

Tanzania Notes and Records

Journal of the Tanzania Society



The contents of this number are listed on the outside of the back cover.

THE JOURNAL OF THE TANZANIA SOCIETY

TANZANIA NOTES AND RECORDS

NUMBER 66

DECEMBER 1966

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Published by THE TANZANIA SOCIETY, P.O. Box 511, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

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THE TANZANIA SOCIETY

The Tanganyika Society was formed in August, 1947. Recently a large majority of members resident in Tanzania voted in favour of changing the Society's name, and it is now The Tanzania Society.

The aims of the Society remain the same—namely to promote the study of ethnology, history, geography, natural history and kindred sciences in relation to Tanzania, to co-operate with other institutions and organisations with similar aims, and to encourage and facilitate the publication of records and notes in these subjects.

A major activity of the Society is the publication of *Tanzania Notes and Records* which was founded in 1936. In Dar es Salaam a lecture is arranged each month at which members may hear an authority speak on some aspect of Tanzania. Field studies to observe local fauna, flora and historical sites have recently been introduced for resident members. Members also enjoy the use of the University College and National Museum Libraries in Dar es Salaam, and these institutions are repaid for their hospitality by the review copies of books and copies of journals which the Society gives them on permanent loan.

The annual subscription for Ordinary Members is shs. 30/-, and shs. 300/- for Life Membership. The Society is open to anyone who is interested in joining, and subscriptions (which entitle members to a free copy of each number of the journal) should be addressed to The Hon. Secretary/Treasurer, P.O. Box 511, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

STANLEY DRYDEN graduated from the University of Cambridge and has a post-graduate diploma in public administration from the University of London. He is an administrative officer of the Tanzania Government, for the past four years seconded to the Institute of Public Administration of the University College, Dar es Salaam.

P. J. IMPERATO is a Bachelor of Science (St. John's University) and a Doctor of Medicine (New York University) who studied tropical medicine and anthropology in East Africa during 1961-62, as a Foreign Fellow of the Association of American Medical Colleges. He is now Glorney-Raisbeck Fellow in Medical Sciences at the New York Academy of Medicine.

I. K. KATOKE who comes from the Karagwe district was a teacher in Tanzania before going to the United States, where he graduated from Hartwick College in 1964 with a B.A. He then taught for six months at the Kahororo School in Bukoba, before returning to the States to gain an M.A. from Boston University. He is now studying for his Ph.D. at Boston, his special interest being in the Interlacustrine Bantu Kingdoms.

JAN KNAPPERT, B.A., M.A., D.Litt. (thesis on the Swahili epic *Utenzi wa Herekali*), has studied in Leiden and in London en Ghent, with fieldwork in East and South Africa. From 1961-64 he was Secretary of the East African Swahili Committee. He is now a Lecturer in Bantu Languages at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

CANON R.G.P. LAMBURN is a priest of the Anglican Church, and has been a missionary in Masasi Diocese since 1930. From 1936 to 1947 he was Warden of St. Cyprian's Theological College, and from 1948-58 Archdeacon of Masasi. From 1948-61 he was Education Secretary.

R.C. STEELE, Part I of whose check list of trees and shrubs of Kilimanjaro appeared in the last number of this journal, works for the Nature Conservancy of Monks Wood Experimental Station in England, and was previously in the Tanganyika Forest Division.

ERIC TENRAA served with the East African Common Services Administration until 1963, when he resigned to go to Oxford to study social anthropology. He then returned to Tanzania and lived in Usandawe, studying the oral literature of the Sandawe people, and has recently returned to Oxford to present a doctoral thesis.

I. M. WRIGHT studied anthropology at Harvard, spent two years organising international work camps in the Middle East, then took a degree at Colombia University in international affairs. He spent two years in East Africa under the auspices of the Institute of Current World Affairs, New York, and is now a foreign affairs assistant to a United States Senator.

TANZANIA SOCIETY NOTES AND ACCOUNTS

THE EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the Society was held in the National Museum on 23rd March, 1966, at 8.30 p.m., with the President Mr. J. K. Chande in the chair. Thirty members were present.

The following officers and committee members were elected for the year 1966/67:

<i>President:</i>	Mr. J. K. Chande
<i>Vice-President:</i>	Mr. T. S. Karumuna
<i>Hon. Editor:</i>	Dr. (Mrs.) B. L. Steele
<i>Hon. Secretary/Treasurer:</i>	Mrs. Z. Whiteley
<i>Committee:</i>	Dr. (Mrs.) J.A. Hutchinson
	Professor T. O. Ranger
	Miss Julie Manning
	Mr. H. Sassoon
	Mr. A. J. Temu.

Mr. S. X. C. De Souza was appointed Honorary Auditor.

The Meeting adopted the Committee's Annual Report for the year 1965, a summary of which is given below:

Name of the Society and the Journal:

Following the views expressed by members resident in Tanzania, in response to a questionnaire sent to them by the Hon. Secretary/Treasurer, the Committee decided to change the name of the Society and the Journal with effect from 1st January, 1966, to *The Tanzania Society* and *Tanzania Notes and Records* respectively.

Committee Meetings:

Eight Committee meetings had been held during 1965/66.

Membership:

During 1965 there were 362 paid-up members (including 88 Life Members). (71 of these had paid their subscriptions at the old rate of shs. 20/- per annum). 19 Members resigned, one died, and 145 failed to pay their subscriptions thereby losing membership; but 105 new Members joined the Society, reducing the loss of membership during the year to a net figure of 60. There were also 38 Exchange Members of the Society.

Tanzania Notes and Records:

The Special Number published in March 1965—devoted to an area study of Kilimanjaro—had proved very popular, sold out in a few months, and had been reprinted. It received a welcome review in *Transition* (Kampala, No.21 p.54) in which the Society was praised for its purely voluntary efforts, which in turn provoked a letter to the Editor of *Transition* (No. 23, p.7) from Professor T.O. Beidelman which stated, *inter alia*, that Tanzania, economically the least prosperous of the East African countries, had nevertheless managed to maintain "the best general scholarly journal." This was praise indeed. Unfortunately the Special Kilimanjaro Number cost a considerable amount to produce, and the Society's funds would not stretch to a second publication in 1965.

During the year Dr. (Mrs.) J. A. Hutchinson, due to a very full schedule lecturing at the University College, handed over the editorship to Dr. (Mrs.) B.L. Steele. There were also a number of changes in the Editorial Board; Mr. Eberlie left Dar es Salaam, and his place was filled by Dr. J.E.G. Sutton. Professor L. Berry, Dr. B. J. Harris, and

Dr. (Mrs.) J.A. Hutchinson were co-opted to the Board, and Messrs. J. A. Sawe and H. Sassoon continued to serve on it.

Mrs. Joyce Markham generously agreed to compile an Index for *Tanzania Notes and Records* Nos. 56—64, and it is hoped that this will be amalgamated with the Cumulative Index for Nos. 1—55 and published before long.

Two numbers of the journal were planned for publication during 1966, and it was tentatively suggested that another area-study number should be produced in 1967.

Field Excursions:

On the initiative of Dr. B. J. Harris the Society had arranged three field excursions for its members during 1965, as follows:

Bird-watching excursion at the University Sewage Works in October.

Another "bird walk" at Kawe Lagoon in November.

An archaeological excursion to Kunduchi ruins in December.

It was hoped that more field excursions, to include botanical, marine and geological studies, would be arranged in future.

Evening Meetings:

The following evening lectures were given during 1965 to Members of the Society and their friends in Dar es Salaam. (These were held in the National Museum, where a bar installed for the occasions encouraged informal discussions to continue after the more formal questions and answers).

Mr. Stephen Mhando—"Shabaan Robert".

Mr. G. J. Killeo—"The Contribution of Forestry to the Developing Economy of Tanzania."

Mr. R. F. Gray—"The Sonjo of the Northern Region of Tanzania."

Miss Jane Goodall—"Chimpanzee Research in the Gombe Stream Reserve."

Dr. M.S.G. Moller—"The Coral Reefs of Dar es Salaam."

Mr. J. S. Owen—"Wild Gold"

Mr. D. Brewin—"Ukara and its Unique Agriculture."

Dr. J. Iliffe—"The Maji-Maji Rebellion."

Professor A. B. Weston—"Developing a National Language."

Mr. J. K. Ostheimer—"Psychological Measures of Economic Attitudes—with special reference to a survey in Uchagga."

Mr. N. Miller—"Political and Economic Aspects of Rural Development."

Miss Belle Harris—"The Tanzanian Elections."

Tanzania Historical Association:

The Tanzania Society had been invited by this new Association to nominate a representative to serve on its committee. Dr. John Sutton was chosen to represent the Society.

Acknowledgements:

The Society's committee expressed grateful thanks to contributors to the journal and to speakers at monthly meetings; to the Trustees and Curator of the National Museum for allowing the use of their premises; to the British Council for the loan of film equipment and chairs; and to the honorary auditor, Mr. S. X. C. De Souza.

INCOME & EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST DECEMBER, 1965.

	EXPENDITURE	1965		1964				INCOME		1965	
		Shs.	Cts.	Shs.	Cts.	Shs.	Cts.	Shs.	Cts.	Shs.	Cts.
HONORARIA-SECRETARY/ TREASURER AND EDITOR		8,940	00	8,427	00						
PETROL ALLOWANCES		<u>2,740</u>	<u>00</u>	<u>2,590</u>	<u>00</u>	11,017	00			20,187	79
								SUBSCRIPTIONS		470	82
								Current		1,060	24
								Arrears		21,718	85
								Life			
		<u>11,680</u>	<u>00</u>			23,894	64				
PRINTING ETC.						252	75	DONATIONS.....		338	90
Printing and Purchase of Blocks		30,469	50			25,689	65	{ SALE OF JOURNALS AND SEPARATES }		20,619	10
SUNDRY EXPENSES										10,085	15
Stationery		1,119	80							30,704	25
Postages and Telephones		2,509	55			691	40	INTEREST ON INVESTMENT		614	93
Miscellaneous		624	25			2,281	30				
Bank Charges		164	88			1,001	40				
Insurance		—				236	57				
Purchase of Journals		—				58	20				
Provision for bad debts		—				85	00				
DEPRECIATION						871	30	MISCELLANEOUS			
Office Equipment		257	92								
EXCESS OF INCOME OVER EXPENDITURE		—				257	92	EXCESS OF EXPENDITURE OVER INCOME			
						11,187	19				
								11,152	55		
		<u>46,825</u>	<u>90</u>			53,376	93			53,376	93

1964	1965	1964	1965
Shs. Cts.	Shs. Cts.	Shs. Cts.	Shs. Cts.
LIABILITIES		ASSETS	
SURPLUS ACCOUNTS		OFFICE EQUIPMENT	
Balance as at 1st January 1965 (Deficit)	5,463 24 Dr	Items purchased prior to 1965	2,579 20
ADD Excess of Income over Expenditure	11,187 19	Item purchased during 1965	—
5,463 24 Dr			
LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND			
Balance as at 1st January 1965	9,106 20	LESS Accumulated Depreciation	2,579 20
700 00	1,496 20		1,885 24
10,118 00	10,602 40		
Less Amount transferred to Income	1,060 24	STOCK OF JOURNALS AND SEPARATES	
1,011 80	9,542 16	On hand as certified by Secretary/Treasury	2,822 50
9,206 20		SUNDRY DEBTORS	3,971 30
	1,427 40	LESS Provision for bad debts	971 30
799 92			3,000 00
1,860 00	—		
1,780 00	—	INVESTMENT (including accrued interest)	
19,350 00	5,250 00	Savings Account with First Permanent (E.A.) Ltd.	8,342 75
—	220 70	{ CASH IN HAND	30 35
27,433 48	22,164 21	{ CASH BANK—Standard Bank Ltd.	7,274 65
=====	=====	J.K. CHANDE President	22,164 21
		Z. WHITELEY Secretary/Treasury	=====

AUDITOR'S REPORT

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

DAR ES SALAAM,

28th February, 1966.

