and told Ward such a salute would be "an insult to the English nation." Ward added: "He appeared to have the idea that the U.S. were [*sic*] a sort of revolted tributary of Great Britain." Ward then left Zanzibar with the affair unsettled, appointing no replacement. Though his leaving seemed to demonstrate his determination

⁴¹C. Ward to M. Shepard, 14 November, 1849; M. Shepard to C. Ward, 3 July, 1849, 22 February and 22 May, 1850; J. F. Webb to M. Shepard, 18 and 19 June, 1849; "Shepard Papers."

⁴²M. Shepard to C. Ward, 17 June, 1850, "Shepard Papers."

⁴³C. E. B. Russell, *General Rigby, Zanzibar and the Slave Trade* (London, 1935), p. 92.

to avenge this insult, it is amusing to note that he wrote the State Department that his health would force him to leave and he did so without any instructions from them. The flag was left hauled down, also without instructions.⁴⁴

When Ward returned home he advised the State Department to use force against the government of Zanzibar to secure the American demands. He had been given support for his actions in Zanzibar by the other American residents⁴⁵ and the Department resolved to follow his advice. Other matters of dispute that had been building up between Zanzibar and the United States aided in this decision. The Sultan had recently agreed with the British to a new restriction upon the slave trade in his dominions. Immediate compliance had been ordered to the resulting decree and the Banyans had no time to clear up their investments before British vessels began to enforce the act. Many of these Banyans were in debt to the American merchants or had unfulfilled contracts with them and thus the new measure fell heavily on the Salem men. The Americans held also that the British enforcement of this measure was unnecessarily harsh, and perhaps was motivated by the bounties given to crews for captured slaves, but this of course was not an official factor in the American complaint.⁴⁶

The State Department proceeded to act and informed Commodore John Aulick of the U.S.S. *Susquehanna* to proceed to Zanzibar. He was to secure an apology for the disrespect shown to the American flag and to protest against the new decree on the slave trade. The Secretary stated that the United States had been active against the slave trade and had been willing to co-operate with the British since 1822. This however could not be interpreted to mean that contracts to Americans entered into in good faith could be broken by a decree as had happened here. The Secretary harked back to an earlier dispute then and said in any event the Banyans were Zanzibari subjects and should not be molested by the British. The Commodore was "to adopt such measures as may seem necessary to maintain the dignity of the American nation and honor of its flag" in settling the dispute. The Secretary added however that "the President trusted that no unfriendly measures may be necessary. . . ." ⁴⁷

The *Susquehanna* came into Zanzibar harbor on 2 December, 1851. After inviting the Salem merchants on board Aulick reported that he had visited the governor (the Sultan and Hamerton were in Muscat) and stated his terms. The governor was to fire a twenty-one gun salute the next day when the vessel hoisted the American flag; the vessel would return the salute. An American Consul would then be appointed and would raise the American flag at which a nine gun salute must be given; it also would be returned. The governor at first resisted with "considerable obstinacy" but finally gave in and complied with the demands. As to the other instructions, Aulick merely asked for the governor's word of honor that the United States would be treated as the most-favored nation in the future. Since the Sultan was absent he felt any detailed pledges would probably be valueless.⁴⁸

⁴⁴Said ibn Sultan to C. Ward, 6 July, 1850; C. Ward to J. Clayton, 8 and 13 July, 1850, G. Abbot (Clerk of the Consular Bureau) to Daniel Webster, 13 March, 1851, Zanzibar and Muscat."

⁴⁵W. McMullan and S. Masury to C. Ward, 6 July, 1850, *ibid*.

⁴⁶C. Ward to J. Clayton, ? July and 4 September, 1850, "Zanzibar and Muscat."

⁴⁷D. Webster to Com. John Aulick, 9 May, 1851, "Despatches to Zanzibar," F.A.; Memo from the Navy Department, 5 May, 1851, "Zanzibar and Muscat."

⁴⁸J. H. Aulick, to D. Webster, 8 December, 1851, 'Zanzibar and Muscat.'

A Salem man in Zanzibar soon after this event amplifies Aulick's account. Horace B. Putnam was told that threats of force were issued to get compliance. He said that the Commodore informed the authorities that if they did not comply with his demands the town would be destroyed and that the population of Zanzibar had been in great fear of such a bombardment. Further information is given by Charles Ward who was by now in Salem. He reported on information from Zanzibar that Aulick had allowed the inhabitants to visit his vessel to see its strength; Jairam, now returned from Cutch, was given a personal tour by Aulick himself. All were reportedly much impressed with what they saw and no doubt were influential in aiding the governor to his decision.⁴⁹

After this show of American strength the Salem merchants began to have second thoughts about the wisdom of coercing the local government since it might hurt their trade in the future. These merchants had immediately written to Aulick to say that any misunderstanding with the government of Zanzibar was unintentional and that they were always treated extremely favorably by that government. Then reversing complaints they had often voiced in letters they stated that they had had no difficulties over broken contracts and that Hamerton had never intervened in trading affairs. The new Consul, John F. Webb, wrote quickly to the State Department then to assure them that Aulick had settled all and that the whole affair should be dropped and forgotten.⁵⁰

Michael Shepard in Salem had been very disturbed over the possible repercussions of this affair on trading matters from its inception. He wrote Ward that he was critical of his actions; they could lose for his firm the influence in Zanzibar it had taken many years to develop—and all for the simple matter of a salute. He added wisely that Ward's policy would in the end lead only to greater influence for the English by driving the Sultan away from Americans. Shepard then wrote directly to Said and reassured him that Ward had acted purely in an official role and that his firm wished to continue on the same friendly terms as it always had held in the past. This reversal of American attitude appeared to satisfy the Sultan and relations soon passed to their former state. The new Consul summed up the feelings of all when he wrote: "I am not quite sure our government took a correct view of the case; however all is settled now and I hope our future Consuls will be another style of men."⁵¹

Trade returned as the main activity of the Americans in Zanzibar and remained the principal focus of affairs until the years after the American Civil War. In addition to the firms of John Bertram (Shepard retired from business in 1852) and George West a new American competitor entered into the market. Rufus Green and Company of Providence, Rhode Island, established an agency and soon became a powerful competitor to the Salem merchants.⁵² Besides the American groups another Hamburg firm entered the market, and was followed

⁴⁹Horace B. Putnam, "Journal (1850-51)," E.I.; C. Ward to D. Webster, 14 June, 1852, "Zanzibar and Muscat."

⁵⁰J. F. Webb, W. Jelly and S. Masury to Com. Aulick, 5 December, 1851; Webb to D. Webster, 15 December, 1851, *ibid.*

⁵¹M. Shepard to C. Ward, 31 October, 1850; Shepard to Said ibn Sultan, 4 November, 1850; J. F. Webb to Shepard, 20 December, 1851, "Shepard Papers."

⁵²Green & Co. was called a Salem firm by Richard F. Burton in his *Zanzibar* (London, 1872) vol. 1, p. 318 and others as R. Coupland, *East Africa and its Invaders* (Oxford, 1938), p. 378 have perpetuated the error.

by two French concerns. Add to the above firms the group of local merchants around the Customs Master and the frequent unscheduled independent visitors to the island and the intensity of the competition for the limited resources there can be easily imagined.

The Germans by 1849 were regarded by the Americans as their strongest competitor. By 1850, with only one firm represented, they had six regular vessels visiting Zanzibar with four of them consistently consigned to the Customs master. The French firms had entered the trade through the direct inducement of the Sultan. Said had Since 1849 sent vessels of his own to trade at Marseilles and by 1851 two firms of that city were established in Zanzibar. One French agent was soon boasting as others had before him that he aimed to control the trade and followed up his words by spending freely for the merchandise he desired. The Germans did likewise and though neither displaced the Americans as leaders they did drive local prices up to new heights and force the Americans to meet their bids to survive. One American effort to end inter-firm rivalry and to keep prices more favorable to them is reported; W. Jelly of West and Co. was approached by Ward in an effort to fix prices, but Jelly made agreement conditional on an equal sharing of any resulting profits. Ward refused and thus all American firms competed separately in the trade during the increased competition as they had in their earlier more profitable days.⁵³

The available letters on the period between 1850 and 1860 mirror this competition, but the decade has little in it of interest for the present. The American merchants managed to meet the foreign competition and to keep a leading position in the trade. American cottons remained the dominant staple of the trade with Zanzibar taking about 7,000 bales a year immediately preceding 1860. Although as early as 1851 George West was complaining as Bertram had earlier that profits were so poor trade must cease, the trade did not cease and all three American firms kept up the struggle and made enough profits on the average to never think seriously of ending the trade. Complaints remained constant from the harassed agents in Zanzibar but the coming of the American war found all still active and the Americans in the lead.⁵⁴

Although this study is concerned only with the Americans in Zanzibar it must be remarked that the Zanzibar trade was only part of a larger American complex covering the coast of East Africa, the off shore islands, and the Arabian peninsula area. The Americans had agents in such places as Mozambique, Madagascar, and Muscat and on any one voyage usually visited several of these places in addition to Zanzibar. This became increasingly necessary due to the increased competition as full cargoes were always difficult to secure in Zanzibar alone. The American vessels would leave their goods with their agent in Zanzibar after perhaps stopping at Madagascar and Mozambique and doing the same. Then the vessel would sail to the North and later return to collect the fruits of the local agents' efforts before proceeding home. Their success can be measured from the writings of English observers who reported a virtual monopoly for the Americans for the coffee and gums of Aden, for the dates and hides of Muscat,

⁵³J. F. Webb to M. Shepard, 22 February, 1852; C. Ward to Shepard, 21 June, 1849 and 3 January, 1850, "Shepard Papers;" W. Jelly and S. Masury to G. West, 27 January, 1851, "West Papers."

⁵⁴G. West to W. Jelly and S. Masury, 13 January, 1851, "West Papers." For a typical comment on the extent of the American trade see J. H. Speke, "On the Commerce of Central Africa," *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society*, vol. 15 (1860), p. 140.

and for the ivory of Mozambique.⁵⁵ At the same time the English Consul in Zanzibar reported direct trade to England from that island as completely non-existent. He reported that one English vessel had attempted the trade on commission from a Bombay merchant, but communications for English vessels were so poor that tardy instructions forced the vessel to be delayed in Zanzibar harbor while the other merchants of all nationalities combined against it to raise prices forty per cent to prevent it from getting a cargo. An English Admiral reported to an inquiring Englishman that even to get a letter to Zanzibar required the use of an American or Hamburg ship since "no English vessel trades there at any time."⁵⁶

With the American Civil War came an almost complete stoppage of American trade. The cotton trade from the United States of course suffered greatly (it dropped to 50 bales for the year ending 1 July, 1865) while at the same time the Americans were no longer able to supply the arms and ammunition for the African slave trade which had long been one of their staples. The presence of Confederate raiders on the trade routes—the famous *Alabama* at one time cruised in the area—also was an important factor in blocking trade for any of the other goods available to New England merchants.⁵⁷ With this decline in trade came another event, the sending of the first non-commercial man to be the United States' representative on the island. William Speer, originally from Tennessee, and a needy Union man who had lost his property due to the war, was appointed Consul in 1861. His first difficulty was to find a way of reaching his new post, as the only vessels to ever sail there were from the Providence and Salem merchants who had cut services to a minimum for the duration. Speer resigned once in disgust over his inability to be off but finally was able to secure passage and arrived in Zanzibar in 1862.

Apparently finding life rather dull with little or no commercial duties to perform, Speer took it upon himself to write an overall report on Zanzibar. As soon as he began asking questions however he found that the European and American residents would never give definite answers as to costs of operation or concerning the actual volume of trade. Their natural reticence over these matters was only increased by their knowledge that he was not a trader himself and they apparently feared he would divulge their "secrets" to the detriment of their activities. Even though the new Sultan gave Speer aid he had a very difficult time and he finally had to admit that the statistics he had gathered were of doubtful value. He found Zanzibar "a receptacle of secrets" and full of spies paid by the government, private family groups, merchants, and consuls—all reporting on the activities of each other. He concluded that "the Consul is supposed to have too much delicacy to ask questions" and soon gave up his uncongenial post and left the island. The Consulship returned to a commercial man and no more was heard of over-all reports concerning Zanzibar.⁵⁸

⁵⁵Col. Rigby to C. Wood, 1 May, 1860, F.O. 54/17; Rigby to W. Coghlan, 15 October, 1860, F.O. 54/18; Lyons McLeod, *Travels in East Africa* (London, 1860), vol. 2, p. 275; David Livingstone to Lord Russell, 7 February, 1860, F.O. 63/871, P.R.O.

⁵⁶Col. Rigby to W. Coghlan, 15 October, 1860, F.O. 54/18; Admiral Trotter to A. Scott, 26 September, 1857, F.O. 54/17.

⁵⁷E. D. Ropes to F. W. Seward, 1 July, 1865, "Zanzibar and Muscat."

⁵⁸W. Speer, "Report on Zanzibar," 26 November, 1862, "Zanzibar and Muscat."

Speer on his return to the United States continued to meddle, in the opinion of the merchants, by informing the government that a new treaty with Zanzibar was required and that the Sultan had entrusted him to negotiate it. The main change desired by the Sultan was of course the ever-troublesome article allowing the Americans direct trade in his African coast dominions. It is amusing to note that at the same time Speer in order to magnify his services to the United States informed the State Department that he had turned down bribes amounting to thousands of dollars while in Zanzibar and had remained always faithful to his country. Who would offer such amounts in that time of stagnated trade he did not deign to mention! The Department, busy with the tasks of war, ignored him; indeed much to his consternation he learned that many of his despatches, including his report on Zanzibar, had never been read by the harassed Department officials.⁵⁹

The State Department did however inquire as to the need for a new treaty. All approached quickly asserted that the present one was entirely adequate to American needs. Rufus Green of Providence expressed the merchants' views precisely: he said there was no advantage "in disturbing a good and advantageous treaty and attempting to obtain a new one."⁶⁰ The rise to predominance of the British in the political life of Zanzibar probably caused this answer. Any new negotiations would not have the same favorable conditions for the Americans as ruled in 1833 when no foreign nation was represented in Zanzibar. The State Department gladly dropped the whole affair and the treaty of 1833 was left standing.

In Zanzibar the American merchants were struggling manfully to keep their normal trading channels open, even at the cost of sacrificing their profits to do so. A few details are available on the manner of this effort. A sample of the goods now included in the cargoes to Zanzibar from the United States by the infrequent American visitors for 1863 included codfish and soap.⁶¹ How these goods sold is not mentioned! The Americans also gained a positive advantage by securing through negotiations the acceptance of American gold at par value in Zanzibar. This negotiation had started many years earlier but had been blocked by the opposition of the local money changers who made a good profit by the exchange rate fixed on the island. Another expedient of the Americans was to utilize British ships to carry their cargoes to the United States; in some years they were the only ships from Zanzibar to reach that country. Finally, the British resident reported, the Americans had even imported Manchester cottons to supply their old customers so as not to lose their established contacts. In the main these efforts succeeded; at the end of the Civil War American credit was as high as it had ever been and they were ready to try to regain their former position.⁶²

⁵⁹W. Speer to F. W. Seward, 13 March and 7 April, 1863; Speer to Abraham Lincoln, 7 April, 1863, "Zanzibar and Muscat."

⁶⁰D. Mansfield to F. W. Seward, 4 May, 1863; R. Green to F. W. Seward, 4 May, 1863, "Zanzibar and Muscat."

⁶¹Log of the *Storm King* (1862-1863), entry of 19 February, 1863, E.I.

⁶²W. Hines to F. W. Seward, 31 March and 25 October, 1864; Hines to Seward, 4 January, 1864; E. D. Ropes to F. W. Seward, 1 July, 1865, "Zanzibar and Muscat;" "Extract from the Administration Record of the Political Agent at Zanzibar," *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society* (1865), vol. 18, 82.

The Americans were not to recapture their former position however. German, English, and Indian firms had made great gains while the Americans were struggling to keep themselves in competition and were entrenched firmly in their new positions. New conditions of commerce following the Civil War—as the opening of the Suez Canal and the resulting easy access to Zanzibar of steam transportation—were to permanently keep the merchants of the United States in a secondary role. The Americans did however remain as a trading force of some significance in Zanzibar. These following years are not devoid of interest as the remaining traders were present to witness the European seizure of East Africa and its islands in the 1880's; their comments on these events and their endeavors in the commercial field will be the topic of a future study.

A COLLECTION OF PLAITED MATS FROM THE ULANGA DISTRICT OF TANGANYIKA

By Thierry Freyvogel

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During a three-year stay in Ifakara (Ulanga District, Tanganyika), I had an opportunity to collect plaited objects made by Africans, especially floor mats with different designs and colours. The trend in Africa towards modernizing all articles of daily use will affect the traditional artistic work more and more, and it therefore seems worthwhile to gather and describe everything still available. It will lie with the specialists to value and register the results.

Ifakara, in the broad Kilombero Valley, about 190 miles inland from the Indian Ocean, has approximately 10,000 inhabitants, among them a small minority of Indian traders and a few Europeans. Compared with other districts, Ulanga is not much developed and is little affected by foreign civilization. The natives belong to Bantu tribes, namely Mbunga, Ndamba and Pogoro, and a few Ngoni, Bena and Hehe. More information regarding the Ulanga District, Ifakara, its inhabitants and their customs can be taken from the literature.¹

Among the natives of the Ulanga District, artistry can hardly be found at all. Woodcarving has been started lately on the initiative of resident Europeans. Religious art does not exist; only ornament on articles of daily use can be found, especially on pots, mats, musical instruments (i.e. drums, "malimba" and several stringed instruments) and sometimes also on masks, tools and weapons.

The plaited objects include different kinds of floor mats, baskets, bags, sacks, hats and ropes. The mats deserve special attention. They show numerous designs and colours. These designs are sometimes old, and sometimes they have just been made up and named accordingly. This shows that this craft is still quite alive; it might even throw some light on African psychology (e.g. association of mind, etc.).

Among the mats, the natives distinguish the *mkeka*, *jamvi*, *matete* and *ushaga*. The *mkeka* serves for the night, either to sleep on on the floor or on a simple *kitanda* (bed). It can also be used as tapestry and is then named *ulembo ukutani*. It also serves as a mat for the dead, in which case the body is first wrapped in a shroud—the *sanda*—and then sewed into the mat with a few stitches. The *jamvi*, a far rougher wickerwork, is used to spread rice or fruit on in the sun. The *matete* are rare and can also be used for sleeping. They are made by men out of Common Reed (*Phragmites mauritianus*), just tied together, and therefore we shall not mention them any more. The same goes for *ushaga*, consisting of *mwale*, i.e. part of the palm tree *Raphia ruffia*.

¹ e.g. P. Anastas Brantschen O.F.M. Cap., Die ethnographische Literatur über den Ulanga-Distrikt, Tanganyika-Territorium, Acta Tropica 10, 150-185 (1953).

The most common mat, the *mkeka*, belongs to the essential household effects and thus is carried by the family from one place to the other. The women make it, whereas the more rough and undecorated *jamvi* is plaited by men, as are baskets, sacks and ropes. Men's only contribution to the *mikeka* is the collection of the raw material, the strips of *ukindu*. Boys often collect them and offer them on the market at 10 cts. a bundle (1958 price). For a medium sized mat you need approximately thirty bundles.

The strips of *ukindu* are taken from the fronds of the palm tree *Phoenix reclinata*. They are used for *mikeka*, baskets, ropes, bags, hats, and hoods to protect food against flies. The strips called *milala* (from a palmtree *Hypphaene spec.*) are plaited into *jamvi*, strong baskets, sacks and ropes of cheap quality.

Only women-made *mikeka* are coloured and ornamented. The Africans have names for a lot of colours which sometimes differ only slightly, but their preference goes to violet, strong green and wine-red. The names are as follows (compare with figures 1-4):

- | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|---|
| 1. <i>Zambarau</i> | ... | ... | ... | ... | violet |
| 2. <i>Kibichi</i> | ... | ... | ... | ... | dark green |
| 3. <i>Jani bichi</i> | ... | ... | ... | ... | light green |
| 4. <i>Nyekundu</i> | ... | ... | ... | ... | red (mostly wine-red) |
| 5. <i>Sharabati</i> | ... | ... | ... | ... | red (a little lighter and more
vivacious than 4) |
| 6. <i>Njano (manjano, bulazi)</i> | ... | ... | ... | ... | yellow, light brown, ochre |
| 7. <i>Mtama</i> | ... | ... | ... | ... | rusty red |
| 8. <i>Nyeusi</i> | ... | ... | ... | ... | black (in fact mostly dark
brown) |

The colours 1-5 are nowadays sold at the Indian's shop. They are usually imported from India or Europe. Yellow too can be bought at the shop, but very often it is obtained from the bark of a tree. The rusty red colouring can be obtained from millet (*mtama*). Black, a natural colour obtained by complicated procedures from *mdaa* leaves (*Euclea fruticosa*) is nowadays quite rare in the interior of the country. At the museum in Zanzibar a few models of patterns are displayed with a note saying that before the artificial colours were imported, only black was used. As a matter of fact on the coast one still finds today extremely fine mats plaited only out of natural coloured and blackened fibres. However, owing to the Africans being able to produce yellow and red with natural resources, we can suppose that they must have known at least these colours before. In the interior of the country, people are still aware of the colouring effects of *Brackenridgea zanguebarica* (yellow), *Khaya spec.* (red), *Albizzia versicolor*, as well as *Diospyros spec.* (black), although these dyes are probably not used any more for colouring.²

The natives sew the plaited bands and border the mats with sisal fibres, (*katani*), rolled to fine strings on the thigh. Sometimes they also use strips of *ukindu*, even wire out of tyres and other material. No tools are needed, except a needle with two eyes. Preference is given to brass needles, but steel and iron needles are also used, which have replaced the more primitive instruments such as thorns.

² I am indebted to Mr. F. Haerdi for this interesting information.



Figs. 1-4.

1. Pattern: *kitu*.
Colours: *zambarau* and *nyekundu*.
2. Pattern: *kopa* and *huru* (Mat from Tanga).
Colours: *nyeusi*, *kibichi* (*amani*), *sharabati* and *nyekundu*
(red stripe on extreme left).
3. Pattern: *dreva anakwenda upande*.
Colours: *zambarau*, *kibichi* and *nyekundu*.
4. Pattern: *boma*.
Colours: *zambarau* and *jani bichi*.



Figure 5: The *ukindu* bundle as sold on the market.

The following chapter is not meant as a guide to plaiting, but merely as a rough description of the manufacture of these mats (see figs. 5–10). If the strips of *ukindu* bought on the market are still wet, they are spread out in the sun for some time. The strip may not be too wet nor too dry, as they could either get mouldy or brittle. Then the strips are divided lengthwise with a needle or some other pointed instrument into several smaller ones. The two strips at each edge of the leaf should be eliminated because of their being thicker than the rest. Later on they will either serve as thread or—tied together—as a broom. The thin strips are called *chane* (*chani*) and should be of as even width as possible.

If required, part of the *chane* is dyed. In case of synthetic dyes the *chane* are boiled in the watery colour solution. The colour will last longer if the *chane* are rinsed in salt water and dried in the shade. This however is done rarely. It can also be said in general that the work is often done carelessly. For yellow colouring, the *chane* is cooked for half an hour together with the bark. This also goes for the leaves and handfuls of millet (*mtama*). A special preparation is necessary before the black colour can be applied: the *chane* are dug into the black and damp soil, near the river, approximately 8 inches deep, and left there for 3–5 days. During this time they start to rot and the *chane* smell accordingly, when they are dug out. After being rinsed in water, they are cooked for 20 minutes together with fresh green *mdaa* leaves (*Euclea fruticosa*). Instead of loose *chane*, plaited bands can be dyed too. In this case however the bands have to be stretched afterwards, in order to avoid an irregular shrinking, and they will be just plain coloured without a pattern.



6

7

Figure 6: The division of the *ukindu* strips into *chane* with a needle.

Figure 7: The plaiting of the *chane* into *ukili*.

The coloured and uncoloured *chane* are plaited very skilfully into long bands (*ukili*), and it is at this moment that the different patterns arise. The *ukili* can be more or less broad, according to the number of *chane* it has been started with. As each *chane* is rather short, it has to be replaced soon by a new one, of which the stump end is pulled in until it just disappears. The pointed end of the old *chane* is left and pulled up later, after another drying in the sun. This too needs great skill and care, if the *ukili* is to look nice. The plaiting of one *ukili* can take several days or many weeks, because the women work at it only during their spare time. The bands are constantly rolled up—approximately 75 to 150 feet on one roll—and it may sometimes happen that such a roll is sold as a whole.



Figure 8: The *ukili* is rolled up on a board. Take note of the *ukili* roll. (Here a basket is being prepared; for mats the procedure is the same, except for the board which then is much bigger).

If all the *ukili* rolls needed for a mat are ready, the sewing is started. According to the woman's taste, the coloured or uncoloured bands, those with patterns or without, are joined together, wound on a large board like a spiral and then sewn together. If the sewing is done properly, one can hardly see the stitches. So a broad, flat tube is made which then has to be cut on one side. A large strip will be used to border the mat and will prevent the cut edges from becoming loose. Due to this winding up of the bands, the finished mats will never be quite rectangular, but keep somehow the shape of a parallelogram. If you compare the different patterns (figs. 11-42)³ and their names, you will note the many synonyms. They indicate that the names are chosen rather arbitrarily. Names like *Africa mamsapu*, *matiboti* and *viatu vya mamsapu* have obviously been created lately; the "African lady" in comparison with others, as well as "motor boat" and "the lady's shoes" have reached the Africans not long ago. It is also natural that such mats are hard to get, because probably only a few women know how to make them. Sometimes however the names have just been "modernized" (e.g. *viatu*, old name: *milima*). The fact that names like "*Africa mamsapu*" are now used is remarkable and may lead us to think that an African self-consciousness has arisen already in many different social groups.

³ In addition to the patterns shown on the plates there are still a few which were not available: *Africa Mamsapu* (the African lady), *Matiboti* (motor boat), *Msumeno* (saw) and *Chapa ya Hospitali* (Insignium of a hospital).



9



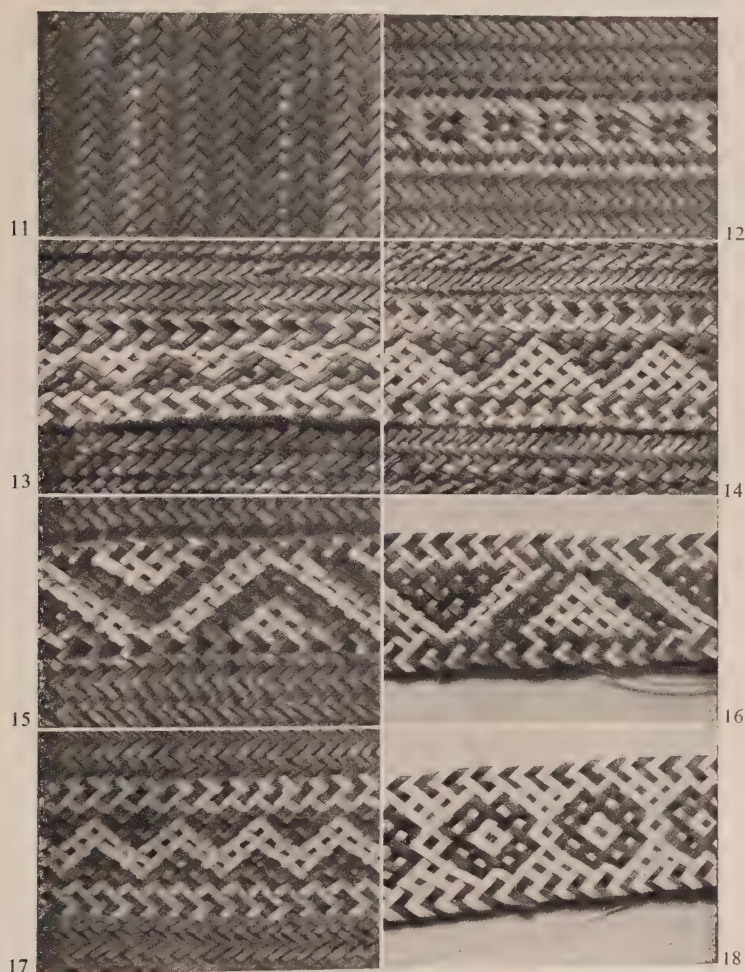
10

Figure 9: The bands are sewn together with *ukindu* thread.

Figure 10: The border is sewn. (The plaiting—instead of the usual sewing—of whole bands as shown on this mat is an exception).

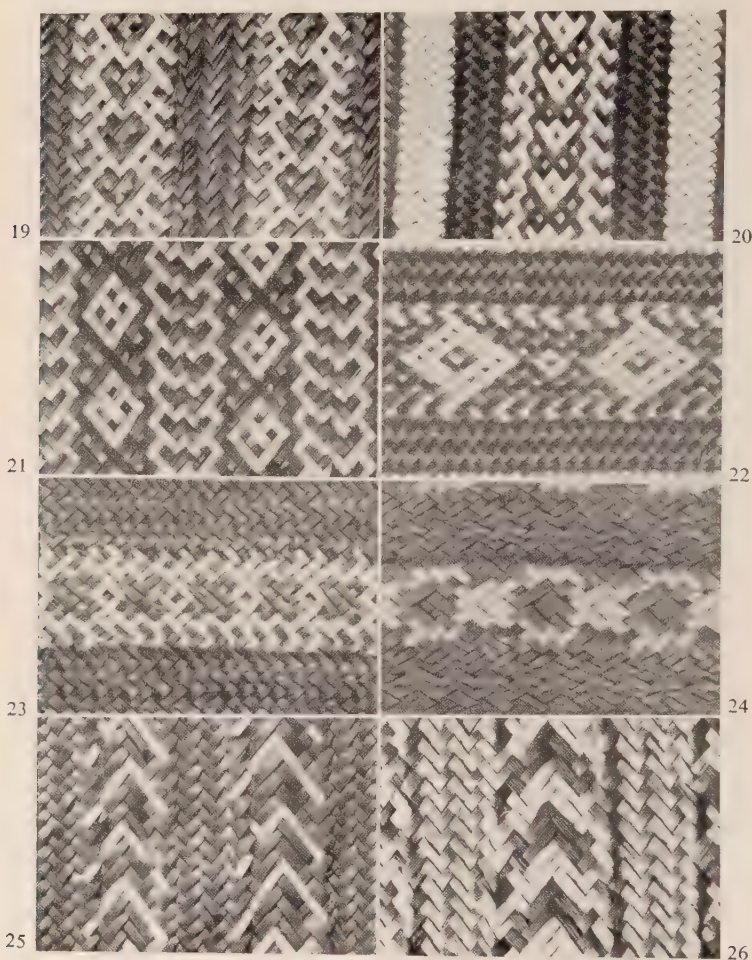
This brings us to the question on what basis the names of the patterns are given. They are so various that it is difficult to find a symbolic meaning or even a common origin for them. There is no doubt that names like *magurudumu nyota*, *kawa*, *kinu la gogo* and others have been attributed to the patterns because of their resemblance to the respective objects. With *jicho la kuku*, *buba*, *mwendo wa KAR* the resemblance is already less obvious, and no meaning can be found at all for names like *uchafu wa maridadi*, *uso wa mgani*, *vunja kambi*, *dereva anakwenda upande*. These latter names can only proceed from a momentary situation, a certain mood, the subject of a topical story, etc.

Two parts of artistic creation can thus be discerned: first the plaiting woman conceives a new pattern which afterwards she names according to a more or less clear association of mind.



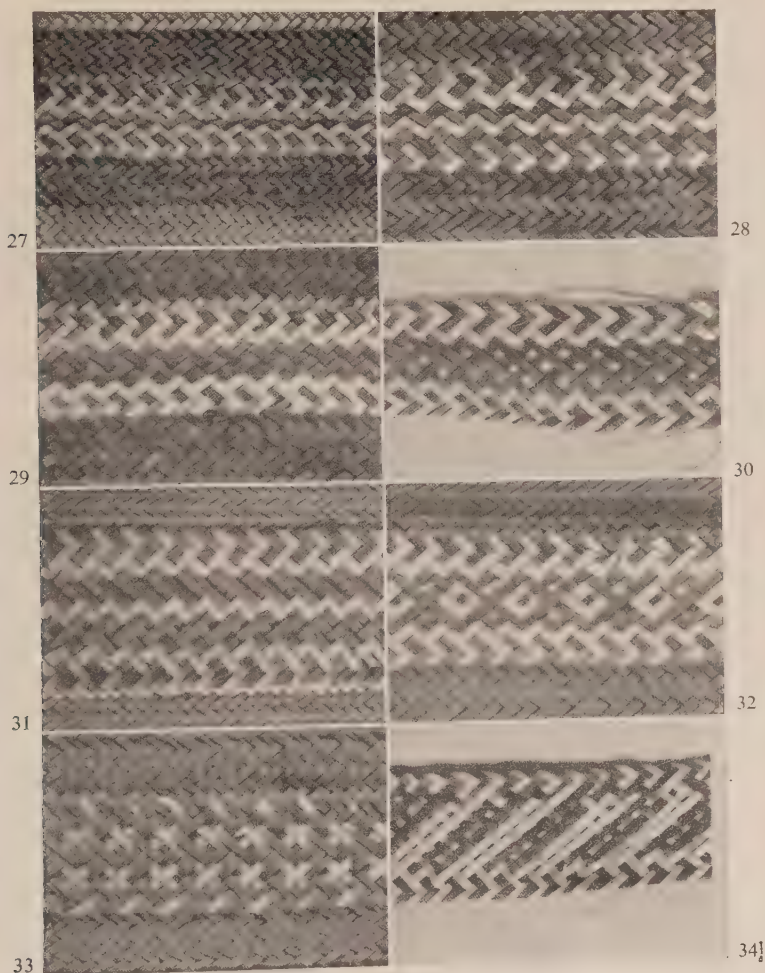
Figures 11-18:

- No. 11 *jamvi* (to spread and dry fruit).
- No. 12 *nyota*, star.
- No. 13 *bawa la kunguru*, wing of the crow.
- No. 14 *mlima*, hill.
viatu (syn.), shoes.
- No. 15 *dema*, fish-trap.
- No. 16 *vunja kambi*, break camp.
- No. 17 *zinga-zinga*, zigzag.
- No. 18 *magurudumu*, wheels



Figures 19–26:

- No. 19 *kopa*, heart.
- No. 20 *kopa* (Tanga), heart.
- No. 21 *buba*, yaws.
majani ya tambuu (syn.), leaves of the betel-plant.
- No. 22 *huru*, free.
- No. 23 *miguu ya simba*, spoor of a lion.
- No. 24 *kitu*, thing.
- No. 25 *tambi la mkwaju*, pod of tamarind.
mtambala la mkwaju (syn.), pod of tamarind.
- No. 26 *tepe ya mpakani*, soldier's chevrons.



Figures 27-34:

No. 27 *kufu*, chain.

No. 28 *naruhua*, oath.

No. 29 *kikufu* } syn. ? chain.
No. 30 *ukufu* } syn. ? chain.

No. 31 *mwendo wa KAR*, marching column of the K.A.R. (King's African Rifles).
mkanda wa mpakani (syn.), military girdle.
macho ya ningu (syn.), the eyes of the "ningu" fish.