S. X. C. DE SOUZA,

Hon. Auditor

BIBLIOGRAPHY CARDS

On Current Social Science Literature about Black Africa

The University of Cambridge Centre of African Studies and le Centre d'Analyses et de Recherche Documentaires pour l'Afrique Noire are publishing BIBLIOGRAPHY CARDS about books, theses, government documents, conference proceedings, cyclostyled material, and articles from about 800 periodicals, written in English and all other European languages; it is hoped soon also to include material in Chinese and Japanese.

Subscribers will receive about 7000 cards annually, a copy of the classification system used and a list of the 800 periodicals indexed. Cards are dispatched four times a year in the form of sheets, ready to cut up, each containing eight 5" x 3" cards. These sheets come in two thicknesses: ordinary paper, for those who do not wish to cut up the entries; Bristol paper, card weight, for those who intend to file.

Each card carries a CARDAN serial number and classification by subject and region. Subscribers may cut up and file the cards as they please, but those who keep author, subject and region files, will need several sets of cards. With the final mailing each year a cumulative subject index is sent out, also in the form of sheets for cutting into cards. This means that a subscriber needs only cut up the cumulative subject index to have subject references to all the year's entries.

The cards themselves fall into three categories:—

- 1) *Cards with abstracts* (A.C.) These contain bibliographical references to periodical articles, symposia, cyclostyled material, conference proceedings etc. with abstracts.
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- 3) *Cards of books and other major works*. (B.C.) These appear as a separate publication and will complete the bibliographical references provided by the A.C. and D.C. These cards do not contain abstracts but provide notes of explanation where titles are not sufficiently self explanatory, and subject and regional classification. The B.C. will be published once yearly (about May) and will contain references to all works published in the previous year. References to the B.C. will appear in the annual cumulative subject index sent with the A.C. and D.C.

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Plate I

Human remains, stone bowls and a grindstone (beneath the ranging pole) in the lower part of the mound.

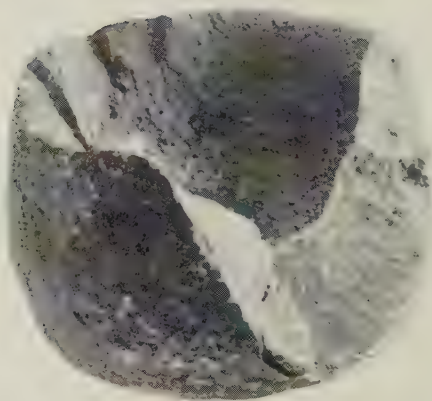
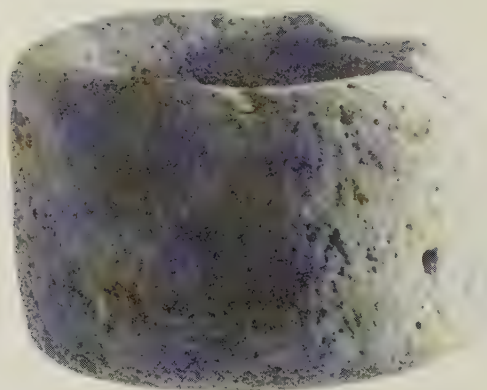
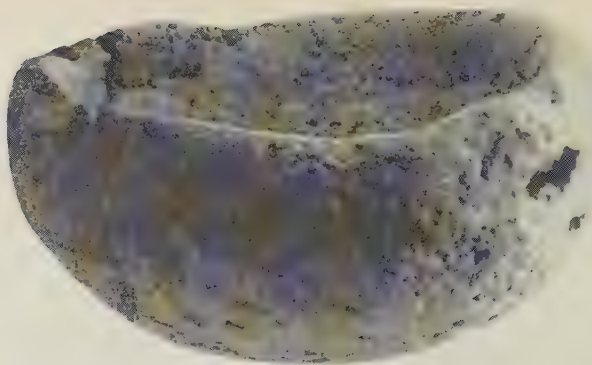


Plate II

Stone bowls. An oval, round-bottomed bowl is shown at the top and two straight-sided bowls below.

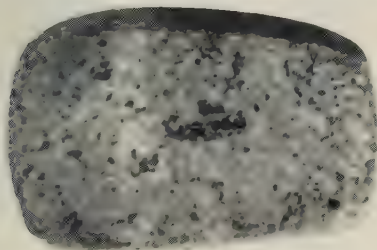
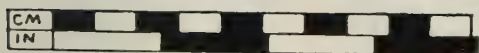
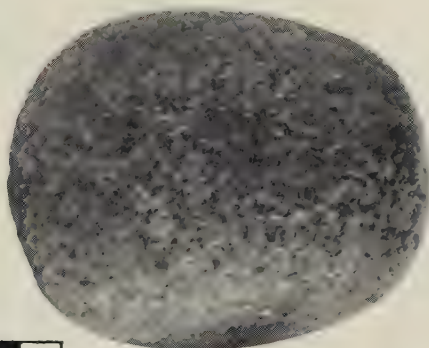
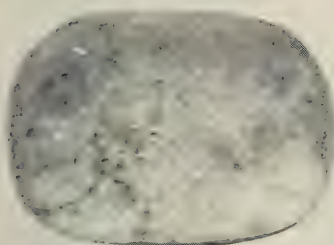
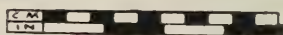


Plate III
A grindstone and four pestle-rubbers.



Plate IV

Pendants, beads, pierced shells, half the mandible of a mongoose, five lip plugs and four obsidian artefacts found with the burials. (For detailed description see pages 131-132).

EXCAVATION OF BURIAL MOUNDS IN NGORONGORO CRATER

by *M. D. Leakey*

Publication of the report on the burial mounds excavated at Ngorongoro during 1941 has been delayed for many years awaiting the description of the human remains by Dr. J. C. Trevor, since it seemed desirable for this to be printed in conjunction with the account of the excavations and archaeological material. However, since it is still not available, it has been decided to publish the report on the archaeological aspect of the excavations without further delay.

NGORONGORO

The Ngorongoro caldera in northern Tanzania has become world famous as a game sanctuary and beauty spot and is now visited by many thousands of visitors annually. It is one of the largest calderas, or subsidence craters, in existence and measures approximately 12 miles in diameter, with the walls rising up to 1,800 feet. Ngorongoro is part of a group of extinct volcanoes which lie above the western wall of the great Rift Valley, stretching for a distance of 60 miles from the still active Oldonyo Lengai in the north, to Lemagrut, immediately west of Ngorongoro.

PREVIOUS DISCOVERIES

The discovery of prehistoric burial mounds at Ngorongoro ranks as one of the earliest archaeological finds in East Africa. Before the first world war, when Tanzania was still German East Africa, two brothers, Adolph and Frederick Siedentopf, settled in Ngorongoro, on opposite sides of the caldera. Adolph made his home to the north, near the Munge river, where he established a factory for canning meat, and Frederick on the southern side, near the Lerai river. Stone, suitable for building, was scarce in the northern part of the caldera and in order to build his house, Adolph Siedentopf foraged for loose stone on the hills in the vicinity of the house site. In doing so, he inadvertently took stone from a number of stone-built burial mounds and it is reported that six or seven mounds were destroyed before it was realised that they contained burials. In 1908, human remains and "vessels" (probably stone bowls) were discovered in one mound, but their significance was not appreciated until four years later, when a fresh demand for building stone led to more burial mounds being despoiled and, finally, to their being recognised as artificial structures. Siedentopf's assistant, Rothe, thereupon undertook an investigation of several burials and made an inventory of his finds. In 1920 or 1921, he sent a report to Staudinger in Germany, which was published in 1923 in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*.¹ This publication is not available for reference at the time of writing, but is quoted by the German geologist, the late Professor H. Reck, in his paper on Ngorongoro² published in 1926, upon which the following notes are based.

Reck, although observing that Rothe was to be congratulated on the care with which he undertook the digging of the mounds, remarks that the notes made by himself and another German geologist, Dr. Arning, when they visited Ngorongoro, do not tally with Rothe's account (which was written after an interval of some years). He hints that they were probably coloured by imagination, due to over-enthusiasm.

The "most important" grave dug by Rothe is described as being near the summit of the southern slope on one of the three hills near the farmstead. It is said to have been slightly oblong in shape, rising to a height of about one metre above the surrounding ground level and "flatly vaulted". About 40 cm. of humus overlay the covering stones, which varied from fist-size to others "as big as a man's load". Below the stones many jumbled-up human bones were encountered, amongst which there were thirty crania, including some representing children. According to Rothe, there were no associated mandibles, although in other burials crania and mandibles

had been found in association. Stone bowls and some obsidian flakes were found with the human remains. The lowest level in the mound was about 1 metre thick and consisted of "firmly stamped clay". It is reported to have contained an "unusually large" skeleton lying on its right side with the knees partly drawn up and one hand beneath the face. A second, smaller skeleton was found half to three-quarters of a metre distant from the first, with the remains of a child between the two. An undecorated pot lay near the skulls and a rock crystal pendant, about 5 cm. long, lay at the neck of the large skeleton, while the smaller skeleton, which was assumed to be female, had a crescent-shaped ornament of green "serpentine". Quoting Rothe, Reck describes four quadrangular chambers or "vaults", approximately 40cm. in diameter, built round the three central skeletons. In each of these there is said to have been a pottery jar containing carbonised grain, described as "lenticular". Grindstones and rubbers, together with obsidian tools and flakes were also found at this level.

Dr. Arning visited Ngorongoro during August-September, 1915, and also undertook the excavation of a burial mound. He recorded his discoveries with great care and his account seems likely to be more factual than that given by Rothe.

The mound excavated by Arning lay halfway up one of the hills behind the Siedentopf farm buildings and is said to have been overgrown by grass and scrub and barely visible before clearing. It measured eight and a half metres in length and four and a half to five metres in width, with the lower end rising only slightly above the surrounding ground level. The composition of the mound is described as follows:—

- (1) 30—50 cm. of loose grey humus with many roots.
- (2) a level of stones "thrown together at random", amongst which were scattered artefacts and the bones of a single skeleton.
- (3) an earthy layer, relatively free of stones.
- (4) a level of red-coloured soil which occurred mainly in the central part of the mound. (This was almost certainly soil stained by red ochre).

Scattered finds of stone bowls, pestle-rubbers and obsidian flakes were made in the upper levels and the skull of a young adult was found at a depth of 40 to 50 cm. from the surface. The frontal bone was missing and only parts of the skeleton were present. Remains of four other individuals were also found in the upper levels but the greatest concentration of human remains and ornaments occurred in the ochreous layer in the central part of the mound, within an area of approximately one and a half by one and a quarter metres. The remains of fifteen individuals were identified in this mound and it was noted that the majority were not in articulated positions. Additional stone bowls, pestle-rubbers and obsidian flakes, together with grindstones, pots, cowrie shells, shell pendants and stone and pottery beads were all recorded as having been found in association with the human remains.

In March 1916, Professor Reck himself undertook the excavation of yet another burial mound, but was forced to abandon it when only the upper levels had been dug, owing to the German evacuation of the area, which took place before he had completed the excavation. Reck stresses the insignificant appearance of the mounds before exploration, stating that they were almost imperceptible and could often be detected only in certain lights by a slight unevenness in the contours of the hill slopes, or by a change in vegetation. Even when marked down from a distance, they were difficult to identify at close quarters, and he found it necessary to enlist Siedentopf's help in order to locate the exact position of the mound which he dug, although it could be seen at a distance from the farmhouse. Reck further states that in 1916, only a short time before leaving Ngorongoro, Siedentopf pointed out sixteen undisturbed burials on the hills near the farm, all of which must presumably still be in existence.

The mound partially excavated by Reck is reported to have been about halfway up the slope of one of the three hills and to have measured approximately ten by eight metres in diameter. The structure appears to have been entirely similar to that

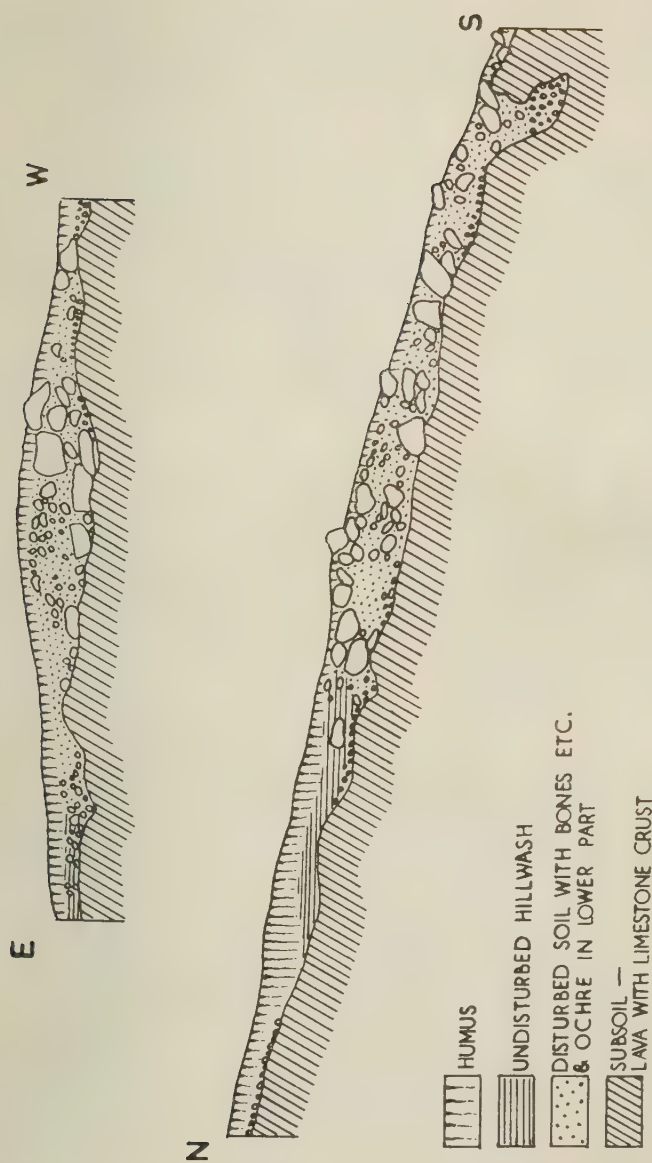


Fig. 1

opened by Arning and to the mound dug in 1941. A level of closely packed stones was overlain by humus, with an earth layer beneath the covering stones. A chalcedony bead, some fragments of pottery and a poorly preserved human skull were found in the level beneath the stones but the usual underlying ochreous layer, which presumably contained the more important finds, was never reached.

Unfortunately, all the human remains and the greater part of the finds made by Rothe, Arning and Reck, with the exception of a stone bowl, some ornaments and a bored stone, were lost during the German retreat to southern Tanzania in 1916. The few ornaments, etc. which were saved and taken to Germany consisted of the following:-

A pendant or lip plug, 5 mm. long, made from a hexagonal quartz crystal, grooved at one end for suspension.

A crescentic ornament, described as "little bigger than a mark", made from "a spotted green substance similar to serpentine".

Six disc beads and one barrel bead, made from milky white chalcedony.

Six additional stone beads, made from banded agate, carnelian (?) and a transparent white stone.

Disc and cylinder beads, made from bone.

Roughly made clay beads, measuring 17mm. to 20 mm. in diameter.

Pendants made from the shells of large land snails.

Small nacre beads.

Two perforated cowrie shells.

An oblong bored stone and one stone bowl.

THE 1941 EXCAVATIONS

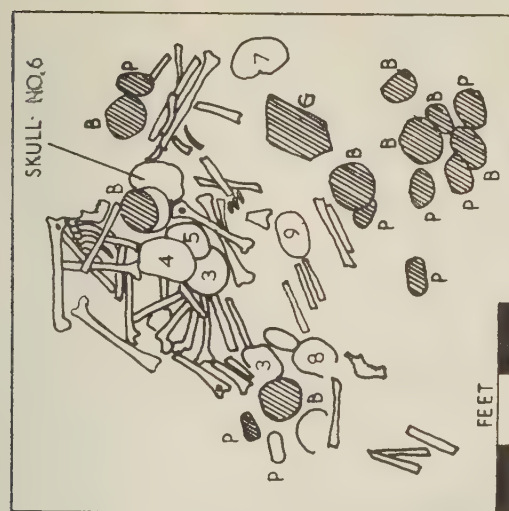
Ever since the account of the discoveries at Ngorongoro had been published by Reck, it had seemed desirable to excavate at least one of the undisturbed burials in order to obtain further cultural material and human remains to replace those which had been lost, and to check the statements made by Rothe and others regarding the structure of the mounds. This became increasingly urgent when excavations at the Nakuru Burial Site³ and the Njoro River Cave⁴ in Kenya, revealed a number of cultural elements comparable to those found at Ngorongoro, notably in respect of the stone beads and pendants, stone bowls, and the occurrence of multiple burials at all three sites.

In 1941, Dr. J. C. Trevor, who was then stationed in Nairobi with H. M. Forces, approached Cambridge University for funds to enable a small expedition to carry out some excavations at Ngorongoro. The University made a grant of £50 for this purpose and in April Dr. J. C. Trevor and I spent two weeks excavating in Ngorongoro. We were accompanied by Mr. P. R. O. Bally, Botanist to the Coryndon Museum, and his wife Joy, who later became famous as Joy Adamson, in connection with her lioness Elsa.

No road to the northern side of the caldera existed in 1941 and it was necessary to enlist Wambulu porters to carry the stores and equipment down into the caldera and across to the far side, where the ruined buildings of Siedentopf's farmstead could still be seen near the Munge river.

Some difficulty was experienced in locating undisturbed burials, although a number of opened mounds could be seen on the slopes of the three hills which rise 200—300 feet from the caldera floor, between the northern wall and the Munge river. Eventually, a pile of stones was found on the summit of the most westerly of the three hills. This was excavated by Dr. Trevor but proved to have no connection with the burials described by Reck. It was clearly of much more recent date and contained merely a few poorly preserved and completely unmineralised human remains, without any associated grave goods.

Approximately halfway up the southern slope of the same hill, a slight irregularity in the ground level was noted. Closer examination revealed that blocks



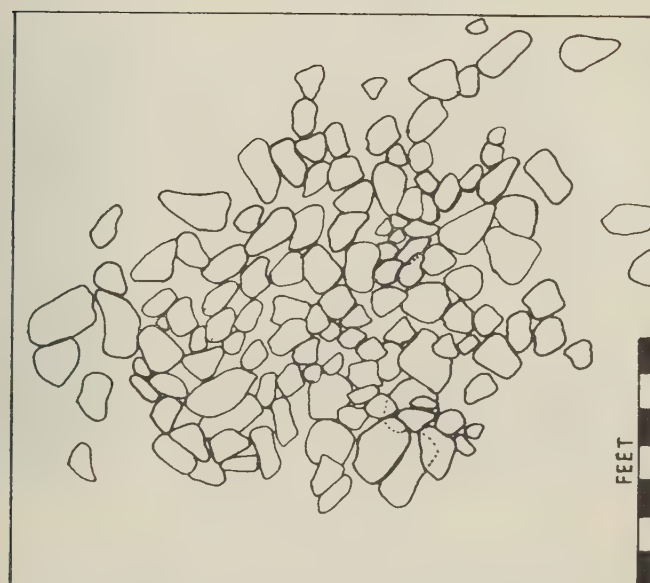
OCHREOUS LEVEL IN THE CENTRE
OF THE BURIAL MOUND.
PLAN OF THE HUMAN REMAINS AND
GRAVE GOODS (HATCHED).

B = STONE BOWLS

P = PESTLE RUBBERS

G = GRINDSTONE

N



PLAN OF COVERING STONES IN
THE EXCAVATED BURIAL MOUND

Fig. 2

of lava and of the limestone which forms a crust over the Ngorongoro area were piled together in a manner which suggested the likelihood of an artificial structure, rather than the accumulation of scree. This supposition was strengthened by the discovery of a pestle-rubber lying amongst the stones.

In order to obtain cross-sections through the structure, it was marked out into four cuttings, each 10 feet wide and 16 feet long. After the surface soil had been removed, the mound was found to be considerably smaller than had been assumed, and measured only about 16 feet in diameter. Excavation was carried out with the help of two trained Kikuyu workmen and a number of Wambulu porters, the latter mainly employed for sieving the soil and removing the stones. Riddles with 1/8th inch mesh were used.

THE STRUCTURE (*Figs. 1 and 2*)

The mound proved to be roughly circular in shape and consisted of blocks of lava and limestone, varying from 2 feet in diameter to quite small fragments. These had been piled together to form an uneven covering layer. This level contained only a few fragments of bone and the pestle-rubber mentioned above. Below the stony level occurred 1 to 1½ feet of black soil with only a very few stones. This yielded some fragmentary human bones, a stone bowl and a few obsidian flakes. On the circumference of the mound, the layer of black soil lay directly on the undisturbed sub-soil, while in the central area, a third and lower level was uncovered, consisting of soil heavily impregnated with red ochre. The greater part of the human remains and grave goods were obtained from this ochreous level. When the cuttings were extended beyond the limits of the structure a deposit of hill wash 1—2 feet thick was found above the limestone. This had been removed before the mound was constructed, so that the lowest ochreous layer and the black earth containing disturbed bones, etc. lay directly on the limestone bedrock.

The structure was approximately 2 feet high in the centre. A few elongated stones set on end round the circumference suggested that it may originally have been encircled by a line of uprights, a feature which occurs in a number of similar burials elsewhere in East Africa.

The time available was so limited that it was not possible to plot the exact positions of all the human remains and other objects. It was evident, however, that most of the skulls and limb bones did not lie in articulated positions. Many were also in a fragmentary condition although they were well preserved, indicating that the burials had been disturbed at some period. This conclusion was later confirmed when the skulls and limb bones came to be reconstructed and it was found that a number of fragments fitted together which had been recovered from different parts of the mound. Field notes indicate that eight or nine individuals were represented.

The skulls had not been orientated in any one direction, but had been placed close together in a central pile surrounded by the majority of the limb bones (*Fig. 2*). The bones of certain individuals were considerably more perished than others, but taken as a whole, the entire series is relatively well-preserved and impregnated with lime.

None of the stone bowls, pestles or grindstones could be positively associated with any particular individual, but the greater part of the beads and pendants were found in the soil immediately round the skull No. 6, and had almost certainly been buried with it. In one case, a pestle was found inside a stone bowl but the remainder of the bowls and pestles were scattered amongst the human remains, many of the bowls lying inverted (*Plate I*). No trace of pottery was found.

THE FINDS

Stone bowls (*Fig. 3 and Plate II*)

Six complete and two broken bowls were found, in addition to a small rim fragment belonging to a ninth bowl. The whole series is more highly finished and relatively smaller in size than the majority of stone bowls known from other sites in East Africa. The bowls are made either from lava or consolidated tuffs, both of which