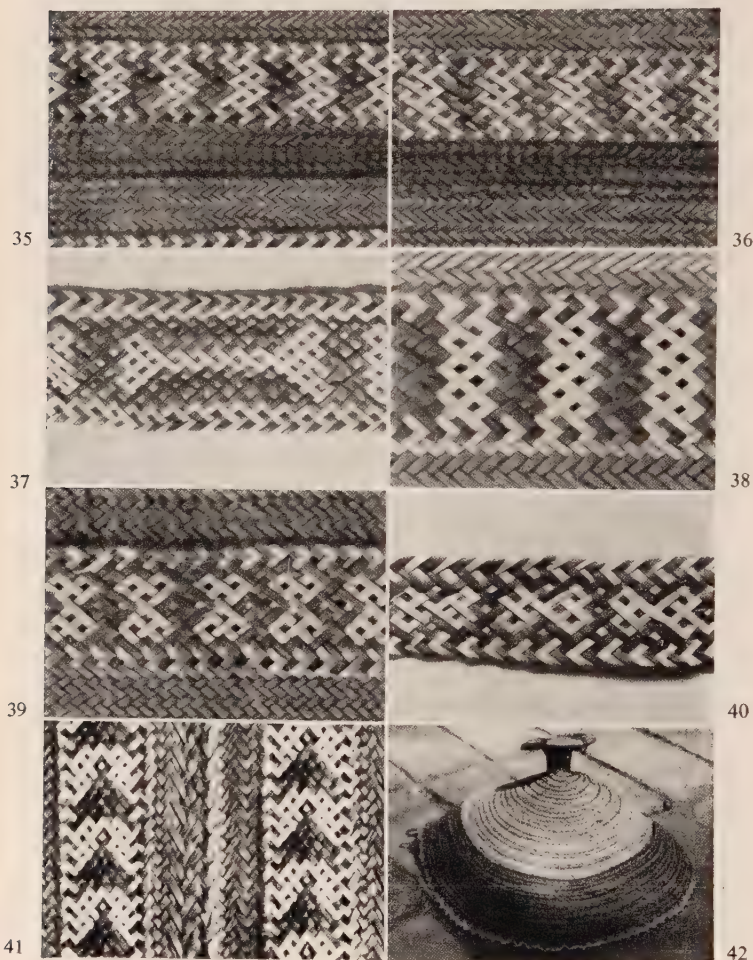
No. 32 *jicho la kuku*, eye of a hen.

No. 33 *mdudu wa kepu*, ? cap thingummyjig.

No. 34 *dereva anakwenda upande*, the driver drives off the road.
barabara (syn.), road.

uchafu ya maridadi (syn.) } you cannot judge the sausage by its skin.
chapa ya maridadi (syn.) }

ubavu waume, man's aggression.



Figures 35-42:

- | | | | |
|--------|--|--------|--|
| No. 35 | <i>uso wa mgani</i> , face of the unmarried man. | No. 39 | <i>kijiko</i> , spoon. |
| No. 36 | <i>uso wa mgani</i> , face of the unmarried man. | No. 40 | <i>kinu la gogo</i> , wooden mortar. |
| No. 37 | <i>ngoma ya Lindi</i> , drum of Lindi. | No. 41 | <i>kawa</i> , dish cover. |
| No. 38 | <i>boma</i> (skin pattern of the puff-adder). | No. 42 | <i>kawa</i> , picture of a dish cover (protecting hood). |

There is still to be added that the plaiting women do not agree on the meaning of some of the names used, or that they do not know the meaning at all, e.g. *mdudu wa kepu*, *kitu* and *naruhua*. These patterns have probably a tradition like their names, and no special attention was ever given to their meaning. This too leads us to the conclusion that the names of patterns on the mats are of no symbolical importance.

SOME EXPERIENCES OF WITCHCRAFT

By Abdullah M. Mdee

From time immemorial most tribes in Tanganyika, if not all, have been practising witchcraft and the witchdoctors have been, and are likewise today, regarded with high esteem and admiration; they are almost demi-gods in the eyes of the tribes to which they belong. Many people, even some of those who are educated, seem to believe that the medicines and the performances of a wizard are more powerful and effective than the drugs and medical treatments of a trained doctor.

The ways in which the witchdoctors prepare their medicines are very interesting. It was some way back in the early 1950s, at the age of ten or twelve at the most, that I saw the preparation with my own eyes. Nanzia, a famous witchdoctor in a small Pare village, had lit a fire in a small bush about fifty yards from his house and he was ready to prepare his medicines. A considerable area of bush was encircled by a nicely thatched wall about five feet from the ground in order to prevent goats and wild animals from entering the sacred place. There was a single entrance shut by a thatched door as well.

Only men were allowed to enter; I asked him why women were not given this privilege and he told me, "If women are allowed to enter the *pungi*", as he called the place, "they will fail to give birth to children when pregnant, and consequently death will follow." Of course I believed that it was true.

It was towards the evening when we entered the place, as I vividly remember. His goats were dotted all over the open ground south of his house, busily absorbed in their evening meal. A dove was cooing in a tree outside the house and very occasionally flocks of small birds could be seen speeding across the air from their feeding places to their residences.

He was now ready to start his work. Around the fire I saw many fantastic things: there was a body of a dead owl placed on a flat stone; there was the sloughed skin of a snake; some mushrooms and, surrounding the whole place were horns of different wild animals stuck into the ground, and three female figurines made out of clay. On a large stone there was a skull of a human being and this frightened me very much. He began burning these things, except the skull, and grinding them into a fine black powder which was then poured into the horns and gourds, which were tied with different types of decorative beads round their necks. The gourds were fitted with some beautifully made wooden stoppers, with cylindrical extensions into the inside of the gourds. Into the mixed powder honey from a calabash was also poured and stirred thoroughly. The calabash was placed between three stakes driven into the ground, each with the eye of a goat pinned to the top. I noted also that the area within the three stakes was covered with the stomach contents of a goat. The calabash was decorated with stripes of blood but I did not see meat anywhere. Anyway, I kept quiet to observe the procedure. I was watching with great agog. Nanzia was very absorbed in his work and while doing so he was singing some unusual songs which I could not understand. I was waiting to see what would happen to the figurines: in the end, he took one and, putting it upside down, he pulled out a piece of rag from between the legs and poured in the black powder. I now screwed up my courage to ask him some questions. First I asked for what purpose the figurines were, and he told me that each of the three would have an entirely different function.

One was to prevent evil spirits from haunting the home and to protect the family against the deeds of wizards. This figurine was to be buried in the threshold of the door. The second figurine was to bring good fortune to the family, for example yearly good crops, and the third was to please the gods—and only they know how. “But sir”, I continued, “I see that you have used the same mixture of powder in all the three figurines, how can they act differently?” “Oh! that is very simple”, he told me. “By my powerful words which I speak to each of them I make them function as I wish”. Indeed I was muddled up. “And what about the thing on the stone?” I went on, avoiding calling it a skull. “Mm! listen my boy” he groaned, “this is my grandfather and I have brought him here so that he can witness all that I am doing, otherwise I won’t be successful because it is he who gave me the medicine. After this I will take him to a large cliff with a cave at the bottom where I will place him, and some food for him must always be taken there. If we leave him to starve he will grow angry and his curse is so strong that we shall all die almost immediately.” The task was now over and we left everything there and went home because I was not to see how the medicines were to be taken away.

This was one experience with a witchdoctor. On another occasion I was present in a home where the same man was “calling back” the voice of a woman whose voice had been “taken” by another witchdoctor. It is said that a witchdoctor can take the voice of somebody! In doing this, a wizard takes an empty gourd with a stopper as explained above, and before he leaves his home (this is mostly done on pitch-dark nights), he takes off all his clothes and remains stark naked. He then proceeds to the man or woman whose voice is to be taken. The wizard then stands in a position outside the house nearest to the bed. He calls the name of the person concerned with a soft and melodious voice, probably to disguise it, until the victim inside responds. He then covers his gourd rapidly and runs quickly without looking back. If he looks back the voice will return to the owner. Thus the voice is taken. This is then placed in a large earthenware pot and taken to a remote place. Alternatively, the voice may be taken to a cave under a big cliff, or put in a hollow tree. Every day some food, usually porridge, is taken and poured in the place, otherwise the voices, and hence the owners, may die from starvation. The victim begins to get ill from the time his or her voice is taken. I wondered whether this was true, but one day when I was looking after my father’s goats in a certain wood, I heard quite distinctly some people crying with melancholy voices. Their cries were soft, and for a moment I was petrified. Nevertheless I proceeded towards the direction where the voices were coming from until I came to a big hollow baobab. There were three distinct human voices crying as softly as if they were dying. My heart was throbbing heavily against my ribs. Meanwhile, I tried to peep into the hollow tree but I saw nobody there. This really sounds rather unbelievable but it is a fact that I witnessed this. I cannot say whether they were real human voices, or human voices concocted by witchdoctors; at any rate I was convinced that they were real human cries.

It was at that time that Nanzia was calling back the voice of a woman, Nambua. The woman had been very ill. The performance began by Nanzia, the doctor, speaking some rapid and completely incoherent words and this was shortly followed by some songs in which all those who were present were forced to join. He was ringing a small bell—a bell similar to those used in churches—and blowing a whistle occasionally. There was also a small gourd like that mentioned above, and he was blowing this as well. While doing this the woman was crying faintly, lying flat on her back on the ground. In fact, she could not sit upright. At the height of the performance, Nanzia was calling “Nambua, Nambua, come back quickly.” Nambua was crying, saying that some fearful animals were in her way, but Nanzia insisted on saying “Jump over them; pass between their legs, run!”

I pitied the woman so much that tears were automatically running down my cheeks. The performance took about four hours, and in the end Nambua's voice escaped the animals and returned to her. When it said that it was a few yards from the door, I was gaping at the door to see what would enter but I saw nothing, except hearing it say "I have come", with a heave. It was wonderful that the previously collapsing woman was now sitting up and talking like other people! Even now I do not understand what is the secret behind this.

I have seen more wonders than these. In this, Nanzia was not the pioneer, but another witchdoctor. A certain family had lost its grandfather and that grandfather had been believed to have a lot of money, not in a bank, but buried somewhere near the house, where no one in the family knew. They wished to discover where this money had been hidden. The head of the family went to fetch N'gambi, another famous witchdoctor belonging to the Sukuma tribe. He was to discover this hidden money on condition that he would be given two cows on success. I was present. N'gambi was a man well advanced in age. He had a small gourd, a tail of a giraffe, and wore on his head a turban of feathers. He was half naked with a large almost square amulet hanging in the middle of his belly which was held in position by a string round his neck. His only other garment was a piece of old black cloth round his waist, held by a belt woven with beads, and at almost equal intervals were small horns covered with rags hanging from the belt around the waist. He was very black, of medium height and somewhat stooping. He had rather long arms with long and broken nails, was wearing brass bangles round his ankles and cowhide sandals of local make.

The whole matter was explained to him by the head of the family while the others were dead quiet. After the explanation there followed a brief moment of silence. With a broken voice, N'gambi coughed, probably on purpose, and, as in the case of Nanzia, there followed a string of incomprehensible words, N'gambi staring vacantly at his brown gourd around the neck to which a string painted in green and red was tied. Strangely enough, the small gourd commenced rotating unceasingly and at the same time heading towards the open door. Everyone was frozen with surprise. N'gambi was holding the string, following his dancing "daughter", as he called the small gourd. The gourd passed out of the house and by its movements you would think it was alive. We followed behind almost instinctively. The "daughter" entered a small conical house where the old man used to sleep and there she was dancing up and down in the centre of the house. We were watching to see the next move. N'gambi said some words and the dancing "daughter" started slowing down and in a few minutes she was standing still. Iramba, the head of the family, was ordered to excavate the soil on which the "daughter" was standing. "Ka" he knocked something. He took more care. Lo, it was a pot. It was covered with an old skin and on removing it, old pieces of clothes were found pushed tightly into the pot. He pulled them out. Behold! there was the hidden treasure, and N'gambi was wholeheartedly given his demands.



A NOTE ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE WANYIKA OF THE KENYA COAST

T. H. R. Cashmore

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The Wanyika (who also refer to themselves as the Miji Kenda) are the nine tribes of Bantu origin who live in the immediate interior of the Kenya coast. They are to be found principally in the area lying between the Tanganyika border and the Sabaki River, though small colonies of Nyika live near the Tana River and even in the interior of Lamu District.

The nine tribes are as follows:—

Giryama,
Duruma, Digo (three major tribes),
Ribe (the senior tribe),
Kauma (related to the Ribe),
Kambe,
Chonyi,
Jibana, and
Rabai.

There appears to be some ill-defined link between the Nyika and the Teita, Sagalla, Pokomo and Segeju.¹

In all, the Wanyika do not exceed a quarter of a million people. Each tribe has its own tribal dialect, which does not differ greatly from the *lingua franca*, *Kinyika* (a dying tongue). It has been suggested by Taylor that at least one of the dialects (*Kigiryama*) resembles an old version of Kiswahili.²

The Nyika social system has never been described in detail. The best record available are those which describe the social organization of the Wagiryama. There were three age-grades:—³

Nyere—Young warriors.

Kambi—Ruling elders. (Also the term for a complete age set embracing all three grades).

Vaya—An inner circle of the *Kambi* (distinguished by an armlet of ivory called *luwoo*).

¹Most of the tribal traditions mention the presence of Wasegeju at Shungwaya together with the Wanyika. The Wasagalla living in the Teita hills have some connection with the Wagiryama.

The Wapokomo are believed to be a constituent element in the make-up of Warabai (see Prins, and Alice Wemer's articles on the Nyika, Galla and Pokomo).

²Taylor, W. E. "Giryama Vocabulary and Collections." London 1891. Introduction, Section IV.

³Prins "Coastal Tribes of the North-Eastern Bantu." P. 74. Hardinge, Krapf, Burton and New also make various references to the social organization. The best description is that of Taylor (see note 2).

The executive of the *Kambi* appear to have been three men chosen for their wisdom, who were termed the *Enyetsi*.⁴ The greatest *Enyetsi* of whom there is any record is Mzee Fungo who defeated the Masai and (?) the Galla in the late nineteenth century.

Of all the peoples of Kenya with the exception of the Swahili, the Wanyika have been the most subject to outside influences, first of the Arabs and then of the Europeans. Arab influence on the Wanyika has been considerable. In the eighteenth century reference is made in the *Mombasa Chronicle* to Nyika aid to the Mazrui in their struggles for freedom. As a result of this aid, the Nyika obtained certain rights from the Mazrui in the nature of subsidies. The link with the Arabs was reflected in the tradition of Arab "Sheikhs" for the Nyika tribes.⁵ The role of the Sheikhs appears to have been in the main honorary, though they also acted as peace-makers as in the case of the Giriyama-Ribe War of the 1870's,⁶ and the Kambe-Ribe boundary dispute of 1913.⁷

The Wanyika continued to be closely linked with the Mazrui after the latter's flight from Mombasa to Gazi and Takaungu in 1837. The last Mazrui Liwali of Takaungu, Salim, was an initiated elder of the Giriyama.⁸ On several occasions, Mbaruk of Gazi took shelter with the Wanyika during his various rebellions against the Sultan of Zanzibar, and during the Mazrui Rebellion of 1895-96, the Nyika attitude was one of sympathetic neutrality towards Mbaruk.⁹ After the flight of Mbaruk into German territory, Hardinge describes the following message he received from the Giriyama elders: "A message advising me to warn the Germans to be careful in their dealings with Mbaruk and to make 'strong magic' lest he should, instead of being disarmed, disarm us by the spells which he possessed".¹⁰ As late as 1914, one of the reasons for the Giriyama Rebellion was the visit of two of Mbaruk's ex-slaves to the Giriyama in an attempt to stir them into rebellion on behalf of the Germans.¹¹

⁴*Enyetsi*, meaning Possessors of the Land. The three elders were apparently chosen from an inner circle or club of the elders called the *Fisi*. The *Fisi* (hyena), incidentally, is a sacred animal amongst the Giriyama. Hardinge in his Memoirs suggests that this is a Nyasa custom in origin (p. 138).

⁵Burton mentions the five Sheikhs of which Rabai is the chief ("Zanzibar" p. 94), but it is not clear if he is referring to Arab or Wanyika. Sir Arthur Hardinge (Parliamentary Papers "Africa" No. 7. 1897) describes the Arab Sheikhs as acting as tribal agents. The posts are hereditary. "The ancestors of Hamis bin Said of Malindi, who represents Giriyama, have been agents of the Wagiriyama from the days of the Portuguese". (p. 9). See also Sir John Gray—"The British in Mombasa" p. 122.

⁶New "Life, Wanderings and Labours", 1871, p. 485.

⁷Political Records, Kilifi. Arabs from Mombasa came to adjudicate a boundary dispute between these two small tribes. Compare also peace following Giriyama-Ribe war (18th Century when the "Liwali of Mombasa" arbitrated. (Champion—"History of Giriyama"—Kilifi Political Records).

⁸Sir Arthur Hardinge—"Diplomatist in the East" 1928. Hardinge in his report on the Mazrui rebellion (Parliamentary Papers, 1896, c. 8274) speaks of the power and influence of Mbaruk of Gazi over the whole of the Nyika.

⁹See Hobley's account of the rebellion as recorded in his "Kenya from Chartered Company to Crown Colony", p. 165. Also Hardinge's report on the rebellion mentioned in note 7.

¹⁰Sir Arthur Hardinge—"Diplomatist in the East". Johnathan Cape 1923, p. 185.

¹¹Kilifi Political Records, file on the Giriyama Rising. This rising is also dealt with in Moyse-Bartlett's "K.A.R.", in Hobley's "Chartered Company to Crown Colony" and in Sir Charles Dundas' "African Crossroads".

So far as contact between the Portuguese and the Wanyika is concerned, the position is much less certain. It is not clear from the records available, whether the Wanyika had reached the Kenya coast during the time of the Portuguese supremacy (which ended in 1696).¹²

As regards Europeans other than Portuguese, the first contacts of which we have record are to be found in Boteler, Owen and Emery, who have left us narratives of their survey of the coast of East Africa in the 1820's. After the withdrawal of the Owen Protectorate over Mombasa in 1826, direct European influence was in abeyance until the arrival of the Church Missionary Society Mission under Krapf and later Rebmann (1843-1846). This was followed by the Methodist Mission at Ribe (1862) under Wakefield and later New. As the nineteenth century progresses, so do the records and references to the Wanyika tribes increase. From the 1820's onwards we get references to the trading activities of the Wanyika who acted as middlemen with the tribes of the interior.¹³ They handled the annual cattle sales at "Jof"¹⁴ where the Mericomingoans (Wakamba) brought their cattle.¹⁵ They also sold ivory, gum copal, honey and beeswax to the Arabs in exchange for cloth and beads. They purchased copper ornaments from the Kamba, having lost the art of metal work.¹⁶ Finally, in times of stress and famine the Nyika indulged in the slave trade.¹⁷

There also appears to have been a trade in tobacco of which the Digo were the producers,¹⁸ the Giryama the traders and Galla the purchasers. Timber for shipbuilding was obtained from the Nyika by the Arabs.¹⁹ Rhino horn and

¹²The only clues available are as follows:—

(a) Rezende (Sir John Gray's translation, *T.N.R.* 23) describes the natives of the interior around Mombasa as Muzongolos armed with poisoned arrows. In the 1820's Lieutenant Emery describes the Wanyika as being armed with straight swords, bows and poisoned arrows.

(b) Dos Santos describes a custom of the Wasegeju ("Mossegejus") of "clayheads" and the killing of a man (Sir John Gray's "Portuguese Records Relating to the Wasegeju" *T.N.R.* 29). This should be compared with Wanyika customs described by Krapf.

(i) "Travels" p. 147. "... warned me not to visit the village of Yumbo (probably a Digo village in the present district of Kwale) because the Wanyika were celebrating the "Ugnaro" there. This is a horrible sport practised from time to time by the young people when they have reached a certain age. They smear the body, especially the face, with white and grey earth, so that they cannot be recognised, being also almost in a complete state of nudity which they remain in the woods until they have killed a man, after which they wash themselves and return home, where they feast and carouse".

(ii) "Nyika-English Dictionary" 1887. Custom of *Thura*. "The individual concerned wears for a few days a crown made of clay, but highly decorated".

(c) The records concerning the Arab coast towns prior to the arrival of the Portuguese. Duarte Barbosa in his description of Mombasa (circa 1518) writes "The men thereof (Mombasa) are often times at war and but seldom at peace with those of the mainland, and they carry on trade with them, bringing thence great store of honey, wax and ivory". Of Pate and Lamu he says "These carry on trade with the inland country and are well walled with stone and mortar in as much as they are often at war with the heathen of the mainland" (a state of affairs similar to that described by Rezende in the early 17th Century).

¹³MacDougall—Kilifi Political Records, "Notes on the History of the Wanyika".

¹⁴"Jof"—presumably Kwa Jomvu. See Sir John Gray, "The British in Mombasa" (Kenya History Society) also Boteler, Vol. II p. 205.

¹⁵See Boteler, "Narrative of a Voyage of Discovery to Africa" Vol. II, p. 17, 205 and 206. Also Krapf "Travels and Missionary Labours" p. 142.

¹⁶Krapf "Travels" p. 354, also Krapf and Rebmann's "Nyika Dictionary" under *Mukufu*, *Mulinga* and *Muthunga*.

¹⁷Coupland—"Exploitation of East Africa" p. 231, footnote. Charles Dundas refers to some form of slave trade between Kitui and Giryama ("African Crossroads" p. 72). Hardinge, "Diplomatist in the East". P. L. McDermott, "British East Africa or IBEA" (1893) p. 23.

¹⁸Krapf, "Travels" p. 268.

¹⁹Krapf, "Travels" p. 202.

hides for shields is mentioned by Boteler.²⁰ The role of middlemen in trade appears to have been taken over for a while by the Kamba.²¹ No doubt the increase in Arab and Swahili caravans displaced them in due course.

As early as the 1820's Emery speaks of the Nyika love of coconut palm wine. The first record, however, of the famous Nyika "kilt" worn by the women is in a reproduction of a photograph taken by New.²²

Turning now to the tentative chronology which is attached to these notes, the following points are made by way of explanation.

CHRONOLOGY

I have taken the dates available in Portuguese, Arab or British sources, and into this framework have tried to fit the Nyika traditions. Most of the local information comes from the Kilifi District Political Records, from published sources such as Krapf or New, from Mission records or from personal interrogation of Nyika elders. Mr. Arthur Champion's History of the Giriama in the Kilifi Political Records is the most suggestive from a chronological point of view and has been adopted more or less completely so far as the length of the *Kambi* is concerned (40-50 years).²³ Some very interesting details concerning tribal migrations down the Coast from Shungwaya were recorded in 1926 by a District Officer, Mr. Weaving.²⁴ Apart from this, Prins "Coast Tribes of the North Eastern Bantu" is the most accessible summary of the various tribal traditions. It is perhaps interesting to note that some of the more educated Nyika, who are becoming "history minded" by no means agree with the traditions as recorded by McDougall or by Champion, early in this Century. It is very difficult, however, to discover how much of their knowledge and criticism derives from a purer source of tribal tradition, and how much from an inadequate grounding in the history and customs of their people.

TRIBAL MIGRATIONS, RECORDS AND TRADITIONS

To start our chronology in reverse, the earliest written records we have of the present geographical location of the Kilifi Nyika are to be found in the works of Krapf and New which deal with the period 1843-1871. New places all the

²⁰Boteler, "Narrative" p. 206.

²¹Krapf, "Travels" p. 144. Burton in "Zanzibar" (1872) Vol. II p. 67, says that as late as 1867 Wanyika were acting as middle men for the trade between the Kamba and the Swahili of the coast. Note also that Thomson describing the caravan routes of the 1880's shows that no caravans had gone up to the Kenya interior for sometime from Mombasa owing to Masai raids. Thomson "Through Masailand" p. 127 (2nd edition), also Krapf, p. 155 and 180.

²²New, 1871—reproduction of the photograph is found opposite p. 126. But also see illustration in Krapf's "Travels" opposite p. 156.

²³Amongst the Wanyika *Kambi* has a double meaning. The first meaning is that of a complete age-set, approximately forty-five years, covering three age-grades, i.e. warriors, elders and senior elders. It is also the name of one of the age-grades, i.e., the *Kambi* or ruling grade. It is interesting to note that the Giriama political system (now in partial disuse) has some similarities to that of the Meru of Kenya. The Meru have a committee or club of influential persons called the *Njuri*. Members of the *Njuri* are called *Mugambi*, plural *Agambi*. Compare this with the Giriama *Mukambi*, plural *Akambi*. (See also H. E. Lambert's "Land Tenure in the Kikuyu Land Unit" published by University of Cape Town). The Giriama system has been described as a loose democracy run by initiated elders organized into an informal sort of freemasonry. No doubt in times of war, individuals came to the fore, whose rule was much more autocratic; the best example was Mzee Fungo—see also New, p. 107.

²⁴Weaving records the traditions of the elders of the Wakambe, Waribe, Wachonyi and Wajibana. His notes lay in the closed files of the District Office, but were not so far as I can remember part of the Kilifi Political Records.

smaller tribes, Jibana, Chonyi, Kauma, Kambe, Ribe, more or less where they appear to be at present (save for the late migrations into the Malindi sub-district). New was writing of the 1860's. Krapf in 1843, during his visit to Takaungu, noted the presence of the Wakauma nearby. The Giriyama appear to have been limited to the areas of the modern locations of Kaloleni, Gotani and parts of Bamba, Ganze, Sokoke and Vitengeni.

In 1891, Taylor published his "Vocabulary of the Giriama Language" in which he records the geographical boundaries of the Giriyama as follows:—

(a) Weruni (southern Giriyama) centred round Kaya Fungo; the southern area between Kaya Fungo and Mwaeba Hill had been deserted due to Masai raiding.

(b) Central Giriyama, an arid and dry area, from which the population had already moved on (probably the Bamba-Ganze-Sokoke area).

(c) Northern Giriyama, the furthest point north being Mwangea Hill.

From the middle of the nineteenth century the details are relatively easy to piece together. Driven into the forest fastnesses of the Kayas²⁵ (the sacred places of the tribes, which were natural fortresses) first by the Galla and then the Masai; the Wanyika took full advantage of the decline of the Galla power to migrate north, so that by 1890 they had reached the Sabaki River.²⁶ The real difficulty lies in the long period from the arrival of the Portuguese to the coming of the nineteenth century missionaries. It is at this point that I think most use can be made of the theory that the Giriyama *Kambi* is roughly a span of forty to fifty years.

SHUNGWAYA AND THE START OF MIGRATIONS

That the tribes all started from Shungwaya (near Port Durnford) is the view reiterated in all the Nyika traditions, but the dates at which the migrations started, or at which the various tribes left, are very much in dispute. Kirkman in a note to McDougall's papers,²⁷ suggests 1350-1400. Prins considers that internal evidence shows that so far as the Wakambe are concerned, they probably did not leave till as late as 1700,²⁸ Champion, on the basis of 45 years to a *Kambi* arrives at the date 1624 as the starting date for the Giriyama migration.

The migration from Shungwaya was due to Galla pressure. The legends of the migrations give the reason for the move as the defeat of the tribes in war by the Galla. In fact the whole story of the Nyika migration is tied up with a chain reaction of tribal movement, the core of the disturbance being the Horn of Africa

²⁵*Kaya*. A Kaya amongst the Nyika is both a sacred place in the forest and a fortress. There are a number of major and minor Kayas throughout the Nyika. Generally they are to be found on the top of a forested hill. The track to them is narrow and twisty. Usually there are no more than two entrances, each guarded by up to seven gates though three gates were most common. The places are sacred still. In Kaya Fungo and Kaya Kambe and some of the other Kayas old men still live there and have the privilege of being buried inside the Kaya. The entrance to each Kaya is blocked by gates with a guard hut for the warriors close by. (See also Krapf's "Nyika Dictionary" under the word Kaya; also Krapf's "Swahili Dictionary").

²⁶Champion—"History of the Wagiryama"—Kilifi Political Records. Mwangea was reoccupied in about 1884. The Sabaki was reached by 1890. See also Taylor's introduction to "Giriyama Vocabulary and Collections" (1891) also W. W. A. FitzGerald—"Travels in the Coastlands of British East Africa". At first the Nyika bought or rented land from the Galla paying cattle or ivory; the transaction was known as *Jivu* (Champion, "History of the Giriyama". Kilifi Political Records). Apparently the Swahili were doing much the same thing with the Nyika (New, page 76. See also New, page 483).

²⁷Kilifi Political Records. Mr. Kirkman is the warden of the Gedi National Park.

²⁸Prins—p. 48 note 6.

and the Galla-Somali pressure.²⁹ In 1528-29 Ahmed or Mohamed Gran, King of Adal, attacked the Ethiopians. By 1535 Moslem states had been established and, but for the Portuguese intervention (1541 and onwards) the whole of Ethiopia might have been overrun. These troubled times produced a pressure on the pastoral tribes of the region, and the "shunting" process started. The Nyika were not the only tribal group concerned, and I would suggest that their migration (spread perhaps over the period of a hundred years or more) corresponded very closely to the state of affairs up the line. Years of good rain might result in comparatively little pressure, and migrations might halt for a while, only to be followed by new eruptions, of which the cause might be raiding parties of young men or famine conditions driving new tribes and splinter groups south. Further I would suggest that at this stage the Wanyika were almost entirely pastoral. A purely agricultural community cannot migrate easily. It is they who in time of conquest stay behind as serfs, the new peasantry, as, for instance, the slave tribes along the Juba river.³⁰ As to evidence of the Wanyika being stock people, we have New who states that the Nyika at one time had many cattle, but lost them in the great Masai raids (1857 onwards).³¹

The first evidence in East Africa of the chain reaction taking place is in 1571 (i.e. some forty years later), when the Wasegeju are reported by the Portuguese as outside Malindi. They were still there during the invasion and defeat of the cannibal Zimba from the south towards the end of the sixteenth century. Sometime after 1630 or 1640, they moved on to their present location in the hinterland between Tanga and Gazi. Perhaps the reason was renewed Galla pressure or alternatively the arrival of late comers like the Giryama from Shungwaya,³² who forced them to move on. I am assuming that the Wasegeju were at Shungwaya, and that they did leave it at approximately the same time as some of the Nyika tribes. Most traditions refer to them, though the question whether or not they are Wanyika is still in dispute.³³

Returning to the dating of the migrations, if the Wasegeju and "Proto-Nyika" started to move by 1550, the last elements had arrived on the Kenya coast by 1700; that is to say their migration was spread over a period of 150 years. (It is of

²⁹Sir Gerald Reece—"The Horn of Africa"—which acknowledges its debt to a paper by Mr. (now Sir Richard) Turnbull on "The Impact of the Somali and Galla on East Africa". See also I. M. Lewis—"Peoples of the Horn of Africa".

³⁰It does not follow of course that the serf tribes were automatically agriculturalists before they were overrun. For instance, the hunting tribes, Mlaa or Walungulo or Boni, who were subject to the Galla remained hunters paying tribute of ivory, etc. Possibly the Pokomo who were also serfs of the Galla (see Cap.X—New) were agriculturalists working on the banks of the Tana. But by tradition, they too were fleeing from the Galla and got caught by a flooded river. Whether in fact they were originally pastoral people or not is uncertain.

³¹New—p. 114 and p. 154. New places the raid at 1858, but Burton puts the first great raid at February 1857 (Burton Vol. II p. 58).

³²See Sir John Gray's translation of Rezende; *T.N.R.* No. 29.

³³Prins has summarised the various tribal traditions. Other references are Alice Werner's various articles on the coast Bantu, Galla and Pokomo. There are also references in Hobley, Krapf and New; also in Kilifi, Malindi and Kwale Political Records. An interesting tradition is recorded by H. M. T. Kayamba "Notes on the Wadigo" (*T.N.R.* No. 23), which refers to a composite tribe, the WaBokomo (? Pokomo) living with the Segeju at Shungwaya, which later broke up into the Giryama, Chonyi, Ribe, Duruma and Digo. See also the article by E. C. Baker—"History of the Wasegeju" (*T.N.R.* No. 27). The Wasegeju were also known as the Wakirau and also as the Wakilio. A Duruma tradition claims that the tribe are in part descendents of Makau, brought to Mombasa by the Portuguese before 1590.

course possible that some of the Nyika tribes moved before, and that Shungwaya was merely one of numerous stopping points, the earliest one that tradition recalls).³⁴

One interesting point about the migrations, is the way that geographical factors appear to have influenced the routes taken. The coastal range seems to have been the route for most of the migrants, who used prominent features, such as Mwangea, as defensive points, rearguard positions in their retreat south. (Later these prominent features were to become the sites of Kayas, such as that of the Jibana).

Again, where groups left the coastal belt with its comparatively heavy rainfall, they followed permanent or semi-permanent rivers; the Tana, the Sabaki and for those who came round the inland face of Mwangea, the Voi or Vitengeni River.

If 1550 was the date of the first migrations from Shungwaya there is no reference to the Wanyika, as such, until 1729 ("Munhicas"),³⁵ but earlier there were numerous references to a tribe called "Mozungullos" who troubled Mombasa in the early seventeenth century. Sir John Gray suggests that this tribe was the present Walangulo, a bush people.³⁶ Prins thinks they were the Nyika, or at least advanced elements of the Nyika.³⁷

The "Mozungullos" are mentioned as raiding Mombasa in 1610 and again in 1612. At Rabai, they killed the Sheikh of Mombasa, Hussein. They allied with the renegade Yusuf. In 1696 three tribes under the King of Chonyi were allies of the Portuguese.³⁸

Weaving, in his notes, records an interesting tradition of the Wachonyi, in which they describe their route of migration and state that before they came to occupy the present Kaya Chonyi, they were for a while at Shimo la Tewa, which lies a few miles north of Mombasa.

Let us assume the "Mozungullos" were in fact the early element of the Wanyika (Ribe, Kauma, Chonyi, Jibana, Rabai, Digo and Duruma) who moved down after the Wasegeju, reaching the Mombasa coast sometime between 1590 and 1600. They missed the cannibal Wazimba (there is very little "traditional" reference to the Zimba, save that Europeans have asked too many questions about them and now some of the elders are beginning to "remember"). They moved farther down the coast than Malindi, since the Wasegeju were happily settled there (just as later on the Wasegeju "leap-frogged" them on the road to Tanga). In the seventeenth century, these tribes were beginning to take up their position in the hinterland behind Kilifi and Mombasa.

A second wave of Wanyika left Shungwaya in the 1620's and were in position at Kaya Giryama in the period 1700 to 1750. Behind the Giryama, came the last elements, the Kambe, perhaps also the Pokomo element believed to exist in the Warabai (this last possibly much earlier), and the Pokomo proper. The last named did not pull out quickly enough, and the advancing Wagalla made them their slaves.³⁹ This is mainly speculative.

³⁴See Hobley—"Chartered Company to Crown Colony".

³⁵Prins—p. 49 quoting Strandes.

³⁶Sir John Gray. *T.N.R.* No. 23 and No. 29.

³⁷See note 35.

³⁸Sources summarised by Prins p. 48 onwards. Tribal tradition held that Chonyi, Jibana and Rabai were closely linked.

³⁹See Prins p. 8. Also McDougall—"Notes on the History of the Wanyika". Kilifi Political Records.

THE GIRYAMA KAMBI

Kambi here means a complete age set, as opposed to the name of the ruling grade, of from forty to fifty years' duration. The *Giryama Kambi* are as follows:—

Anmwendo (The Going).

Kalalaka (?)

Mijoga (The Warlike).

Ngunyeli (?)

Kaumba (Creative).

Makwavi (Masai).

Kavuta (The Poor).

Champion comments on these names "The meaning of the names given to each *Kambi* would seem to reflect the condition of each tribe at that time".

As a preliminary hypothesis let us consider Champion's estimate of forty to fifty years to a *Kambi*. The two last *Kambi* are easiest to plot. Starting with *Kavuta* it is known that it finished in 1923.⁴⁰ We can guess the reason for the title "poor". From 1884 onwards there were famines, rinderpest outbreaks and smallpox. The following is a list of famines.

1884 *Mwakisenge*

1891 *Mkufu*

1895 *Magunia*

1915 *Change*

1917 *Pishi Rupia*

The last but one of the *Kambi*, the *Makwavi* is obviously the period of the Masai raids, which hit the *Giryama* according to Krapf, first, in 1857 (in all there are references to at least twenty Masai raids which affected the coast between 1850 and 1893).

One may guess that *Kavuta* covers the period 1890–1930's and the *Makwavi* that of the 1840's–1890's.

The next *Kambi* is the *Kaumba*, "the creative". I can only suggest that in the period 1800–40 the Galla pressure which had been strong through the eighteenth century had begun to ease off, whilst the Masai pressure had not yet been felt. This may be giving a totally wrong interpretation to the *Giryama* meaning of "creative", it may be that it was for them a time of successful if petty wars with their fellows.

1750–1800—the *Ngunyeli*. The meaning is not known. Of the period all that can be said is that it coincides with the wars of Mombasa and Pate (Mazrui vs. Nabhan).

⁴⁰*Kavuta* finished early. The then District Commissioner insisted on the *Kirao* ceremony being held then. (This information was supplied to me by Miss Bodger of the Church Missionary Society Mission, Kaloleni). *Kirao* was the ceremony leading to promotion of the *Kambi*. Compare Taylor, "Vocabulary" under heading "Freemasonry".