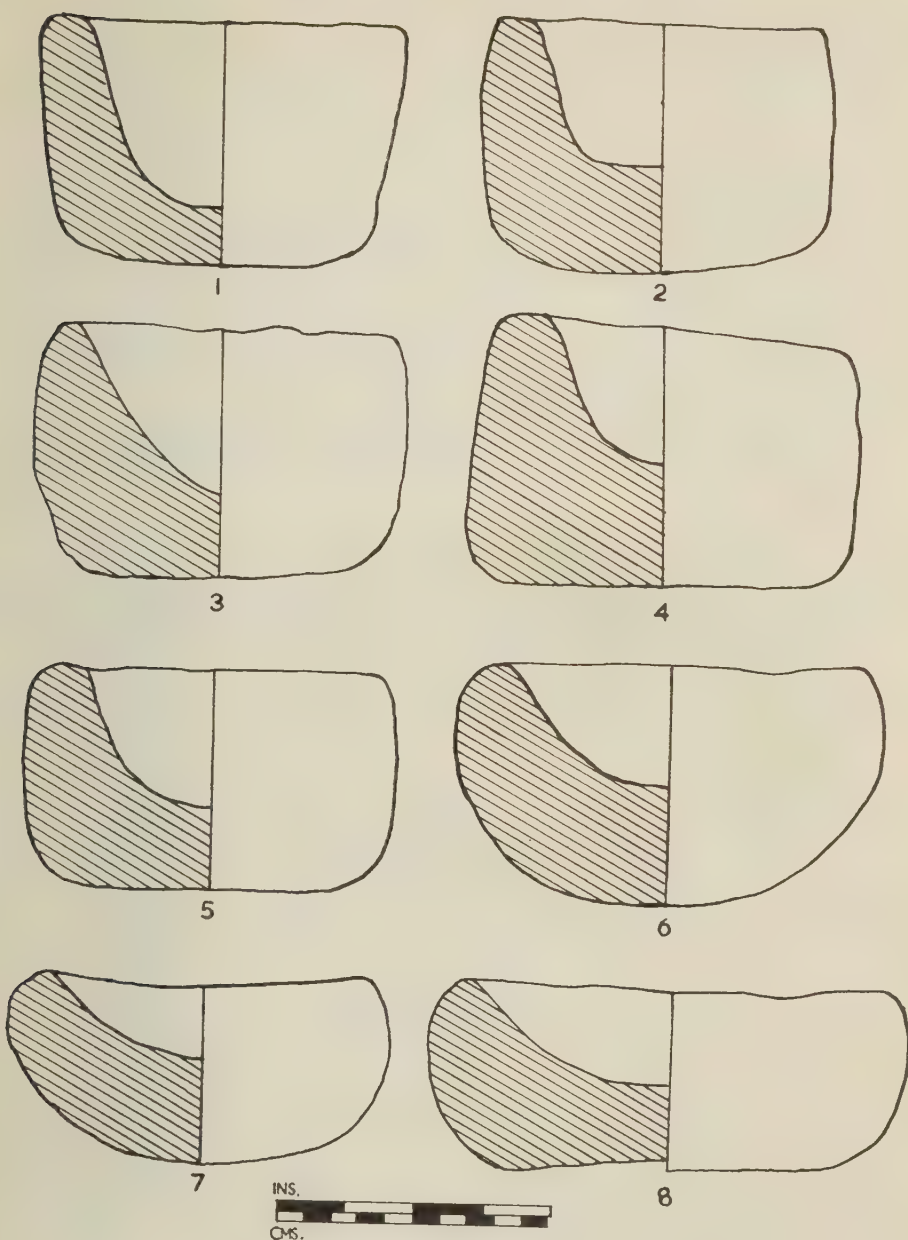


Fig. 3 Stone Bowls
(for description see overleaf)

DESCRIPTION OF FIG. 3 — THE STONE BOWLS

Nos. 1 — 5. Flat-bottomed, straight-sided bowls.

No. 1 — NGO. S4

Material: lava. Height: 87 mm. Diameter of rim: 138 mm. Depth: 70mm. Exterior and base smooth, interior rough. Rim well defined. Sides converge towards base.

No. 2 — NGO. S16

Material: vesicular lava. Height: 95mm. Diameter of rim: 121mm. Depth: 49mm. Exterior smooth and rim sharp.

No. 3 — NGO.S6

Material: consolidated ash. Half bowl preserved. Height: 95mm. Diameter of rim (calculated): 122mm. Depth: 58mm. Interior shows pitted tool marks. Exterior smooth and base polished. Rim narrow and sharp.

No. 4 — NGO.S10

Material: consolidated ash. Height: 90-102mm. Diameter of rim: 135mm. Depth: 49mm. Interior rough, showing pecked tool marks, also cracked and blackened by fire. Rim thick and slightly damaged. Walls and base also thick.

No. 5 — NGO.S8

Material: consolidated ash. Height: 84mm. Diameter of rim: 128mm. Depth: 52mm. Interior flat at base and heavily charred. The material of this bowl is soft and it has become considerably weathered.

Nos. 6 — 8. Round-bottomed bowls.

No. 6 — NGO.S3

Oval bowl. Material: lava. Height: 94mm. Maximum diameter of rim: 175mm; minimum: 147mm. Depth: 52mm. A rather crude basin with uneven rim. The entire surface shows pitting and there are also a number of scratches or shallow incisions on the interior which have been made by some sharp instrument.

No. 7 — NGO.S17

Material: vesicular lava. Half bowl preserved. Height: *circa* 70mm. Diameter of rim: *circa* 138mm. Depth: 27mm. Half a shallow basin made from an unusually coarse vesicular lava which retains no tool marks.

No. 8 — NGO S20

Material: lava. Oval bowl. Height: 68mm. Maximum diameter of rim: 170mm. Minimum: 159mm. Depth: 39mm. Interior rough, exterior smooth and well finished. The base is concave, but there are no indications of this having been artificially made and it seems likely that the bowl was made from a piece of lava having a natural hollow on one side.

are of local origin. They fall into two distinct types, namely:— (1) flat bottomed, deep bowls with straight, upright sides, (2) shallow, round-bottomed bowls, less well-made and more clumsy than the first type. The interior surfaces of the bowls are invariably rough and, in some cases, exhibit “pecked” tool marks. The exterior surfaces, particularly of the bases, are noticeably smoother than the inside surfaces. Two bowls have been charred on the interior.

Pestle-rubbers (Fig. 4 and Plate III)

Eleven specimens were found. With the exception of one lava pebble, all are made from quartzite and other basement complex rocks. The source of these materials has not been determined for certain, but it seems probable that they were obtained from the outcrops of basement complex rocks which occur in the eastern part of the Serengeti Plains, about 30 miles from the site.

The pestles are roughly oval in shape and have been used for the dual purposes of pounding and rubbing. The ends are battered, and the upper and lower faces are worn to a flat polished surface. One specimen shows pitting on the upper and lower faces, in addition to the battering on the extremities. Six examples appear to have been artificially shaped but the remaining five consist of natural quartzite pebbles. There is great similarity in form and size throughout the series and it is noticeable that the discoidal and pear-shaped pestles commonly found at other sites in East Africa are not represented at Ngorongoro.

Grindstones (Plate III)

Two grindstones were recovered. One is made from an irregular-shaped slab of quartzite and is heavily ochre-stained. It measures approximately 260 mm. by 355 mm. and the upper face has been considerably hollowed by use. The second example, made from gneiss, is broken into two pieces and was in a very friable condition when discovered. It appears to have been trimmed into a rough oval and measures approximately 350 mm. in length and 200 mm. in width. The surface is weathered and scaled and the centre only very slightly hollowed.

Ornaments, etc. (Plate IV)

These consist of pendants and beads made from various shells. There are also bone beads, ivory lip plugs, a small green quartzite ball and an incomplete mandible of a mongoose.

Shell pendants (1) to (4)

- (1) A pendant made from part of the axis and whorl of an unusually large and massive land snail, probably *Ampullaria* sp. The natural perforation of the axis has been utilised as a suspension hole. Maximum diameter (transverse) 51 mm., minimum 30 mm.
- (2) A tongue-shaped pendant made from a section of the whorl of a large land snail. The perforation has been drilled from both sides and measures 4 mm. in diameter. Length 50 mm., maximum width 19 mm.
- (3) This is similar to No. 2, but made from a more massive shell. Length 42 mm., maximum width 22 mm.
- (4) One side of a fresh water bivalve shell, probably *Unio* sp. The perforation has been broken and the whole pendant is chipped and damaged. Present length 62 mm., width 33 mm.
- (5) *Cylindrical bone beads.* Six complete beads and one broken specimen were found. These are relatively large, tubular beads, either parallel-sided or with only a very slight swelling in the middle of the barrel. The perforations are straight and the ends have been bevelled on the exterior. The beads are nearly oval in cross-section and appear to have been made from sections cut from metapodials of small antelopes such as dik-dik. They range in length from 31 mm. to 18 mm., with a diameter of approximately 10 mm. Similar beads are only recorded from one other site in East Africa, namely, the Njoro River Cave.

- (6) *Green quartz ball*. This has been artificially shaped, possibly preparatory to making a bead; it measures 10 mm. to 11 mm. in diameter. (An outcrop of similar green quartz is known to occur near the Olduvai Gorge at Naibor Soit, about 25 miles distant from Ngorongoro).
- (7) *Nacre beads*. Twenty three small oblate disc beads made from nacre were found. These appear to take the place of the more usual ostrich egg shell beads which are not represented at the site. The beads are fairly constant in size, with an average thickness of 1.5 mm. and an average width of 6 mm.
- (8) *Perforated shells*. Five small marine shells, with alternate red and white bands, probably *Mitra* sp. were recovered. The perforations are opposite the natural aperture and all the shells are considerably worn. The apex is missing in every case. Present length from 9 mm. to 13 mm.
- (9) & (10) *Flat bone discs*. Two flat disc beads made from bone, with perforations 4 mm. wide, drilled from both sides. No. 10 is serrated on the circumference and has been slightly damaged. Both specimens are 2 mm. thick and measure 16 mm. and 21 mm. in diameter respectively.
- (11) *Mandible of a mongoose*. The right half of the mandible of the banded mongoose *Mungos mungo*. Since this was found in close association with the other ornaments and since the burials contained no other faunal remains it must be included among the grave goods and was possibly worn as a charm or amulet.
- (12) to (16) *Ivory lip plugs*. Five cylindrical, slightly tapered ornaments, made from ivory. No. 12 is the only complete specimen and bears a hook at the narrow extremity, which has been broken off in the other specimens. The surface of the ivory is weathered and numerous small cracks are present. The sole ornamentation consists of a transverse incised groove which partially encircles the narrow end. The complete specimen measures 75 mm. in length and has a maximum width at the lower extremity of 13 mm. No comparable ornaments are known from other sites in East Africa, although similar objects are worn as lip plugs by a number of present day East African peoples.
- (17) to (20) *Obsidian implements*. Very few implements or waste flakes were found. The implements consist of one poorly made crescent, four *outils écaillés*, and part of a large blade which has also been utilised as an *outil écaillé*. The total *débitage* amounted to twenty-three butt ends of flakes, with thirty-three other fragments.

Two types of obsidian are represented, the most common being a dense black variety showing a bottle green tinge in thin section. The second type, from which the crescent is made, is unusually translucent and light grey in colour. The source of these obsidians is not known.

DISCUSSION

The unusual form of multiple burials found at Ngorongoro appears to be capable of two possible interpretations.

Professor Reck subscribed to the view, also held by Siedentopf, Rothe and others, that each mound had been constructed for the burial of an important personage, such as a chief, whose wives, together with servants or slaves, were sacrificed at the time of his death and buried with him. A suggestion that the skulls found by Rothe and Arning were of two racial types, was regarded as giving support to this view, although no detailed study of the skulls was undertaken before they were lost.

The disarticulated skeletons found in two of the mounds excavated were considered to represent the dismembered remains of the persons sacrificed and buried with the chiefs, but this explanation does not take into account the fragmentary and scattered condition of many bones noted by Reck and Arning and also seen in the mound excavated in 1941. This is unlikely to have been caused by scavenging animals or by grave robbers, since the covering layers of earth and stones are always described as having been intact. The most likely explanation, therefore, would seem to be that the mounds were re-opened at intervals in order to receive a number of successive

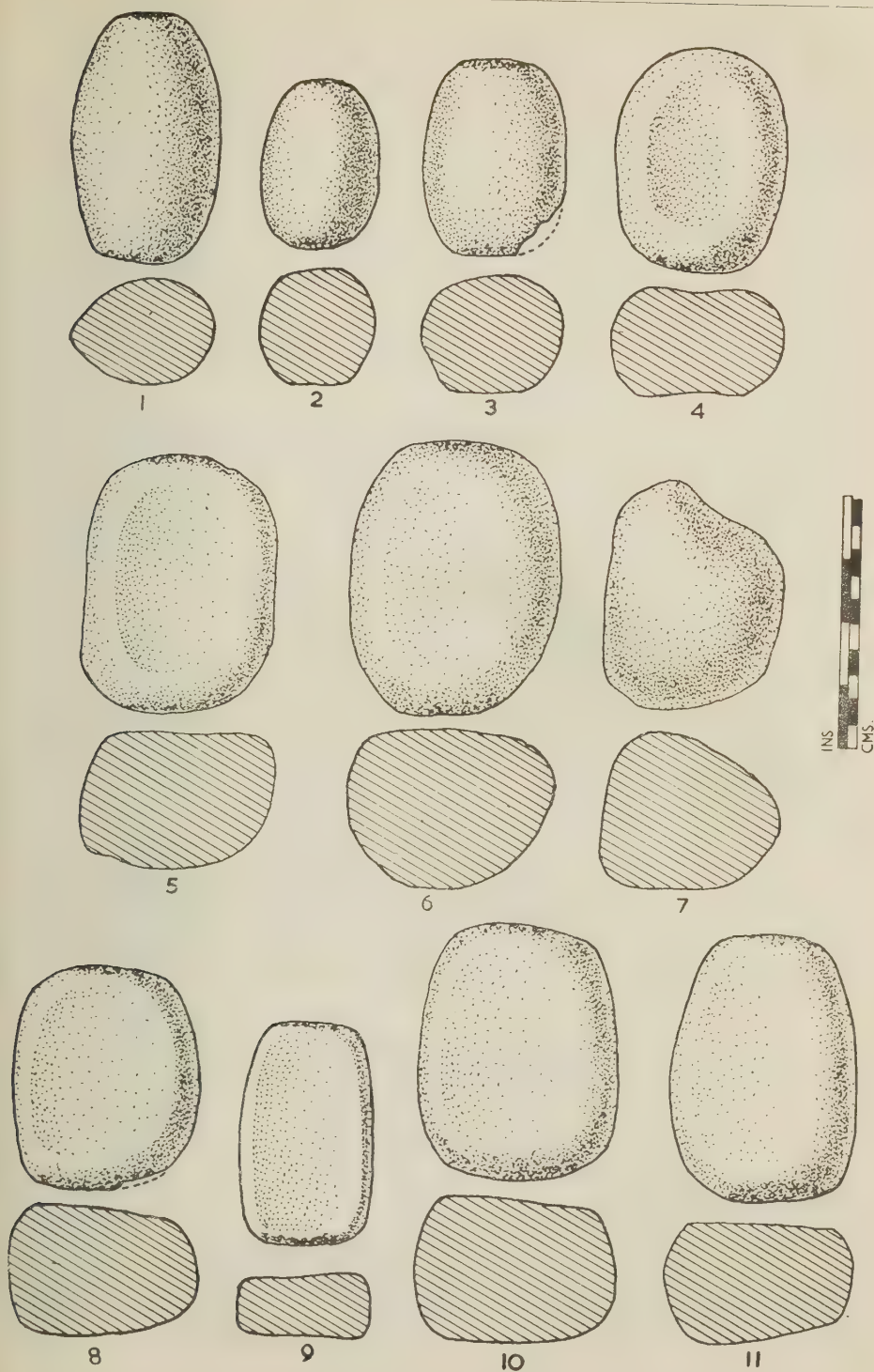


Fig. 4 Pestle-rubbers
(see page 131)

interments and that they represent family or clan burial grounds. In this case, earlier burials in the basal ochreous layer would inevitably be disturbed and a proportion of the bones and grave goods be displaced when the later burials were inserted.

Excavations in Kenya, at the Nakuru Burial Site during 1926, and at the Njoro River Cave during 1938, have revealed a number of features which may be compared with Ngorongoro. Accounts of both these sites have already been published but some aspects of the methods of burial and of the cultural elements may be briefly mentioned here, since they undoubtedly have a bearing on the Ngorongoro burials.

The Nakuru Burial Site contained one primary burial which had been placed at the foot of a small cliff. The skeleton was liberally covered with red ochre and over it had been piled stones, earth and rubble to a height of 17 feet, forming a structure which superficially resembled the natural rock scree. Remains of eight other poorly preserved skeletons were found amongst the stones and rubble, together with a number of stone bowls, grindstones and pestles. One of the stone bowls was of the straight-sided, flat-bottomed type also found at Ngorongoro. An agate bead and one made from faience were found with the primary burial, in addition to an unfinished stone bowl and implements for its manufacture.

At the Njoro River Cave,⁴ which has been dated by C.14 as *circa* 900 B.C., the cremated remains of over eighty individuals were discovered, including men, women and children. They occurred in a relatively small area in a deposit composed of alternate layers of red ochre and charred material. Many stone bowls, pestles, grindstones, obsidian implements, potsherds and some eight hundred stone beads and pendants made from opal, agate, green quartz, amazon stone, etc., were found with the skeletons, together with cylindrical bone beads and pendants similar to those from Ngorongoro. Amongst the beads made from semi-precious stones, are many identical in form and material to those described by Reck from Ngorongoro.

Commenting on the Ngorongoro ornaments, Professor Reck remarks on the discrepancy in the workmanship of the crude bone and shell ornaments and that of the beads and two ornaments made from semi-precious stone, which are extremely well-shaped, drilled and polished, although made from much more intractable materials. This feature was also noted at the Njoro River Cave in Kenya and suggests the possibility that the shell and bone ornaments may have been made locally, while the stone beads and pendants may have been acquired from a more skilled people.

Disturbance of the deposit by scavenging animals cannot be ruled out as positively at Njoro as at Ngorongoro, since there was no sealing layer of earth or stones, but from the conditions of the deposit as noted during the excavation, it seems unlikely to have occurred. It is more probable that, as at Ngorongoro, the condition of many of the burials was caused by successive interments being made within a small area.

The occurrence of stone beads and pendants, of which only two other isolated examples are known from East African sites, together with the similarity in material culture and in the disposition of the burials, cannot be purely matters of coincidence and it must be accepted that the two sites are closely connected.

REPORT ON THE MATERIALS OF THE STONE BOWLS, PESTLE-RUBBERS AND GRINDSTONES

By Professor R. M. Shackleton,
Department of Geology,
University of Leeds.

The Stone Bowls (Fig. 3)

These specimens are made of volcanic rocks.

No. 1. (S. 4) A minutely vesicular porous rock, purplish-brown in colour, with scattered clear crystals. In slice, it is seen to be a basic tuff, made up of small fragments of glassy pumice, tawny to greyish brown in colour. The glass contains minute prisms and a few phenocrysts of pale greenish pyroxene, a few microscopic crystals and phenocrysts of olivine and very minute octahedra of magnetite.

No. 2. (S. 16) An olivine basalt, containing phenocrysts of abradonite olivine replaced by geothite and faintly greenish augite in a dense basaltic base containing minute plates of plagioclase.

Nos. 3, 5, 7, 8, (S. 6, 8, 17, & 20) These are soda trachytes having a general similarity but with minor textural differences. In thin sections, they are seen to consist essentially of alkali felspar and pale green pyroxene. Sanidine phenocrysts are seen in one rock (S. 6) and microphenocrysts in another (S. 8). Minute laths of alkali felspar form a trachytic base in S. 8, 17 and 20. The pyroxene of the groundmass is in most cases partly altered to a reddish-brown substance but when fresh it can be identified as acmite. Mossy opaque specks in S. 20 may be cossyrite. The acmite forms minute prisms in S. 8. Brownish decomposition products are generally conspicuous.

The Pestle-rubbers.

No. 1. (S. 21) See description of stone bowls S. 3, 5, 7, & 8.

Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6, & 11. Medium grained to coarse granular quartzite, somewhat feldspathized and with small flakes of muscovite throughout, parallel to the foliation,
(S. 2, 7, 11,
19 & 22)

Nos. 5, 7, 8, & 10. Coarsely granular quartzite with little or no felspar or muscovite.

(S. 12, 5, 13, & 9) These might be either metamorphosed sandstones or vein quartz. Their coarse, even grain and metamorphic appearance suggest derivations from the basement system.

No. 9. (S. 1) A leucocratic pegmatitic granite, stained yellow and pink. It has an indistinct foliation and is probably from the basement system.

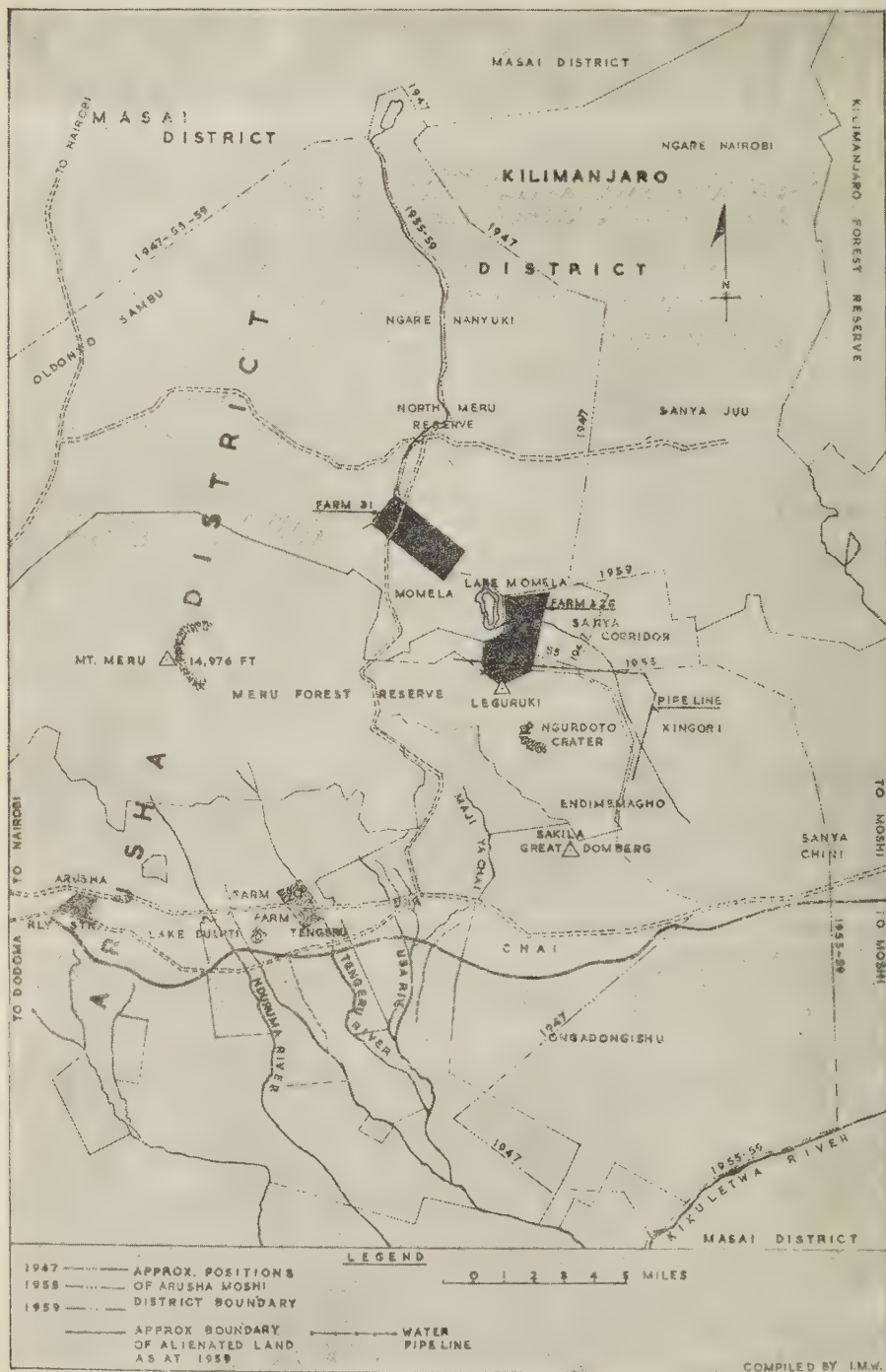
Grindstones.

S. 14 A slab of pale, purplish pink, quartzite, slightly feldspathized. It was split along the foliation; one face shows flakes of muscovite with an indistinct linear orientation. A thin quartz lenticle is seen on one edge of the slab. The rock is a flaggy quartzite from the basement system.

S. 15 (broken) Two rough slabs of biotite gneiss (orthogneiss or migmatite) from the basement system.

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THE MERU LAND CASE*

by Ian Michael Wright

It is not easy to convey the intense lifelong passion most Africans feel for the land. In subsistence economies land assumes a very special importance. It serves as a link between the past and the present, it is the source of authority, and from a material standpoint it is the sole means of support, poor as it may be, for the great majority. In contrast to the system of individual rights, the dominant African conception is that of communal ownership where each member of a tribe has a legitimate claim to the land of the community. This concept made Africans extremely sensitive to the attitude of colonial administrations to their own rights, and to the alienation of land to non-Africans in particular. This was one of the most important factors influencing the relationship between the colonial administration and the people. In Tanganyika less than 1 % of the land was alienated; however, this represented some of the best land in the country, because considerations of climate and soil directed the stream of European settlement.