The *Mijoga* would be in the period 1710–1750. “The Warlike”, this is an obvious reference to Galla pressure which was felt throughout the coast in the eighteenth century. It has been suggested that in this period the Galla destroyed Malindi, Mamburui and Kilifi, though these places may have been sacked in the first half of the seventeenth century.⁴¹ This is the period to which Giriyama tradition assigns the discovery of iron-tipped arrows.⁴² Towards the end of this period the Ribe-Giriyama War took place, as mentioned by Champion. Reuben Kombe, a Giriyama school teacher, suggests that the struggle was over the wells at Hademu, now held by the Giriyama, which to this day are called the *Visima vya Ribe*.

1660–1700—the *Kalalaka*. The period of rapid decline in Portuguese power ending in the fall of Fort Jesus.

1620–1660—*Amwendo* (The Going). The Giriyama leave Shungwaya on their long trek south.

CONCLUSION

(i) As a tentative estimate, the Nyika tribes had reached the hinterland of the Kenya coast by 1700.

(ii) I have omitted the account of the migration of the Rabai, since there is information which is confusing. Nowadays it is hard to get hold of traditions since Rabai has been for long a Mission centre, a gathering place for porters and ex-slaves for all tribes (a Giriyama school teacher told me the Rabai were Nyasa in origin). Prins suggests that the Warabai are a Pokomo-Chagga mixture. It is the Arabaja who in 1612 are credited with the killing of the Sheikh of Mombasa. If this is correct, that would place them with the Wachonyi as early migrants. As was pointed out earlier, a Kambe informant said that the Warabai, Wajibana and Wachonyi always joined together during the petty intra tribal wars.

This informant went on to describe a war in which his great-grandfather was killed by the Jibana. The allies of the Wakambe were the Waribe and the Wakauma. The two victories still recalled in the songs are one where the Jibana Mwanza⁴³ drum was captured, and a second where forty Rabai raiders were ambushed and only one returned to tell the tale. The Ribe leaders were Mwanzombo and Mwamyua Nyoa. The Mkambe leader in this version was Mwarandu Kandu.

(iii) *Masai Raids*.—It is not certain whether it was the Galla or the Masai who forced the Nyika to evolve the defensive position, the Kaya. Most probably it was the Galla. When Galla pressure relaxed, perhaps the Nyika became careless, which accounts for the Masai successes in early raids. In the open the Nyika, like the Kikuyu, were no match for the Masai. But when defending the Kaya, placed in the middle of dense woodland, with perhaps two narrow

⁴¹Sometime in the first half of the 17th Century, and probably the first quarter of that century in the opinion of J. S. Kirkman in “The Arab City of Gedi” p. 75-76, cf. also Boteler Vol. I, p. 297 concerning the evacuation of Malindi. The inhabitants fled to Mombasa where their King was, due to Galla attack. cf. also Boteler Vol. II, p. 2 “Kilifi”, “. . . a large arab town which many years ago . . . was attacked, sacked and burnt by the Galla”. N. B. Boteler visited the coast in the 1820’s.

⁴²A tradition recorded by McDougall in his note on the “History of the Wanyika”—Kilifi Political Records.

⁴³Mwanza Drum. A sacred drum used for special ceremonies. It would appear that in addition to the men’s drum, the women had a separate drum of their own. The drums were kept hidden. (See Taylor and Krapf).

paths leading to it each of which were guarded by three or more solid wooden gates (Kaya Kauma or Kambe are the best examples), the Masai were not universally successful. Here it was that Fungo defeated them and nearly every tribe claims a victory over the Masai. The Wachonyi point to a hill near Cha Simba, haunted by dead Masai, and the Ribe and Kambe claim similar victories, at least in tradition.⁴⁴ In addition, a system of watch and ward was established so that warning of Masai raids was given and flocks and people retreated into the sacred Kaya. An old Mribe recalls hearing the warning cry, "*Tiani, tiani, Amasai tio vadza*" (Save yourselves, the Masai come). Kizurini near Kaloleni is one of the old watch points.

(vi) *The Galla*.—After dominating the coastal hinterland throughout the eighteenth century, Galla power was on the wane in the nineteenth century. From 1857 to 1886, the Galla were subject to Masai raids. At the same time they were under attack from the Somali. In the 1850's occurred the Somali "love feast", when they slaughtered the Galla Chiefs. In 1899, McDougall rescued six hundred Galla from Port Durnford after Somali attacks. By 1912, the Somali had reached the Tana River.

It is in the period after 1850, that the Wanyika led by the Wagiryama, begin to move north once more and reoccupy territory formerly held by the Galla. At first, they occupied the land as tenants of the Galla, paying a form of rental,⁴⁵ but eventually taking over complete possession of the land.

(v) By 1860–1870, the Wagiryama and other Nyika tribes could begin their move north, first to Mwangea Hill and then by 1890 to the Sabaki River.

(vi) The whole history of the migrations is tied up with the chain reaction of tribes; in this note there is one most obvious gap, i.e., the southern chain reaction at work in Tanganyika and Rhodesia; for instance, Chagga pressure or the Angoni raids.

⁴⁴Thomson in his "Through Masailand" (1885 edition, p. 66) describes his journey through what is presumably present day Kaloleni and Mariakani locations. Having passed two Kamba villages, "where the inhabitants had lost all their cattle through the agency of the Masai. At one place we passed the site of a great battle between the latter and the Wanyika, in which after a bloody struggle the Masai had been defeated, though at the cost of three hundred lives to the victors. Over a considerable area the ground was literally strewn with skulls. We camped at a miserable Mkamba village called Makuti". N.B.—Thomson was visiting the scene in early 1883.

⁴⁵Called *Jivu*. See note 26.

CHRONOLOGY

- 1493 Pedro de Covilha to Ethiopia. Contact with Portugal.
- 1498 Da Gama off Malindi.⁴⁶
- 1500–1509 Portuguese conquest of the coast.
- 1505 Fifteen hundred African bowmen support Mombasa against Almeida.⁴⁷
- 1528 Mohamed Gran, King of Adal and the Somali invasion of Ethiopia.
- 1506 Portuguese attack on Barawa. Six thousand African spearmen and bowmen against the Portuguese.⁴⁸
- 1541 Portuguese intervention in Ethiopia.
- 1550's Galla pressure forces Wasegeju to leave Shungwaya, followed by elements which later become Waribe, Waduruma, Warabai and Wadigo.
- 1571 Wasegeju off Malindi.
- 1589 Defeat of Wazimba outside Malindi by Portuguese and three thousand Wasegeju.⁴⁹
- 1610–1612 Mozungullos attacking Mombasa. Night raids. Erection of blockhouses round "Macupa". The Mozungullos number not more than three thousand to four thousand. They fight with poisoned arrows.⁵⁰
- 1614 Sheikh (or Sultan) Hassan's murder at Rabai.⁵¹ Reward of two thousand pieces of cloth paid by Portuguese.
- 1631 Rising of Sultan Yusuf of Mombasa. Mozungullos his allies.⁵²
- 1635 Portuguese recover their hold on the coast. Inscription over Fort Jesus (1639)". . . imposed a fine on the Mozungullos."
- 1620–1660 *Kambi Amwendo*. Start of Giriama migration, Kambe also.
- 1630 Last mention of Wasegeju on the Kenya coast.⁵³
- 1660–1700 *Kambi Kalalaka*.
- 1696–1698 Siege of Fort Jesus. King of Chonyi and three tribes of Mozungullos, allies of the Portuguese.⁵⁴
- 1728–1729 Portuguese reference to "Mozungullos" or "Vanica" (Monhicas).⁵⁵
- 1700–1750 *Kambi Mijoga* (The Warlike). Name derives from renewed Galla pressure. Time of the founding of Kaya Giriama. In addition coast tribes appear to have been closely associated with struggles of Arabs of the coast. During the early part of the eighteenth century the Wagiryama came south from Mwangea (possibly this occurred as early as 1650–1660). Probably the period in which the Galla sacked Malindi and Mambrui. Gedi must have been abandoned before 1650.

⁴⁶"Portuguese Voyages" (Everyman Edition) p. 20 to 26.

⁴⁷Coupland—"East Africa and its Invaders" p. 45.

⁴⁸Coupland. op. cit. p. 31.

⁴⁹Coupland. op. cit. p. 61.

⁵⁰*T.N.R.* 23 "Rezende's description of East Africa in 1634".

⁵¹Coupland. op. cit. p. 63.

⁵²Coupland. op. cit. p. 64. See also *T.N.R.* 23 (Rezende) and *T.N.R.* 7 (Robinson "The Shirazi Colonization of East Africa").

⁵³Sir John Gray. *T.N.R.* 29 p. 91. I note that Robinson (*T.N.R.* 7) notes in his chronology that the Portuguese used the Wasegeju to crush a revolt in Zanzibar in 1653.

⁵⁴Prins—"The Coastal Tribes of the North-Eastern Bantu" p. 45.

⁵⁵Prins—p. 49.

- 1728–1730 Nyika representatives in delegation sent to Oman by Mombasa. “Then they went to Uman to the Imam, and there went among them Sheikh Ibn Ahmed of Malindi, Mi-ghut-bin-zag of Kilind, and Mishhat bin Dace of Tanjau; and of the people of Mifta, there went one man of each tribe, and of the Vanikat one man from each city, among whom were Manyani of the people of Muta and Mamak of the people of Tiv, and the cities of Vanikat are Ribah (Ribe), Shuni (Chonyi), Kambah (Kambe), Gauma (Kauma), Jibanah (Jibana), Rabayi (Rabai), Jiryamah (Giryama), Darvmah-Mutavei (Duruma), Shibah (Shimba), Lughuh (?), Diyu (Digo). These people went to the Imam”.⁵⁶
- 1730–1740 War of the Kilindini vs. Governor Salih of Mombasa. The Kilindini call in the Wanyika “Now it happened that before this (i.e. the murder of Sheikh Ibn Ahmed) Sheikh Ibn Ahmed and his son Ahmed bin Sheikh and the Kilindinis with him sent the army of the Vanikat to fight against the people of Mifta, who were in the old town; so they killed them and plundered them, because of their alliance with the Governor Salih” (earlier the Kilindini had fled from Mombasa to the Vanikat).⁵⁷
- 1746 Ali bin Othman (Mazrui) escapes from the fort to Vanikat “to the seaport of Murairah”. Later they marched from Vanikat and entered Mombasa by night. After his success, Ali bin Othman “made an engagement with the people of Mombasa for many privileges that he would grant them and the same with the people of Vanikat”.⁵⁸
- 1746 Mombasa throws off allegiance to Imam.⁵⁹
- 1750–1800 *Kambi Ngunyeli*.—War between the Ribe and Giryama.⁶⁰ In the 1780’s Galla slowly withdrew from centre, and some of north Giryama.⁶¹ Clash with Ribe (Kauma) and this is also the period of the struggle of Pate with Mombasa ending with fighting in Pemba, at Lamu, and finally in struggle for succession in Pate itself. It was in the struggle for domination of the coast that Lamu called in the Sayyid Said’s garrison. The probable origin of the Mombasa-Pate quarrel is shown in the Pate Chronicle which tells of the part the King of Pate had in encouraging the Portuguese in their attack on Mombasa in 1728.
- 1750’s Attack by the Imam on Pate.⁶² War, Lamu vs. Pate.
- 1750’s War, Mombasa vs. Zanzibar (Pate involved).⁶³ Murder of Ali Bin Othman in Zanzibar. Struggle in Pemba also⁶⁴ 1750’s Pate vs. Barawa.

⁵⁶Translation of Arab Chronicle of Mombasa. W. F. W. Owen—“Narrative of Voyages”. Vol. I p. 414-422.

⁵⁷Arab Chronicle of Mombasa.

⁵⁸Arab Chronicle of Mombasa.

⁵⁹Rigby—Report of 1860 paragraph 50. (Report is printed as an appendix to Mrs. C. E. B. Russell’s “General Rigby, Zanzibar and the Slave Trade”).

⁶⁰Kilifi Political Records. Champion—“History of the Wagiryama”.

⁶¹W. E. Taylor. op. cit. p. vii.

⁶²Pate Chronicle translated by Alice Werner and published in Journal of Royal African Society 1914-1915.

⁶³Mombasa Chronicle.

⁶⁴Stigand—“The Land of Zing”.

- 1784 ~ Zanzibar fully under Imam's control.⁶⁵
 1800-1840 *Kambi Kaumba* (The creative).
 1806 Mazrui army in Pemba. Nyika present.⁶⁶ Seyyid Said succeeds to throne.⁶⁷
 1807 Pate succession dispute (one of many), Mombasa takes sides.⁶⁸
 1812 Battle of Shella Island. Lamu defeats the invasion of Mombasa and its supporters in Pate.⁶⁹
 1813 Lamu accept garrison from Seyyid Said.⁷⁰
 1818 Pate a vassal of Seyyid Said.⁷¹
 1820's Siu under rule of Pate, after a war.⁷²
 1821 Outbreak of cholera on the coast.⁷³
 1822 Mazrui expelled from Pemba by Seyyid Said.⁷⁴
 1823 (December 3rd) to 1826. Owen's protectorate.⁷⁵
 1824 Emery, Reitz's successor in Mombasa. He describes the customs of the "Whaneekas". His contemporary, Boteler, mentions what is probably first signs of Masai raiding. Another "Wanekah" tribe who raid their kin from the inland called the "Quavas". (Wakwavi, in the early days seldom distinguished from their kin, the Masai).⁷⁶
 1828 Seyyid Said's first occupation of Mombasa.
 1833 Seyyid Said's abortive assault on Mombasa.⁷⁷
 1836 Cholera.⁷⁸
 1836 Wakamba settlement in Mariakani due to famine⁷⁹ (note Emery in the 1820's was also in contact with the Kamba called by him Merremen gow's).
 1837 Final submission of Mombasa to Seyyid Said.
 1832-1838 Seyyid Said often in Zanzibar. 1840 transfers his Court there.⁸⁰
 1840-1880 *Kambi Akwavi*.—This is the period of the Masai raids. It is the period of Mzee Fungo. It sees the retreat of the Galla who as time passes are under attack from the Masai and the Somali.
 1840 Ogaden and Marahan Somalia cross headwaters of Juba. War with Galla.⁸¹
 1840's War, Ribe; Kambe; Kauma vs. Jibana; Chonyi; Rabai.⁸²
 1843 Krapf visits Takaungu. He records proximity of Kauma. He also found some Galla nearby.⁸³

⁶⁵Rigby's Report paragraph 50.

⁶⁶W. H. Ingram's "Zanzibar, its History and its people" p. 157.

⁶⁷Rigby's Report paragraph 50.

⁶⁸Stigand op. cit.

⁶⁹Swahili Chronicle of Lamu translated by W. Hichens.

⁷⁰Pate and Lamu Chronicles.

⁷¹Pate Chronicle. Stigand in "The Land of Zing", puts the date at 1822. But note Coupland op. cit.

p. 220 et seq.

⁷²Pate Chronicle.

⁷³Coupland—"Exploitation of East Africa" p. 53.

⁷⁴Coupland—op. cit. p. 220.

⁷⁵Coupland op. cit. p. 217.

⁷⁶Emery—"A Short Account of Mombasa" Vol. III Royal Geographical Society 1833. See also Sir John Gray "The British in Mombasa". Also Boteler Vol. II p. 180.

⁷⁷Coupland—"Invaders" p. 283.

⁷⁸Coupland—"Exploitation" p. 53.

⁷⁹Krapf—"Travels" p. 142.

⁸⁰Coupland—"Invaders" p. 295.

⁸¹Barton—"Origins of the Galla and Somali". J. E. A. N. H. S. 1924.

⁸²Traditional, as told to me by Samuel Ngala, a Mkambe.

⁸³Krapf—p. 115 and 116.

- 1843-1844—
 1846 (?) Successful rising of Pate *vs.* Seyyid Said.⁸⁴
 1846 Krapf's station at Rabai. Rebmann arrives 10th June, 1846.⁸⁵
 1848 Somali "love feast" (?)⁸⁶
 1848 Masai across the route to Chagga.⁸⁷
 1848 Gabiri of Mombasa cuts ship timbers at Rabai.⁸⁸
 1850's Wadigo *vs.* Wasegeju war.⁸⁹
 1850's Arab traders reach Kampala from Tabora.⁹⁰
 1850's Famine amongst the Duruma. They are alleged to have moved from the Rabai area into Kwale. Kingo, the old Duruma Kaya, is said to be near mile 14 of the railway.⁹¹ Prior to 1860 the Masai had raided the Wakamba, Galla, Chagga and Wanyika.⁹²
 1853 Malindi and Mambrui resettled. Settlers from Lamu and Zanzibar.⁹³
 1856 Cholera.⁹⁴
 1857 Masai raid Rabai.⁹⁵
 1858 Masai raiding the coast; eight hundred Masai involved. Rebmann forced to shelter in Zanzibar.⁹⁶
 1858 Cholera—Mombasa area.⁹⁷
 1857 A new *unyaro* initiated amongst the Nyika. Burton implies that this is the initiation of a new age-grade.⁹⁸
 1857-1858 Masai raid the Galla and are defeated, but Galla Chief Dado Boneat killed.⁹⁹
 1859 Cholera at Zanzibar.¹⁰⁰
 1859 Masai raid, Vanga.¹⁰¹
 1862 Ribe Mission founded.
 1865 War—Giryama *vs.* Galla.¹⁰²
 1860's (?) Somali "love feast". Massacre of Galla.¹⁰³
 1860's War—Giryama *vs.* Rabai (ended 1871).¹⁰⁴

⁸⁴Coupland—"Invaders" p. 338. Pate Chronicle. Rigby's Report paragraph 54.

⁸⁵Krapf—p. 152.

⁸⁶Hobley. *op. cit.* p. 176 et seq.

⁸⁷Krapf—"Travels" p. 195.

⁸⁸Krapf—"Travels" p. 202.

⁸⁹Krapf—"Travels" p. 415.

⁹⁰Coupland—"Invaders" p. 307.

⁹¹Kwale Political Records. Vol. II p. 66.

⁹²Krapf—"Travels" p. 359.

⁹³Malindi Political Records.

⁹⁴Coupland—"Exploitation" p. 53.

⁹⁵Krapf—"Travels" p. 190.

⁹⁶Burton, p. 70-71. Russell, p. 221. New, p. 114.

⁹⁷A. C. Hollis—"History of Vumba Kuu".

⁹⁸Burton, p. 86.

⁹⁹New, p. 163.

¹⁰⁰Hollis—"History of Vumba Kuu".

¹⁰¹Rigby's Report paragraph 22.

¹⁰²E. S. Wakefield—"Thomas Wakefield" p. 57. Also McDougall in Malindi Political Records.

¹⁰³Malindi Political Records. But N. B. Hobley considers it occurred later.

¹⁰⁴New, p. 152 and 487.

- 1860's Expulsion of the Nabhans from Pate. Flight to Ozi and Witu.¹⁰⁵
 1865 Masai raid Galla.¹⁰⁶
 1866 Further Masai raid on Galla.¹⁰⁷
 1866 War—Witu vs. Lamu.¹⁰⁸
 1867 (January) Masai raid Galla.¹⁰⁹
 1869 Cholera, Mombasa and Zanzibar.¹¹⁰
 1869 Suez Canal opened.
 1868 Somali from Guardafui found Kismayu.¹¹¹
 1870 Somali coast from Mogadishu to Barava under Ahmed Yusuf, Sheikh of Geledi.¹¹²
 1870 Masai raid Waduruma. Defeated.¹¹³
 1870 Mbaruk of Gazi makes his first attempt on Takaungu.¹¹⁴
 1870's Mzee Fungo defeats the Masai.¹¹⁵
 1871 Masai vs. Duruma.¹¹⁶
 1872–1873 Mbaruk of Gazi in open rebellion.¹¹⁷
 1873 Ban on sea trading in slaves. As a result land trade grew up. Exports from Kilwa by land. October 1873 to October 1874 (N.B. mainly, but not entirely Kilwa) 1,000 slaves to Mombasa; 5,000 to Takaungu; 1,200 to Lamu and Kipini; 1,000 to Malindi; 1,000 to Bajun country. Report of Consul Holmwood "As far as Malindi the new land route is admitted by all to be a paying venture". Also reports at Takaungu and Malindi of new land being cleared.¹¹⁸
 1874 Kaya Giryama becoming overcrowded and Giryama migrate north to Godoma.¹¹⁹
 1876 (August) Masai raid on Rabai.¹²⁰
 1877 Masai raid Giryama.¹²¹
 1880's–1920's *Kambi Kavuta*.—(The Poor).
 1879 Electric telegraph reaches Zanzibar.¹²²
 1881 Combined Galla Somali raid on Giryama. Defeated.¹²³

¹⁰⁵Coupland—"Exploitation", also Pate Chronicle.

¹⁰⁶Wakefield, p. 51.

¹⁰⁷Wakefield, p. 80. New, p. 179.

¹⁰⁸Wakefield, p. 75.

¹⁰⁹Wakefield, p. 90.

¹¹⁰Coupland—"Exploitation" p. 53. Hollis—"History of Vumba Kuu".

¹¹¹Coupland—"Exploitation" p. 63.

¹¹²Coupland—op. cit. p. 63.

¹¹³New, p. 297.

¹¹⁴Wakefield, p. 102. New, p. 152. Harding—"Mazrui Rising" Parliamentary Papers 1896.

¹¹⁵This is a guess on my part, based on oral tradition. See appendix II.

¹¹⁶New, p. 297.

¹¹⁷Coupland—"Exploitation" p. 248. Cf. also "Al Akida and Fort Jesus" (East African Literature Bureau).

¹¹⁸Coupland—"Exploitation" p. 221 et seq., quotes Holmwood.

¹¹⁹Kilifi Political Records. (Champion.)

¹²⁰Wakefield, p. 135 et seq.

¹²¹Wakefield, p. 176.

¹²²Coupland op. cit. p. 323.

¹²³McDougall—Malindi Political Records.

- ¹⁴¹Kilifi Political Records (McDougall).

- 1891 Smallpox outbreak.¹⁴²
 1893 Masai raid as far as Mazeras.¹⁴³
 1895 Takaungu succession dispute. Rising (last) of Mazrui of Takaungu and Gazi.¹⁴⁴
 1895 East Africa Protectorate proclaimed.
 1898-1900 Famine among the Nyika tribe. Hardinge mentions selling of children for grain. Champion and McDougall report partial migration of Giryama to Pokomo due to famine. (Miss Bodger says the famine was called *Magunia*.) Giryama had reached The Galana (Sabaki) River by 1890.
 1899 Somali raid on Galla at Port Durnford and Amola. Latter rescued by S.S. *Juba*.

A SHORT BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

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¹⁴²Kilifi Political Records (Champion).

¹⁴³Hobley, p. 60.

¹⁴⁴Hardinge Report 1897. Hardinge, Parliamentary Papers c. 8274 of 1894. Hardinge—"Diplomatist in the East". Hollingsworth—"Zanzibar 1890-1913".

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30. Stigand, H. "The Land of Zinj" (1913).
31. Mrs. C. E. B. Russell, "General Rigby, Zanzibar and the Slave Trade".

* * * * *

I have not been able to see the translation of the Book of Zanj in E. Cerruli's book, "Somalia"; the translation of Strandes annotated by J. S. Kirkman, which is about to be published by the Kenya History Society; "Fort Jesus and the Portuguese in Mombasa 1593-1729" by C. R. Boxer and Carlos de Azevedo; H. E. Lambert's "Chijomvu and Kingore" (Makerere 1957), or "Kivumba" (Makerere 1958) by the same author.

I should also mention two small books published by the East Africa Literature Bureau in Kiswahili, on the customs of the Ribe and Giryama (the latter by Ronald Ngala): also a short account of the Church Missionary Society on the Coast by K. Stovold.

APPENDIX I

TRADITIONS CONCERNING THE NYIKA MIGRATIONS

I list below the tribal traditions concerning the migrations.

(a) *Waribe*: (From whom much later the Wakauma split off.) These claim to be the senior Nyika tribe and to have left with the first. (Their seniority is based on their right to consultation on such matters as the *Mugaro* and the institution of a new age-group, etc.) All Kilifi Wanyika admit their seniority. (Kilifi Political Records, and New, p. 130.) The Waribe left Shungwaya prior to the Wakambe, Wachonyi and Wajibana, but after the Wasegeju. They left under one Mwadzombo wa Kitiro. They first stopped at a place called Birini, where the Kauma split off. From thence the Waribe moved on to Kaya Ribe (their present Kaya which was deserted in the late 1890's). Weaving lists the following *shaha* of Ribe, though the list is incomplete:

Mwadzombo wa Kitiro (migration).

Bemwaka wa Katana.

Dombo wa Shaha.

Kivatsi wa Munga.

Katana wa Munga.

Abeychai wa Magani (said to have defeated the Masai i.e. 1860-70's).

Bundi wa Magundi.

Metengo wa Tsovi (still alive in 1926. Weaving notes that till then the title stayed in one family).

(b) *Wakauma*: Leaving the Waribe, during the rule of Mwadzombo wa Kitiro, at Birini, they passed on to Kiwara (abandoned later for lack of water), and then to the present Kaya Kauma (now deserted, but in good condition) close to the Jaribuni water-supply plant, not far from the old and now deserted port of Mtanganiko at the head of Kilifi creek. (This port was still functioning as late as the 1920's.)

(c) *Wachonyi and Wajibana*: (N.B. the Wajibana split off from the Wachonyi some time after the migration.) The Wachonyi left Shungwaya shortly after the Wasegeju (Wakilio) some ten generations ago. As this was recorded in 1926, that makes by our reckoning, 1675, but as the Kambi is forty to fifty years in length the date could in fact be approximately 1530 or perhaps a little later. With them went one Swahili, Hamis bin Tau (Prins, p. 46). Their chief was Mwadarugo wa Tungi. They halted for two years at Mwangea. They then moved to Birini (south of Tsaketune Hill). They claim to have left with Waribe. From Birini they went on to Shimo la Tewa where Hamis left them. From there they moved to the present Kaya Chonyi. There the Wajibana split off from them.

Their chiefs were:—

<i>Chonyi</i>	<i>Jibana</i>
Mwadarugo wa Tungi.	Tsuma wa Kamundu.
Tungi Wadarugo.	Mwankanyi wa Mukonyi.
Aboytsefu wa Kayi.	Mwatsaka wa Ndenge.
Jave wa Munga.	Tonyia wa Tsuma.
Aboymengua wa Kayi.	Mkanyi wa Neri.
Banda wa Ndoyo.	Mwachonde Mwajiro.
Magiria wa Munga.	
Mwachiro Mwatata.	
Ngoma wa Gari (??).	
Kaluwa wa Mbwana.	

N.B.—It is always possible in these records of oral traditions that an element of leg-pulling enters in.

(d) *Wakambe*: According to Weaving they claim to have left Shungwaya with the Wasegeju under a chief called Mwamure. They claim however that they were cut off by a flooded river, Galana, and never caught up with their friends, though they followed them first to the Teita Hills, then to the Shimba Hills, then to Kidutani, and finally to the present Kaya Kambe. From this it is possible that their late arrival of the Kambe is accounted for not so much by late departure as by a devious route. (This tradition should be compared with the Digo tradition mentioned by Prins, p. 45.)

The Kambe chiefs are listed as:—

- Mwanure wa Mtaka.
- Mwamure wa Mchango (Chango).
- Muto wa Mchango (Chango).
- Mwambaru wa Kuto.
- Tunje wa Kuto.
- Sirya wa Pembe.
- Mwarandu wa Mayele (Mwanyense).
- Tungi wa Kuto.
- Pembe wa Mayele.
- Kuto wa Chango (who was alive at the coming of British Rule).

In all probability the Wakembe were in the present location by about 1750.

(e) *Wakilindini of Mombasa* (N.B. Not a Nyika tribe.) Their tradition is that they left with the Segeju for Mombasa (Prins). Their stopping places en route were Malindi, Mwangea Dhaicho, from all of which they were driven by the Galla. (Dhaicho may be a misprint for Baricho on the coast, or may refer to the Dhaicho near Mt. Kenya. Cf. Thomson p. 386.)

(f) *Waduruma*: They claimed to have arrived outside Mombasa before the 1590's and to have intermixed with the Makau, a tribe brought from the south by the Portuguese.

(g) *Wagiryama*: There are various traditions, one gives their route as Mwangea, Teita Hills, back to Mwangea and south to Kaya Giryama, another version, that of Sampson Ushuru, says they were south of Mombasa in time to fight the Wazimba. (*N.B.*—this is the only mention made of the Giryama ever seeing the Wazimba.) Taylor in his *Vocabulary and Collections*, introduction, lists the Giryama *lalo* (sub-locations) and their names. It is most interesting to note the duplication of certain names from south to north, either indicating the origins of the northern immigrants, or alternatively that the northern *lalo* were the original ones, from which the Giryama were driven out by the Galla and later reoccupied. Certain of the *lalo* also have names indicating tribal feuds, e.g. Sinnikumbe, "touch me not", said to the encroaching Kauma. Champion believed that there was a Giryama-Kauma feud in the latter part of the 18th Century or early 19th Century.

APPENDIX II

SOME GIRYAMA CHARACTERS

(a) *Mzee Fungo*: In all the traditions of the Giryama, much mention is made of Mzee Fungo, after whom Kaya Giryama was renamed. In the legend told by Samuel Ushuru, Mzee Fungo fought the Galla. In Champion's notes (Kilifi Political Records), he is thought to have fought the Masai and oral tradition backs up this view. Actually it is quite possible he did both (McDougall records a Galla Somali attack on the Nyika in 1881). We can fairly confidently fix the dates of Mzee Fungo as approximately 1830 to 1870. The evidence is as follows:—

(i) A footnote in Champion's history showing that his informant, aged fifty in 1914, as a small boy saw Mzee Fungo.

(ii) New, in his book, records the war between the Rabai and the Giryama caused by the murder of the son of one Hunda, who was the brother of the Giryama Chief, Fungo. This war ended in 1871 with New mediating between the two sides (New, p. 485).

(iii) Champion puts Fungo in the Kambi Akwavi which lasted from the 1840's to the 1890's.

(iv) Burton mentions the "initiation" of a new "Unyaro", presumably the start of an age grade, in 1857. The meaning of *Unyaro* or *Mugaro* is rather vague. Burton (p. 86 *et seq* Vol. II) describes the Unyaro of 1857 as a "great festival, Unyaro at which the middle aged degree is confirmed". See also Prins, p. 77; also Krapf's "Nyika Dictionary" under *Unyaro*.

(b) *Mipoho*: A Giryama woman. Miss Werner in her notes refers to a tradition concerning a woman called Mbodze, whose grave was near Kaloleni and who was something in the nature of a local prophetess. This is no doubt the same woman that Johnstone Muramba calls Mipoho, who foretold the coming of the Europeans and who did not die but disappeared into the ground. This legend was repeated by Reuben Kombe. Samson Ushuru also refers to Mipoho (Kilifi Political Records) though he claims that Mipoho was a man, not a woman. There is no evidence for dating her (or him) save these traditions, but I suspect that the later half of the 19th Century would not be far from wrong.

(c) A third person of some importance is the prophetess Mikitili, who was held responsible by the Government for much of the unrest leading to the Giryama Rebellion of 1914. I believe she was allowed back after a spell of imprisonment and died in obscurity some time in 1923. She is the source of several delightful stories, in most of which Mr. Arthur Champion is made to come off a poor second. (The native name for Champion was "Bwana Chembe"; the rising was called "Vita ya Chembe").

(d) Krapf records the name of one Nyika prophetess—Amebati Pegue (Krapf—"Travels" p. 171).

COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN ANGOLA AND KILWA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

By Sir John Gray

In what may be anglicised as *An Account of a Voyage which the Fathers of the Company of Jesus made with Francisco Barreto . . . in 1569* (translated by Theal in *Records of South Eastern Africa* iii. 210-216) the Jesuit Francisco Monclaros gives a detailed account of Barreto's voyage in 1571 from Mozambique to Pate, calling at Kilwa on the way. In *Da Asia*, Decade iv, Chapter xx, Diogo de Couto gives a short summary of that voyage, which he concludes with the following words—

“The Moors of this coast, who are very subtile (*muitos sutis*), and have penetrated into all the interior of Cafraria, informed him (*sc.* Barreto) of many things which would enable him to enter these lands in the interior. Some of them, who belonged to the kingdom of Atoude, said that by penetrating from Quiloa or Atoude for fifteen or twenty leagues along the road into the interior one could reach the other sea at Angola, and that they had been several times to the market where the merchants from the other sea traded with them for their merchandise. At the factory at Mozambique I found a letter in a register in which Francisco Barreto wrote to the King (of Portugal) about this matter, somewhat briefly (*assim secca*), without saying whether these Moors went by sea or by land; neither did he ask them for a diary (*roteiro*) of their said journey, which was very neglectful on his part. There was likewise registered the reply of the King, in which he very much blamed him for failing to undertake the principal journey, which was the expedition to the Mines (*sc.* of Monomotapa, in what is now called Rhodesia), and had instead proceeded along the coast of Malindi. At the same time he thanked him for certain other things which he had done. These letters I transcribed out of curiosity, being quite young at the time.”

It is very easy to see that one cannot accept as being accurate in every detail Couto's summary of Barreto's letter to the King.

In the first place, it is perfectly clear that a journey of twenty Portuguese leagues (or about fifty English miles) could never have taken Barreto's informants anywhere near the west coast of Africa. Barreto was a very responsible and experienced officer, who had sailed round the Cape of Good Hope in order to reach Mozambique and Kilwa. One therefore craves leave to doubt whether he made the statement imputed to him. Couto described himself as having been very young at the time when he discovered this letter. He was born in 1542 and must therefore have been round about thirty years of age at the time, if not older. In all probability what he intended to convey by this piece of self-disparagement was that he had not at the date of this discovery seriously contemplated writing a history of the Portuguese in the East. Even Homer sometimes nodded and one therefore cannot entirely ignore the possibility that Couto may have made an error when transcribing the letter.

In justice to Couto one has also to consider the possibility that Barreto himself may have been guilty of a *lapsus calami*. Alternatively, the error may have been due to the fact that Barreto was dependent upon an interpreter for communication between himself and his informants and that the blame must be imputed to the interpreter.

Finally, Couto's words may be intended to convey that the meeting place between the east and west coast traders was not in Angola, but at some place inland where there was a well known market. Such meeting place might well have been near the shores of that inland "sea" which we now call Nyasa.

Atoude may possibly equate with Abutuwa, which is mentioned by Dos Santos in his *Ethiopia Oriental*, Tome I, Book II, Chapter X. Dos Santos left South-East Africa in about 1597 and his book was first printed in 1609. In it he describes Abutuwa as a country, which was ruled by a king of the same name and lay to the north-west of Monomotapa, the land of gold. He tells us that—

"They say that it extends in the centre of the continent to the borders of Angola, with the Kaffirs of which country its people trade. Those Kaffirs carry on trade with the Portuguese who go from Portugal to Angola. This I do not doubt because Kaffir merchants from Abutuwa brought a blanket to the Kingdom of Manica to sell it. This blanket was bought by a Portuguese in Manica and I saw it at Sofala (on the east coast near the present day Beira)". (*Ethiopia Oriental*, Tome I, Book II, Chapter X).

In default of production of the original documents seen by Couto the evidence is not so satisfactory as one would like it to be. Nevertheless it would appear safe to say that goods were reaching Kilwa from Angola in the middle of the sixteenth century. Probably that trade was spasmodic and never upon any great scale. Moreover, there is nothing to show that the inhabitants of Kilwa were taking caravans across the continent at that date, as they were doing two centuries later. (*T.N.R.* No. 44 p. 41). In the middle of the sixteenth century goods from Angola were reaching Kilwa through the people of Abutuwa and possibly other tribes acting as middlemen.

EARLY PORTUGUESE VISITORS TO KILWA: A FURTHER NOTE

By Sir John Gray

In *T.N.R.* No. 52 pp. 117-128 I pointed out that Correa's statement that John Machado, one of the earliest visitors to Kilwa, was left behind at Mozambique by Vasco da Gama in 1498, was not corroborated by the Portuguese historians Castanheda, Goes or Barros, all of whom merely state that in 1500 Cabral left him behind (*deixou*) at Malindi charged with the duty of "obtaining reliable information about the land." As I then said, none of these writers in so many words contradict Correa's statement that Machado made his own way from Mozambique to Malindi, sojourning for a time at Kilwa on the way.