The Meru of Arusha District have had contact with Europeans for more than a century. Because of the attractiveness of their mountain and its land, a high proportion of their problems in coming to terms with Europeans centres on the land. In the beginning the Meru did not seem to object to alienation. On the contrary, their chiefs were usually associated with the alienations, often receiving presents for their efforts, in accordance with Meru custom. Now the Meru insist that neither the chiefs nor the people fully realized they were giving land away for the permanent and exclusive use of Europeans, since the whole concept of absolute ownership of land was contrary to tribal custom. At the same time their numbers were few, and they hardly anticipated their later population increase. Also, on the whole they were not directly affected by the changes, since the new owners allowed them to graze their cattle and squat freely on the land; probably, among other reasons, to ensure an adequate supply of labour. Nevertheless, as a later official report (the Wilson Report) observed; "An iron ring of alienated land was clamped around the native lands on the mountain."

It is said that the Africans' first fears that all was not well arose at the end of the First World War, when the German farms were sold to British and Greek settlers rather than returned to Africans. The Wilson Report noted that: "There would appear even then to have been no proper appreciation of the future land needs of the Arusha and Meru tribes, and the realienation of the majority of the farms so thoughtlessly demarcated by the Germans proceeded without protest. An unparalleled opportunity for readjustment was lost. This was very soon realized, but it was then too late. The farms had been sold and the ring was once more in place."

During the redistribution of ex-enemy property in 1920 no German farms were retained for the use of the Meru. In 1928, however, a group of Meru banded together and bought Farm No. 31 (known as Kilimambozi) at Ngare Nanyuki. In 1931, as a result of the recommendations made in the Land Development Commission Report, two further farms were acquired for the Meru. They were bought by the tribe acting through its treasury, encouraged by the Government which had decided the Meru should pay for them by a two-shilling annual increase in the poll tax over a twenty-seven year period. This decision was made at a time of severe financial stringency in Tanganyika, and in fact they paid the tax for only six years. The remaining payments were waived.

These various transfers proved little more than a palliative. Not only did the Meru continue to demand more land, but the Europeans were doing the same, especially

*The material presented in this article was first published as a Newsletter by the Institute of Current World Affairs, New York. The Hon. Editor acknowledges with appreciation the Institute's permission to publish Mr. Wright's article, which he has based on the research he was engaged in under the Institute's auspices.

the Afrikaaners who prefer (as do the Meru) to divide their land amongst all their sons. In order to solve the problem once and for all, the Government initiated a thorough investigation, but this was interrupted by the Second World War. A situation similar to that after the First World War then arose when a good proportion of the alienated land was vested in a Custodian of Enemy Property. Soon after, a one-man Commission of Mr. Justice Mark Wilson was appointed to formulate a comprehensive plan for the re-distribution of alienated and tribal land on and around Mounts Meru and Kilimanjaro. His terms of reference included recommendations for ways to improve "the homogeneity of alienated and tribal lands."

Wilson's was a formidable task indeed. Over the years pressure had so built up between the two groups' competing claims and desires that any compromise was destined to founder on the rocks of pure obstinacy. This quality was evident on both sides. The Meru, increasingly angry that the land had been alienated in the first place, wanted every acre handed over to them. The Europeans, on the other hand, expected the Government to guarantee the farms they had bought or leased. With motives somewhere between personal gain and a desire to see the fullest possible economic development of the area, they also hoped to obtain the exclusive use of the Sanya Corridor, a block of land stretching between the two mountains, for large-scale cattle ranching to supply the territory's and the world's growing demand for meat and dairy products. This would also have linked the alienated lands of Ngare Nanyuki and Arusha to the west with those of Ngare Nairobi and Moshi to the east.

Wilson found himself not only between the conflicting desires of Europeans and Africans, but the Government itself was in the process of re-evaluating its land policy and moving away from its traditional one of tribal land protection toward one of land utilization in the interest of the territory's economic development. There was a gradual change in policy from the paramountcy of native interests to the coordination of racial interests; multi-racialism became the order of the day. Economic development and prosperity, and the combined efforts of all communities, appeared to be the accepted policies at the time Judge Wilson formulated his report. To anticipate a few years, this policy was voiced officially only in 1950 by a new Governor, Sir Edward Twining: "The emphasis has... changed from one of who shall have a particular piece of land to a decision in each case as to how that piece of land can best be developed in the common interest of all communities in the Territory." Later, he was to be supported in this pronouncement by the East African Royal Commission of 1953-5.

This gradual change in policy coincided with a greater interest in economic development throughout the world, but it created special problems in Tanganyika, especially in the Northern Province around Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru. Here there was increased utilization or alienation of land for productive purposes, and since most of this land went to non-Africans, it aroused suspicions and engendered racial animosity. It also led to conflict between the British Government and the Trusteeship Council as to which obligation, native land protection or economic development, was more important.

At the time of Wilson's investigations, there were four reasons for the increasing Meru pressure on the land:

- (1) their population was increasing at a rate higher than the Tanganyika average;
- (2) the influx of alien Africans into their tribal area;
- (3) the change in the pattern of living caused by the introduction of cash crops, mainly coffee. As the area under coffee cultivation grew, it became necessary to move cattle from the mountain to adjacent grazing areas; and
- (4) European settlement.

The Wilson Report was published in 1947. While recommending that no fundamental redistribution of either tribal or alienated land was feasible, it did consider certain modifications in the pattern of ownership to be desirable. As for the Meru, their

immediate needs could best be met by the reversion to them of "a moderate number of ex-enemy farms." Since tribal needs were greater than the total area of alienated land, however, the real need was expansion into the lower region away from the mountain, and it was therefore suggested that a planned development project be set in motion to prepare the plains for settlement; namely at Ongadongishu and Chai, the former to be excised from Masailand and incorporated into Arusha District.

The solution for the Europeans was exactly what they had pressed for all along. The Commission considered it would be economically unjustifiable to remove them completely, because of their importance to the economy of the territory as a whole. Instead it suggested the Sanya Corridor become a homogeneous European ranching block from which African settlement and grazing would be excluded. The Veterinary Department supported this on the grounds it would then become an infection-free, compulsory-dipping zone. The whole of the North Meru Reserve, largely populated by Meru and considered sub-marginal and therefore never taken over by settlers, would then be divided into thirteen large European estates. The Commission's underlying assumption was that Africans were incapable of maintaining European standards in cattle ranching.

The Meru were accordingly being asked to give up two farms at Ngare Nanyuki (No. 31) and Leguruki (No. 328), the latter of which was considered to have limited agricultural possibilities. They would also have to abandon their previous practice of grazing their cattle on the rest of the North Meru Reserve. It was felt that exclusion of the Meru would also eliminate a potential source of friction, by removing an area where the expanding Meru and Chagga tribes were bound one day to meet. The land they were to be given in return was said to be better with considerably more room for expansion. They would also receive compensation in the form of cash, and several European farms in the central tribal area which would help decrease congestion. Nevertheless, the Report questioned the need for segregation ("Is it necessary or desirable to segregate races, each of which has something to contribute to the welfare of the other and to the common good?"), and yet it clearly stated that, "The only solution partaking of the nature of finality to the problem of congestion in the mountain tribal areas is of course to encourage and persuade (and if needs be to compel) the overcrowded populations to come down from the mountains and settle permanently in the lower lands in sufficient numbers to relieve the present excessive pressure on the upper lands." By accepting the major recommendations of the Report, the Government showed a willingness to accept a policy designed to effect geographical segregation in part at least, of the peoples of the territory on grounds of race and social difference.

Judge Wilson's Report, although up to then the most thorough effort to solve the land problem, was out of touch with African opinion and therefore bound to fail. This is most evident in his misunderstanding of the Meru idea that the entire North Meru Reserve belonged to them. From Wilson's point of view, the Reserve had been alienated by the Germans and later by the British, and so the Meru had no claim to it whatsoever. This led him to believe his solution would be acceptable to them. For if one leaves out the North Meru Reserve and analyzes what the Meru would get and lose they stood to gain both in acreage and quality of land. The real losers were the Masai, for the revision of their boundary with the Meru meant the latter gained an enormous amount of land, albeit land not suitable for cropping without irrigation.

On the recommendation of the Northern Province Land Utilization Committee, a body including both European and African members, a number of modifications and adjustments were made between 1949 and 1951. According to Government sources, the modified scheme meant this to the Meru: about 330 families representing 1,000 persons or 5% of the tribe would have to move from Farms Nos. 31 and 328, an area of 5,800 acres. In return they would receive 11,000 acres of alienated land acquired from Europeans in central Meru, the Ongadongishu-Chai area to the south, and an area known as Kingori comprising about 18,000 acres. In addition the use of important

salt pans (including those on Farm No. 328) and the necessary means of access to them, were reserved for the tribe.

Furthermore the Government, which steadfastly maintained that Kingori was better land than the two farms which the Meru then held, proceeded to develop it as a resettlement area. A pipeline was laid to fifteen domestic and two cattle watering points, two cattle dips were installed, and a veterinary station with an African veterinary assistant in charge was set up (to deal with any sickness arising from the presence of some tsetse flies). The Meru to be moved were to be paid compensation assessed at £14,000, provided with free transport, temporary huts in the resettlement area, supplies of food for the settling-in period, and they were to be exempt from taxation for one year. At the same time a development plan of £46,000 for the entire Meru area was drawn up. Altogether the Government was prepared to commit about £75,000 on the scheme. Again, leaving out the North Meru Reserve, the scheme was not ungenerous.

The Meru approached the issue differently, however, and opposition to it was overwhelming. They claimed the land was theirs traditionally in spite of the Masai origin of its name, Ngare Nanyuki. Opposition to the plan grew by leaps and bounds. Already deeply mistrusting Europeans, their suspicions seemed to be confirmed when they learned they were to be evicted to make room for thirteen European estates. When assured the new land was better than that which they farmed, their immediate response was: "If that were true our fathers would long ago have moved there. If you really think it is better, why don't you give it to the settlers and just leave us alone on our inferior land?" They were convinced the Wilson Report merely served as an apology for carrying out the settler-conceived Sanya Corridor ranching scheme.

On June 7, 1949 at a *baraza* (tribal meeting) the Government definitely announced its intention of moving those Meru involved to Kingori. Although it had formally obtained the consent of Mangi Sante for the move, it had been given unwillingly and under duress, and his council was strongly opposed to it, as were the vast majority of his people. Since Sante was already under fire from an increasingly powerful segment of the tribe, his acquiescence only brought the tribe closer together in common opposition not only to himself but also to the Native Authority and the Government. He was blamed for the loss of the land and accused of having sold it to the Government for his own profit.

Further opposition came from those who stood to lose most by the evictions, the mainly Christian wealthy cattle-owners of East Meru who were using Ngare Nanyuki for grazing their excess cattle, and especially those forward-looking ones who had cut most of their grazing on the mountain and planted coffee instead. For them the offer of exchange at Kingori would have meant an impossible long food supply line. Those who stood to gain were those who could use the proffered arable land. Indeed later it was people from West Meru who first defied the ban on taking up land in the new settlement areas. In effect they double-crossed the East and carved out huge estates for themselves.

There was also suspicion of the age-grade leaders who play an important role in the traditional Meru political system. Although they said they opposed the resettlement scheme, most Meru felt they had done little to oppose it. In general it can be said that although the proposed move had aroused the deepest feelings of resentment and bitterness among the tribe, the traditional leaders had not risen to the occasion and fought as hard as their people had expected them to do.

Into this vacuum stepped the Meru Citizen's Union, *Umoja wa Raia*. Formed in 1948 when the possibility of the loss of their land loomed large, it was encouraged and assisted by the Chagga's Kilimanjaro Union, (Nsilo Swai, Tanzania's present Minister of Industries, Mineral Resources and Power was its adviser), which was working among the Meru with the object of affiliation. By proclaiming the convictions of the common people whose traditional rulers had failed them, the Meru Citizen's Union quickly became the strongest force in Meru. Under the leadership of Kirilo

Japhet, son of a Lutheran treasurer and namesake of a famous African doctor and himself a Native Authority dresser, Christian leader, and Secretary of the Union, it advised the people not to oppose the eviction violently but to refuse to accept the compensation offered by the Government. It planned to take its case to the Colonial Secretary and, if need be, to the United Nations itself.

To the great surprise of most people, the Meru did just this. They sent appeals to the Governor, to the Colonial Secretary, and to the United Nations. They brought their case before the 1951 U.N. Visiting Mission, which did not have time to investigate it fully but expressed the opinion that the removal of any land from actual occupation by Africans was open to question and warranted the serious attention of the Trusteeship Council. Before the Visiting Mission's report was issued, however, the Meru had been forcibly evicted.

Two years of intensive effort had obviously failed to convince the Meru that the plan was for their ultimate benefit. Thus, on October 31, 1951, the new Governor, Sir Edward Twining, introduced special legislation to facilitate the implementation of the Wilson Report. There was virtually no opposition to this ordinance, and only two Members of the Legislative Council commented on it at all. One a staunch Afrikaaner settler from Arusha, argued it was time to ignore the Fabian Society and the United Nations. The other, Chief Kidaha, was one of two African nominated Members, and he incurred the everlasting wrath of the Meru, and of nationalists in general, by castigating certain elements of the Meru tribe for deliberately trying to go against an honourable agreement which bound them. His political influence has since almost completely disappeared.

Outside Legislative Council, however, there was a moderate amount of criticism. Early in 1951 Mr. E. R. Danielson, Superintendent of the Lutheran Church of Northern Tanganyika, wrote to the Government expressing his belief that if the scheme were carried out a smouldering resentment would be started among the Africans, who believed that the European settlers were forcing the issue on the Government, and that this resentment might cause increasing trouble for many years to come. Certain members of the District administration also advised strongly against the move, and the District Commissioner himself asked to be reassigned rather than carry out his orders.

Nevertheless, the Ordinance came into effect on November 3rd, 1951, and the first evictions took place two weeks later. It is difficult to ascertain exactly what happened between November 17th and December 12th, by which time the evictions were completed. The official Government position is stated clearly in a White Paper published later as a result of widespread interest and criticism in Tanganyika, the United Nations, and elsewhere. According to this document (*The Meru Land Problem*, Government Printer, Dar es Salaam, 1952), the Meru were informed at a *baraza* that those who vacated their lands voluntarily before November 17th would receive free transport for themselves, their personal effects and foodstuffs; that they would have the opportunity to choose the best land in the resettlement area and would receive exemption from income tax for 1953. They were also warned that if they declined to leave, their possessions would be removed to Kingori and their huts would be demolished behind them. In spite of this the Meru refused to move; subsequent events showed a high degree of organization among them, undoubtedly sponsored by the Meru Citizens' Union.

The Meru were determined. When police and trucks came to move them off Farm No. 31, they abandoned their houses and from a distance watched their belongings taken away and their huts destroyed. Three persons haranguing the crowd were arrested and later convicted of trespass. As the demolition of their houses appeared to have little effect, 400 cattle and 1,200 sheep were impounded and, after being dipped, were removed to Kingori where they were quickly claimed by their owners. The rest of the cattle and sheep on Farm No. 31 were immediately removed after this. Two cattle died of East Coast Fever, unattributable to the move, but there were no other losses.

The move from Farm No. 328 and other areas concerned went more smoothly, no doubt because many of those moved were non-Meru. A man who had volunteered to move, however, died before he boarded the truck, but a post mortem determined he was in an advanced state of tuberculosis and had been ailing for some time. The Citizen's Union later claimed a woman in childbirth had been forced from her home and her child had died as a result. The White Paper commented: "The facts are that the woman was visited by the District Commissioner who told her that she could remain until her condition improved. Nevertheless, she was removed by the tribesmen and on a later visit the District Commissioner found her gone. No information of any kind regarding her later condition or whereabouts was received and any responsibility regarding the alleged death of the child must rest on those who moved the child contrary to advice."

Altogether some 330 taxpayers representing about 1,000 persons were evicted, 492 homes and storehouses were destroyed, 400 cattle and 1,200 sheep were moved to Kingori, and twenty-five arrests were made with subsequent terms of imprisonment ranging from two weeks to the maximum penalty of three months.

Most of those who had been evicted joined their relatives in the already congested central tribal area. Only twenty-one non-Meru families moved to Kingori, although as time went on a few Meru drifted there from other settled areas. One Meru alone claimed compensation, while eleven non-Meru accepted £310. The Government charged the Citizen's Union with using intimidation to prevent anyone accepting compensation.

Meru fortunes were at a low ebb. Bitter and hostile, they refused to cooperate with the Government or any of its officials, even with agricultural and cooperative officers. The Native Authority ceased to function, as did the courts, and at no time had relations between the Administration and the tribe been worse. There were threats against Mangi Sante's life, and it appeared to some that in answer to the forced evictions the tribe was prepared also to resort to force if necessary. Another cause for apprehension was that only a few months previously Kirilo Japhet had personally conducted eight Meru school children to Jomo Kenyatta's Independent School at Githunguri in Kenya. This evidence of close contact between Meru and Kikuyu political leaders caused great concern in official circles.

The Government seriously wanted a *rapprochement* but the rift was wide. The Meru neglected everything and submerged themselves in the emotions generated by the evictions. An economic recession set in. Their mainstay, the coffee crop, dropped by half and its quality became inferior. Only the boom prices of 1952-53 kept reduction in income bearable. Morale hit rock bottom.

In January 1952 the Citizens' Union wrote to the Colonial Secretary, who replied three months later that the decision to set aside the land for a European ranching scheme was final. Since their appeal to the Trusteeship Council was due for consideration in July, the Union hastily collected funds by private subscription to send a tribal representative and lawyer to present their petition. The Meru Coffee Growers' Association lent over £2,000 for this purpose, and early in July, Kirilo Japhet, accompanied by Earle Seaton, a Bermudan advocate practising in Moshi, left for New York.

The dispute, since known as the Meru Land Case, was thus taken to the United Nations where the Trusteeship Council first discussed the petition in July 1952. They heard Kirilo Japhet and Earle Seaton give quite a different account from that which the Administering Authority had given. They claimed the move had caused great hardship and suffering among the Meru. As it had been effected solely for the benefit of thirteen European settlers, they considered it a clear example of racism. Mr. Seaton went on to state that 3,000 Meru were evicted; 724 homes, 489 storehouses, and 234 cattle-pens were destroyed; 707 cows, 1,440 sheep, and 1,941 chickens were lost; one man died, and seven women suffered miscarriages. Here Seaton brought in the question of the 78,000 acre North Meru Reserve which has since been deleted from maps of the area. He claimed the Meru owned the entire Reserve and not only the two farms amounting to 5,800 acres.

Three weeks later Kirilo Japhet appeared before the Council and asked pointedly, "Who is in control of Tanganyika?" Later, in his final appearance, he said "I must discourage my people against resorting to the means of force and anarchy now employed by some Africans in Kenya. But in doing this, I should like you to tell me what I should tell my people."

But the Trusteeship Council was confronted with a *fait accompli* about which it could do little. Although the Wilson Report had been published in 1947, the British Government had steadily maintained that the Council could review a matter only after a decision had been taken, and this was not a case where reversal was possible. After hearing both sides, the Trusteeship Council passed a resolution on July 22, (8 votes to 1), regretting that the Administering Authority should have found it necessary to move any of the people and to evict them forcibly but recognizing that the movement "forms part of a larger scheme... advantageous to the majority of the indigenous inhabitants of the Arusha-Moshi area". It further suggested that in future no further movements be made without "a clear expression of the collective consent." It otherwise urged the Government to take action on resettlement, compensation, and general development.

The Tanganyika Government immediately replied with the White Paper, and the Governor told the Legislative Council that "There is nothing in the resolution which conflicts with the policy which Government is already pursuing, and Government is already taking action on the very lines urged by the resolution." The Meru, however, were dissatisfied with the outcome; so they brought their case before the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly a few months later. Here they received a more sympathetic hearing. By 32 votes to 17 it adopted a resolution recommending the immediate restoration of the land in question to the Meru people. It also recommended that the Administering Authority educate and train the tribe in modern agriculture and ranching techniques.

This victory was received jubilantly by the Meru who refused to believe the General Assembly might not uphold the Fourth Committee's decision. But this is just what happened. A few days later in the General Assembly the voting was only 28 for to 20 against, thus failing to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority by a meagre but all-important four votes. The Meru were baffled over the question of a two-thirds majority and they suspected they had won but that the British were not telling the truth. This could have led to violence had not a way been found out of the *impasse*.

Clearly bold and imaginative political action was called for. The Native Authority had to be reorganized, because the Government could no longer afford to support an unpopular chief whose own government had collapsed. Accordingly, Mangi Sante was persuaded to resign. He announced his resignation at a *baraza* on December 17, 1952, when he made it clear that he had done so in the interests of his tribe and of his own free will. It was further announced that the entire Native Authority constitution would be revised and, in a calculated risk to prove its good intentions, the Government allowed a number of political detainees exiled in 1948 to return home.

The Meru once more brought their case before the Trusteeship Council in 1953, but this time it deferred any decision until the 1954 U.N. Visiting Mission to Tanganyika could investigate the situation. It continued, however, to keep close track of events by the normal means of report and questions.

The Meru Land Case continued to be a sore point, exacerbating relations between the Government and the tribe. Kirilo Japhet returned from America in July 1953, and in December headed a delegation to the District Commissioner to inform him that the Meru intended to re-occupy the Ngare Nanyuki farms in the new year. As a result of grave warnings by the D.C. and advice against it by the Superintendent of the Lutheran Mission, no such action was taken, but it nevertheless cast doubts upon Kirilo Japhet's leadership and led to a decline in his influence with the new leaders, particularly those from West Meru.

Gradually the situation began to improve. The Committee formed to draft a new Native Authority constitution agreed upon a new and more democratic constitution,

albeit at a cost. United on the land issue, the Citizen's Union split wide open on the question of future political organization. The progressives wanted to give the people more power through democratic elections, and the conservatives were determined that the traditional leaders should retain dominant authority. The resulting constitution was more advanced than the old, but it retained many of its previous undemocratic features. In the subsequent voting for a new Council and a new Chief, the conservative candidate from the traditional chiefly clan, Sylvanus Kaaya, was returned by a narrow margin (in a 41 % poll) over the more progressive east side candidate. The old cleavage of Meru society had reappeared, this time as a result of implementing a new democratic constitution.

Thus within a year and a half of the Ngare Nanyuki evictions a new constitution had been devised, promulgated, and put into operation. For the first time in many years Meru Chiefdom had a working government representing a higher proportion of the people than ever before, and relations had been re-established between Government and tribe.

In September 1954 the U.N. Visiting Mission investigated the situation thoroughly and found that in 1952, after the land was cleared of Africans, it was indeed alienated to thirteen European settlers in blocks of from 2,000 to 20,000 acres. Four of these were on the verge of failure, and the modern dairy industry, envisaged in the Wilson Report, was not even in sight. The Meru, as stubbornly as ever, demanded the return of their farms and still refused to accept compensation. Their case was discussed and their position supported throughout the territory by the more educated Africans and by the newly-formed Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). To Africans the problem was still very much alive.

The Mission also noted that the amount of land in Arusha District alienated to a few hundred people was larger than that available for settlement by Africans who then numbered about 120,000. The Administering Authority disputed this, although its figures show the amount of African land only slightly in excess of alienated land.

In discussions with the Government, the Mission heard officials maintain that the move had been in the interests of the area as a whole. The Government was also carrying out the planned development programme, and *rapport* with the tribe was being re-established. Officials said, however, that dissension was growing within the tribe, and that "the position of those most strongly urging it not to move from its position on the case had weakened." It was suggested also that there was some dissatisfaction with the accounting of funds raised by the Meru Citizen's Union to send Mr. Kirilo Japhet to the United Nations in 1952 and for other purposes, including legal expenses. Finally, officials of the Government described Mr. Japhet to the Mission as a "dangerous agitator", although it heard no hints of criticism on these matters from any of the Meru people with whom it came into contact.