The following translation by the Hon. E. H. Stanley of certain passages from Correa's *Lendas da India* set out the circumstances in which John Machado was left behind at Mozambique. They tend to confirm the view that Machado did in fact visit Kilwa on his way from Mozambique to Malindi. Furthermore, they show the dangers which beset *degradados* who "ventured on land in desolate countries" with the knowledge that they might be killed, but that "if they lived, they might be of great advantage", if some Portuguese ship should by chance come across them at some later date and pick them up.

Correa tells us that after there had been an open rupture of the previously friendly relations between the Portuguese and the people of Mozambique, the Portuguese "made sail and went out of the port, when they saw a canoe with four Kaffirs and a Moor with a white cloth raised upon a pole, who called out and the Moor spoke in Arabic."

"He said that the Sheikh was amazed at our people trying to kill his pilot, and at their going away like men irritated, the cause of which was not known; because if any one had done them injury, let them send and say so and he would do them strict justice in the matter. The captain major ordered them to put into the canoe the property of the pilot who had fled, and he ordered one John Machado to enter the canoe, and because he understood a little Arabic, he bade him tell the Sheikh that he, like a good friend and from affection, had given him two pilots to direct him, and he had ordered them to show where he could get water, and they had gone a whole night and the pilot had not pointed it out, and for that reason had fled to the shore and our people had tried to catch him; and his people had come out with arms to fight; and as they were not going about to do mischief, nor to fight, but only to seek for what the Sheikh had ordered for them; and as they had not found sincerity there in the Sheikh's country, on that account they went away without communicating with him."

"With this message he sent John Machado, who had been banished for ever, he and ten others; for Vasco da Gama on leaving the Kingdom had asked the King to give a number of prisoners, who were condemned to death, in order to adventure them thus, or leave them in desolate countries, where, if they lived, they might be of great advantage when he returned and found them there again. This seemed good to the King and he sent him ten men who were condemned to death, and he had them banished to desolate countries."

"One of these was this John Machado, whom he sent there in the canoe with the design of leaving him in the country, because, if he lived, when they returned there they might learn from him the affairs of the country and of the people."

"While the ship was lying to, it drifted and struck upon some shoals from which it got off with some difficulty. These banks were afterwards named the Banks of Saint Raphael from Vasco da Gama's ship. He was much irritated at being unable to pay off the Sheikh, which it was in his power to do, and he gave orders to put the pilot in arms to prevent him escaping."

"In proceeding on their voyage, as the wind did not serve them along the coast, they went and anchored off an island, which is at the distance of one league from Mozambique, to wait for the wind and to allow of the canoe returning from Mozambique, but it did not return because the Sheikh was much pleased at being able to keep John Machado as a captive, in remembrance of those Christian ships having been there."

"After hearing the message of the captain major, he was for a long time talking to John Machado and would not send an answer, because he was afraid that the captain major might capture the people who might go there because they did not bring back John Machado, whom he did not send back."

"This John Machado profited very much afterwards by thus remaining, because he went thence through many countries and passed to Cambay, and from that place to other countries, and learned all the languages, because he was a man of good understanding, and devoted himself to good, so that he became an honourable man, as related further in this book." *The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama and his Viceroyalty* (Hakluyt Society, No. xlix (1869) pp. 93-96).

As mentioned in my previous article, the grounding of Vasco da Gama's flagship on a shoal near Mozambique, which was thereafter named the Banks of Saint Raphael, is not mentioned by any other Portuguese historian, all of whom say that the ship ran aground further up the coast after the fleet had overshot Kilwa and that this shoal was called the Banks of Saint Raphael. I venture to suggest that this apparent contradiction of Correa is in fact no contradiction at all. There would appear to be a very simple explanation, namely, that the ship ran aground twice, once off Mozambique and once several hundred miles further up the coast and that both these shoals were given the name of the Banks of Saint Raphael. To judge from Correa's account the earlier of these two groundings did not seriously endanger the ship; that further up the coast was a more serious matter. The duplication of the name given to two places several hundred miles apart would appear to be no more unusual than the repetition in America or Australia of the same place name as is found in the United Kingdom.

As already said, Correa sets out in a later page the story of how the Sheikh of Mozambique "wrote to the King of Kilwa and told him what John Machado was saying about Portugal; and the King at once desired him to cause John Machado to come to him and received him with great courtesy, for John Machado was a man with a good presence, well brought up and a good speaker. Having thus reached Kilwa, this Portuguese enlarged upon his country and his King even more than he had done at Mozambique, because by time he was very well acquainted with the language of these people. The King of Kilwa sent him to the King of Mombasa, who was his son in law After that John Machado went to Malindi, where our friend the King gave him a very good reception."

A NOTE ON THE GERMAN TWO-RUPEE COIN AND THE MARIA THERESA DOLLAR

By D. M. Phatak

With the establishment of the Company's (D.O.A.G.) administration a contract was made in 1890 between the German Imperial Government and the Deutsch Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft under which some privileges were granted to the Company, one of which was to mint and issue copper and silver coinage which would be acceptable as legal tender in the public offices of the Government.

Records show that Indian coins were current in what became German East Africa for a very long time before the Germans arrived there⁽¹⁾. Naturally the German Company decided that the coinage for German East Africa should, as far as possible, correspond to the Indian coins, and thus the Company minted four silver coins, apart from the copper *pesa*, namely, two rupees, one rupee, a half-rupee and a quarter-rupee. It is important to note that in the series of Indian coinage then current in this country there existed no two-rupee coin. The question naturally arises, why this coin was minted? The answer will be found in the following extract from the Hand-book of Tanganyika, Edition 1930, pages 184-193, in the Chapter "Currency":—

"At the time the Company became established, the Maria Theresa taler (dollar or real)⁽²⁾ had been in circulation for over a century; the large two-rupee coin was issued to replace the Maria Theresa dollar".



(1) "Handbook of Uganda" (Edited 1935 by H. B. Thomas, O.B.E. and Robert Scott) page 230, "The Indian rupee owed its early supremacy in East Africa to the preponderant commercial influence of Indians in Zanzibar, the centre of East African trade during the nineteenth century."

(2) Mr. D. D. Yonge says that the coin was a genuine *taler* or dollar. The equivalent Spanish piece was of 8 reales—hence "pieces of 8". Mr. J. A. K. Leslie states however that the Maria Theresa Dollar is referred to (in Arabic) in the Aden Protectorate, in parts of which it is the current coin, as a *riyal*.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary says:

Dollar, (Orig.) English name for German thaler, also for Spanish piece of eight; [earlier and Du daler=G taler, f. Joachimstaler gulden from silver mine of the Joachims (*tal* valley)] Editor.

In his article "Notes on the Coinage of German East Africa (Tanganyika)" page 38, of *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 31, Mr. P. J. du Toit has described the two-rupee coin as follows:—

Obverse: Kaiser Wilhelm II with helmet and eagle and the inscription *Guilelmus II Imperator*.

Reverse: Coat of Arms with palm and lion: and the inscription *Deutsch Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft, Zwei Rupien* and the date.

The weight of this coin is about 356 grains and the diameter is 35 mm.

The following information about this two-rupee coin is given in the *Tanganyika Hand-book*:—

"With regard to the two-rupee coin, it is interesting to note that the Deutsch Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft minted this coin, but although the German Government Ordinance provided for the coin, it was never minted by the Government. In 1893 two-rupee coins to the value of Rs. 7,008 and 1894 to the value of Rs. 94,700 were minted by the Company. As the one-rupee came into general use among the natives the demand for the two-rupee coin became less. It appears that the two-rupee coin minted by the Company was never withdrawn from circulation".⁽³⁾

The description of the Maria Theresa dollar is as follows:—

Obverse: Bust of the Empress to the right and the inscription R .IMP. HU. BO. REG. M. THERESIA. D.G. and (?) the Mint Mark S.F.

Reverse: Coat of Arms surrounded by the inscription BURG. CO. TYR. 1780 ARCHID AVST. DUX.



⁽³⁾I possess both these coins with dates 1893 and 1894.

The weight of this coin is about 426 grains and the diameter is 40 mm.

The following references to the origin of this coin, its history and its relation to Tanganyika are of interest. On page 82 of Pears' Cyclopedia of 1953/54 it is stated:—

"Maria Theresa (1717-1780), a woman of remarkable strength of character and ability, succeeded her father Charles VI, as Austrian Empress. She was an enlightened ruler and has been called a 'benevolent despot'."

In the "Coin Collectors' Hand-book" by Fred Reinfeld, may be found on pages 7 and 8:—

"Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria, first appeared on a *taler* of 1780 which became one of the most famous coins ever issued. Used extensively in trade with Africa and the Levant, this coin was issued for many years, always with the original date, regardless of the actual year of issue."

Mr. Richard Bithell, B.Sc., Ph.D. in his book "A Counting-House Dictionary" writes on page 298:—

"The Maria-Theresa Thaler of 1780, called also a Levantine, contains 28.075 grammes of silver, .833 fine. Mint par value 5 fr. 20 cents = £2,061 or 4 Shs. 1½d. It is now a commercial coin, and not legal tender even in Austria Hungary. Of course, in foreign countries it is mere bullion."

"Modern Coins of Belgium and Belgian Congo" (Coin Collector's Journal—September October 1953) published by Wayte Raymond, Inc. New York, pages 1-3, states:—

"The Mint of Brussels has executed many coinage commissions entrusted to it by foreign Governments, and amongst others, this Mint struck Maria Theresa Thaler in 1937 and 1938."

In 1943 the writer of this article whilst stationed at Kigoma purchased one of these dollars from an African soldier who had arrived there on leave from Ethiopia. The soldier related that such coins were legal tender in Ethiopia. The following extract from the National Geographic Magazine supports his statement in the article called "Travelling in the Highlands of Ethiopia:—

"All Ethiopian Christians wear crosses made from Maria Theresa silver *Thaler*. The coin mentioned is one of the silver dollars used for trade in the Red Sea area, and is imported as needed from Vienna. It is a copy of the old Austrian issue. It is legal tender in Ethiopia when the clasp on the shoulder of the Empress shown on one side, or the date 1780 appears on the other."

The German Government passed an Ordinance dated 1893 prohibiting the import of the Maria Theresa dollar and by an Ordinance of 1896 it was withdrawn from circulation.

A NOTE ON A PRIVATELY ISSUED TOKEN

By D. M. Phatak

There is a reference in "The Handbook of Tanganyika Territory" edited by G. F. Sayers, Macmillan 1930, p. 189 which reads as follows:—

"Until the scarcity of small coinage was relieved, some of the Plantations and other employers of labour had issued private tokens called 'marken'. One such, stamped from brass, was issued by the Afrikanische Plantagen Georg Hirsch, Morogoro. It bears on one side a pair of antlers over the letter 'H' enclosing a heart, on the other side the value the numeral '15' in large figures over the word 'Heller'."

The context of this extract makes it clear that the writer associated the token referred to with the scarcity of small change at the beginning of the 1914-18 war.

I have been searching for an example of this piece for a long time and have at last been able to see one (ref. to picture). It can be seen that it is well designed and executed; very much better, indeed, than the well authenticated emergency hellers produced by the Government at Tabora in 1916. One is led to suspect that it may in fact have been produced during peace time as "estate money". The hole appears to have been punched at the time of minting and to have been carefully placed to one side to avoid interfering with the inscriptions.

I wonder whether any of your readers know of other such tokens issued by private concerns in the early days of Tanganyika. I have heard of one other, issued by a Dar es Salaam brewery, which is in the possession of Mr. B. W. Savory.



SOME NOTES ON THE KAMBA IN KILOSA DISTRICT

By T. O. Beidelman

INTRODUCTION

The Kamba people are one of the largest and best known tribes in East Africa. Their homeland is in south-eastern Kenya; not far from the Kenya-Tanganyika border. They are a people noted for their extensive travel outside their homeland both in order to hunt and to trade. In the past they were involved in the ivory trade, as well as in raiding for cattle and occasionally even for slaves. At present, members of their tribe are well known for their important rôle in organizing and stimulating many of the wood-carving crafts so familiar to any visitor to the cities of East Africa. In the major study of the Kamba Lindblom noted in 1916:²

There are, further, a number of scattered Kamba colonies in both British and German East Africa. The settlement of these usually dates from earlier famines, and they are therefore principally composed of people whose ancestors, in such times of visitation (unfortunately not unusual in East Africa, at least in former times), left their native parts to seek their livelihood elsewhere, and who, when the famine was over, remained in their new homes.

To the best of my knowledge there are no studies of Kamba living in areas outside Kenya, even though such Kamba colonies represent a considerable number of people. For example, in Tanganyika Kamba numbered 10,865 in the 1957 census. Most of these Kamba were in the following provinces:—

Eastern Province	2,356
Northern Province... ..	4,685
Tanga Province	3,077

According to this same census there were 1,680 Kamba in the north-western portion of Kilosa District, i.e. in the area occupied by the Kaguru tribe (Ukaguru). This must be one of the largest Kamba colonies in Tanganyika. Most of these Kamba were to be found in five small, contiguous areas in the extreme northern tip of Ukaguru in the sub-chieftainship of Idibo (see map):—

Headmanship area	Kamba population
1. Talagwe	60
2. Leshata	529
3. Idibo	111
4. Ndogomi	744
5. Ngayami	220
6. Other areas in northern Ukaguru	16 ³
	1,680

¹I was engaged in anthropological fieldwork in Kilosa District in 1957-58. I was chiefly concerned with the Kaguru people, the dominant tribe of that district. Considerable time, however, was spent in studying inter-tribal relations in that area amongst the Kaguru, Baraguyu, Kamba and Nguu. Since I was not principally engaged in research amongst these smaller groups, such information is extremely sketchy. My purpose is to supply general background information preliminary to a future analysis of inter-tribal relations in Kilosa District.

²Lindblom, *The Akamba*, p. 10. See also: *Ibid.*, pp. 571-2; Middleton, *The Kikuyu and Kamba of Kenya*, p. 72. These two volumes cite most of the significant information written on the Kamba prior to 1953.

³Some Kamba in these areas reported as Kaguru in the census.

In Ndogomi headmanship the Kamba outnumbered the Kaguru, composing 57.0 per cent of the total population. In Leshata they composed 45.3 per cent, in Idibo 5.4 per cent and in Nguyami 11.6 per cent. The Kamba comprised about 3 per cent of the population of the Ukaguru area, but over 11 per cent of the population of the sub-chieftainship of Idibo. The Kamba appear to have been in this area for over a century. However, their area of habitation seems to have once extended further southward.

The Kamba's long residence as a minority group in Ukaguru has undoubtedly caused many alterations in Kamba tradition. Nonetheless, these Kamba remain surprisingly distinct from the Kaguru, still retaining their own language, kinship system and many other Kamba customs.

I should like to postpone discussion of the details of the political and socio-economic adjustments between the Kamba and their neighbours until another time. In this article I shall confine myself to the following relatively limited tasks: (1) to present a summary of what is known and documented concerning Kamba immigration to the Kilosa area and Kamba history since their arrival; (2) to provide a general picture of the Kamba's present situation in Ukaguru so as to facilitate understanding any future study of the complex inter-tribal relations of the peoples inhabiting Ukaguru.

HISTORY

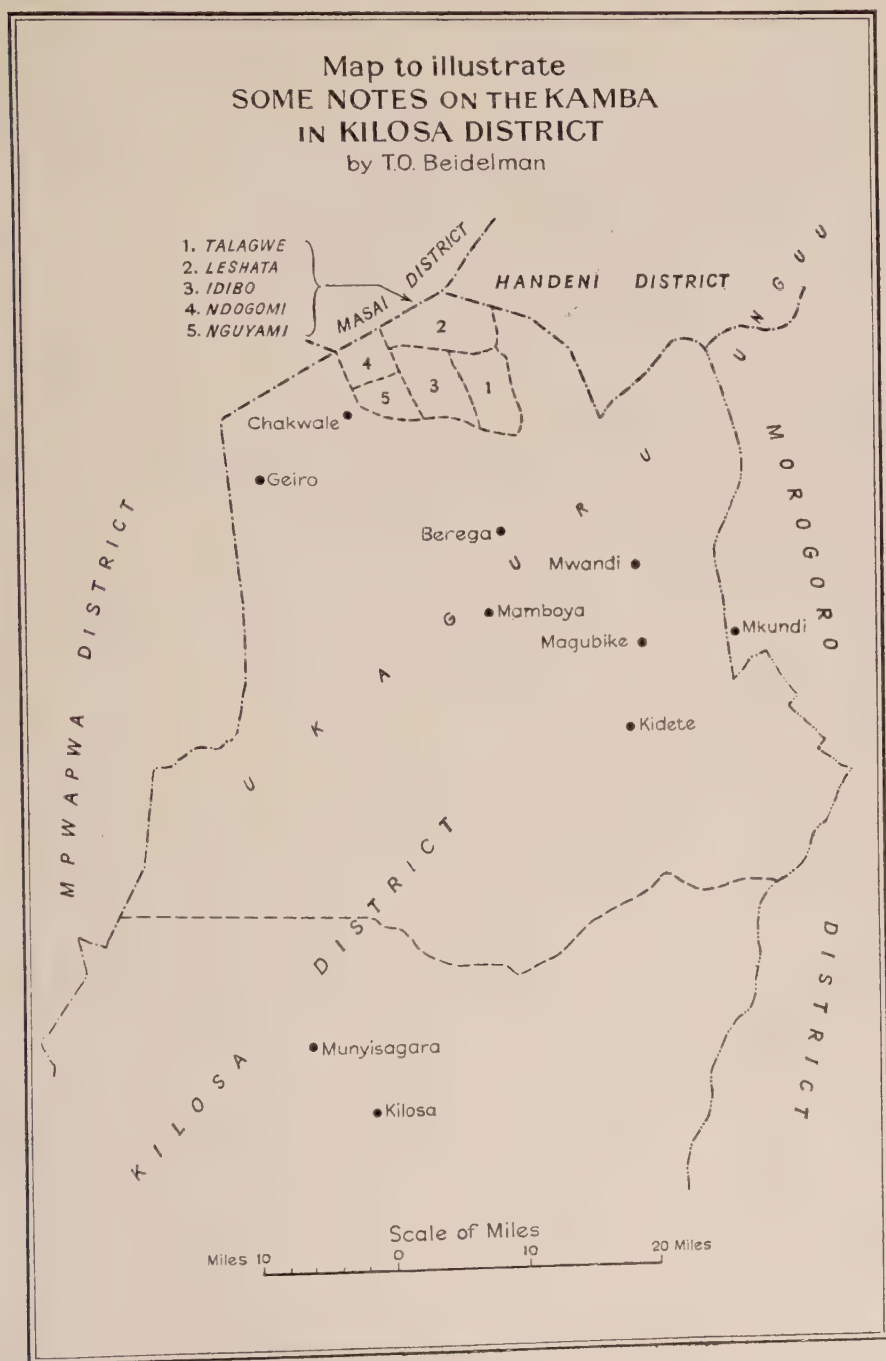
The Kamba colonies in Ukaguru lie over two hundred miles south of the Kamba country of Kenya. The Kamba of Ukaguru claim to have come originally from Kitui in the eastern portion of this Kenya area. They claim to have journeyed south along the coast, trading with the Arabs and coastal Africans in ivory and slaves. This appears to have been in the early or middle part of the nineteenth century. Today they describe themselves at that time as having been both hunters and fighters (raiders). By then there appears to have been Kamba settlements all along this route south in Uzigua and Uguu (Tanga Province), and if this were so, the passage of the Kamba south into Ukaguru would have been fairly easy.

According to some Kamba the purpose in going south was to secure wealth for obtaining wives. Many are said to have returned to Kitui for wives, but many others remained outside Ukamba. Kamba say that when they arrived, their bands consisted mainly (some say entirely) of men and that they secured wives from Kaguru, Nguu and from slavers. The leader of the Kamba in Ukaguru was called Mwato. Kamba say that Mwato had many wives. Each time the Kamba were ready to trek north, it is said that one of Mwato's wives became pregnant and was unable to make the journey. Mwato's people remained with him and eventually these Kamba decided to settle permanently in Ukaguru. This tale may indicate that the affinal ties between Kamba and local people may have encouraged the Kamba to remain.

The Kamba like to describe how they aided the Zigua and Nguu in fighting the Nilo-Hamitic Baraguyu and Masai raiders. They say that they became so renowned for their fighting ability that some Kaguru invited the Kamba to assist them in retrieving Kaguru cattle which the Baraguyu had stolen and taken to the Mugungu(?) area of Unguu. The combined force of the Kamba and Kaguru defeated the Baraguyu and regained the cattle. As a result, the Kamba became very powerful in northern and central Ukaguru. They built their own villages near Berega. They tried to subject the Kaguru, but a Kaguru from the area

Map to illustrate SOME NOTES ON THE KAMBA IN KILOSA DISTRICT

by T.O. Beidelman



between Mwandi and Berega led his people in opposition to these Kamba. This Kaguru is said to have learned warfare tactics from the Nguu, and this skill is supposed to have been the deciding factor in giving the Kaguru their victory over the Kamba. This leader was called Chidiongo by the Kaguru and Mlambi by the Nguu.

Today the Kamba describe themselves as having originally been the allies of the Kaguru. They claim they have a right to live in Ukaguru because in the past they helped the Kaguru defeat the Baraguyu. They claim they lost their former, more complete power owing to the Nguu's influence upon the Kaguru. Kamba do not seem to hold Kaguru in very high esteem and gain some comfort by crediting their present subordinate state to Nguu tactics rather than Kaguru superiority. Kamba have traditionally considered the Nguu superior to the Kaguru and furthermore have through the years maintained more cordial relations with the Nguu than with the Kaguru.

What little historical literature we do have concerning Ukaguru does not fully support this version related by the Kamba. The Kamba did come south through Unguu where their contacts were more favourable than with the Kaguru or with the Masai. However, no accounts describe the Kamba as particular enemies of either the Masai or Baraguyu. In fact, Kamba are sometimes cited as similar to Baraguyu in that they often raided Kaguru villages. Some accounts state that in certain areas Kamba were settled and cultivated fields alongside the Kaguru, but other reports describe Kamba and Kaguru carrying on frequent raids against each other. Apparently the Kamba, even more than the Baraguyu,⁴ took part in local Kaguru political intrigues, first supporting one local Kaguru leader or group, then raiding that group and aiding another.

The earliest published account of Kamba in this area describes a Kamba colony on the eastern border of Ukaguru and Unguu.⁵

These people [Kamba] have left Ukambani and settled down in three small villages near Mkundi, among the Wanguru. Their chief object in leaving Ukambani was hunting. On the west of Mkundi is a large forest and wilderness; this extends a considerable distance to the north, and to Magubike on the west.

The Wakamba settle down near Mkundi, and cultivate the ground for food, until they have remained long enough to get a good stock of ivory and teeth by hunting; then they return home. It seems that they are continually going and coming.

There are many reports written in the 1880's and 1890's mentioning such settlements. Last mentions small Kamba hunting parties in the lands between Unguu and Ukaguru⁶ and states that Kamba raided local people for cattle.⁷ Last writes of one area, apparently in Uzigua:⁸

⁴See my articles in *T.N.R.* on Baraguyu. "The Baraguyu", No. 55 (1960); "A Note on Baraguyu House types and Baraguyu Economy," (forthcoming).

⁵Last, "The Tribes on the Road to Mpwapwa," p. 663. Burton's brief mention of Kamba is earlier but deals with areas far east of Ukaguru, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*, I, pp. 108, 123. See also: Stuhlmann, F. "Dr. F. Stuhlmanns Forschungsreisen in Usaramo," *Mitt. aus der deutschen Schutzgebieten* (1894), p. 229.

⁶Last, *Polyglotta Africana Orientalis*, pp. 8-9, "A Journey into the Nguru Country . . ." p. 147; *Proc. of the Church Missionary Society* (1880-81), pp. 37-8.

⁷Last, "A Journey into the Nguru Country," p. 150.

⁸Last, "The Usagara Mission: Mamboia," pp. 560-1. Last's maps and other writings indicate that we cannot be sure that his term "Pangani River" refers to that stream rather than to a tributary. Furthermore, the entire account derives from Kamba informants and not from Last's own observations.

There is a small district about five days journey from here on the north side of the Pangani river. This is called Ukamba. It is said to be occupied by some Wakamba, who many years ago left their own country, Ukambani, some 150 miles or more to the north, and settled down here, and that now there is constant communication between this small district, and the older Ukambani. It seems that the hunters of Ukambani leave their homes with their wives and children, and come down to the little district of Ukamba. There they make a settlement and cultivate, and the men go out to hunt. Not very long ago, a party of about fifty of these Wakamba reached here [Mamboya] on their way to Usanga . . . and the south-east end of Lake Tanganyika.

Somewhat later accounts written at the end of the nineteenth century provide similar information. Meyer mentions Kamba groups in northern Ukaguru raiding Kaguru settlements. He also mentions Kamba colonies in Unguu, Usagara, Uzaramo and Usambara.⁹ Stuhlmann describes Kamba settled in northern Ukaguru and also east of Kidete in eastern Ukaguru. He also mentions Kamba in Unguu, Usambara and Uzaramo.¹⁰ In 1892 Schmidt encountered Kamba hunters in the Kidete area.¹¹ Mrs. Hore mentions Kamba raiding as far south as Muinyi Sagara in the Mukondokwa Valley south of Ukaguru.¹²

. . . here all was excitement, owing to a raid having been made upon the village, only the night before we arrived, by some Wakamba from the north, who had driven off all the cattle. The poor old chief was the more disturbed as the attack was made at the instigation of his brother, with whom he had some cause of trouble.

Kamba are even described travelling as far west as Kongwa on the borders of Ugogo.¹³ Roscoe mentions Kamba in north-eastern Ukaguru.¹⁴

Not all of these accounts deal with raids and with the bad relations between the Kamba and the people in whose lands the Kamba had settled. Church Missionary Society accounts describe Kamba settled and even cultivating fields amongst the Kaguru near Berega.¹⁵ Mrs. Watt of the C.M.S. writes:¹⁶

In our peregrinations around the Usagara hills [near Mamboya] . . . we came across a very interesting colony of natives, called Wakamba. This small collection of people had come from further north during a time of famine, and having got completely separated from the main body of their tribe, their return was impeded by the fierce nomadic Wahumba [Baraguyu]—a section of the Masai clan. Having been thus cut off, they settled down in the midst of the Wasagara [Kaguru] tribe, from whom they differed exceedingly in prowess, manners and physique, but with whom, nevertheless, they lived on

⁹Meyer, *Das Deutsche* . . . I, pp. 198, 201–2.

¹⁰Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin* pp. 815–821. See also: Baumann, *In Deutsch-Ostafrika*, p. 96.

¹¹Schmidt, *Geschichte* p. 10.

¹²Hore, *To Lake Tanganyika in a Bath Chair*, pp. 76–7; also mentioned in Schynse, *Mit Stanley*, p. 69.

¹³Pruen, "Work among the Wagogo", 34.

¹⁴Roscoe, *Twenty-five* . . . p. 30.

¹⁵*Proc. of the Church Missionary Society* (1902–03), p. 109; (1905–06), p. 69.

¹⁶Watt, *In the Heart of Savagedom*, pp. 52, 259.

the most friendly terms—a condition of things which speaks volumes for the hospitality and peaceful nature of the Wasagara. The latter were timid and reserved, while the Wakamba were of a bold and manly bearing, and very expert with the bow and arrow. The greater part of their time seemed to be given to the chase. Among these people, we had not much difficulty in getting together a fair number in the forest, to hear the glad tidings we had brought to them.

. . . [Kamba] have penetrated far beyond their own borders, and have even ventured to form colonies among hostile tribes. In the year 1885, my husband and I found quite a large colony in Usagara [Ukaguru] . . . These had retained their Kikamba customs, and carried with them their bows and arrows, keeping inviolate from the surrounding tribes the secret of the source of their deadly poison; and, having made friends with the Wasagara [Wakaguru], had settled down as a distinct and separate clan, under their own form of patriarchal government.

The most detailed accounts of Kamba-Kaguru conflicts in this period also come from C.M.S. accounts by Roscoe and Wood. In 1888 Wood wrote of the Kamba in central Ukaguru near Mwandi:

The Wakamba are noisy, and think a great deal of themselves, and want to overrule the Wamegi [Kaguru].¹⁷

. . . a party of Wakamba passed by; they were dressed up with ostrich feathers, and armed with their indispensable bows and arrows. They wore a small piece of cloth in front like an apron, and at the back round their necks a piece of common red cloth. They seemed ready for war, and said they were going to see some of their friends near Mamboya. Their friends at Mamboya are now at war with the Wamegi, so probably they are going to help them.¹⁸

Roscoe wrote from Mamboya in the same year:¹⁹

The Wakamba who live to the N.E. of Mamboya have for some six years been trying to levy a tribute on the Wamegi [Kaguru]. They had become a terror to people journeying from town to town; many Wamegi have been robbed each year by them and some killed when on the road. Last month they united with a Munyamwesi chief named Mutotsi and burned down two small towns a mile's distant (sic) from us. Mutotsi came here after I left for England and built a town two miles away. Just before I returned he fought against the Wamegi and burned down some 12 towns. After they had burned the towns they set out for the chief town of Berega 10 miles E.N.E. of Mamboya. Their intention was to conquer the whole country. The Wamegi however collected a strong army and after three days of fighting took nine towns plundering all and burning six. The Wakamba have fled into the forest and are negotiating for terms of peace in order to return and have a small army watching their movements.

¹⁷Wood, "Itinerating", p. 24.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁹Roscoe, *Letter to Lang* (Mamboya: Sept. 14, 1888), ms. I am especially indebted to the Church Missionary Society in London for giving me access to the unpublished letters of Roscoe in which he gives this account. The latter, as quoted, has certain unclear passages. The Nyamwezi Roscoe mentions had settled in the river valley near Mamboya, having entered Ukaguru with the caravan traffic.

Roscoe notes that in such conflicts the Kamba, far from being the enemies of the Baraguyu, sometimes allied themselves with the Baraguyu against the Kaguru:²⁰

The Wakamba, whom [sic] I told you had been driven from the district, have been patiently awaiting their opportunity; and here it seemed to present itself, with part of the men [Kaguru] the worse for drink, and the rest all tired from dancing day and night for a week. Ten Wakamba and twenty-five Masai (Baraguyu) secreted themselves in the long grass early in the morning, and, as soon as the cattle (of the Kaguru) were clear of the towns, they sprang out, and collected, and drove them off.

The 1880's appear to be the worst period in Kaguru-Kamba relations. The conflicts of that decade marked the height of Kamba influence in Kaguru politics. After the Kamba defeat in 1888, they ceased to be a truly important faction in the area.

These historical accounts describe the Kamba as chiefly involved in trade and raiding. Their agricultural activities seem to have been supplementary and did not form the basis of their economy nor did availability of land seem to be the determining factor in selecting temporary residence in any area in which they hunted or raided. Kamba moved on when an area was hunted-out or when trade seemed more promising elsewhere. They apparently kept their ties with their people in Kenya and were always able to return there if necessary.

Kamba maintained themselves in these alien areas by means of their power as fighters. The area between the Kenya border and Kilosa was subject to considerable confusion due to Masai and Baraguyu raids. There was further disruption in parts of this area due to the raids of passing Arab and African caravans. Furthermore, most of this area was divided into small political units, each one potentially at odds with its neighbours. Therefore it was not difficult for Kamba to maintain themselves amongst these opposed groups, first aiding one group, then the other, depending upon which offered them the more advantage. In the past such Kamba colonies owed their livelihood and security to three factors: (1) hunting the herds of wild game; (2) trade with Arabs and Africans in ivory and slaves; (3) their skilful utilization of the unsettled political conditions of the areas in which they resided. But the Kamba's political and economic situation in these areas has been deeply changed. The herds of game have nearly vanished from north-eastern Tanganyika; (2) trade in ivory and slaves has vanished, and (3) peace and local unification have been achieved under colonial rule.

The Kamba in Ukaguru Today

In those parts of Ukaguru where they are numerous, Kamba always take pride in announcing their tribal affiliation. But in those areas where their number is very small, Kamba seem to avoid discussing such matters. In the past Kamba sometimes boasted of their origin in Kenya. During and after the Mau Mau emergency in Kenya, Kamba became more reticent when they heard untrue rumours from the Kaguru that Kenya Africans might be deported and that since the Kamba had boasted that they came from Kenya, this would include them. None of the Kamba I met in Ukaguru had been to Kenya, but many said they would like to make a visit there. Most Kamba had travelled widely to other Kamba settlements in Kilosa and adjoining districts.

²⁰Roscoe, "Letter", *Church Missionary Intelligencer* (1889), p. 170.

At present most of the Kamba in Ukaguru are still relatively easily distinguished from Kaguru. They are far more conservative than their Kaguru neighbours in dress and in their reluctance to alter traditional custom or to send their children to schools or to the missions. Some Kaguru like to say that this shows the Kamba are "more backward" than the Kaguru.

Kamba dress and grooming is especially distinctive. To a superficial observer it may resemble that of the Gogo. Kamba men are not so ready as Kaguru to adopt modern shorts or trousers nor are their women so eager to adopt the multi-coloured coastal *khanga* cloth. To those Kaguru who set considerable store by modern trends, any attire or grooming approaching that of the Gogo or Baraguyu (as much Kamba attire does) is considered very objectionable.

Many Kamba men still wear a simple red or blue cloth, although some wear shorts under this. Most Kamba wear bracelets and other jewellery, decorations relatively rare amongst Kaguru men. Young Kamba men sometimes wear Masai-type ear weights or wooden ear-plugs. Some still arrange their hair in Masai-type queues or in many long strands. Although this was once the prevailing fashion amongst the Kaguru, it has nearly vanished in that tribe. Many older Kamba of both sexes wear their hair short and shaved back far from their foreheads in a manner quite distinct from the other tribes of the area. However, there are some Kamba who dress and groom themselves identically with modern Kaguru. They reveal their Kamba affiliation only when asked. Kamba women also dress more conservatively than their Kaguru neighbours. They tend to shun multi-coloured cloth for black or blue fabrics, and they often wear far more jewellery than Kaguru women would wear. Most distinctive of all, most Kamba except some of the younger generation who have attended school, file their front teeth in the fashion famous among Kamba in Kenya. Some Kamba also remove their two lower incisors in the manner of the Masai and Gogo.

Kamba have retained their Kamba language although I am not able to say how close this is to the language spoken in Kenya. Most Kamba also speak some Swahili, fair to excellent Kaguru, and often some Baraguyu. This contrasts strikingly with the Kaguru who rarely speak either Kamba or Baraguyu. In tribally mixed gatherings or in court cases, one often finds Kamba speaking only Kamba in order to emphasize their unity when opposed to Kaguru and to offer an excuse for their not co-operating with Kaguru. In court Kamba will sometimes insist that they cannot speak Kaguru or fluent Swahili and thereby succeed in bringing in support in the guise of a Kamba elder who acts as interpreter to a court or to other government personnel. In this manner the Kamba in northern Ukaguru have created their own unofficial headman. The man in question is an ex-court elder and is fluent in Kaguru, Baraguyu and Swahili. His position of leadership is only partly due to his facility in languages. More important, this is due to his literacy (not common amongst the Kamba), his intelligence and his very forceful personality. He has gained considerable prestige and power as the unofficial representative of the Kamba and as the mediator between the Kamba and the Kaguru.

The Kamba in northern Ukaguru live in small settlements indistinguishable from those of the Kaguru. Sometimes Kamba form their own settlements of three to six houses. Sometimes two or three such settlements lie a few hundred

yards from each other. When Kamba are rich in livestock, as often happens they sometimes seek to form settlements near each other but rather far from Kaguru. Such settlements co-operate in herding. Sometimes Kamba live within Kaguru settlements, their houses mixed amongst those of the Kaguru. Often in such cases Kamba have Kaguru affines within such settlements and inter-tribal relations appear to be quite friendly.

The Kamba of Ukaguru are divided into a number of patrilineal, exogamous clans (*mbai*). One's own (father's) clan is called *mbaitu*; one's mother's clan, *mbai mama*. Marriage is also forbidden with members of one's mother's clan. Here is a partial list of these clans.²¹

- | | | |
|--|---|----------------------------|
| 1. <i>anzunzu</i> (tree animal) | 7. <i>mukabo</i> (fatherless) ²³ | 13. <i>amigwa</i> (dog) |
| 2. <i>amuti</i> (tree animal) | 8. <i>mumuwi</i> or <i>musimba</i> | 14. <i>atangwa</i> (hawk?) |
| 3. <i>anzauni</i> (beads) | 9. <i>akimii</i> | 15. <i>akumi</i> |
| 4. <i>ambua</i> (rain) | 10. <i>anani</i> | 16. <i>ayili</i> |
| 5. <i>muwoeni</i> or <i>semwali</i> | 11. <i>akitutu</i> (hawk) | 17. <i>awelu</i> |
| 6. <i>aieni</i> (fatherless) ²² | 12. <i>anzia</i> | 18. <i>akitondo</i> (crow) |

In Ukaguru some Kamba try to relate their patrilineal clans to the matrilineal clans of the Kaguru. Kamba note that some Kaguru clans have names with similar meanings to those of Kamba clans. They state that in some vague way this indicates a relationship. For example, Kamba describe their *amigwa* (dog) clan as vaguely related to the Kaguru *waganasa* (a type of dog) clan which is influential at Idibo. Kamba compare their *akitondo* (crow) clan to the Kaguru *wehoe* (crow) clan; the Kamba *ambua* (rain) clan to the Kaguru *wanyafula* (rain) clan; the Kamba *anzauni* (beads) clan with the Kaguru *wasalu* (beads) clan, etc. However, not all Kamba clans are so readily comparable with those of the Kaguru. Kamba do not press the point of similarity, nor did I ever hear a Kaguru agree to this. But to some degree this does indicate a Kamba attempt to fit themselves into the Kaguru social scheme. As far as I could discover, this expression of clan similarities serves only as a means of making contact between individual Kaguru and Kamba. It appears to serve no further social function.

The Kamba of Ukaguru appear to have a system of descent very similar to that of their fellows in Kenya.²⁴ In its patrilineal nature and in many other of its features it contrasts very sharply with the Kaguru matrilineal system, e.g. the Kamba forbid cross-cousin marriage while the Kaguru consider this a preferred type of marriage; Kamba rules of paternity appear very lax in the eyes of the Kaguru, etc. Each group finds the other's practices very distasteful to contemplate, let alone to practise.

²¹This list may be compared with Lindblom's clan list from the Machakos area. Many similar names such as *entagwa*, *akitutu*, *akitondo*, etc., appear there, *op. cit.*, p. 128. Lambert provides another clan list from the Machakos area in his "Land Tenure . . .", pp. 131-2. Hobley provides a list from the Ulu area south of Machakos in his "Ethnology of A-Kamba", pp. 4-6. Unfortunately, I could find no information dealing with Kamba from Kitui. None of these lists, mine or others, pretends to be complete or entirely accurate.

²²This is said to refer to a son of a woman whose lover refused to pay brideprice.

²³This refers to a son of an ugly and diseased woman whom no one would confess having loved.

²⁴See addendum to this article.

Kamba contract marriage by the payment of bridewealth in the form of livestock and beer. Kamba informants cited varying amounts of livestock as proper bridewealth payment. I shall not list these various payments but merely state that they are said to total between forty and fifty goats and two cows.²⁵ In Ukaguru Kamba are somewhat richer in livestock than the neighbouring Kaguru and such payments do not appear to be exceptionally difficult—although they would be quite high for the average Kaguru. Kamba sometimes boast of this to the Kaguru, feeling that this shows their greater wealth and superiority. Kaguru are sometimes envious of such wealth and were a Kamba to seek a Kaguru wife, a Kaguru would not hesitate to try to obtain higher payments than he would demand from other Kaguru.

Kaguru are able to rationalize such demands not only in terms of the Kamba's greater wealth (not always true) but also in terms of the fact that giving up a Kaguru woman to a patrilineal group creates considerable difficulty for the Kaguru. Kaguru wives of Kamba become Kamba-ised and apparently the Kamba tolerate far less interference in marital affairs than Kaguru are accustomed to make upon their affines. Finally, in a patrilineal system a woman's children are recruited into the father's clan. But in a matrilineal system such as the Kaguru have, such children are recruited into the mother's clan. Kaguru therefore say that they have lost not only a woman but her children as well, children who, had she married another Kaguru, would have enriched her own clan. With all these difficulties, it is not surprising that despite the Kamba's ability to offer sizeable bridewealth, there do not appear to be as many Kamba-Kaguru marriages as one might otherwise expect.

In their general features, Kamba marriage celebrations, male and female circumcision and the accompanying dances and beer parties all appear relatively similar to those of the Kaguru. At such affairs a large number of Kaguru will often attend, and these Kaguru fit quite easily into the celebration. This contrasts with the Baraguyu tribe in Ukaguru whose celebrations are vastly different from those of Kaguru. Kaguru sometimes attend Baraguyu celebrations in order to obtain beer or meat, but they are extremely uncomfortable and utterly unable to fit into the Baraguyu pattern of socially acceptable behaviour.

Kamba economic activities are relatively similar to those of their Kaguru neighbours. Unlike the purely pastoral Baraguyu, Kamba are chiefly agriculturalists. Although their herds are relatively larger than those of the Kaguru, these herds cannot provide Kamba with more than a fraction of their food supply. The Kamba's political subordination to the Kaguru rests upon the Kamba's dependence upon the Kaguru for permission to use land. The Kaguru have not been able to prevent the pastoral Baraguyu from grazing their herds in the wooded, more remote portions of Ukaguru, but Kaguru can control Kamba cultivators. Kaguru control the fertile valleys where most cultivation takes place. This Kaguru control is based partly upon the heavy Kaguru settlement in these areas. More important, it is due to the fact that certain Kaguru clan leaders have received recognition as local officials and that there is official confirmation of those Kaguru traditions which invest various Kaguru clans with

²⁵The payment in cows may be converted into goats, one cow equalling six goats. I did not attend any Kamba marriages, but have attended several disputes involving bridewealth. I have taken the accounts of several Kamba informants as reasonably reliable on the size of bridewealth. Kamba do not seem to convert such payments into cash, as the Kaguru have done in recent years.

certain rights to the distribution and supervision of various lands in Ukaguru. There has also been official recognition of certain Baraguyu headmen, as well, but not any amongst the Kamba.

Kaguru consider the Kamba to be occupants of Ukaguru only due to the goodwill and generosity of the Kaguru. Kaguru are at great pains to emphasize that the Kamba have no inherent rights to the land, although some concede that Kamba may have certain tenuous moral rights to land they have always tilled. In short, Kaguru concede that individual Kamba may have rights to land, just as any individual Kaguru may have, but they insist that Kamba have no corporate, political rights to such land or to the administration of local areas since such rights derive from Kaguru tradition, a tradition in which Kamba, as an alien tribe, have no part. Kaguru compare this to a man who might invite a stranger to enjoy a meal at his home or to use one of his beds. That, of course, would not give the guest a right to run the house which belongs to the house-owner. Kaguru see themselves as "owners" of their country, and insist that they alone, as owners, have legal and moral rights to its control. Consequently, while Kamba do cultivate considerable land in some parts of northern Ukaguru, Kaguru are quick to note that this does not mean that the land belongs to the Kamba. Kamba have no official headman. Instead, the Kamba rely upon local Kaguru leaders for protection, approval and aid. In areas with large Kamba populations, even where Kamba outnumber Kaguru, Kaguru or perhaps Nguu are headmen. Such a headman may appoint Kamba sub-headmen to posts with no official authority but with some local prestige and power to deal with minor disputes. Kamba must rely upon the support of Kaguru headmen and chiefs, especially those influential in local courts. While Kamba need not get along with all of their Kaguru neighbours, it is vital that they retain the favour of local Kaguru political leaders.

In addition to agriculture and herding, Kamba also carry on considerable hunting and trade. They are justly renowned for their great skill in stalking and hunting game. They have some income from selling meat and hides of wild animals. Kamba are extremely skilled in fashioning bows, quivers and arrow-shafts. Furthermore, they possess a local monopoly on arrow poison. Kaguru rely nearly wholly on such weapons for defence, and prefer to purchase these from Kamba rather than fashioning these themselves.

Kamba sometimes speak with pride of their introduction of such skills to the Kaguru, although it is likely Kaguru knew similar crafts before the Kamba arrived. Kamba also state that it was they who introduced the manufacture of beer from sugar and the acidic fruit of the sausage-tree *Kigelia aethiopica* (Swah. *mwegea*; Kag. *mwiyegea*). Strangely enough, many Kaguru agree with this Kamba claim.

Kamba also are famous for their skill and zeal in trading livestock—often herding animals long distances to fetch better prices. Kaguru admit the Kamba have more skill and perserverance than they in such business but sarcastically add that Kamba are often friendly to the Baraguyu and may well serve as conveyers of cattle which Baraguyu have stolen from the Kaguru and Nguu. Kaguru recall that it was not many decades since Kamba themselves were notorious cattle raiders.

In the past Kamba maintained their position as a minority in Ukaguru by means of their superior skill in warfare. Modern colonial rule has done away with such warfare and put the Kamba in a less favourable position of power.

They now find themselves occupying a land in which the tribal majority, the Kaguru, control local politics. Furthermore, they find their distrust of modern trends has kept them behind in securing the education vital in producing leaders able to represent them in some of their court cases with Kaguru or in their endeavours in the cattle trade.

Some Kamba have made frequent demands for an official headman, but local Kaguru have repeatedly reminded the Kamba that Ukaguru is not Kamba country. It is important to add that a Kamba elder was given considerable prestige and authority by the Kaguru when he was made a counsellor in a local sub-chief's court. This counsellor later resigned to take up agitation for a post as a Kamba headman. Kaguru therefore claim it is the Kamba's inmoderate desire for power, which cost the Kamba their representation. Kaguru appear willing to fit the Kamba into a Kaguru-type social system, but understandably dislike fostering an autonomous tribal group within their own area.

Kamba have attempted to assert their position in other ways. Some have retreated to a kind of tribalism, refusing to speak anything but the Kamba language when brought to court and acting aggressively toward Kaguru. Others have sought friendship and support from the Nilo-Hamitic Baraguyu, once the Kamba's enemies but now their allies since the Baraguyu are the avowed arch-enemies of the Kaguru. Still other Kamba, especially those with wealth, maintain themselves with considerable success by virtue of their support and friendship with local Kaguru leaders and elders.

In previous articles I described the Baraguyu people of Ukaguru, their problems in adjusting to their diminished tribal political position, and Baraguyu competition with Kaguru over grazing land and marketing.²⁶ The Kamba seem to fall into a category somewhat between the two extremes of the Kaguru and Baraguyu. Unlike Baraguyu, the Kamba are Bantu. They practise a similar economy to that of the Kaguru. The Kamba live similarly to the Kaguru and are even able to live with Kaguru if they choose to do so. Furthermore, the Kamba are dependent upon the Kaguru leaders for the rights to their fields. If Kamba remain in Ukaguru, it is because they have not lost favour with the more influential Kaguru leaders. While the Kamba's situation in Ukaguru is less difficult and less conflict ridden than that of the Baraguyu, nonetheless the Kamba do add to the intertribal complexities of Kilosa District.

ADDENDUM

For comparative purposes I add this very crude note on Kamba kinship as collected at Idibo, northern Kilosa District.²⁷

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>Kuku</i> —FF, FFB, FMB, MF, MFB,
MMB. | 3. <i>Mwayitu</i> ²⁸ —M, MZ, MBW. |
| 2. <i>Mama</i> —FM, FMZ, MM, MMZ,
MFZ. | 4. <i>Asa</i> ²⁸ —F, FB, FZH. |
| | 5. <i>Sengi</i> —FZ. |
| | 6. <i>Abula</i> —MB. |

²⁶"The Baraguyu" *T.N.R.* (1960); "Note on Baraguyu House Type. As and Baraguyu Economy," *T.N.R.* (forthcoming).

²⁷I use standard anthropological abbreviations: F (father), FF (father's father), M (mother), Z (sister), B (brother), S (son), D (daughter), W (wife), H (husband). My data are insufficient to discuss the groups to which these terms apply. For this reason, I have merely indicated the meanings I obtained after brief investigation.

²⁸The suffixes *mtiti* (junior) and *mwena* (senior) may be used with the terms *mwayitu* and *asa*. These refer to the age of siblings (and their spouses) in relation to the age of that one of ego's parents to whom they are cognatically related.

7. *Mukabula*—MBW.
8. *Mwitweya*—Z, MZD, MBD, FZD, BD.
9. *Mwina*; *ukulu*—B, MZS, MBS, FZS, MBS. (*ukulu*—older than *ego mwina*—younger than *ego*).
10. *Mwanya*—all spouses of *mwitweya*, *mwina*, *ukulu*; also HB, WZ, 15. *Ndonua*—HF, HM, WF, WM. WB.
11. *Mwibawa*—child of *mwitweya*.
12. *Mwanawanye*—child of *Mwina* or *Ukulu*.
13. *Misikwa*—child of *Mwanawanye*.
14. *Ifi*—HZ.

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WAR COMES TO TANGANYIKA—1914

By Major A. Russell, O. B. E. M. C.

I was still on my rubber plantation at Ngerengere at the beginning of August, 1914. Mr. Norman King, the British Consul at Dar es Salaam, had tried to send a telegram advising me to come down in time to catch the last ship for Zanzibar but the Germans refused to accept it. On the morning of the third of August I heard that France and Germany were at war and decided it was time to get out by down train the following morning.

That evening my boy came and told me that a train had just arrived at the railway station from Dar es Salaam with lots of askaris on board. I went to a spot where I could get a good view without being seen and, sure enough, there must have been about forty of them, with several white officers in charge. Lots of baggage was being off-loaded which seemed to indicate that the train was to remain all night. After the war I was told by a German named Sailer, who owned the hotel at Morogoro, that the train contained eight million rupees in silver, and Government records of all sorts which had been sent up-country for security reasons, as the British were expected to occupy Dar es Salaam.

The next morning, the fourth of August, I left my house very early, without telling anyone, and remained in hiding until the down train drew into the station at about 11 a.m. I managed to get on to the train, from the wrong side, without being seen and shut myself in a lavatory until the train left, about twenty minutes later.

When I returned to my plantation, towards the end of the war, my boy, who was still there, told me that on the day I left, a German officer and several askaris had marched up to my house and, finding me absent, demanded to know where I was hiding. They threatened to shoot my boy unless he told them, but the boy did not know where I had gone and suggested that I had perhaps gone to my hunting camp on the Wami River. I had in fact intended going there some time before and had sent a tent and some other stuff out in advance. Off went the officer with his askaris on their twenty-mile march in the heat of the sun. When they got there they surrounded my tent only to find I had never been there; it gave me much pleasure to hear that they had marched forty miles for nothing.

When our train drew into the Ruvu Station a Greek came on board with the news that England had declared war on Germany. There were only two insipid-looking Germans and some Greeks on the train and I was not interfered with. When the train arrived at Soga I kept a lookout for F. S. Joelson, now the Editor of *East Africa and Rhodesia*, and R. Innes, but they were not at the station. They were both employed by the Kifulu Estates, Ltd., an English company. The estate house was only a short distance beyond Soga Station and, as the train passed, I could see both Joelson and Innes standing in front of the house. I waved to them and they waved back; evidently they had no intention of leaving and preferred to remain loyal to their company by staying on the estate. From all accounts, they were given a tough time by the Germans later on. At Kisarawe an Englishman named Sainsbury got on the train. He was one of several contractors working in the neighbourhood straightening out different parts of the railway track. I had met him before and was glad to see him get on the train.

Our next stop was Pugu and it was late evening when we reached there. The station was a shambles with dead and dying cattle in a twisted mass of wreckage, among which some Germans were finishing-off badly wounded animals. A train-load of cement, with which the Germans intended building fortifications of some sort, with the idea of opposing any British advance along the railway, had been brought up from Dar es Salaam and a train-load of cattle from up-country had crashed into it just before our arrival. We were walking up and down the platform admiring the scene when a German officer stopped us and asked us if we were English. We replied that we were. He then told us we were under arrest and would be taken to Dar es Salaam when the relief train arrived, which it did very soon. We were put into a compartment with three husky young Germans in charge of us, each of whom had two Lueger pistols strapped to his waist. On the way down I remarked to the fellow who appeared to be in charge that they seemed to take war very seriously. "Yes," he replied, in slow precise English, "we take war just as serious as an Englishman takes his golf".

On reaching Dar es Salaam we were taken to the Burger Hotel* for a meal, which was a good one. There were lots of Germans in the hotel but they paid little attention to us. I asked one if there were any other British prisoners about. He replied that he hadn't heard of any, except an English missionary who, he said, was confined in the large Mission near the ferry. After our meal we were taken along Acacia Avenue and put in a room above Souza Junior and Dias old shop†. The door was locked and two skaris remained on the landing outside. There was a verandah to the room which overlooked Acacia Avenue.

The next morning we were taken to the hotel for breakfast and afterwards returned to our room. While at the hotel I was told that there were two British cruisers outside, the *Astraea* and the *Pegasus*. The *Astraea* departed that same afternoon to join the Cape squadron. Later in the day I saw some leaflets being distributed in Acacia Avenue and asked an askari to get me one, which he did. It read, "Italy and Turkey with Germany; 200,000 Frenchmen killed in first battle". In the afternoon the *Pegasus* fired a few shells at the Wireless Station, which could be plainly seen from our verandah. The shells seemed to be bursting fairly close to the target. Later we heard a loud explosion and saw the wireless tower topple over. The Germans themselves had blown it up.

Up to this time the Germans had not even troubled to ask our names; they were much too busy. We were told at the hotel that if we wanted a bottle of beer at any time, to send one of our askaris along to get it, which we did, several times. As, at this time the Germans had decided not to defend Dar es Salaam, two trains were kept, with steam up, at the railway station to take all the able-bodied men to Pugu; the women and children were to take refuge in the hospital should the need arise.

The next morning the *Pegasus* fired a few more shells. I think that the railway station was the target. I think the Germans expected the town to be bombarded, because Acacia Avenue seemed to be full of men, all in mufti, some only half dressed, rushing along towards the station. Sainsbury and I now decided that the time was ripe for us to get out. We sent one of our guards to get a bottle of beer from the hotel, giving him one rupee for himself. As soon as he had gone we called the other fellow in, overpowered him and trussed him up with rope from one of our beds. Off we went through the bazaar, reached the beach near the hospital, and there was the *Pegasus* less than a mile away.

*Now Splendid Hotel. Ed. †Now Avenue Stores. Ed.

There were several small fishing canoes lying on the beach and we lost no time in pushing one into the water. Luckily there were paddles on board and we were soon well away from the shore. We were nearing the *Pegasus* when we saw a launch leave the ship and make for the entrance to the harbour. We succeeded in attracting their attention and the launch came alongside. Commander Turner was in charge. We explained who we were and asked to be taken to Zanzibar. He agreed to take us, but said he had to go first to the *Tabora*, the Deutsch Ost-Africa Line ship which was lying on her side a short distance up the creek, to destroy or remove some engine parts. He asked us whether there were any other Britishers on shore. I told him what I had heard about a missionary being confined in the Mission and it was decided that I should be put ashore at the small jetty just inside the harbour. This was done, after which Sainsbury went with the launch, which was to return to the jetty in an hour's time.

There were still a few Germans walking about but I aroused no suspicion and made my way to the Mission. The place was deserted with all doors and windows shut. I finally found a boy sitting in one of the outhouses and asked him where the English father was. He produced a key, opened the back door, took me along a passage and pointed to a door which I opened and entered. The room was very small, little better than a prison cell, and there lying in bed was the man I had come in search of. I asked him if he wanted to get away. He replied that he did and jumped out of bed. His name was Father Dan Crawford, and he came from Kenya. He had only one arm; a steel crook took the place of the other, a nasty weapon in a rough house. We hurried down to the jetty just as the launch arrived from the *Tabora*. We were soon on board the *Pegasus* where we were welcomed by Captain Inglis and entertained in the Ward Room. Within an hour or two the ship sailed for Zanzibar.

We put up at the Grand Hotel, kept by a Rumanian named Gerber, assisted by two nephews, one of whom was Julian Focsaner who died in Arusha two years ago. There were several people at the hotel waiting for passages to Mombasa, among whom was the Honourable Galbraith Cole, who was sheep farming in Kenya. The police were soon on our track and we had to give them our whole history on several consecutive days before they were satisfied.

We had got away from German East Africa with very little money and could not afford to stay at the hotel. We soon found a large empty Arab house just beyond the tennis courts at Mnazi Mmoja. The rent was only thirty rupees a month and we soon settled in after buying some blankets, tin plates, two native beds and other necessities. The war had not yet reached Zanzibar and residents were taking their golf and tennis just as seriously as they usually do. We both tried to get work until such time as we could get to Kenya and join up, but there was no work to be had on the Island; all ships had stopped calling.

Captain Davis was in charge of a King's African Rifles detachment who were doing duty at various points, including the Residency. On our way home one night, opposite the Residency, we heard sharp words of command being given. On investigation we saw a squad of Europeans being drilled in the sunken gardens there; it was the Zanzibar Town Guard. It was much cooler than during the day, and I suppose they were a bit shy at being seen by Africans.

The *Königsberg* came in early on a Sunday morning, I forget the exact date. She was just inside the small island to the south and had the range of the *Pegasus* to a yard. The German cruiser appeared to be very well handled and seemed

to keep turning almost in her own length and firing as her guns came to bear on the *Pegasus*. Every shell seemed to find its target. The *Pegasus* fired a few shells at the *Königsberg*, I could see them falling into the sea, I should think at least a thousand yards short. The *Pegasus* was soon a shambles. While the firing was still going on I saw Captain Davis and asked him for a couple of rifles and ammunition in case some Germans came ashore. He replied that he wanted me to go up to the Wireless Station and take charge of a gang of Africans I would find there. When I got to the Wireless Station I found about fifty Africans clustered around the sandbags protecting the station. I thought it rather a dangerous spot and moved them to a safer place some distance away, fully expecting the Wireless Station to be the *Königsberg's* next target. From where I was the cruiser could be plainly seen; firing had stopped and, as I watched, she turned and headed south as fast as she could go. I was told that the Wireless Station, since the outbreak of war had been sending out messages to naval units that were actually in the North Sea. Evidently the bluff had succeeded and the German ship had turned tail because she had seen the smoke of a ship on the horizon to the north. The smoke came from the Union Castle ship *Gascon*, on her way from Mombasa to Zanzibar. When she reached the northern end of the island the lighthousekeeper put out in his boat and warned them that Zanzibar was being bombarded by the *Königsberg*. The *Gascon* turned round and went full speed back to Mombasa.

The *Pegasus* suffered very heavy casualties, among whom was Commander Turner with both legs blown off. One of the surviving officers told me on the day after the action that when the order was given for the white flag to be hoisted it was not too well received and the dirtiest flag that could be found was run up. The Germans continued firing until a white flag was hoisted, when firing stopped immediately. The *Königsberg* was a more modern ship than the *Pegasus*; she was faster, and her four inch guns easily outranged those of the old British ship. Furthermore, the *Pegasus* was a sitting duck when the action started, her fires were drawn and boilers were being cleaned. It was either an Arab, or an Indian that gave the game away by carrying the news to the Germans at Bagamoyo. He was caught after the war and either hanged or shot. The *Pegasus* was actually scuttled by her own crew and not sunk by gunfire as was generally supposed.

Evidently the Zanzibar authorities thought the *Königsberg* might return and send a party ashore, for they proceeded to fortify a large building some little distance from the town, possibly an old palace. I was given the job of supervising the cutting down of hundreds of coconut trees, and digging trenches, but it was all wasted, as the *Königsberg* was much too busy to return.

A few days later Lieutenant-Colonel Mackay, Chief Intelligence Officer, and Mr. Norman King, the British Consul from Dar es Salaam, arrived in Zanzibar. Mr. King was later appointed Consul-General in Mexico, and was given a Knighthood. In 1939 he was stationed in Marseilles. Sainsbury went to Kenya, and joined up in a Military Labour Unit, was promoted Captain and did excellent work throughout the East African Campaign until he got gored by a buffalo near Kilwa. He was then invalided to England, where he spent months in hospital; he finally recovered and was on his way back when he contracted influenza on board ship and died. I was given a job in intelligence and went with Colonel Mackay to Mombasa, but that is another story.

THE SUBJUGATION OF CHIEF MELI OF MOSHI, 1893

From Aus Deutsch-Ostafrikas Sturm-und Drangperiode

By Dr. A. Becker

Translated by Moira Miller

(Translator's Note: Grateful thanks are due to the holders of the copyright, Verlag Deutsche Jugendbücherei of Berlin, for permission to print this translation, and to Dr. Hans Schmiedel of Dortmund for the trouble he took in tracing this firm for me.

In the following translation, I have considerably abbreviated the original, the parts in italics being summaries of longer passages).

[The soldierly Reichskommissar von Wissmann was succeeded on 1st April, 1891, by Governor Soden, who did not sufficiently appreciate the need for keeping the rebellious tribes in submission by the use of strong military forces. As a result, his successor, Colonel von Schele, had as his first task to send out two big expeditions, one against the Hehe and the other against Sultan Meli of Moshi. After recruiting fresh troops from Egypt and the Sudan, the Colonel felt strong enough by the beginning of July, 1893 to undertake the expedition to Kilimanjaro, there to settle accounts with Sultan Meli.]

The units chosen to take part were the 5th Company from Lindi under Captain von Elpon and Lt. Eberhardt, the 3rd Company (Captain Podlech and Lt. Kilmeyer) and the 4th Company (Lt. Meigler) from Dar es Salaam. Then a combined company was to be made up of forty-seven Manyema soldiers recently brought down to the coast by Dr. Schwesinger and put under Sergeant Weinberger, together with any troops they might get from Masinde and Kiswani on the way through. These were to be commanded by Lt. Ax. Finally the 1st Company under Captain Johannes, which had already besieged the notorious station of Marangu in Soden's time, was to complete the expeditionary force at Kilimanjaro itself.

Thus there were five full companies with about 560 weapons at their command. One 6.5 cm. gun, one 3.7 cm. and one machine-gun were allotted as artillery. Six hundred porters were recruited to carry the loads. Various other trains of porters had taken lavish stocks of munitions, dressings, goods for barter and so on up to Marangu. Stores of food were laid on along the caravan route from Pangani to Tanga and Kilimanjaro, quantities of rice and meal having been bought in recent months and stored with reliable village headmen at intervals of a few days' march all along the route.

Col. von Schele himself took command of the whole expedition. His staff included Lt. Schrenk von Notzing as Adjutant and myself as Chief Medical Officer. A paymaster-cadet joined the staff as quartermaster, with a white n.c.o. to take charge of the porters. The staff was completed at Korogwe by a District Officer, St. Paul-Illaire, who was said to have a very good knowledge of the country and the people, and spoke Swahili like his mother-tongue.

[When all the units had assembled at Pangani by sea they set off separately on their three-week's march to Marangu, which went off according to plan.]

When we reached the borders of Marangu the Sultan Marealle with a great following of his warriors came to meet us and welcomed us with a superb millet beer which was borne after him in a huge pot. Marealle was an intelligent young Mchagga who was married to a sister of our enemy, Meli, and who, perhaps for that very reason, had become his deadly foe. In his own interests he had remained true to our flag through good days and bad, and his faithful followers were also unswervingly loyal to us in the ensuing campaign. On the arrival of Col. von Schele a seventeen-gun Governor's salute was fired from the bastions of the station. The thunder of these guns might have warned the Sultan of nearby Kilema, a friend of Meli's, that the day of reckoning was at hand.

Now the whole expeditionary force was assembled at Kilimanjaro. After a day of rest on 3rd August we began preparations for the battle. A visit to Sultan Marealle gave us an idea of what we should find in Moshi. Marealle's boma had turreted stone walls, a good six feet thick and over six feet high, made of heavy lumps of rock; it was partitioned by equally strong inner walls. Within stood the Sultan's large wooden house, the huts of his wives, and the cattle byres. There was room enough for a large number of defenders. The only entrance to the boma, and to the inner sections, was by a low doorway which could only admit one person at a time and which could be secured by heavy wooden beams. Marealle told us that Meli's residence was fortified in just the same way, and the information already received by Captain Johannes confirmed the existence of a strong stone boma in Moshi. Our light expeditionary guns could not hope to prevail against such cyclopean walls.

The next few days were busy ones for the Marangu Station. On the orders of the Station Commander all the Chagga chiefs of Kilimanjaro who were not allied to Meli came to pay tribute to Col. von Schele as head of the Colony. They brought lavish gifts of provisions, cattle and goats, as well as grain, bananas, etc., for our troops, and valuable Chagga spears, swords and shields for the Colonel and the other Europeans. They all promised more provisions and the support of their warriors against Meli in return for the rewards which we displayed before their eyes.

[The doctor here describes the landscape and the best way to get to Moshi. They take a Swahili called Shundi as guide, who had lived for many years on Kilimanjaro, doing business with all the sultans, and who knew all the paths on the mountain, as well as the customs and character of the inhabitants.]

The descent into the plain was very hard going, especially for the porters. It had rained hard during the night and the muddy mountain paths were slippery so that we could only keep ourselves upright with the aid of long staffs. After the descent we marched for four days across the trackless plain, which also tried our endurance to the utmost. On the third day we had to wade through a great bog which was made even more unpleasant by the fact that we were constantly stumbling into holes made by the feet of the numerous hippos who lived in the swamp. These holes were under water and invisible from the surface. No sooner had we crossed this swamp than we ran into a new difficulty in the shape of the River Rau, very fast and deep and 150 feet wide. It was impossible to wade across it, and there was of course no bridge, but the banks were lined with magnificent trees, so at least there was no lack of timber to build one. But on coming closer, we saw that these splendid giants were of such



Sultan Marealle I

hard wood that our little axes would have taken far too long to fell them. Luckily we had brought some dynamite with us, and two big charges achieved with one blow what it would have taken hours to do by hand with an axe. By a wonderful bit of luck, two giant trees fell across the stream, just where we wanted them. Now all we had to do was to chop off the branches, weave them in and out between the tree-trunks, and our bridge was ready. That was the first time our blacks had seen the effect of dynamite, and their astonishment was indescribable. There must have been a mighty devil living in those harmless looking charges, and the Europeans got him to work for them with no trouble at all! From the moment when we began to build the bridge it took us less than an hour and a half to get 1,300 people, the animals, and all the baggage across the river.

We now found ourselves to be just below the Moshi area, and we began to climb up once more into the cultivated region wherein lay the realm of our opponent Meli. We found the ashes of his watch fires, which showed that he was on his guard. At about three in the afternoon, the five hundred auxiliaries provided by Sultan Sinna of Kibosho joined us, a really fantastic sight in their battle array. Strong, bronzed young figures, they wore as a sort of mask a wreath of ostrich feathers, and over their shoulders a leopard skin, or the skin of the black-and-white colobus-monkey who lives in the primæval forests of Kilimanjaro. They were armed with the long spear which is peculiar to the Wachagga and the Masai, and the oval Masai shield made of ox-hide covered with crude heraldic drawings in black and white and red, done with graphite, lime and red ochre.

As soon as the Kibosho folk joined us we made a bivouac in the plain. While we were getting the camp ready, our guide, Shundi, shot one of Meli's men whom he had caught in a party of spies just outside the camp site. This showed us clearly that in spite of our long detour in the plain our approach had not gone unobserved, and that we must give up any hope of a surprise attack. Elpon's company put out pickets.

Towards evening Kilimanjaro unveiled the splendour of his summit, which had hitherto been wrapped in thick cloud. The mountain in all its majesty seemed to lie almost within arm's reach before us, its glaciers shining dazzlingly white in the rays of the declining sun. And in the plain at the foot of this great backdrop, lay our camp, the little black, white and red flags fluttering gaily on the Europeans' tents, thronged with coloured soldiers, savagely adorned Chagga warriors and ragged gipsy-like porters, truly a picture that even the poetically inclined imagination of the Europeans could never have conjured up unaided.

[The Germans passed a quiet night and the next day was spent in reconnaissance. The following day they made an early start, avoiding all noise, and having only cocoa and rusks for breakfast, and set off at 6 a.m. on the march to Moshi.]

All at once from a ridge across a deep gulley upon our left, thickly covered with banana trees, arose a loud yell from hundreds of throats and the wild commotion among the banana leaves as well as a number of shots told us that we were face to face with our enemy. The Third Company replied with a few rounds. Col. von Schele gave orders to turn to the right and form up on the crest for an attack. While this was going on the artillery opened up with the 6.5 cm. gun, and a few grenades were thrown across into the banana grove.

Our Swahili informant, Shundi, told the Colonel that Meli's boma, our enemy's headquarters, was not on the hill whence the yelling had come, but in fact upon the very slope upon which we ourselves were standing. This was also covered thickly with bananas, amongst which Shundi said the boma lay. There was no sign of it to be seen, and no sound could be heard from that direction. It was obviously only a small detachment of the enemy that lay upon our left, and they had tried by shouting and firing upon us to divert us from our march upon the boma and draw our fire upon themselves. In this however they did not succeed. Now and then a grenade in their direction, or an occasional round was all they got. The majority of our grenades were thrown ahead into the thicket where Meli's boma lay, and indeed after a very few shots we saw columns of smoke arising, a sign that we had set fire to the huts concealed within. As soon as the enemy saw from our continued advance in their direction that we had not been deceived by their stratagem, a hail of shots came flying out of the grove. The trees were so thick that we could hardly see before us and in no time the different units had lost touch with one another. I was with the field dressing unit just behind the combined company of Lt. Ax. The bush in their path had caught fire so that they were able to see in front of them, and they were able to spot the enemy position from their gun-fire. Lt. Ax called a halt, fired several rounds, then with a cry of "Marsch, marsch, Hurra!" rushed forward upon the enemy line. But suddenly the attackers stopped short. They found themselves on the brink of a steep-sided trench, fifteen feet deep and as many wide. About ten yards beyond this was a second skilfully prepared trench, heavily manned by the enemy to whom it afforded excellent cover. Several of our brave men pitched wounded into the trench; the white subaltern was shot through the shoulder. It was out of the question to try to cross the ditch in the face of the enemy, who had so far suffered no casualties.

Ax's company retired about fifty yards and spattered the entrenched enemy with gun-fire in the hopes of shaking their nerve. He presently stormed the trench again with a cheer. Again they held fast, but Lt. Ax, hit in the chest, fell dead into the trench. His body must have lain there for some time. The company retired again to their cover, from where the only remaining European, Sgt. Weinberger, tried once more to shake the enemy with gun-fire, after which he made a third attempt to take the trench. A revolver in his right hand, the German flag in his left, he led his brave men to the attack, but even now the enemy in their protecting trench would not give way. The flag-staff in Weinberger's hand was smashed by an enemy bullet, the flag was riddled with holes, but the standard-bearer himself luckily escaped unhurt, though many of our coloured soldiers fell. As the company withdrew for the third time, the Commander, Col. von Schele, went to them and told them to desist from any further assaults, but to remain where they were until further notice.

At the same time Elpon's company on the right had also attacked the heavily defended trench, and had got involved in heavy shooting. My dressing station, close by the trench, had filled up with wounded as a result of the thrice-repeated attack by Ax's company. With only one white dresser to help me, my hands were full. Those who were only slightly wounded gave me valuable help by passing bandages, holding broken limbs, comforting the badly wounded and so on. Three times an enemy bullet swished between me and the wounded man I was tending, and fell into the sand so close to us that we could have picked it up without moving from our places.

All contact with the companies of Johannes and Meigler had been lost after they had gone ahead into the thickets on Ax's left flank, and it was some time before the Adjutant, von Schrenk, got in touch with them again. They also had come upon this defended trench which seemed to surround the whole enemy position, but they had found it unoccupied and had crossed it easily. When the Adjutant came up with them, they were about three-hundred yards inside it, engaged in a fierce gun battle with the enemy, in which Johannes' company were firing in the supposed direction of Meli's boma, while Meigler's company were struggling with a section of the enemy that had come up on their left flank. This meant that any further advance by this company was impossible as it would have brought them into the field of fire of the German companies along the edge of the trench to the rear. So Johannes sent a request to the Colonel through the Adjutant that the whole force should move in behind him and make a new mass attack from there.

Col. von Schele fell in with this plan. The combined company which since the death of Ax had been under the command of Lt. Eberhardt, and Lt. Elpon's company received orders to join up and march off to the left, while the Colonel brought Podlech's company, which had been in reserve, over to the left also. These movements left me and the wounded in a very ticklish position. I had no transport at all, so could not follow the companies as they marched off, and all Lt. Kielmeyer left me was a guard of five men under a coloured officer, utterly inadequate to ward off an enemy attack. It was not till some time later that, at the Colonel's direct command, the guard was increased by a further twenty men.

The withdrawal to the left was opposed by lively enemy fire, so that after a while the troops had to halt and fire off a few rounds to get themselves a breathing space. However, without very much loss the whole force crossed the ditch at the spot where Johannes' and Meigler's companies had got over, and formed up behind Johannes. And so the defenders of that sinister ditch, who must already have suffered heavy losses in the fighting with Elpon's and Ax's companies, now saw that they were threatened from the rear and in danger of being cut off from their line of retreat, and so they abandoned the trench and, under cover of the thickets, stole back to the boma.

At 12.40, after a short burst of artillery fire from the 6.5 cm. gun, Col. von Schele gave the order for a second advance on the boma. The distance to the boma was estimated at five hundred to eight hundred yards. Johannes' company was deployed in front with the artillery and Sinna's auxiliaries. The latter under the leadership of a *Schutztruppen* officer and several *Schutztruppen* soldiers, had the task of cutting down the banana trees in front of the advancing troops with bush-knives so as to give them a clear path. On Johannes' right flank Elpon's company came up in close formation, with Meigler's on the left flank. Podlech's company followed close behind as reserve, with the combined company and the baggage.

Once again however, the thickness of the banana groves made it impossible to keep in formation. After only a few minutes the companies had lost all touch with one another and each unit was left to its own resources. But the enemy, now they had lost their protecting ditch, made no further resistance to the new onslaught. At 1.10 the company on the left flank, and the rear unit with the Colonel arrived before a strong stone boma which had been evacuated by the enemy and which was now occupied without a shot being fired. A few minutes later Johannes announced that he had reached Meli's boma and had

occupied that also without opposition. The two forts lay less than a hundred paces apart, hidden in the dense banana thickets, and were both surrounded by stone walls six to twelve feet high, like those we had seen when we visited Sultan Marealle. The first boma had been the stronghold of Mandara, Meli's father and predecessor as chief. The walls were partly in ruins, whereas the second boma, Meli's own, was in perfect repair. All but two of the huts which stood within the walls had been burnt down by our grenades, as had Meli's wooden house. Our troops prepared both bomas for defence as soon as we occupied them.

Both guns as well as the machine-gun were brought into action against the enemy who had retreated into a deep valley, and their losses must have been heavy for very soon, at about 2 p.m., a large black, white and red flag appeared at the edge of the thicket and we were hailed with loud cries.

Resistance appeared to be broken. Col. von Schele called off the firing and sent Shundi over to parley. He came back after three-quarters of an hour, saying that Meli was asking for peace and would send negotiators across next morning. He begged earnestly that hostilities should cease, especially that "we should not shoot at him with cannons during the night".

At three o'clock I received orders to bring the wounded into camp. Since I only had two donkeys and three hammocks, I had first to send for more transport. This arrived an hour later and then I was able to move the dressing-station in two stages and finally to bring in our dead, among them our dear comrade Ax. At 5.30 I got into camp. One white sergeant and thirteen coloured men were badly wounded and another twelve coloured soldiers were slightly wounded. Besides Ax, four coloured soldiers were dead. Two of the most seriously injured succumbed to their wounds shortly after reaching camp. As regards the other casualties, I had once more occasion to remark as I had often done before, what an extraordinary resistance blacks often display to external injuries. One example will show what I mean. One of the worst wounded was a Sudanese; he had been shot in the head so that his brains were oozing through his skull. After moving into camp, I had left the wounded for a few moments to see whether the native huts still left standing would do as temporary accommodation for them, and on my way back I suddenly encountered this Sudanese who had been shot through the head, wandering about entirely on his own. I asked him in astonishment where on earth he was going, and he replied that he wanted to go over to Mandara's boma to see if he could find something to eat! I will only add that the fellow recovered and served for some time longer in the *Schutztruppe*.

That night passed peacefully and next morning the German flag was still seen flying from Meli's side of the ravine, but the negotiators did not appear until midday. In proof of the genuineness of Meli's desire to make peace they brought with them the cannon which had fallen into their hands a year before at the time of Bulow's disaster: at least they brought the barrel of it in perfect condition. According to the envoy they had lost a hundred and thirty-five dead in yesterday's battle of whom ninety had been killed in that part of the trench where Elpon and Ax had been engaged. There were about the same number of wounded. When they asked for peace they were told that terms could only be discussed if Meli himself and his subordinates came to our camp. We gave them till evening. If he had not come by then the attack would be renewed next morning.

At two in the afternoon Lt. Ax and the other dead were buried with all solemnity outside the Boma. A short address by the Colonel was followed by a silent prayer, three volleys were fired across the open grave, and a mound was raised above gallant soldiers.

Sinna's auxiliaries spent the day foraging for cattle, which they found hidden away in all sorts of corners, and by evening they had brought in at least sixty head besides goats, etc. These were enough not only to provide meat for us all for many a long day, but also to form the basis of a herd for the new station we had to establish.

Many years before, Meli's father, Sultan Mandara, had known the explorer, Otto Ehler, and through him had sent presents of tusks and spears to His Majesty the Kaiser. His Majesty had honoured him with gifts in return. Several of these now fell again into our hands. One was a sewing-machine, but the fire which burnt down Meli's house had reduced it to such a state that it was good only for a grill for our men to roast their meat on. Four beer tankards with the arms of the German states were also found which Mandara must have sent over to his son; and a clock with little tin soldiers on the top which marched merrily round to the playing of Prussian music.

About 6 p.m. the envoys came back again, bringing more presents of spears and swords and six oxen. Meli sent word that he was too frightened to come into the camp, and begged the *mbana nkubwa* (*sic*) to come out to meet him. At first the Colonel refused absolutely to make any concession to the beaten foe, but some of the officers persuaded him to say that he would guarantee Meli's safety if he would come next morning, and further that he would send Johannes down into the valley to meet him.

Next morning came. Johannes went down into the valley with Shundi, but there was no sign of Meli, so without consulting the Colonel he went on up alone with Shundi to Meli's camp. There he found Meli with sixty strong young warriors. When they saw the Europeans they grabbed their weapons, but Johannes shouted "Halt" and they laid them down again. Johannes called upon Meli to come over to the Colonel and accept his peace terms. He told him that it was only for the sake of his father, Mandara, who had always been the white men's friend that he had come to him, and that it was Mandara alone whom Meli had to thank that the Colonel had not punished him with death, which by his rebellion he had thoroughly deserved. Meli, trembling like a leaf, reaffirmed his desire for peace but said he was too scared to come into our camp. He wasn't afraid that the Germans wanted his life but he was sure that our soldiers or the warriors of his arch-enemy Sinna would strike him down as soon as he showed his face. He begged again most earnestly that the Colonel should come half way to meet him, but when Johannes replied that it was not the German custom for the Commander himself to go to meet his beaten enemies, Meli was forced to give in and promised he would present himself next morning in the camp. However it was still doubtful whether he would not once more be stupefied by terror. When the Colonel heard Johannes' report he decided that he would after all go to meet Meli outside the camp.

That afternoon Meli sent over a box of grenades and the wheels of the cannon, the barrel of which he had sent the previous day. Now all that was missing was the mounting which came next day.

Next morning Shundi was sent to fetch Meli. He came back with an enormous elephant's tusk, but reported that Meli was still overcome by terror. He now asked that two European officers should be sent to stay in his camp until he returned from his meeting with the Colonel. In fact he was demanding hostages. Such impertinence was going altogether too far. The Colonel announced coldly that his patience was now exhausted. So far he had only worked a small magic; now he would start on the big magic. And the Colonel really meant it. He gave orders that very afternoon to renew the attack next morning.

At 3 p.m. we heard that Meli was on his way. He asked the Colonel once more to come to meet him but without any soldiers, and for the sake of peace the Colonel agreed. With a revolver under his coat but otherwise unarmed he went down into the valley escorted by St. Paul, Podlech, Schrenk and two coloured soldiers. In case of trouble one company in the camp stood to arms. We could see Meli quite clearly coming out of his camp accompanied by fifty men, and it was comical to see how he contrived it so that he came down his hillside at exactly the same speed as the Colonel, so that both should arrive at the bottom at the same moment.

As soon as they arrived in the valley the Colonel sat down on his camp stool and Meli came towards him holding out his hand. The Colonel waved it away. Meli must first agree to the peace terms, then he might be allowed to shake hands on the agreement. Meli was trembling all over, and on the Colonel's moving his hand slightly towards St. Paul as a sign that he, as interpreter, should begin to explain the peace terms, Meli misunderstood his gesture and fled in great bounds across the grass. It looked so funny that even Meli's people burst out laughing and called their heroic leader back again. After he had gone about a hundred paces he returned, deeply humiliated and the following conversation took place:

"Now do you see that the Germans are stronger than you are"?

"Yes, Sir".

"How did you come to make war against us"?

"Sir, I was a *bombafo* (sheep's head).

"Yes, you certainly were a great sheep's head".

These were the terms given to Meli: he had unconditionally to accept the German supremacy. The Germans would set up a military station in Moshi, for which Meli's people must bring the materials without any payment. They must also supply water to the station free as well as provisions in the way of bananas, flour, cattle, etc. Meli would be given a place to live below the new fort, but he would not be allowed to build a boma round it. He would remain chief of his people but would exercise his functions under the supervision of the Station Commander. He was to make over to the Christian mission that would come to Moshi as much land as they required. Meli was to hand over to the Germans his whole stock of ivory and all the weapons of his people. It would be left to the Station Commander to give him back later on as many muzzle-loaders as he saw fit for hunting purposes. The district of Uru which had been tributary to Meli would be taken away from him and handed over to Sinna of Kibosho. Likewise the two chiefs who had been Meli's allies, Fumba of Kilema and Kidungadi of Kirwa would now have to pay tribute to Marealle of Marangu.

Meli agreed to all these conditions immediately, delighted that he had got off with his life and at least a semblance of chieftainship. A handshake sealed the agreement.

On August 18th Capt. Johannes got back from Marangu where he had been to see how Marealle was getting on. As had previously been arranged he had raided Kilema and taken eighty cattle from Sultan Fumba. Both sides had suffered losses, but they had been heavier on Marealle's side, and in fact if it had not been for the presence of the German military station at Marangu he would probably have had the worst of it. This result pleased the Colonel greatly. Fumba had been kept busy and had not been able to help Meli, and at the same time Marealle had been forced to realize that his power depended upon the protection of the German station.

When Capt. Johannes had sent messengers to Fumba with the news that he was advancing on Kilema with troops, and that it was up to him whether there should be peace or war, Fumba had immediately surrendered, and the Sultan of Kirwa had likewise undertaken to accept the peace terms. The news of Meli's defeat flew like lightening all round Kilimanjaro and all remaining hostile elements gave in at once. The Catholic mission station in Fumba's District was said to be unharmed. Actually some of Fumba's people had wanted to burn it down but Fumba had stopped them, as he had grave doubts about the whole situation and wanted to avoid getting himself into serious trouble. Finally Johannes told us that he had instructed Sultans Fumba and Kidungadi to present themselves in Moshi next day with their overlord Marealle in order to make their surrender in person to the Colonel.

And next day this in fact took place. Fumba had brought a lay-brother from the Catholic mission to speak for him. The Sultan of Uru, a child of five, had arrived in Moshi with his elders several days beforehand to make his peace with the Germans. Whether he liked it or not he had to submit to the overlordship of Sinna as he was bidden.

So there was peace upon Kilimanjaro. Capt. Johannes had brought a number of masons and carpenters back with him from Marangu, and they set to work at once building the new military station. The expeditionary force stayed a few days longer in Moshi until the building had got so well under way that Johannes, who was to be the new Station Commander, reckoned that he needed no further help. Then Col. von Schele himself marched off with two companies to the coast while Elpon's and Podlech's companies were sent off on a new assignment to Meru.

And what became of our friend Meli? He was very slow about fulfilling the terms of the surrender, especially in handing over the arms, but gradually the Station Commander got them all out of him. His people worked hard at building the fort and Meli himself settled down under the shadow of its guns. The effect of the lesson he had learnt when he tried to rebel against the German might lasted for some years, but gradually he began to forget it, and in the year 1900 he once more attempted by means of a plot to overthrow the German rule on Kilimanjaro. By chance this plot was discovered on the eve of the rising so it was all frustrated by the arrest of the guilty parties. But this time Meli did not come out of it with nothing but a black eye. As the chief instigator of the conspiracy, he paid for the rebellion with his life.



1.—Raised Prow



2.—Fine Entry

THE NGALAWA AND THE MTEPE

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

The Note by Dr. Prins on the *ngalawa* and the *mtepe* which appears in *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 53 is of great interest, for it deals with craft which may soon have disappeared from the East African Coast. The theory that the outrigger device to be seen on the East Coast of Africa has its origin in Indonesia is widely held and there is a great deal of literature on the subject. In the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute for 1924 there is a paper by James Hornell, formerly Director of Fisheries in Madras, dealing with the matter. The paper is illustrated by photographs of outrigger canoes from the Sakalava area of Madagascar in the north and north-west of the Island and of a model of a Sumatran outrigger canoe. Both these craft appear to be based on a dug-out hull with a single outrigger over the starboard side, the booms extending over the opposite gunwale and linked together by a light spar. The canoes are rigged with a square-shaped sail suspended by its upper corners from a mast and a sprit-pole set up within the hull. There are illustrations also of outrigger canoes from Mayotte and Johanna in the Comoro Islands and from Port Amelia in Mozambique on the East African mainland. The craft from Mayotte is a roughly shaped dug-out with built-up topsides. It is fitted with a poorly constructed single outrigger over the port side with the booms extending over the opposite gunwale, but it may be that when the photograph was taken the starboard float had been removed for some reason and that the craft is in fact a double outrigger *ngalawa*. The float which is visible is a half-round log and the general appearance and finish of the craft are very inferior. The Port Amelia craft is also a dug-out of rather poor workmanship with double outriggers. The floats are plank-shaped taking up a horizontal position when the craft is at rest. The Johanna boat is considerably superior to the other two and is based on a well shaped dug-out hull with good lines. The double outriggers are rather roughly made with plank-shaped floats in a horizontal position when the craft is at rest. Unfortunately there is nothing to indicate how these craft were rigged but it seems safe to presume that, being *ngalawa* on the East Coast of Africa, they carried a lateen sail. They bear little resemblance to the Sakalava or Sumatran canoes but are not unlike the modern *ngalawa* to be seen along the Tanganyika coast. In photographs of two outrigger craft taken in Ceylon in 1926 it can be seen that they are based on dug-out hulls with a single outrigger over the starboard side and rigged with a square sail similar to that in the Sakalava and Sumatran craft. Photographs of two very large craft—probably forty footers—taken at the same time seem to show that they are based on a shallow dug-out hull which has been built up with planks sewn and pegged together.

Accompanying this note are photographs of two modern *ngalawa* at Tanga. These are regarded as being amongst the fastest on the station and their slim lines and easy entry can be seen in the pictures. During a regatta at Tanga some years ago similar *ngalawa* from Kigombe walked away from the yachts of the Tanga Yacht Club and the motor-boat following the race was forced to open up to nine knots to keep pace. These Tanga craft bear no resemblance to the Sakalava and Sumatran canoes and are superior in design and workmanship to

the boats from Mayotte, Johanna and Port Amelia to which reference has been made. Pictures 2 and 6 show the fine entry of these Tanga craft while 3 and 4 show the layout of the outriggers, the set of the struts and the manner in which they are secured to the booms. Outrigger design has been considerably modified in recent years so that the floats may take up a horizontal position and plane just below the surface when the craft is heeled over close hauled. The designers state that greater stability is thus obtained and that speed is increased—qualities demanded by the modern owner.

Another alteration in design is to be found in the raised prow which can be seen in pictures 1, 2 and 5. This raised prow is in fact an extension of a built-up addition to the sides of the hull in its forward third with the object of increasing free-board and improving behaviour in a head sea. The built-up section which is called *kasama* is very skilfully constructed all in one piece and so cleverly fitted that the join is scarcely visible. It is secured by four-inch iron nails which are countersunk into the timber leaving a smooth surface. The alternative to *kasama* is according to Dr. Krapf, *hanamu* which he translates as "cut-water". Johnstone however gives "*kasama*, the joining of the bow of a sailing vessel" but it is to be noted that in Tanga the word *kasama* is applied to all the built-up portion of a hull and not only to that of the forward third.

The *ngalawa* in pictures 1, 2 and 3 is twenty-five feet six inches overall with a midships beam at the gunwales of only ten and a half inches. The inside depth at this point is twenty-seven inches. The outrigger booms are set in the middle third of the hull and are eight feet apart. They are seven feet long and the struts are set so as to form almost a continuation of the boom in order that the floats, which are planks ten feet long by ten inches wide and two inches thick, will take up the required horizontal position when the craft is under sail. The names given for the components of the outrigger by Dr. Prins are those used in Tanga, viz. boom, *mrengo*; strut, *mbera*; float, *mbao*. The name *perapi* is known but seldom used while the word *ndubi*, which applies to the float in the Comoro Islands, is used for the strut, which in Zanzibar is usually called the *kilete*. The hull is given a narrow flattened bottom some five inches in breadth by faring-off the natural round of the tree from which it is cut and this can be seen in picture No. 5. The star and crescent design in picture No. 1 is not of any special significance but is rather to please the fancy of the owner who has adopted a different design in picture No. 6.

The cost of an *ngalawa* today is stated to be about forty pounds dependant on the distance of the tree from which it is hewn to the beach where the final faring-off takes place. Suitable trees near the coast are becoming scarcer and costs may be expected to rise as transport expenses increase. The growing shortage of suitable trees is evidenced by the number of craft now to be seen where it has been necessary to build up the topsides over the whole length of the hull and not only in the forward third.

Constructional skill has improved very greatly in the past twenty-five years and the modern *ngalawa* is a sea-worthy craft. Skill in repair too has improved and in one case where *teredo* had invaded the hull, a section seven feet by four was cut out and replaced by an insert so well fitted as to be scarcely visible once



3.—Outlay of Rigging



4.—Outlay of Rigging



5.—Raised Prow



6.—Fine Entry

the new timber had weathered. In Tanga it is generally agreed that constructional skill in Zanzibar is superior to that on the mainland and there is a vague tradition that the idea of an outrigger came from Zanzibar many years ago.

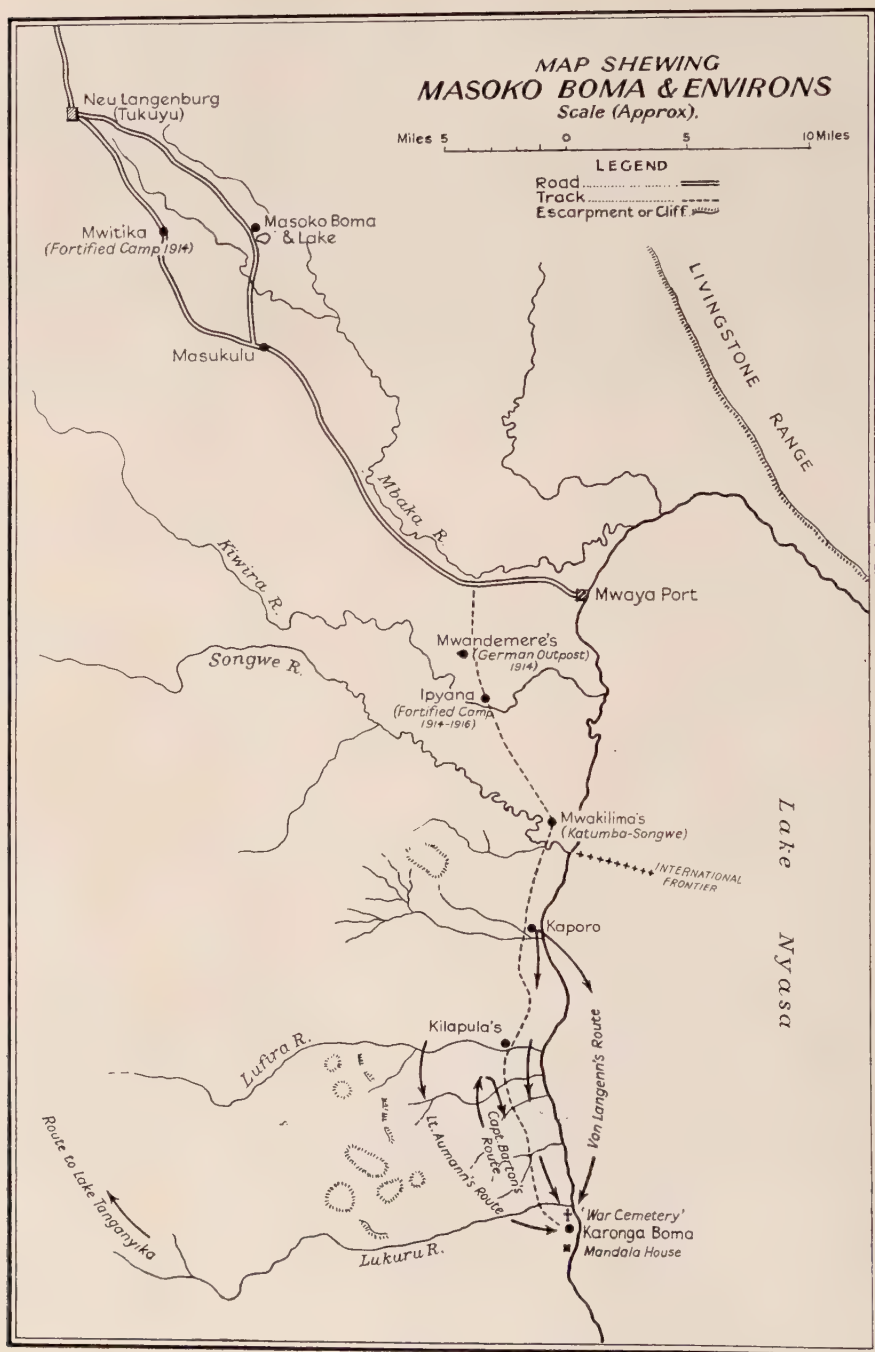
Unfortunately no pictures of double-outrigger canoes from Indonesia are available to the present writer and it is thus not possible to compare the *ngalawa* with them but it seems worthy of note that the East African craft is lateen-rigged whereas in Indonesia the square sail seems to be more usual: at any rate in single outrigger craft.

There is something to be said for the suggestion that in East Africa the idea of steadying a dug-out by fitting an outrigger, if not original, was born out of experiments based on hear-say accounts of such a device. However that may be, the East African designers and builders have produced a fast sea-worthy craft with marked sea-keeping qualities and admirably suited to the work in which it is normally employed. It would be of considerable interest if some reader acquainted with outrigger craft in both Indonesia and East Africa were to contribute to these pages a note on their comparative performance.

The out-board engine is now becoming common and can be obtained on very favourable hire-purchase terms. It may be wondered whether this will sound the death-knell of the sailing *ngalawa* and it is therefore fortunate that Mr. Morgan has left in *T.N.R.* 9 a detailed account of the construction and performance of the craft.

With regard to the *mtepe*: there appeared in *T.N.R.* 14 a note by James Hornell which included a detailed account of the construction of the *mtepe* written by Mr. Mullins, the District Commissioner of Lamu. In *T.N.R.* 16 Sir John Gray considers the possibility that the art of building the *mtepe* was introduced to Faza (Lamu) by castaways from the Maldivé Islands.

Regarding footnote 16 on page 212 of *T.N.R.* 53 the words *materessi* and *nchikichi* appear in the Glossary of Swahili and Bajun words by Mr. Mullins which are included in Mr. Hornell's Note. Early numbers of *Tanganyika Notes and Records* are becoming rarer and no apology is offered for drawing attention to these early notes about these interesting craft.



THE BOMA AT MASOKO—RUNGWE DISTRICT

By David K. Marvin

On one of the lower tiers in the natural grandstand of hills and mountains which volcanic activity has thrown across the Rift valley at the north end of Lake Nyasa, there squats a group of undistinguished stone buildings which have, nevertheless, two claims to distinction—their spectacular natural setting and the part they played in the first great war between Germany and Great Britain. These comprise the old “Boma” at Masoko in Rungwe District, built by the Germans as a military station. The days of glory of Masoko as an outpost of German (and later British) military might are long past. The askari “lines” have been pulled down to furnish materials for a primary school across the road, and the remaining buildings are either slowly mouldering into ruins or house such mundane activities as a local court, dispensaries and a rest house. In these times, only the magnificent site on top of a hill into whose side is set a flawless crater lake, commanding a view of many miles over Lake Nyasa and along the Livingstone Range, remains to call attention to the Masoko Boma.

As anyone who has visited the place can testify, the setting alone makes Masoko notable, but the purpose of this article is to give some account of the part the Boma and its occupants played on the international scene.

Having acquired firm claim to south-western Tanganyika by treaty in 1890, the Germans had the problem of making this claim effective. In the absence of good overland communications, they penetrated into this portion of Tanganyika via the Lake Nyasa route. Hence one of the first areas to come under administration was that occupied by the Nyakyusa tribe, at the head of the lake, in what is now known as Rungwe District.

Little trouble was experienced in pacifying the Nyakyusa—the only engagement of any note was a skirmish in 1892. By 1901 the administration of much of the present Southern Highlands Province was being conducted from Neu Langenburg (now Tukuyu), about eleven miles from the site of the Masoko station. However, this had not yet been constructed, and the nearest military post was that at Bismarcksburg (now Kasanga) near the southern end of Lake Tanganyika, where the Sixth Field Company was quartered. The authority of the “Bezirksamtmann” (District Commissioner) at Neu Langenburg apparently required the support of no more than some dozens of police under German non-commissioned officers.

It was not until about 1910 that a military unit, the Fifth Field Company, was moved into the Nyakyusa area. This shift may have been, in part, an aftermath of the Maji-Maji uprising, for a unit at Masoko would be in better position to lend a hand in Southern Tanganyika than one on Lake Tanganyika. But it seems obvious that it was also related to the tense international situation, in which Germany and Great Britain were major protagonists. Under the transportation and communications conditions of the day, a unit at the north end of Lake Nyasa would be well placed to block ingress to Tanganyika from the south, or conversely, to use the lake as a pathway for attack on Nyasaland.

The records of the Lands Office at Dar es Salaam show that 177 hectares at Masoko were alienated on May 15, 1909, by agreement with the local chiefs Mwakatumbula and Mwambuga. In the same year building plans were drawn up, and before 1914 the post was fully operational, with a number of very strongly constructed stone buildings set around the perimeter of the Boma square. The Fifth Field Company was ready to play its small part in the great struggle that was World War I.

What that part was to be, however, had not really been decided. For many years, German plans for the defense of Tanganyika in the event of war had assumed that first, the main enemy effort would come by sea, and second, the outbreak of war would be the signal for native rebellions. Troops, therefore, should be held in their districts to cope with possible local difficulties, except in coastal areas, from which they would be withdrawn inland because of the threat of large-scale sea-borne invasion. Between 1912 and 1914, however, there had been correspondence between the High Command in Berlin and the local military authorities, the former arguing that heavier European settlement, and especially the building of a more efficient network of transportation in the immediately preceding years, lessened the dangers of rebellion and made possible the deployment of military units against enemy border installations (telegraph lines, the Uganda Railway, etc.). The military commander of the time in German East Africa, however, stood firm on the old assumptions and the old strategy. A High Command decision overruling him was being considered by Dr. Solf, the Colonial Secretary, when the war broke out.

Thus it happened that in August, 1914, the authorities in German East Africa had no directive sanctioning offensive action. But the new military commander, Colonel Von Lettow-Vorbeck, held views even more advanced than those of the High Command in Berlin. He fully endorsed the notion of an offensive, harassing strategy, and proposed to carry it out by massing his troops as much as possible in order to divert enemy resources from the main theaters of war. Furthermore, he was fully prepared to take responsibility for forcing these notions on the German civil authorities. For example, he describes in his reminiscences how he acted when in August, 1914, he discovered that Governor Schnee at Dar es Salaam was negotiating with British representatives:

"I now advanced on the town and, as I could not but fear that in the confusion of the moment a disadvantageous agreement might be concluded in Dar es Salaam, I sent Captain Tafel on ahead. He was to announce that I was taking over the executive power, and that negotiations with the enemy must be conducted through me alone."¹

As history records, his strategy for the conduct of the war in German East Africa was accepted in its entirety.

The Fifth Field Company at Masoko of course figured in this strategy. Von Lettow-Vorbeck had visited Masoko during his famous bicycle tour of military stations in German East Africa in the months just prior to the war. While there, he had instructed the commandant, Captain Von Langenn-Steinkeller, that in the event of war he should attack or at least threaten important enemy installations in order to tie up enemy strength. This instruction was

¹Paul Von Lettow-Vorbeck, *My Reminiscences of East Africa* (London; Hurst and Blacknett, 1923), pp. 27-28.

made even stronger in a telegram sent Von Langenn on August 14, 1914. This instructed him to take any opportunity to seize the initiative, to attack whenever possible.²

Despite such good intentions, however, the war went badly at first for the Germans in south-western Tanganyika. Neu Langenburg had no telegraph, depending upon Iringa, over 250 miles distant, upon Karonga in British Nyasaland and (apparently) upon Bismarcksburg for this service. Probably because of lack of their own facility, the German authorities at Neu Langenburg and Masoko were very slow off the mark. There seems to have been uncertainty as late as August 15th that the war had begun. On that date, the Bezirksamtmann at Neu Langenburg wrote his British colleague at Karonga, the northernmost district headquarters in Nyasaland, complaining of the cutting off of the telegraphic service and inquiring concerning the accuracy of the report that war had been declared. Very oddly, he appended to what was essentially a diplomatic inquiry a virtual accusation that the British authorities were arming the natives along the border with breech-loading rifles!³

In all truth, the authorities in Nyasaland had seized the advantage deriving from early knowledge of the declaration of war and had stolen a march on the Germans, although not in the fashion of which they were accused in this letter. First, they had promptly armed a number of lake steamers, and one of these on August 13th descended upon Sphinxhafen on the German east shore of Lake Nyasa to dispose of the only German vessel on the lake, the Hermann von Wissmann, as she lay beached for repairs. The captain, engineer and mechanics taken prisoner were all unaware that war had begun. Second, a force of over five hundred King's African Rifles was hastily assembled in southern Nyasaland and managed to reach Karonga by August 22nd. A contingent of over fifty European volunteers followed in early September.

Having finally ascertained that a state of war existed, Von Langenn at Masoko began with great energy to prepare for the offensive. On August 19th his askari crossed the Songwe river, the border between German East Africa and Nyasaland, near the spot where it flows into Lake Nyasa. The next day, they occupied the area called Kaporo, some four or five miles south of the Songwe and seventeen or more miles from Karonga. This was good strategy, for Kaporo lies at the junction of the Songwe delta and the narrow Lake Nyasa plain, here constricted even further by a hill jutting out from the plateau. Hence the area forms a gate which may be used to bar movement north or south along the shores of the lake.⁴ On August 22nd Von Langenn warned Karonga that African troops were about to attack, suggesting that Europeans, especially women and children, should be evacuated "to avert a massacre".⁵

²Ludwig Boell, *Die Operationen in Ost-Afrika, Weltkrieg, 1914-1918* (Hamburg; Walter Dachert, 1951), p. 66. Boell summarizes the oral instructions to Von Langenn as follows: "... dass der Krieg nicht rein defensiv zu fuehren sei, die Schutztruppe muesste moeglichst viel feindliche Kraefte fesseln, hierzu muesste den Feind adgreifen oder zum mindestens an einer empfindlichen Stelle bedrohen".

The telegram read: "Nutzt jeden sich bietenden Vorteil aus und sichert euch die Initiative. Angreifen, wo irgend moeglich. . . ."

³The text of this letter is to be found in the files of the District Office at Karonga. The missive was in German, but fortunately for the District Commissioner's peace of mind, a missionary was able to provide an adequate translation.

⁴As the Central African Federation veterinary services were using it in 1957, when they established a cordon across the plain to check the spread of hoof and mouth disease south from Tanganyika into the Federation.

History of the Great War, Military Operations in East Africa, Vol. I, August, 1914-September, 1916. (London; HMSO, 1941), p. 170.

The Fifth Field Company now marched out of Masoko for the last time, for henceforth, until evacuation of the district in 1916, it would occupy forward positions. On August 27th it took station at the Songwe river, on the Tanganyika side. It lay there for over ten days, augmenting its standard strength of three German officers, two German non-commissioned officers and 159 askari by adding a number of German settlers, police and government civilian personnel, African police askari, retired askari and new recruits to its rolls. On September 6th, a detachment of the Second Field Company (Iringa) from the outpost in Ubena arrived, adding to Von Langenn's force a Lieutenant (Aumann), thirty askari and about five hundred Sangu warriors armed with *gobori*, the Swahili "gas pipe" musket.

Von Langenn immediately despatched the force from Ubena, with its single machine gun, south along the base of the hills, several miles inland from the lake. He then moved upon Karonga direct, taking with him about twenty Europeans, 240 askari, three machine guns and two 3.7 cm. cannon (all these guns being regular equipment for this single company!) and the usual horde of bearers. One informant who was present at the Songwe at this time states that several Nyakyusa chiefs joined Von Langenn there, but only one Mwandemere, a lake plain chief who had lost his lands in war prior to the coming of the Germans and who had been restored to his station by them, took part in the expedition. He is said to have come back with a bullet in his thigh for his pains.

Simultaneously with Von Langenn's move south on September 8th, the British at Karonga, under Captain Barton, moved north with a force of eleven British officers, some European volunteers, 430 askari, three machine guns, four cannon and 900 bearers. On the morning of the day of battle, September 9th, Barton was in the middle of the narrow plain, on the Lufira river about eight miles south of Kaporo and perhaps nine miles north of Karonga. Aumann had cut around his left flank and was crossing behind him to join Von Langenn, who had moved past Barton's right flank during the night to the Lukuru river just north of Karonga. The somewhat remarkable fact was that the three columns, comprising several thousand men in all, had managed to manœuvre past one another on a plain not over four or five miles wide without really becoming aware of one another's presence. Although he apparently had reports of Germans on both flanks, Barton crossed the Lufira early September 9th to attack the German baggage guard under the impression that it was the main force, while Von Langenn seems to have had no inkling that Barton had moved out of Karonga and lay on his line of retreat.

Even more peculiar was the situation on Lake Nyasa itself. Despite British command of its waters, demonstrated in a shelling of Kaporo on August 25th and a raid on a German post across the lake on September 5th, Von Langenn risked moving from fifty to a hundred of his men in rowboats, by night, to the mouth of the Lukuru river near Karonga! Despite availability of no less than seven armed steamers on the lake, Barton moved without their support. The Germans actually captured two barge loads of his supplies, and the British volunteer in charge of them, when these vessels were encountered in tow off the Lukuru river mouth and were brought under shell fire.

The tale of the assault upon Karonga is soon told. Aumann swept down upon the District Residency from inland, while Von Langenn landed near the Lukuru river, assembled his forces and moved south to join him. Unfortunately



The Officers' Quarters of The Old Boma at Masoko



Photograph by courtesy of G.W. Baker.
Lake Masoko and The Livingstone Range

for the Germans, however, the Karonga garrison of about ten Europeans, forty-three askari and thirty police was concentrated in the Mandala (African Lakes Corporation) quarters about one-half mile south of the Residency along the lake. This had been built as a fort in the times of the Arab slaver Mlozi,⁶ had resisted attack then and was prepared to do so again as the outposts being driven in gave the alarm and the garrison stood to at the loopholed walls and in the newly-dug entrenchments.

The German attack faltered in the face of this unexpectedly well-prepared and invisible foe (as the British had the advantage of smokeless powder, while the Germans were still using black powder) and was unable to get within four hundred yards of the Mandala fortifications. The confusion, frustration and terror compounded in the scene that then ensued were vividly conveyed to me by an old Nyakyusa who participated in the battle as a member of the Fifth Field Company: "The British could not be seen; an Englishman with a machine gun (Note: by all accounts, the garrison had none) was sweeping our lines from the second storey of the house; we could not move forward or find anything to fire at." Oddly, some German askari climbed trees for better shooting and were caught there when a relieving company sent by Barton overran the German right or inland flank and killed or captured a dozen or more of them. This event and the wounding of Von Langenn in the eye sent the Germans into retreat, thus ending this phase of the battle, which lasted from seven a.m. until about noon.

Abandoning their aid station and two machine guns, the Fifth Field Company fled across the Lukuru and moved north into Kasoba, an area of then uninhabited bush lying between the Lukuru and the Lufira which even now merits the familiar invocation of Africa, "mile after mile of damn-all", despite colonization since 1926 by groups representing villages in the environs of Karonga. There Barton, moving back towards Karonga, interrupted what was apparently an attempt to evacuate by boat.⁷ The Fifth Field Company got some of its own back in the two-hour fight that ensued, for Barton attempted a bayonet charge and in the fairly thick bush apparently lost control of the fighting. The British suffered losses which are still remembered by all who relate accounts of this part of the fighting, and the Fifth Field Company managed to extricate itself, with the further loss of its two cannon.

Casualties on both sides were serious. Of the eleven British officers who marched in Barton's column, seven seem to have been killed or wounded, including Barton himself. A half dozen or so volunteers and about fifty askari also became casualties. The core of the German force, the Fifth Field Company, was virtually decimated, Von Langenn losing an eye, the other two company officers being wounded and captured,⁸ the company sergeant killed, and in the neighbourhood of a hundred askari killed, wounded or captured. Of the German volunteers, five were killed, including the artisan who had supervised the building

⁶The activities of this gentleman are chronicled by a number of Englishmen who encountered him, including Lord Lugard, who carried away a wound as souvenir, and Sir H. H. Johnston, who hanged him.

⁷The Times, September 16, 1914, reported that German officers were evacuated by water. An eyewitness reported to me that he saw Von Langenn return by boat to the Songwe at about eight p.m. the night of the battle.

⁸One of these, Lt. Von Veltheim, held in southern Nyasaland, assisted the British authorities during the uprising of 1915 there—a fine example of *noblesse oblige*, a version of the thesis that blood is thicker than water.

of the structures at Masoko, and four of the eight settlers from the area now called Rungwe District who had accompanied the expedition. Furthermore, the German doctor, Gothein,⁹ was captured and his European assistant wounded.

The European dead of both sides are buried in the "war cemetery" at Karonga, along with twenty-two German askari.

Apparently the shock and the loss suffered on this day virtually incapacitated both the German and the British units which participated. In their retreat, the Germans not only repassed the Songwe and destroyed the bridge but also abandoned the whole lake plain. They established their main body in the hills at Mwitika, a village since removed to make way for the Musegera tea estate. This place was about forty miles from the border and about as far inland as the Masoko Boma itself, but located on the main road from the lake a few miles south of Tukuyu. An outpost was left at the edge of the plain, at Mwandemere's (the Nyakyusa chief mentioned above who accompanied the expedition). The depth of the retreat suggests that the Germans felt themselves seriously defeated and expected pursuit which they would not be able to fend off.¹⁰

The British, for their part, remained in the neighbourhood of Karonga, arguing that they did not have sufficient force to risk the offensive and that Karonga was a better base from the viewpoint of supply and health than the rainier areas north of the lake. When the Germans perceived that the British were content merely to patrol to the Songwe, they recovered their nerve and, reinforced by troops from Iringa, shifted their base back to the lake plain at the German mission station of Ipyana on the Kiwira river. Behind this considerable stream, they established a fortified camp from which they dominated the ten-mile strip up to the Songwe and ran patrols as far as the Kaporo area.

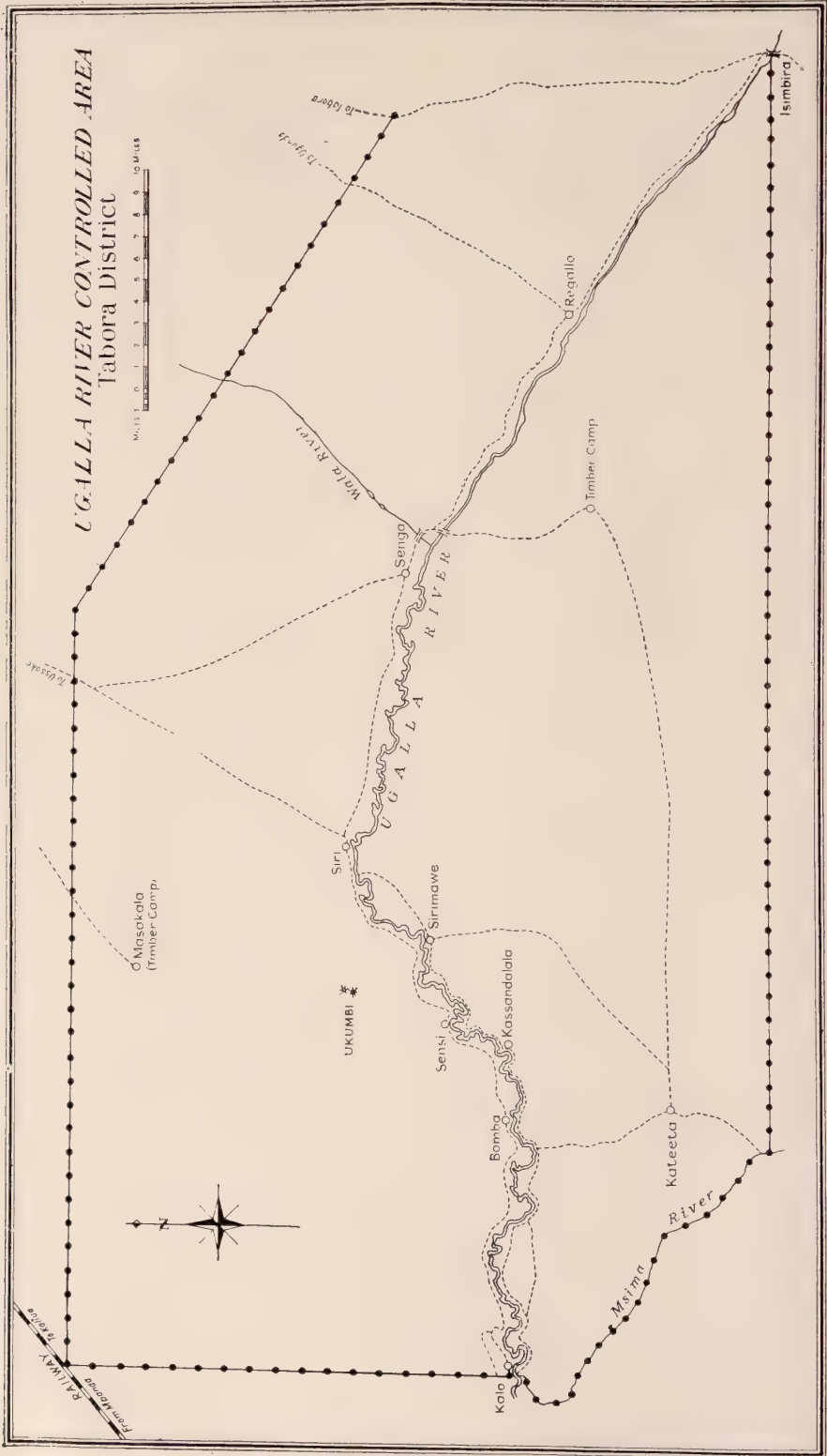
When the British offensive of 1916 got under way, the German forces in the Nyakyusa country departed hurriedly and with a minimum of resistance. The station at Masoko was left intact, although according to local legend the furnishings and accoutrements were dumped into the deep waters of the crater lake. The Masoko headman Homeli Mwambuga claims that his people were, as late as 1939, raking German coins and other items from the lake.

After the British triumph in East Africa, the Masoko Boma was taken over by a half company of the K.A.R. Just before World War II, however, the post was abandoned. A dozen years later the market which had grown up in association with the post was moved to a point several miles away, leaving only two or three tiny dukas in the once thriving settlement. Today, despite the periodic activity of such agencies as the local court and dispensaries, silence and a sense of the past hang over the buildings. Brush fills the broad trench made by the lava flow from the crater, a trench once used as the firing range for the garrison before the African populace rather than the surrounding slopes began to backstop bullets. The neighbouring village of Musicheke, established by Mwambuga's predecessor for "foreign" Africans serving the post, preserves the memory of those days in the name of its main thoroughfare: "the street of the Swahilis". Almost all of the inhabitants, however, are Nyakyusa, reflecting the expansion and movement of the local population during the last generation to fill up the lands, formerly almost vacant, about and below the crater lake.

⁹He was returned to German East Africa by way of Dar es Salaam in 1915.

¹⁰One result was the flight into Nyasaland of the chief Mwakilima and about two hundred of his people from their villages on the Tanganyika side of the Songwe.

The buildings and the place are merely artifacts left from a former time, hesitatingly adapted to other uses by the Africans who have in effect fallen heir to them. I can testify, after a year's residence and in the face of rumours among the local European community to the contrary, that it has no ghosts: only bats in the attic and the ubiquitous termite. But what is permanent lives on: the stone walls memorializing the builder, his comrades and his foes who sleep at Karonga, and the surrounding beauty which originally drew the Germans to the site and which now waits to be drunk deep by any who chance to pass that remote spot.



THE UGALLA RIVER CONTROLLED AREA

By D. K. Thomas

This area was first brought under control in 1954 by Government Notice No. 83, *Tanganyika Gazette*, and it is one of the controlled areas which are treated as Game Reserves in as much as no hunting permits are issued. It is approximately 1,843 square miles in area and lies to the west of the main Tabora-Mpanda road about ninety-six miles south of Tabora. A rough but motorable track, starting just north of the Ugalla River bridge at Isimbira on the Tabora-Mpanda road traverses the area, keeping close to the north bank of the river. It can also be reached by various timber tracks which run south from the Tabora-Urambo road to the river. The best defined of these starts at the village of Usoke and reaches the river at the seasonal fishing villages of Siri and Senga.

The area consists of very flat *Brachystegia* country bisected by the Ugalla River. The vegetation is *Miombo* woodlands. The main species represented are *Brachystegia spiciformis*, *B. longifolia* and *B. wangermeeana*. *Julbernardia globiflora* is plentiful throughout. Other common species are *Pterocarpus angolensis*, *Burkea africana*, *Afzelia quanzensis* and *Combretum spp.* Nearer the river the *miombo* gives way to the *manda* complex which is an *Afrormosia* woodland characteristic of areas liable to occasional flooding. *Afrormosia angolensis*, *Brachystegia boehmii*, *Pterocarpus chrysotrix* and *Combretum ternifolium* are the most common species found. Small patches of thicket grow on the termitaries within this complex, whilst *Acacia* species are to be found where the *manda* merges into the plains. In the immediate vicinity of the river, where regular seasonal flooding occurs, is the *mbuga* complex. The most common trees are *Combretum ternifolium*. Scattered through the open *mbugas* are termitaries bearing a characteristic vegetation of *Grewia spp.* *Diospyros mespiliformis*, *Tamarindus indica* and occasionally *Euphorbia candelabrium* Downstreet, towards the western boundary where flooding tends to be more severe, *Borassus* and *Hyphaene* palms enter the *mbuga* vegetation, while large areas subject to extreme flooding are covered only with grass and bare termitaries. The river does not always flow during every rainy season and never flows throughout the dry season. It always contains very large permanent pools of fresh water.

The area is on an average 4,000 ft. above sea level. The temperature ranges between eighty and ninety degrees during the dry season. The average rainfall is from 25 to 30 inches per annum.

The main object of this controlled area is to provide a breeding sanctuary for types of animals which inhabit *Brachystegia* woodland. Unfortunately, like so many of the other game sanctuaries it is mainly only a dry season holding ground for the game. Before it was declared a controlled area intensive trophy hunting had built up to such an extent that there was grave danger of extermination of most of the animals.

Animals to be found in this area are:—

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Bush-baby | 23. Bushpig |
| 2. Baboon, yellow | 24. Warthog |
| 3. Monkey, vervet | 25. Hippopotamus |
| 4. Hare | 26. Giraffe |
| 5. Porcupine | 27. Kudu, Greater |
| 6. Squirrel (<i>Xerus</i> spp.) | 28. Bushbuck |
| 7. Gerbil (<i>Tatera</i> spp.) | 29. Eland |
| 8. Jackal, side-striped | 30. Buffalo |
| 9. Wild dog | 31. Duiker, common |
| 10. Ratel | 32. Waterbuck, defassa |
| 11. Otter | 33. Reedbuck, bohor |
| 12. Genet | 34. Reedbuck, southern |
| 13. Mongoose, banded | 35. Roan Antelope |
| 14. Mongoose, white-tailed | 36. Sable Antelope |
| 15. Aard-wolf | 37. Topi |
| 16. Hyaena, spotted | 38. Hartebeest, lichtenstein's |
| 17. Serval | 39. Oribi |
| 18. Leopard | 40. Steinbuck |
| 19. Lion | 41. Sharpe's grysbok |
| 20. Cheetah | 42. Dikdik |
| 21. Aard-Vark | 43. Impala |
| 22. Zebra | 44. Elephant |

One of the principal animals which this controlled area is designed to protect is the sable antelope. No close estimate of the sable population has been made. Single breeding-herds comprising of fifty to sixty of these animals have been recorded. Greater kudu are also fairly plentiful but are not nearly as numerous as the sable nor so easily seen. Accurate and extremely knowledgeable observers are convinced that there is a type of kudu present in this area which is an intermediate form between the Greater and the Lesser. This intermediate form has never been collected. Elephants are very plentiful especially when the fruit of the borassus palm is ripe. Oribi are quite common. The southern and the bohor reedbuck appear to meet at Kalu, the species to the East of this point being the southern and to the West, the bohor. No rhino have been seen in the area but the tracks of one were once observed near Isimbira.

The main concentrations of game occur during the dry season when the animals are dependent on the permanent pools of water in the river bed and also utilize the palatable dry season grazing. As soon as the first showers of rain fall in November these concentrations at once disperse and the animals are scattered widespread throughout the vast *miombo* country. Later during the long rains most of the herbivores take to the high ground outside the controlled area to avoid the long grass. Buffalo remain in the vicinity of the river throughout the rains.

The following list of birds occurring in this controlled area is compiled from sight records in most instances although a few specimens have been collected:—

The order follows that of "Birds of Eastern and North-Eastern Africa" by C. W. Mackworth—Praed and Captain C. H. B. Grant.

Cormorant spp.
 Darter
 Pelican, white
 Pelican, pink-backed
 Heron, grey
 Heron, black-headed
 Heron, goliath
 Egret, great white
 Egret, yellow-billed
 Egret, little
 Heron, black
 Heron, squacco
 Heron, green-backed
 Hammerhead
 Stork, white
 Stork, open-bill
 Stork, saddle-bill
 Wood-ibis
 Hadada
 Duck, white-backed
 Pochard, southern
 Tree duck, white-faced
 Goose, pigmy
 Goose, knob-billed
 Goose, Egyptian
 Goose, spur-winged
 Vulture, white-headed
 Vulture, hooded
 Eagle, Wahlberg's
 Eagle, martial
 Lizard-buzzard
 Fish eagle
 Sparrow-hawk
 Chanting goshawk, dark
 Harrier, Montague's
 Harrier, pallied
 Osprey
 Francolin, crested
 Francolin, Shelley's
 Spur-fowl, red-throated
 Guinea-fowl, helmeted
 Rail, kaffir
 Crake, African
 Gallinule, purple
 Crane, wattled
 Bustard, black-bellied
 Stone-curlew spp.
 Jacana
 Lapwing, crowned
 Plover, blacksmith
 Plover, wattled
 Stilt, black-winged
 Snipe, great

Snipe, African
 Sandpiper, common
 Pratincole
 Black term, white-winged
 Button-quail
 Dove, red-eyed
 Dove, ring-necked
 Kingfisher, pied
 Kingfisher, giant
 Kingfisher, malachite
 Kingfisher, brown-hooded
 Bee-eater, little
 Bee-eater, blue-cheeked
 Hornbill, grey
 Hornbill, red-billed
 Hornbill, ground
 Hoopoe, African
 Wood-hoopoe, green
 Honey-guide, black-throated
 Swift, palm
 Wagtail, pied
 Bulbul, black-capped
 Thrush, African
 Wheatear, capped
 Black chat, white-headed
 Robin-chat, white-browed
 Swallow, striped
 Drongo
 Shrike, fiscal
 Bush-shrike, black-headed
 Bush-shrike, sulphur-breasted
 Oriole, black-headed
 Crow, pied
 Starling, wattled
 Starling, glossy spp.
 Oxpecker, red-billed
 Sunbird, variable
 Sunbird, scarlet-chested
 Buffalo-weaver, white-headed
 Widow-bird, yellow mantled
 Bishop, red
 Cordon, blue
 Fire finch spp.
 Dove, laughing
 Wood-dove, emerald-spotted
 Pigeon, green
 Coucal, white-browed
 Turaco, Livingstone's
 Go-away bird, bare-faced
 Parrot, brown
 Roller, racket-tailed
 Roller, lilac-breasted
 Roller, broad-billed

Few observations have been made of reptiles in this area. The Nile crocodile *Crocodilus niloticus* was once very numerous in this river but was almost shot out by hunters before the area was closed. The crocodile population is now slowly recovering.

The area is uninhabited on account of sleeping sickness, but Africans have retained their fishing rights and seasonal fishing camps are occupied throughout the dry season. Honey-hunting and bee-keeping is also extensively conducted in the controlled area. From time to time timber concessions are granted in the area, the most valuable timber being *Mninga* (*Pterocarpus angolensis*).

This is an excellent controlled area for viewing game and for photography. The sable antelope is probably the main attraction. During the height of the dry season the best way to see these antelopes is to drive along the river track at mid-day. The herds can then be seen trooping down to the pools to drink. The best time of year to visit the controlled area is during September and October when the long grass has been burnt and the animals are concentrated in the vicinity of the river. The controlled area is quite inaccessible during the rains except on foot. The whole area is heavily infested with tsetse fly *Glossina*. There is one game department rest house on the south bank of the river opposite Senga, and it is controlled by the Game Ranger, Tabora.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

T. H. R. CASHMORE was born in Calcutta in 1928. He read history at Cambridge, and joined the Kenya Administrative Service in 1953.

DAVID D. MARVIN is at present Assistant Professor of International Relations at San Francisco State College. He was formerly in the United States Foreign Service, with the American Embassy in London and as Consul in Dar es Salaam. He resided at Masoko during 1957, where he studied the recent development of the Nyakyusa and Ngonde political systems. He is a graduate at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, where he was awarded his Ph.D.

MOIRA MILLER was educated at a private school in Berlin, and at St. Pauls. She read Modern Languages at Oxford. She is married to P. T. Miller, of the Colonial Administrative Service, and since her marriage has lived in Palestine, Zanzibar and Tanganyika.

MAJOR A. RUSSELL, O.B.E., M.C., was born at Nairn, Scotland in 1882. He joined the Scottish Horse and fought in the South African War before he was eighteen, after which he went to Southern Rhodesia where he spent four years working on a gold mine. He was awarded the M.C. and O.B.E. in the first world war, and was mentioned in dispatches twice. Major Russell came to Tanganyika first in 1906, and is probably the oldest British inhabitant. He now lives at Usa River.

Correspondence

TANGANYIKA PLACE NAMES OF EUROPEAN ORIGIN

Dear Sir,

Dr. Hans Schmiedel of 33 Seydlitzstrasse, Dortmund-Horde, Germany, writes to me in reference to my letter on Tanganyika Place Names of European Origin which you published on page 296 of *T.N.R.* 55, saying that the *Herman von Wissmann* (spelt with two n's) was captured in August, 1914. He also says that Dr. Eltz was an officer of the *Wissmann* and probably an agent of the *Deutsch Ost Afrika Gesellschaft* and suggests that he may be the origin of Eltzhafen. He points out also that it is Widehafen not Weidhafen which was a mistake on my part.

P.O. Box 141,
TANGA

Yours faithfully,
G. W. HATCHELL

SPEKE'S DEATH

Dear Sir,

On the evidence he had at hand, one can only agree most heartily in the feelings expressed by Sir John Gray in *T.N.R.* No. 51, pages 272 and 273, and in *T.N.R.* No. 55 pages 294 and 295.

The Times' article of Saturday, 17 September 1864, which includes the report of the inquest into Speke's death, gives the depositions of Fuller and Davis in quotation marks. However, the testimony of the surgeon, Snow, is briefed, not quoted, and the report in general seems to be a digest of the proceedings, not a copy of it. The article also includes "particulars of the melancholy affair . . . gleaned on the spot".

The account given by Sir John Gray, *T.N.R.* No. 51 pp. 272-3, appears to have been taken from some source other than the article in *The Times* because it omits some of the sworn testimony which *The Times* quotes, lists as "actual evidence" some of the "particulars . . . gleaned on the spot" by *The Times*, includes under "actual evidence" some statements that are at variance with the account in *The Times*, omits some statements which are made by *The Times*, and adds one bit of information not mentioned in *The Times'* article. Certain of these points of difference are, perhaps, worth noting:

1. Quoting from *The Times*:

The Inquest.

Yesterday afternoon (Friday) the inquest was held on the body of the deceased, at the residence of his brother, Mr. W. Speke, J.P. for Wiltshire, at Monk's Park, near Corsham, by Mr. Kemm, Coroner for the Liberty of Corsham and a jury composed of respectable inhabitants of the place. The first witness was Mr. George Fuller, son of Mr. Fuller of Neston Park, who deposed: . . . (Remarks—the inquest was held the day after the death, not "three days later"; the local magistrate was Speke's brother; the Coroner and jurors were local residents.)

2. Continuing from *The Times*, which quotes Fuller's deposition:

"About half-past two o'clock yesterday I left my father's house for the purpose of shooting partridges. Deceased had fired off both barrels before the accident occurred. About four o'clock I got over a low part of a loose stone wall, at that place about two feet high, and I was about sixty yards from the place when I heard the report of a gun, and looking around, thinking to see some birds, I saw the deceased standing on the same part of the wall I had just got over, without his gun, and shortly after I saw him fall into the field I was then in. I immediately went to his assistance, . . ."

(Remarks—the "loose stone wall" was barely over knee-high at that point; Speke retained his footing on it after receiving the full force of the discharge of his gun; Fuller had got over the same spot; Speke fell into the field Fuller was in.)

3. Davis' testimony covering the same period is quoted by *The Times*, as follows:

Daniel Davis deposed:

"I am keeper to Mr. Fuller. Yesterday, a little before four o'clock, I was marking birds for my master and the deceased, who were shooting. At that time I saw the deceased go up to a low part of the wall to get over. He had his gun in his hand. Almost immediately after I heard the report of a gun, and looked towards my master, and on seeing him running towards the deceased I went there also . . ."

(Remarks—Davis saw Speke, gun in hand, about to cross the wall; the shot occurred “almost immediately after”; Davies was so confused as to the direction of the discharge that he “looked towards his master” and never saw Speke standing on the wall.)

4. Continuing with Fuller’s deposition as quoted by *The Times*:

“ . . . I immediately went to his assistance, and found a wound in his chest, bleeding, which I endeavored to stop. He was then sensible and spoke to me, but did not long remain so. I stayed with him about five minutes and then left him in charge of my keeper, Daniel Davis, and went for assistance . . . ”

(Remarks—Fuller, in his sworn testimony, does not tell what Speke said to him. *The Times*, in its “particulars . . . gleaned on the spot”, reports: On Mr. Fuller coming up he moved his hand to his chest and said feebly, “don’t move me”.)

5. Continuing with Davis’ deposition as quoted by *The Times*:

“ . . . I went there also. He was lying by the side of the wall. He had just got over. I found him with a wound in his side, and Mr. Fuller had his hand on the wound trying to stop the blood. I heard the deceased groan once or twice, but I cannot say whether he was actually sensible or not. I stayed with him till he died, which was about one-quarter of an hour after the gun was discharged. He was not removed from the spot before he died . . . ”

(Remarks—Davis must surely have looked about the scene while awaiting the arrival of the surgeon, and could have given much more evidence—had the inquest so desired.)

6. Continuing to the conclusion of Fuller’s deposition as quoted by *The Times*:

“ . . . went for assistance. I observed the gun lying by the side of the wall in the field that I and the deceased were in. One barrel, the right, was then at half-cock, the left-hand barrel was discharged. I heard very little report, and I should suppose that the muzzle of the gun was very near the body of the deceased when it went off.”

(Remarks—so the gun was being held in such a way that its recoil carried it on into the same field. That is, the discharge occurred after Speke had safely mounted the wall and was in position to complete the crossing by stepping down into the field. At this moment he was facing Fuller and, presumably, Davis who were well ahead and going away from him, intent on birds.)

7. Continuing to the conclusion of Davis’ deposition as quoted by *The Times*:

“ . . . he died. The gun was a Lancaster breech-loader, without a safety guard; but I should think the gun was quite safe and in the same state that gentlemen’s guns usually are.”

(Remarks—so it was Davis, not Fuller, who described the type of gun Speke was using; and Davis gave his opinion that the gun was “quite safe”, by which one must suppose he meant “quite” in the Queen’s English sense of “entirely or completely”, the same as gentlemen’s guns usually are. It is relevant to note that safety guards were seldom if ever fitted on shot guns, the half-cock position being considered amply sufficient. Safety guards were almost invariably provided on sporting rifles and on belt and pocket pistols, but only an eccentric would have one on his shot gun—as Davis infers.)

8. Continuing, as reported in *The Times*:

Mr. Snow, surgeon of Box, was called in to the deceased. Found him dead on his arrival. There was a wound on the left side, such as would be made by a cartridge if the muzzle of the gun were close to the body. There was no other wound. It led

in a direction upwards and towards the spine, passing through the lungs and dividing all the large blood vessels near the heart, but not touching the heart itself. Such a wound would cause death.

(Remarks—Snow was the third and last witness to testify at the inquest, and he, too, was a neighbor. His use of the word “cartridge” has implications which are relevant. In the parlance of the time, a cartridge was a device to delay the spreading of the shot pellets and thus increase the killing range. For example, Eley’s wire-cartridge consisted of a wire-net thimble with a wad at one end, holding the charge of shot packed in bone meal, and the whole packet wrapped in a roll of paper. Upon discharge the cartridge left the muzzle like a solid ball, and gradually threw off pellets in its flight, increasing the range by about one-third. In those days, before choke-boring, it was customary to load the right barrel with a plain paper cartridge and the left barrel with a wire-cartridge for the longer range. The medical evidence, then, means that the charge of shot behaved practically like a solid ball, with very little scattering in its passage.)

9. Continuing *The Times*’ report to its conclusion:

The Coroner having briefly addressed the jury on the melancholy duty, and pointed out to them what he considered was the verdict they should return, the jury unanimously recorded their verdict that “the deceased died from the accidental discharge of his own gun, after living a quarter of an hour”. They also appended an expression of sympathy for the family of the deceased in their breavement, which was a loss both to his family and to the whole country.

(Remarks—it is, indeed, impossible to see how a jury composed of reasonable men could have arrived at any different verdict.)

10. There are a few loose ends:

In its “particulars gleaned on the spot” *The Times* says that Mr. Fuller of Neston Park was Speke’s uncle, which makes Mr. George Fuller Speke’s first cousin—*T.N.R.* No. 51 says “relative”. *The Times* says the shooting occurred “in the neighborhood of Box, Wiltshire”—*T.N.R.* No. 51 locates it as being “on Lord Methuen’s estate at Corsham, near Bath”. *The Times* says “the charge entering his body passed completely through”, a point not brought out in testimony nor mentioned in *T.N.R.* No. 51. These differences, taken in conjunction with the other differences noted above, would seem to indicate that neither this article in *The Times* nor the Official Report of the Inquest could have been the source of information upon which Sir John Gray based his account in *T.N.R.* No. 51.

Discussion.

So far as can be judged from the sworn testimony quoted by *The Times*, the situation is this:

- (a) there was no eye-witness of the shooting;
- (b) enough evidence was brought out to show that the shooting was not murder;
- (c) from such evidence as was brought out a reconstruction of the incident can depict the shooting either as “accident” or as “suicide”, but neither can be proven beyond reasonable doubt;
- (d) had the Coroner so desired, the inquest could have determined which it was, accident or suicide, to a highly probable degree merely by introducing evidence at hand and by suitable questioning of the witnesses present and others available for call.

It is idle now to show that examination of the marks of stone and powder on the gun, the clothing and body of the deceased, and the wall would have told with certainty whether the gun was fired by striking the hammer against the wall or by pulling the

trigger, and exactly how the gun was being held at the moment of discharge. Yet, meagre as it is, the sworn testimony brings out two points which, when one attempts to enact the affair, do not conform to what one would reasonably expect: first, that Speke seems to have been standing on the wall, holding his gun by the muzzle, though the wall was only two feet high; and second, that he was not knocked off his feet by the discharge. As to the first—when one comes to get over a wall only two feet high, one merely steps up onto the wall, gun in hand, and steps down again on the other side. The gun never comes anywhere near the wall. How did it happen that Speke was standing on the wall, holding his loaded gun by the muzzle? Was the footing so insecure on the wall that he needed the assistance of both hands to dismount, and was he trying to lower the gun over the wall before getting down himself? But (second point) if the footing was so insecure, how would he, then, be able to remain standing on the wall if he received, most unexpectedly, the terrific impact of the discharge?—because the weight of lead in that charge (the Lancaster was 12-bore) and its muzzle energy are the same as given at impact by the favorite tiger shooting rifle of that day:

Forsyth, "The Sporting Rifle and its Projectiles", Smith, Elder and Co., London, 2nd ed. 1867, p. 127.

"I consider that a 12-gauge rifle, which I used last season (1865), is as nearly as could be perfect . . . Of seven tigers I fired at with this rifle during last season, five dropped in their tracks . . . Almost all these were long shots for tiger shooting, that is to say, over 100 yards . . ."

In terms of a present day weapon familiar to most of us, the impact that Speke sustained was *six times* that delivered by the .455 Webley service revolver, cordite loading, of which, with the *lead* bullet, the Text Book of Small Arms (War Office, 1929 ed. p. 89) says: "A hit with a .455 anywhere literally knocks an adversary over".

An impartial person may find it hard to believe that Speke could have remained standing under such a blow unless he was firmly braced on good footing and expecting the discharge.

The article in *The Times* was very likely the most complete and reliable account of the incident which reached the public, and thus the version upon which public opinion was based. Though the two inconsistencies just cited do not disprove "accident", they most understandably did arouse doubt on that score, which some other rather surprising points in the testimony, together with the patent inadequacy of the inquest, did nothing to allay. When, eight years later, Burton published his scarcely veiled accusation of "suicide" (*T.N.R.* No. 52, pp. 137-8), and (it seems) was *not* hauled into court on charges of libel, the doubts of impartial persons may well have crystallized into a deep seated and lasting suspicion that Burton had the right of it.

It is amply evident that this suspicion persists, and it will so continue as long as the grounds for it remain. It is not improbable that doubts would be largely resolved by a thorough study of the episode through all relevant material and sources. Such a study offers much of value to several fields of learning because it will present a picture of one facet of mid-Victorian mores, a datum point at a critical period in Britain's social, political and industrial evolution. Surely, a century later, there can be no valid objection to such an undertaking, no matter what the outcome. In one aspect or another the affair comes within the purview of Sociology and Psychology as well as History. And have no fear, all three disciplines are equipped impartially to distinguish tittle from tattle.

Yours faithfully,
FRANK R. DODGE

418 BELOIT AVENUE,
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA,
U.S.A.

FLYING IN TANGANYIKA

Dear Sir,

Regarding Wing Commander Howes' article *Twenty-five Years of Flying in Tanganyika* it is of interest to note that the late C. F. M. Swynnerton wrote in *The Tsetse Flies of East Africa*, "A request to the Government for an aeroplane for the Department (The Tsetse Research Department) was preferred in 1927 and subsequently pressed. When this was finally agreed to, the arrangement—excellent initially—was that the Survey Department should have aeroplanes and should hire them to the departments requiring them, including our own". Swynnerton also mentions that his first flight took place at Christmas 1929 with Captain Hordern as pilot, apparently operating from Babati. Was this a Government machine, or did it belong to a Babati settler?

Perhaps through modesty, Wing Commander Howes does not mention specifically the Shinyanga aerial photographic survey for the Tsetse Research Department, done by Wing Commander Francombe and himself in June/July, 1931 covering 80 square miles. This was probably the first vertical survey of a really large area made in Tanganyika, certainly the first vegetational survey.

Many of the Tsetse staff made flights at that time from the Old Shinyanga landing strip, including Messrs. Swynnerton, Vicars-Harris, Potts, Burtt, Jackson, Moggridge, Wheeler and the writer. Swynnerton, Burtt, Wheeler and Jackson are no longer living. A certain Provincial Commissioner to whom we gave a flight confessed that he took one look over the side of the open cockpit machine and was so appalled at his apparent insecurity that he spent the whole remainder of the flight with his head between his knees.

P.O. BOX 6021,
MOMBASA,
KENYA.
10TH MAY, 1961

Yours faithfully,
S. NAPIER BAX

CAMERON'S RELIEF EXPEDITION

Dear Sir,

It is somewhat surprising to learn from Mr. H. Beer's letter (*T.N.R.* 56 March, 1961) that Chambers Journal published an account of Commander Cameron's journey without mentioning its original object. His own account was published under the title of "Across Africa" (London, 1877).

In 1872 the Royal Geographical Society's Livingstone Relief Expedition was ready to leave Bagamoyo under Lt. Dawson, R.N., when news was brought to the coast by Stanley "that Livingstone had been relieved and objected to any 'slave expedition' being sent to him." Dawson accordingly resigned, to be succeeded by Lt. Henn, R.N., who in turn handed over to Livingstone's son Oswald. Still the expedition did not leave, and eventually Cameron was sent out to reconstitute it.

In February, 1873, Cameron moved off to the interior accompanied by Dr. Dillon, Lt. C. Murphy, R.A., and Livingstone's nephew Moffat. Moffat fell sick and died in May: the rest of the party carried on to Unyanyembe, where they met the party

carrying Livingstone's body. Cameron and Dillon decided to go on across Africa, and Murphy to return with the cortege. (It was, according to Cameron, one of his men returning with Murphy who suggested the device of disguising Livingstone's body as a bale of cloth).

At this time, Dillon already sick, shot himself in delirium. Cameron, declined Murphy's offer to stay with the expedition, because he was having difficulty recruiting porters, and the two parted, Cameron for the West and Murphy for the East Coast.

It will be observed that this account, taken from Cameron's book, leaves a number of questions unanswered, though most of them are of minor importance. This may arise from Cameron's clear, and probably wise, determination to speak only good of anyone outside Africa. One does not even know to whom to attribute the cause of Dawson's resignation, for immediately after the remarks quoted above, which seem to blame Stanley, Cameron goes on, "In consequence of this unfortunate misapprehension of Dr. Livingstone's despatches, Lt. Dawson, supposing that his expedition would no longer be required, resigned the command". Who, one wonders, misapprehended what?

How and why was Lt. Henn, who "took charge with the full intention of proceeding" persuaded to "throw it up, though much against his wish"? Why did Oswell Livingstone "renounce the idea of proceeding upcountry to join his father"?

Cameron and Dillon were very close friends, and Murphy a stranger to both of them: perhaps this and the fact of Dillon's death are sufficient to explain why "had (Dillon's) life been spared to cross the continent . . . (he) would have been of incalculable assistance and comfort", while Murphy's offer was refused because of lack of porters. A more logical explanation, and one reflecting the greater credit on Cameron, would be that Murphy might have endangered his career by going on. He had been released by the Government of India on full pay and allowances to join the Livingstone Relief Expedition, and had he continued across Africa after the object of the expedition had been nullified, he might well have been more than unpopular.

Finally, and by far the most interesting, what happened to the records which Murphy must have kept on his return journey? All the accounts of Livingstone virtually close with his death. The only record I have seen of events after that—apart from the notes in Cameron—is the one-page letter written by Jacob Wainwright and preserved in the records of the London Missionary Society, which does little more than report arrival at the Coast, and does not mention Murphy. Did nothing of interest happen between Tabora and the sea?

Probably all these questions could be answered from the records of the Royal Geographical Society, but so far as I know the answers have not been published.

Yours faithfully,

FRANK A. REYNOLDS

MINISTRY OF HEALTH AND LABOUR,

P.O. BOX 9083,

DAR ES SALAAM,

TANGANYIKA.

11th MAY, 1961

CANNIBALISM AMONGST THE DOE

Dear Sir,

Having recently had contact with the peoples of Bagamoyo District who include the Doe, I recalled the rather facetious article published in No. 51 of December, 1958 and have just re-read it in the light of what little I have learnt about the Doe tribe. In the article it implied that the Doe were all cannibals in the past and had only left off their horrid practices because of stricter government control. They are said to be an off-shoot of the Nyamwezi, who do not, as far as I have heard, have any reputation for cannibalism. In fact I very much doubt whether the Doe ever practised cannibalism as a means of improving their diet, but rather as a ritual connected with sacrifices to their ancestral spirits. There is little doubt that this was done, but only by one clan, those of Mwene Pira, and then only at long intervals—say once a year perhaps, or in the event of some disaster, in the same way as other tribes often take a goat and kill and eat it as a sacrifice at the ancestral graves.

P.O. Box 3081,
ARUSHA

Yours faithfully,
J. LEWTON BRAIN

THE BARAGUYU

Dear Sir,

I should like to submit the following quotation concerning the Baraguyu of Kilosa District. I was not aware of this source at the time I wrote my article on the Baraguyu which recently appeared in your journal. It is an especially clear and useful account which, to the best of my knowledge, has not previously been cited by any students of Nilo-Hamitic peoples of East Africa, although it has been cited occasionally by students of the Baganda.

The authors passed through northern Kilosa District in 1876 en route via Tabora to Lake Victoria. The valley of Kitange is located in north-western Kilosa District:

At this place, which is called Kitange, we made the acquaintance of the Wahumba, a sub-tribe of the Masai. The great Masai tribe occupy nearly the whole of the territory lying between the Victoria Lake and the East Coast of Africa, extending as far as is known from the equator to about the seventh parallel of south latitude. The Wahumba are the most southerly division of the Masai, and must be carefully distinguished from the Wahuma (Hima?), who will be met further inland. These Wahumba are much dreaded by the Arab traders and the tribes who live near them, as they are very brave and warlike, and often make raids on their neighbours, and on passing caravans if insufficiently armed. They are also great hunters, and use bows and poisoned arrows hideously barbed, and carry long shields of buffalo hide. Their women used frequently to visit our camp at Kitange, bringing milk for sale in long narrow cylindrical gourds closely resembling German sausages in appearance; they wore huge coils of thick brass wire on their arms, extending up to the elbow, and large flat coils of the same material round their necks. (pp. 40-41, Rev. C. T. Wilson & R. W. Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan*, Sampson Low, London, 1882.)

If any of your readers know of any published or unpublished historical texts which mention the Baraguyu (Kwavi, Humba, etc.), and which I failed to cite in my recent articles, I should greatly appreciate their informing me of these. I hope to begin field research among the Baraguyu early next year and should like to be acquainted with all historical sources dealing with these people before I return to Tanganyika.

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY,
OXFORD UNIVERSITY,
16TH MARCH, 1961

Yours faithfully,
THOMAS O. BEIDELMAN

Book Reviews

TANGANYIKA AND INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP

B. T. G. Chidzero

Published on the 9th February 1961 for the Royal Institute of International Affairs by the Oxford University Press—Price in the United Kingdom, 38/-

It has taken far longer for Mr. Chidzero to get his admirable book published than it has for the Trust Territory of Tanganyika to be transformed from the caterpillar of a purely colonial form of Government, with all effective power in the hands of British civil servants, to the butterfly of a wholly nationalist Government, enjoying full powers of internal self-government and with all effective control in the hands of an elected Prime Minister and a Cabinet composed exclusively of unofficial members of the legislature.

Mr. Chidzero completed his labours in the Spring of 1958; but it was not until three years later, namely February, 1961, that his book was published. Even his account of "Further Developments" (in Appendix C on page 269) only brings us up to the position as it was in December, 1959; and much has happened in Tanganyika during the past eighteen months.

It is inevitable, therefore, that to someone who has been intimately connected with developments in Tanganyika during the past three years, certain passages in Mr. Chidzero's book have a strange ring in 1961. For example, the following passage taken from page 163 was read by your reviewer on the very day on which the Prime Minister and new Cabinet were "sworn in":—

"It is quite clear from the evidence available that the Administering Authority in Tanganyika has based its plans for the political development of that Territory on a staunch belief in the virtues of gradualism. The Administering Authority sees no alternative to this approach, and believes it to be the most constructive in the longrun. In consequence, constitutional and political changes are instituted most conservatively and cautiously."

The conservative and cautious "gradualism" of 1958 is hardly apparent in 1961.

Mr. Chidzero commands our sympathy for his gallant attempt to keep pace with the tempo of recent developments, particularly in the constitutional field; and he can scarcely be blamed for failing to foresee the rapid changes of the last three years. As he himself records on page 165, the 1954 United Nations Visiting Mission to Tanganyika, "stated in its report that Tanganyika could be independent within twenty to twenty-five years"; and on page 171 we are reminded that the present Prime Minister of Tanganyika, appearing before the Trusteeship Council in New York in July, 1957, "thought ten to twelve years would be a long enough period" (i.e. to prepare for independence).

The prime purpose of Mr. Chidzero's scholarly and well documented work was not, however, to forecast the future. His aim has been to undertake "a systematic study of the interaction between the most pronounced of the diverse circumstances of Tanganyika, British colonial principles, methods and practices and the factor of international trusteeship"; or, as he has put it himself in other words, "to place in actual, as distinct from theoretical, perspective the role and influence of the international trusteeship system on Tanganyika's constitutional and political development".

Mr. Chidzero has focussed attention on four facets of the political and constitutional development of Tanganyika in an attempt to assess the influence of the international trusteeship system upon the Territory's advancement:—

- “(i) the international status of the Territory, especially as it has been, or may be, affected by inter-territorial administrative arrangements;
- (ii) the development of self-governing institutions, and the general political advancement of the people towards self-government or independence;
- (iii) the response of the inhabitants of the Territory and the Administering Authority to the political problems presented by the multi-racial population of the Territory; and
- (iv) the Territory's system of land ownership and the distribution of land among the different racial groups.” (page 3).

Mr. Chidzero's general conclusions are that the existence of the international trusteeship system has successfully prevented the Administering Authority from doing certain undesirable things in Tanganyika which it *might* (but not necessarily *would*) have otherwise done; and that it has also prodded the Administering Authority into bringing about certain desirable results *more quickly*, or perhaps *in a different way*, than it *might* otherwise have done.

For example, Mr. Chidzero maintains that it was largely the special international status of Tanganyika which inhibited the Administering Authority from bringing about a federation of the East African territories, either during the inter-war period or between 1948 and 1953. His analysis of the discussions and debates which took place on this subject at both these periods of time is as penetrating as it is interesting. Two quotations must suffice to indicate his general conclusions:—

“In assessing the effect of international supervision on Britain's colonial policy, it helps to compare her actions in regard to trust territories and her behaviour towards purely colonial dependencies. In the latter, to repeat a point already made, Britain is the keeper and examiner of her own conscience. In the former, she has also had to justify her conduct to an outside body and prove her intentions by deeds as well as words. The telling and undeniable fact is that there is a tremendous difference in political conditions in East Africa, where a settler-dominated federation has been avoided, and in Central Africa, where political union has been imposed on an unwilling African population”. (page 112).

“In the immediate post-war period, when there were local pressures and widespread support in Britain in favour of creating federations in Central and East Africa, Tanganyika's international position again rendered it legally impossible to include her. The United Nations assumed exactly the same attitude as the Permanent Mandates Commission—that the political status of a Trust Territory must remain separate and distinct until the attainment of self-government or independence, when, depending on the freely expressed wishes of the inhabitants, a political association or federation with neighbouring territories might be effected, if need be.” (page 249).

Mr. Chidzero's handling of this particular problem is of considerable relevance at the present time when the possibility of an East African Federation is again being canvassed, on the initiative of the elected Prime Minister of Tanganyika.

Mr. Chidzero's very interesting conclusions on the second “facet” (“The development of self-governing institutions, and the general political advancement of the people towards self-government or independence”) will be found on pages 171 to 172. His conclusions may, perhaps, be summed up by saying that, while there have never been any differences between the Administering Authority and the Trusteeship Council as to the ultimate objectives to be sought in Tanganyika, there have been differences as to the “timings” of these moves forward. Mr. Chidzero sums up this particular feature of the influence of the international trusteeship system as follows:—

"The similarity in principles proclaimed does not therefore render the work of the Trusteeship Council superfluous. H. D. Hall, though agreeing with Cameron and Hailey regarding the principles at the basis of British colonial policy, nevertheless feels that there is an important new element added by international trusteeship, namely the element of "continuous international supervision". This the trusteeship system was finally to supply": (page 162).

Mr. Chidzero also makes a clear distinction between the activities of the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Trusteeship Council in this respect:—

" . . . there is not in the work of the Permanent Mandates Commission the same forceful initiative and deliberate drive as in the work of the Trusteeship Council. In large measure the Mandates Commission was cautious, conservative, and left the initiative to the Mandatories. It criticized, made observations and recommendations, but it did not persistently goad the Mandatories to action as does the Trusteeship Council by taking the initiative in some cases and making positive proposals in others". (page 124).

Mr. Chidzero's treatment of the third "facet" (multi-racialism) must now be considered. As indicated above, Mr. Chidzero has reached the conclusions that the international trusteeship system has hitherto prevented the Administering Authority from establishing a federation in East Africa and has induced the Administering Authority to proceed more rapidly in the field of internal constitutional development than it might otherwise have done. The influence of the international trusteeship system on the third "facet" suggests that here the Administering Authority has been led by its existence to attain a desirable end in a rather different way from that which it at first contemplated. It may be convenient to elaborate this proposition a little more precisely.

Mr. Chidzero acknowledges that both the Administering Authority and the United Nations accept that Africans and non-Africans alike are equally inhabitants of Tanganyika and that the respective rights of these different communities must be properly protected. The question which inevitably arises is "how best can this be done?".

Mr. Chidzero contends that, "the Administering Authority and the Trusteeship Council have differed in their views on how this protection is best achieved." Mr. Chidzero goes on to suggest that the British view has been based on the assumption that this protection can best be secured, at least at first, by, "a balanced representation of each racial community". He then draws attention to the system of "parity representation" introduced into the Legislative Council in 1955; and he goes on to foreshadow the system of "reserved seats" for which provision was made during the elections of September, 1960.

Mr. Chidzero then makes the point that, "the Trusteeship Council has tended to stress an equality of individual rights rather than of communities". Bearing in mind that "timing" is of paramount importance in the taking of any decisions designed to ensure that a majority of one race does not ignore the rights of minority communities of other races, Mr. Chidzero concludes as follows:—

"Probably the mutual interactions between the two positions (as indicated above) and the ensuing practical compromise will achieve for the Territory universal franchise at a pace neither too slow nor too rapid, and with the consent and co-operation of all sections of the population". (page 253).

Mr. Chidzero has, in fact, put his finger on the vital point, namely that the various devices progressively introduced in Tanganyika to solve this particular, and very difficult, problem, have had "the consent and co-operation of all sections of the population". That, indeed, is the main clue to the successful political and constitutional development of Tanganyika in recent years.

Mr. Chidzero's remarks on the fourth "facet"—namely the "System of land ownership and the distribution of land among the different racial groups",—are of particular interest.

As he rightly points out:—

"The question of land is of particular importance in any multi-racial territory in Africa. The presence or absence of division of land between Africans and non-Africans is of paramount economic and political significance. A disproportionate division of land, actual or alleged, between Africans and non-Africans will inevitably be a source of serious inter-racial tensions, while a rigid system of land division between African areas and European areas is the very basis of geographic and social segregation of the races." (page 253).

Mr. Chidzero goes on to stress that the constant interest taken by the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Trusteeship Council in this matter has ensured, first, that lands could not be alienated to non-Africans in perpetuity and, secondly, that no "separate native and non-native areas" could be created.

Mr. Chidzero, contrasting the situations in Southern Rhodesia and in Kenya with that prevailing in Tanganyika, sums up the position as follows:—

"The relatively more flexible land system in Tanganyika and the relatively greater interspersed of the different races in consequence of that flexibility, afford the people of the Territory greater inter-racial and personal contact which in turn should lead to relatively great inter-racial toleration and co-operation. Already the situation has led to the formation in certain areas of the Territory of inter-racial units of local government and to common electoral constituencies." (page 254).

It would seem that here Mr. Chidzero has properly stressed a very important point. If there are no large and well defined areas of land occupied by non-Africans and if, on the contrary, land occupied by non-Africans is interspersed between land occupied by Africans, then conditions are far more favourable, e.g., the integration of education, of medical facilities, of social intercourse, etc., than where circumstances are different.

As indicated at the beginning of this review, Mr. Chidzero set himself certain tasks, namely to assess the impact of the international trusteeship system on developments in four major fields in Tanganyika. There can be no question but that he has successfully attained his objectives. His closely argued, and well documented, theses, leave the reader in little doubt that the conclusions which he draws are well founded. But, as is apparent from almost every page of this most interesting book, Mr. Chidzero is a very fair-minded man; and, as a scholar, he eschews the temptation to find more in the records than the records proclaim for themselves. His objectivity may be summed up in the following quotation:—

"... it must be apparent that no categorical assessment of the influence of international trusteeship is possible. It has been the central theme throughout this study that developments in Tanganyika have inevitably been functions of the diverse circumstances of the Territory and of British colonial principles and practices, as well as of international trusteeship, to say nothing of liberal British policies and nationalist successes in West Africa and other parts of the Empire and the Commonwealth. However, as has been shown, there are instances where international trusteeship, doubtless in combination with other factors, has exercised a definitely distinguishable and significant influence". (page 255).

"Tanganyika and International Trusteeship" is undoubtedly a book which cannot fail to make a great contribution to an understanding of what is happening in Tanganyika today and why.

JOHN FLETCHER-COOK

PERMANENT WAY—VOL. II—THE STORY OF THE TANGANYIKA RAILWAYS

By M. F. Hill

(Printed and bound in England by Hazell Watson and Viney Ltd.,
Aylesbury and Slough. 25/-.)

In his foreword, Sir Edward Twining (now Lord Twining), writes "it is really a story of Tanganyika against the background of the railways"; this sums up the results of Mr. Hill's research, and the absorbing and fascinating record which he has provided as a companion to "The Story of the Kenya and Uganda Railway", the first volume of "Permanent Way". It is a book which will attract and hold the attention of the general reader, who is interested, more now than ever before, in the affairs of the African continent, and those who are more knowledgeable and intimately concerned with the recent history of Tanganyika's development and its problems.

Mr. Hill writes of the voyages of the early explorers, of the settlements and minor intrusions on the eastern seaboard, and of the eventual struggle which ended Portuguese dominance. The eclipse of the Portuguese power was followed by the succession of the Arabs, who in their turn gave way again to Western pressure. By the end of the nineteenth century the colonial powers had abolished slavery, but acquired by consent, which they shared out between themselves, what we now call East Africa. The appearance of the superior techniques of the western world ended all real resistance to the advance of civilization, Africa had ceased to be the Dark Continent, and the Railway Age was to be its Dawn.

The author carries us with him in his captivating story of the struggle for opening up and trading in the land between the ocean and the great lakes; through the days of German rule, the two great wars, British rule, and the mandate, with all its uncertainties. We are impressed by the fact that if anything lasting was to be accomplished in this vastness, and western society of the nineteenth century was to succeed where others had failed, the problem of communications had to be mastered. In a modified form the problem remains today, but a three pronged attack is being made by rail, road and air.

At the turn of the century we were still in the Railway Age and the obvious plan was to push the railroad ahead. The Americas and elsewhere had been rapidly opened up by railway construction, and it was fashionable to assume that this method had only to be applied again, and comparable results would follow. But in East Africa the pattern has been somewhat different, and progress slower. Nevertheless, the record is enthralling: the early pioneer builders and their struggles under the most primitive conditions; the difficulties of administration and maintenance, once construction was complete; the effect of two world wars, and the intervening years of doubt combined with faith; and finally the personalities and their plans covering the last three decades.

The book is well illustrated, and closes with the amalgamation of the Tanganyika Railway with the Kenya and Uganda system. This formation in 1948 has led to immeasurable benefits for the three territories, and its continuance is bound up with East Africa's political and economic progress which is now in varying stages of development.

We hope that the next volume of "Permanent Way" will not be long delayed. It will undoubtedly be an equally interesting record of our times, with railway policy and expansion as its central theme. The emergence of road communications, and road transport, on an increasing scale, have produced their own problems, which will have to be solved, if an overall transport policy in keeping with the economy of the country is to be successfully applied. Elsewhere, in the highly developed countries, the rapid strides of earlier railway development are in conflict with modern road transport, and we hear of road-rail competition. When Mr. Hill's next volume appears we hope it will tell of complete accord between the two systems against the background of an independent Tanganyika and the Three-Year Development Plan.

N. E. R. F. ROSE

"SOME HISTORIC JOURNEYS IN EAST AFRICA"

Edited by Charles Richards

(London, Oxford University Press 1961. 134 pages, 10/6d.)

This useful little book contains selections from the writings of East African explorers. From Krapf and Rebmann's "Travels, Researches and Missionary Labours" are taken selections describing the discovery of Mounts Kilimanjaro and Kenya: from Charles New's "Life, Wanderings and Labours in Eastern Africa" come extracts from his account of his journey among the Galla and the ascent of Mount Kilimanjaro. The next four selections, from writings by Burton, Speke and Grant, Baker and David Livingstone cover the discovery of Lake Tanganyika, the source of the Nile, Lake Albert and the Murchison Falls, the Victoria Falls and Lake Nyasa. Next comes Stanley's account of his meeting with Livingstone, followed by a selection from Thomson's "Through Masailand". Count Teleki's description of the discovery of Lakes Rudolf and Stefanie, and extracts from Gregory's "The Great Rift Valley" complete the selections.

The editor has provided introductory notes and an outline map to each section, and brief summaries linking the selections from each author. At the end of the book there are biographical and other explanatory notes and eight pages of reproductions of old prints.

This book provides an attractive introduction for the general reader and for schools to the more extensive selections from the writings of East African explorers published in the World's Classics series, selected by Charles Richards and James Place.

H. MASON

EAST AFRICA: BIBLIOGRAPHY SERIES

By Ruth Jones (Editor)

(General, Ethnography/Sociology, Linguistics), International African Institute, London, 1960. *Price: 40/-*

During the past ten years the International African Institute has been engaged in publishing a survey of African studies south of the Sahara. This monumental undertaking has taken three forms: ethnographic surveys of particular peoples, handbooks of particular language groups, and comprehensive bibliographies of health, education, geography, missions and ethnographic and linguistic information. There are already over sixty volumes published and these are indispensable to any serious scholar of African affairs. Particular area studies provide useful assistance to persons concerned with various regional or cultural groups, e.g., the peoples bordering Lake Nyasa, the southern Nilo-Hamites, etc. These more specialized studies are of considerable aid to administrators, missionaries and educators working in these regions.

The volume under review is one of the most recent in this series, and attempts to provide a bibliography of all the important ethnographic, sociological and linguistic publications on East Africa. It lists about two thousand five hundred different entries and thus, although admittedly far from complete, does provide the most exhaustive contemporary bibliography of this topic.

The volume is divided into six geographic sections: East Africa in general, Ruanda-Urundi, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Each of these sections is further divided by the categories of "general information" and ethnic or tribal groups. These categories are further sub-divided into "ethnographic and linguistic information". This makes the bibliography a trifle difficult to use at first glance, but ultimately makes for some convenience once the general plan is grasped by the reader.

Entries in the bibliography are given only once regardless of whether or not they apply to several different topics listed in the bibliography. This may lead to some difficulties for any reader not already familiar with the topic he is interested in. For example, if a reader consults the term "Zaramo", he finds no mention of the works of Burton and Speke. The editor presumably hopes that the reader will know that these explorers passed through the Zaramo area and that they made important observations on these people. The works of Burton and Speke are listed in the general information section. Some idea of the troubles this procedure sometimes involves may be grasped when one remembers that there were dozens of travellers less well known than Burton and Speke who passed through several tribal areas, e.g., Werther, Kollmann, Herrmann, Last, O'Neil, Wilson, LeRoy, etc. It would, of course, be unreasonable to expect such completeness when one considers the difficulties in obtaining funds for a bibliography of any kind. The reader must be grateful for what he is given—but he must not let his gratitude keep him from being most wary in consulting this volume.

The pages of this bibliography are printed on only one side so that they may be cut up and arranged in a card index. A diligent scholar may take advantage of these blank sides to amend the bibliography as he sees fit.

It is easy to find flaws in any work of this magnitude. It is therefore important to state that this is an invaluable aid to East African studies, before one embarks on any criticism of this work. However, granted this, one still cannot help thinking

that somewhat more care might have been taken by the editor in some instances. Thus, the editor does not seem to have consulted some of the other important available bibliographies on Africa, such as H. A. Wieschaff's excellent *Anthropological Bibliography of Negro Africa* (1948) published by the American Oriental Society, which contains many entries omitted here.

In measuring the value and scope of such a bibliography, one can only check those topics which one knows best oneself since no one can have a thorough knowledge of all these areas and topics. In this case, I have selected the Nguu, Luguru, Makua and Mwera, Gogo, and Kaguru. It may be that the areas of my interest were unusually difficult for a bibliographer. Nonetheless, the editor sometimes seems to display unreasonable carelessness: for example, under "Ngulu (Nguu, Nguru)" the editor lists two articles which appear in the journal *Primitive Man*, but she omits six other articles on these people which appear in this same journal. Similar omissions appear in the cases of the Luguru, Sukuma and Hehe.

A reader interested in ethnographic information on the Mwera and Makua of southern Tanganyika will find nothing but some linguistic citations under "Mwera". If the reader is knowledgeable, he may consult "Makonde", a neighbouring people. Under "Makonde," he would find a relatively meagre list and the entry "ESe1" which the abbreviations page explains refers to *Peoples of Lake Nyasa* by Mary Tew (now Mary Douglas). The reader would have to secure a copy of that volume in order to find a more detailed bibliography. This is not always easy to do since this volume has been out of print for several years.

If a reader were interested in the matrilineal Kaguru of east-central Tanganyika, he would find them listed with one linguistic entry as a sub-group of the patrilineal Gogo. This would not, however, be the fault of the editor since the information on the Kaguru is scattered and very rarely appears under the term "Kaguru." I mention the Kaguru case not as a criticism but merely as an illustration of some of the possible disappointments a reader may face if he consults this bibliography for information on any of the less well known peoples of East Africa.

By contrast, all of the more useful secular sources on the Gogo (with one exception) appear to be cited somewhere in the book—but not necessarily under "Gogo." Thus, the works of Unterwelz, Kannenberg, Junker, Peters, etc. appear under other headings, and these would probably not be consulted if the reader relied solely on the bibliography for topical guidance. The one serious secular omission is Stuhlmann's *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika* (1894), a work of major importance on the Gogo (and many other peoples of East Africa) which is cited nowhere in this book. I used the term "secular" in reference to Gogo sources because some of the most useful information appears in mission journals and these are neglected. Throughout the range of topics, the editor has not given adequate consideration to the many mission publications which contain numerous articles on African ethnography and linguistics.

I have mentioned these various defects chiefly to indicate that this bibliography must be used with great caution. There are, to my knowledge, few major works in English on East Africa, published before October, 1959, which the editor has omitted. However, there are serious omissions of a great many German and French publications and some missionary accounts. If a reader of this bibliography wishes to undertake intensive research on any particular topic in the bibliography, he would be well advised to contact one of the living authors appearing under the topic heading involved. Further advice would certainly be received. Nonetheless, these defects in this bibliography are minor when compared to the importance and usefulness of this large work. It is surely one of the most helpful works ever published on East Africa. It is *absolutely essential* to any office, library or scholar concerned with East African affairs.

T. O. BEIDELMAN

AFRICA

By Emil Schulthess

(Collins, London, 1960. Price: 6 guineas)

The author of this volume, formerly the chief photographer for the Swiss magazine *Du*, made a ten-month photographic expedition across Africa beginning in Tunis and passing through the Libyan Desert, Tchad, the Congo, Ruanda-Urundi, Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, the Rhodesias and South Africa. The book contains two hundred and sixty of the author's photographs, over a quarter taken in East Africa.

The photographs are stunningly reproduced with all the care they deserve as the products of one of the world's most distinguished photographers. They are printed in large size (over 9"×12") on matt paper. The reproduction of both the colour and black-and-white pictures is of the very highest order. This is as it should be, since the cost of this volume places it in the luxury category. The author's personal interest lies in astronomical photography but he restrains himself to publishing only ten such photos. It speaks for his excellence as a photographer that those not interested in this field will probably find even these photos of great interest and beauty.

The author has photographed all of the stock African subjects: wild animals, birds, reptiles, landscapes, mountains, Africans and Arabs, villages, towns and ports, rock-paintings, markets, etc. But through Herr Schulthess' sensitive eyes and enormous talent these well-worn topics become unusual, fascinating and extremely beautiful compositions. It would be difficult to quarrel with the author over most of his selections, but it does seem strange that he included no photograph of an African cultivating the land since this is the single most important and common human occupation on the continent.

The only detraction (besides the price) in this thoroughly enjoyable and handsomely designed book is in some of the accompanying captions (not, fortunately, attached to the pictures) and in the brief, pretentious and unnecessary introduction by Emil Egli, which is best ignored. A few of the explanations of the pictures are incorrect but this does not detract from their beauty. For example, a photo of a recently initiated Masai warrior is entitled "young Masai woman" and a photo of a Masai youth dressed in the special quasi-feminine garments of male initiation is entitled "young Masai wearing the costume and personal adornments characteristic of his tribe".

Pictorially, this volume is undoubtedly the most beautiful book on Africa ever published. It would make an ideal gift of consolation to any nostalgic former resident of Africa—or a welcome gift to anyone with a true appreciation of matchless photography.

T. O. BEIDELMAN

THE LAND AND PEOPLES OF EAST AFRICA

By *G. M. Hickman and W. H. G. Dickens*

(Longmans, London, 1960. Price: 12/6.)

This volume was written by two former lecturers at Makerere College. It is designed as an introductory geography to students for the Cambridge School Certificate and for school teachers in the lower grades. I am not qualified to review this book as a geography text. However, its title indicates that it is also concerned with the peoples inhabiting this area and with their relation to the land and its climate. This has some bearing upon social anthropology as well as geography and it is in this sense that the book is reviewed here. This review is written with the hope of attracting the attention of a wider range of readers than those interested only in geography. This is because the book's value and interest extend far beyond the aims stated by the authors. This volume is one of the best available introductions to East Africa. It is an excellent text with which a novice may begin a study of this area, whether he or she is a teacher, an administrator, a student, or a social anthropologist. The book's clarity, brevity, superb and numerous illustrations, maps, diagrams and photographs recommend it to persons at *all* academic levels and in all fields. Its low price and attractive presentation and format are further merits.

The sociological material presented is necessarily brief since the volume has only 232 pages. The authors rightly avoid most sociological problems since, as geographers, they are not trained to deal with them. While there are many statements which, upon more detailed consideration, would become far more complicated and require much qualification, there is only one sociological topic which may be considered a flaw in this work. This involves the classification of African peoples, a problem which, in any case, is not directly related to the body of this book. The authors devote three pages (pp. 54-6) to racial and cultural categories of Africans. They list three "stocks," a term which they appear to use in a racial sense. These "stocks" are called: aboriginal, Hamitic and Negroid. The authors then present three other categories which they do not define precisely although they indicate that these have something to do with linguistic or cultural features. They call these categories: Bantu, Nilotics (i.e. Nilotes*), and Nilo-Hamites, and state that these categories contain different mixtures of the Hamitic and Negroid "stocks." These three racial categories are not acceptable to many anthropologists. The terms themselves seem unfortunate. "Hamitic" is more properly a linguistic, not a racial term, and even as a linguistic term it is now being replaced by the term Cushitic. Furthermore, it is difficult to accept the authors' statement that the Dorobo are an aboriginal racial stock (whatever that means) when they do not appear to be a racial group but rather a culturally defined group in contact with certain Masai-type peoples. Perhaps it would have been simpler if the authors had omitted these few pages or treated the topic even more briefly since it does not bear directly upon the rest of the book and since they themselves make no further mention of these categories. However, it may appear ungracious and niggling to criticize geographers on these points when there is still some confusion about these matters in certain anthropological publications.

The authors clearly and briefly relate the different agricultural and pastoral economies of East Africa to various conditions of rainfall, terrain, temperature, soil and other factors and then go on to discuss some of the problems of economic development in this area. Their presentation of information on African settlement patterns, homesteads and land usage is especially good and should serve as models to many social anthropologists.

*More properly, the noun in Nilotes, the adjective, Nilotic.

There are a few small criticisms which one might make of this generally praise-worthy book. For example, the authors do not relate Figure 38 to the accompanying text and do not indicate to which tribal group this diagram of a homestead belongs. The term "Seme Kowe" is hardly adequate, although it appears that the people in question are probably the Nilotic Luo. Furthermore, the authors give a much more favourable and uncritical picture of the groundnut scheme than seems justified. Perhaps they considered any more critical comment would be a point of controversy in a book designed for students and which therefore carefully avoids any controversial statements. But surely it does not harm to state that the groundnut scheme was a colossal and obvious blunder by Europeans due in large part to careless management and insufficient preliminary research. Alan Wood makes these points quite clear in his definitive book on the subject which the authors themselves cite. Finally it is difficult to understand the criteria which the authors used in drawing up their list of recommended readings. Perhaps no brief list would please everyone and the need for simplicity and availability had to be considered. However, a few readers may regret the absence of some of the publications which I have cited in the footnote below.* However, these criticisms are very minor indeed in comparison with the overall excellence of this book. It may be recommended strongly to any social anthropologist or sociologist interested in this area, as well as to other specialists or general readers interested in East Africa. The merits and value of this book far surpass its modest pretensions.

T. O. BEIDELMAN

*C. D. Forde gives a clear, brief and non-technical account of Masai habitat and economy on pp. 287-304 of his *Habitat, Economy and Society*, Methuen, London, 1934 (still in print).

P. H. Gulliver gives a good but technically complex account of the relations of Turkana and Jie economy and habitat to their social organization. *The Family Herds*, Routledge, London, 1955.

J. Kenyatta provides the most readable and useful account of the important Kikuyu tribe. His book is still in print. *Facing Mount Kenya*, Secker & Warburg, London, 1938.

A. Wood has written a journalistic, absorbing account of the most interesting and dramatic economic failure in modern Africa, a failure with great bearing on the problems presented by the book under review. *The Ground Nut Affair*, Bodley, London, 1950.

E. Winter has written a good and detailed account of the economy of the Amba of Uganda. This study has the added virtue of being low priced and readily available through Makerere. *Bwamba Economy*, East African Studies No. 5, Kampala, 1955.

In addition, there are a number of other studies published by the East African Literature Bureau, Eagle Press, and East African Institute of Social Research which, if cited by titles and authors, might interest readers and which are readily available in East Africa and which are within the price reach of African readers.

NIGERIAN PERSPECTIVES

An Historical Anthology, by Thomas Hodgkin

(Oxford, 30/- U.K. price)

This is a book to beg, borrow or steal, and having obtained, to keep and cherish and not to lend even to one's dearest friend. Not only is it bedside reading par excellence, but it is a serious work of history which attempts to answer, at least in part, the question "Who are the Nigerians?"

It is composed of extracts from published works, and is divided into nine sections of 329 pages, of which very nearly half are given to the nineteenth century and after. There are 12 half-tone illustrations, three excellent maps, and a good index.

The compiler says that his main purpose has been to present the points of view of those who have observed or recorded Nigerian history as faithfully as possible. Dr. Hodgkin contributes a lengthy and scholarly introduction in which he gives a geographical and historical framework for the extracts. He also has much to say on his sources, particularly those that are West African rather than European. He rightly says that there has been a tendency to see African history through European eyes, and to assume that Africans either had little or nothing that was significant to say about their own past, or lacked the techniques to say it. The writings of Uthman dan Fodio, Muhammed Bello and Samuel Crowther, amongst many others quoted, should dispel this idea.

To read the book straight through would be foolish, though for those who come without previous knowledge to the history of Nigeria the story ranges from the mythical past—the legend of Daura, the origin of the Yoruba, and the founding of the second kingdom of Benin—to the present day in the form of a praise-song for Etsu Bello of Bida's new motor car.

It is a pity that the book ends at 1918, but Dr. Hodgkin promises us a further volume which will reap the fruit of current scholarship, and which will present material, much of it from French and German sources, that he has had to omit.

This book takes time to absorb, but at the end one is left with a heightened sense of wonder that, out of so many diverse and even antagonistic elements, the Federation of Nigeria should ever have emerged at all. There are no extracts from the writings of Lugard, but this book must deepen our admiration for the man who, more than any other single person, was responsible for modern independent Nigeria.

This book is a model of its kind, and should inspire a similar work for Eastern Africa as the component countries each approach their own independence.

T. W. CHALMERS

AN OUTLINE OF LUVALE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

By C. M. N. White

(Manchester University Press for Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 51 pages, 8/6d.)

Mr. White has published his seventeenth paper on a subject connected with the Luvale, a matrilineal tribe living in the North-Western Corner of Northern Rhodesia, between the Copperbelt and Angola. Mr. White has worked among the Luvale for many years, first as a District Officer and then as a Land Tenure Officer and has carefully recorded many aspects of the organization and culture of the tribe.

The Balovale District did not come under British Administration until 1907 and the tribe is one of those which have suffered from the drawing of artificial boundaries. In this case the boundaries left the Luvale in each of Angola, the Congo and Northern Rhodesia. One suspects that an equally close study has not been made of the sections of the tribe in the other territories and one feels that the study of the reactions of one tribe under three different systems of colonial Government, the Portuguese, the Belgian and the British, would prove of great interest.

The dresent study is in the characteristically painstaking style of the author's earlier papers. His studies have been published in short papers over a period of some 13 years and it is hardly surprising, therefore, that no clear picture of the tribe emerges.

M. B. RONALDSON

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATIONS GUIDE TO HISTORICAL LITERATURE

(New York, The Macmillan Company 1961. Price: \$16.50)

Twenty thousand annotated items have been selected by 230 experts, producing a Guide to Historical Literature which resembles one published in 1931 but differs in significant ways.

The nine-hundred odd pages cover a very wide range of history in almost every aspect, both topically and geographically. With such a breadth of subject the task of the selection of references is necessarily very difficult and one is left with the impression that some of the sections are so small that the final selection must be somewhat arbitrary.

History today is so closely linked with the companion study of archaeology that it seems surprising that historical archaeology particularly of the post Roman and Medieval periods is almost completely neglected. Whereas on the one hand, in section E (Regions, Peoples and Cultures: General and Prehistoric), the highly specialized report on Star-Carr is included, almost no mention is made of the important works on Saxon and medieval archaeology. This is surely unfortunate as even the most inveterate historian will admit the value of archaeology in these fields.

Furthermore in the introduction to Section E it is noted that many important articles appear in periodicals, but it appears that this is almost the only section in the book which does not list the relevant journals.

The subject is vast and the coverage has certainly suffered in consequence of stringent selection but a word of praise must certainly be given for the arrangement and division of the material.

STANLEY E. WETS

SHORTER NOTES

"Mwali" Dolls of the Wazaramo: Miss J. R. Harding. Man, April 1961, Vol. LXI.

Miss Harding describes and discusses three small wooden dolls from the collection in the King George V Memorial Museum, Dar es Salaam.

On some Crucibles and Associated Finds from the Coast of Tanganyika: Miss J. R. Harding. Man, Sept. 1960, Vol. LX.

Miss Harding draws the attention to a series of small crucibles from Kilwa Kisiwani and Kisiju. Analysis of the inner crust of one specimen indicated that it had been used for bronze. Finds of imported beads and glassware are also described.

Two Frankish Beads from the Coast of Tanganyika: J. R. Harding, Medieval Archaeology, Vol. IV. 1960.

Two beads of the fourth to sixth century date, from Dar es Salaam and Kisiju are described and parallels drawn to similar examples in Saxon and Frankish contexts

STANLEY E. WEST

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