The Mission also talked with the Meru Citizen's Union, the Meru Council and the Northern Province branch of TANU, all of which espoused similar views. The Citizens' Union still pressed for the return of the two farms, and they criticized the Government on a wide range of topics from land policy to education and medical services. They were particularly upset about the piped water supply at Kingori which, they said, was unfit for human consumption and had even dried up a few months before. They brought the Mission two bottles of clean water from the old supply and one of brownish water from the pipeline. The Mission later visited the two supplies and noted that piped water was indeed brown, although the Meru women drank it freely (there was no alternative). The Administering Authority claimed that although water from the Ngare Nanyuki River appeared clear, it had an excess of flourine and was perhaps even dangerous.

The Mission also visited Ngare Nanyuki and Kingori while on a drive around Mt. Meru. Although it was unable to judge the relative merits of the land, it noted diplomatically that while the new land was greener, it lacked the scenic charm of the old.

It was only by chance that the Mission heard the extent of the dissatisfaction of the settlers who had taken up the farms from which Meru had been evicted. In Moshi, it was approached by a Mr. Barrington, one of the new farmers. Speaking for several settlers, Barrington claimed they had found the cost of clearing and development prohibitive, and their work showed no signs of ever becoming remunerative. In order to avoid friction, they were forced to allow Africans to graze cattle on their land. In spite of this they feared a crisis similar to that occurring in Kenya. Some destruction of signposts and boundary markers had already taken place, and their lives had been indirectly threatened. They felt they had never been fully informed of the extent of the Africans' resentment and hostility to the alienation of the land.

Furthermore, some of the land was unsuitable for the purposes (mixed farming) for which it was granted to them. They felt it was ideal for peasant cultivation because of its hundreds of pockets of rich arable land, whose broken nature on the other hand made European farming methods impracticable. In other words, they would be more than happy to sell as long as they received land in exchange (he mentioned Kingori as appropriate land) and compensation for the improvements they had made.

The Mission concluded that "the land and its use and tenure comprise, in the African mind, one of the outstanding political and economic issues of the day. If the Meru case is a by-word among politically conscious Africans throughout the Territory, it is not so much for the sake of the Meru people as because of the doubts which their case has raised as to the whole meaning and intention of non-African, and especially European, settlement in the Territory." It would be unwise, therefore, to delay the settlement of the question any longer in the face of the consistent Meru attitude and the failure of several of the European farms involved.

But by then Government was concerned only to forget the case. In October 1955 a large number of evictees came forward to claim compensation despite the ban by the Citizens' Union. By 1957 individual Meru had accepted £7,437 in compensation, and claims were still being received. The development of the Sanya Corridor as a large-scale ranching and dairying area had failed, and by 1960 some of the European settlers had sold their land back to the Meru. At that time, the major obstacle remaining concerned the value of the land which had increased greatly beyond the amount of compensation set aside for it in 1951.

On April 22, 1962, Easter Sunday, the strings of the story came together. The occasion was the dedication of a church on Farm No. 31, built with funds received in compensation for another church destroyed during the evictions in 1951. The ceremony was widely hailed as the formal conclusion of the case, and many of those involved attended. Kirilo Japhet spoke of the history of the affair; others spoke of the future and choirs and bands entertained those few celebrants who managed to squeeze into the church. Later an ox was roasted in a giant barbecue. The occasion was crowded and festive. The warm sun beat down on the corrugated iron roof, and everyone rejoiced.

The Meru affair was played out on two stages, and the characters and issues on each were quite different. On the world stage, at the United Nations, it formed a small episode in the growing pressure against Great Britain and its resistance to interference in colonial matters. There is little doubt the publicity and resulting moral pressures on Britain to justify her actions had a sobering effect, although this also clearly deepened the rift between Government and people. In general the United Nations supported the idea of a large-scale ranching scheme, but it did not accept the need for forcible evictions. The political importance of the case lay in the creation of two racially homogeneous areas in an avowedly multi-racial trust territory.

Locally the issues were different. The Government was certainly misguided in its efforts to force a solution on the Meru in the face of such overwhelming opposition. Indeed, in the capital of Dar es Salaam, it was generally considered that a psychological and administrative blunder had occurred. Clearly the local administrative people should have been more in touch with Meru opinion. Their failure lay in sounding out only an unpopular chief who opposed the scheme (although no Meru believed this) but later allowed himself to be pressured into supporting it. What probably hit the Meru hardest was the realization that the entire North Meru Reserve did not belong to them. Had the administration realised the emotions behind their stand, they could not have made such a blunder in thinking that what was proposed would be acceptable to them. Nevertheless, the Meru reaction contrasts markedly with those of the Chagga and Masai who, although opposed to the sections of the Wilson Report concerning them, cooperated in the execution of the scheme.

It is often said that the then Governor, Sir Edward (now Lord) Twining, was misled by his advisers and would not have agreed to the proposals had he looked at them on the ground. Later he commented, "In the light of experience, it is clear that the Government made a psychological mistake in forcing the issue after the strong opposition of the Meru had been displayed, but at the time there was the conviction of the rightness of the case and that the ultimate benefit to be derived by all concerned made it necessary to evict the Meru compulsorily as had been done in the case of the European settlers."

In retrospect, it would have been regrettable had the scheme not been carried out, because in the long run the Meru benefitted enormously by this blunder. Lacking unity and developed leadership, the tribe came together over the question of land. Although this unity unfortunately lasted only a short time, it was sufficient to stimulate them to fairly spectacular progress.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORM IN TANZANIA*

By Stanley Dryden

At the time of Independence in 1961 there existed two categories of local authority in Tanganyika: eleven urban¹ and six rural councils established under the Local Government Ordinance of 1953, and more than fifty other rural councils brought to different levels of constitutional advancement under the old Native Authority Ordinance. The latter were not yet fully representative (by electoral process) of the local people; furthermore they lacked jurisdiction over non-Africans and had no legal power to exercise considerable functions in their own right.

The policy of the colonial Government had been to remove these three disabilities as and when circumstances appeared favourable in particular cases. It seems likely that more African district councils would have graduated to the status of fully-fledged local government bodies prior to Independence but for the unwillingness of most of them to accept a small element of non-African representation as the price of greater autonomy of operation.²

The attainment of Independence brought a national government which was not interested in advancing its system of local government along multi-racial lines, nor in making special concessions to local non-African constituents, who could if they desired take their chance at the polls like everyone else. Thus by July 1962 all the local authorities whose constitutional advance had been retarded were endowed with a new status under the Local Government Ordinance, as local bodies with statutory Instruments of Establishment.

Basic Weakness

New legal status, however, brought little or no improvement in the quality of local government. Examples of the inadequacies of both councillors and staff are numerous in the post-Independence era. The annual reports of the Controller and Auditor-General on the accounts of individual councils testify most eloquently to the inability of many rural local authorities to maintain tolerable standards of integrity and efficiency. For example, in the Mbeya and Nachingwea Districts during 1964 there was unauthorised expenditure exceeding £1,500, and in May 1964 the Regional Commissioner in Mbeya took drastic action to keep Rungwe District Council in a state of solvency, allowing no expenditure of any kind to be incurred without authority from his office—"even staff salaries must stop for a while."

It would be incorrect to suppose the incompetence and dishonesty in local government are phenomena peculiar only to the post-colonial era; the withdrawal of day-to-day control by colonial government administrative officers led to the decline and gave free rein to those able and willing to turn the situation to their own advantage. The lifting of effective controls merely exposed basic weaknesses already known to exist in the local government system. First, the elected councillors were for the most part poorly educated, with little knowledge of the purpose and practice of local government, and uncertain of their role within the system. Secondly, the quality of local authority employees at the time of Independence was, in general, poor, in relation to that of central government personnel; there was no unified local government service and career prospects were not good, so it is not surprising that secondary

1. Excluding the City of Dar es Salaam.

2. For example, the Provincial Commissioner of the Northern Province, in his annual report for the year 1957, commented: "In the sphere of interracial local government, the attempt to form a District Council in Moshi was temporarily shelved, as it was evident that the Chagga were unsympathetic." Two years later the Provincial Commissioner of the Lake Province reported a reversal of constitutional progress in Geita District, where "the unreasoned opposition against the new statutory District Council, because it contained a tiny minority of non-Africans in its membership, led to its abolition."

school leavers were more attracted to better paid and often more congenial employment in the field of commerce, central government and elsewhere. There also existed a growing antagonism between local authority staff and the new elected councillors, and in many districts the morale of the former was at a low ebb. Thirdly, there was inadequate finance to improve and expand the services already in existence, and the clamour for social services, particularly educational, which followed Independence, often resulted in unrealistic budgeting which led many a council to the edge of bankruptcy. The channelling of additional local funds into primary education tended to denude other services of their minimum requirements. In some areas the standard of locally maintained roads deteriorated and buildings fell into disrepair.

It is appropriate to draw a distinction between the rural and urban local authorities here; the latter do not, in general, suffer from the same scarcity of human resources. Urban councils in areas of commercial development can draw their membership from people who are perhaps better equipped to meet the demands placed upon them. They tend to have on their staff the more competent officers of the local government service, while senior civil servants such as the local Medical Officer of Health and Public Works Engineer are appointed as councillors by law. Furthermore, urban councils have long enjoyed substantial and regular central government financial assistance, and they exercise jurisdiction over compact administrative areas. The English system of local government upon which Tanganyika's is modelled has been transplanted into urban areas with some success; problems are to be found in their most acute form in the vast rural areas of scattered population, where the physical and human environment is less favourable to the accommodation of this alien institution.

The basic weaknesses of local government in Tanzania are symptomatic of the chronic shortage of human and financial resources, a shortage which the Government is doing its best to overcome. Any real and general advance is most likely to occur as a result of Government's economic and social policies coming to fruition. Nevertheless, since Independence attempts have been made to revitalise and streamline the local government system to make it work more effectively.

Constitutional Reform and a Local Government Service:

The first of the measures taken was aimed at constitutional reform. The Native Authority system was abolished in 1962. African district councils which had exercised the functions of Native Authorities either solely or jointly with traditional chiefs were reconstituted as fully elected councils³ with jurisdiction over local residents of all races. This triumph for democratic principles brought about the eclipse of the chiefs, who also relinquished their powers in relation to law and order when the African Chiefs Ordinance was repealed.⁴

Considerable progress had been made by the time of Independence to convert the personalised administrations of Native Authorities into corporated organisations with a strong element of elected representation. By July, 1962, democratization had been completed. Popularly elected councillors were in control everywhere. With the re-organization of the Provincial Administration,⁵ the steadying influence of experienced administrative officers was removed. The result in a few councils was something near to chaos.⁶ A new and agonising phase began in the comparatively short history of local government in Tanganyika. The piece-meal constitutional advance which had

3. In most cases, however, the Minister reserved to himself the right to appoint up to three members of his own choosing. Initially, in some councils, a few chiefs were retained as ex-officio members.

4. By the African Chiefs Ordinance Act, 1963.

5. Simultaneously with the constitutional innovations introduced into rural local government, the Regional (formerly Provincial) Administration underwent sweeping changes in personnel and functions. An account of these changes is contained in "The Re-organization of the Administration in Tanganyika," by W.J. Warrell-Bowring, *Journal of Local Administration Overseas*, October, 1963.

6. For example, the North Mara District Council was dissolved by the Minister for Local Government in early 1962 for excesses on the part of both councillors and staff.

occurred under British tutelage was followed by a period of feverish adjustment and familiarization with the mechanism of local government in its new form—a mechanism which until then had been held firmly under control by a largely expatriate Provincial Administration.

If the local government system was to survive and grow according to its original design, it was clearly a matter of first importance to safeguard the interests of the executive staff and to offer them a status commensurate with the responsibilities which they were being asked to shoulder. It was equally essential that the terms of employment offered should attract a better educated and more able type of officer than had hitherto been recruited by local councils. The point was well made by the Minister for Local Government and Administration when addressing the National Assembly on the 29th June, 1962. He said:—

“With the present shortage of trained personnel, it has become more important than ever before to attract to local government the very best type of recruit. To do this, and to ensure that local government receives a fair share of the trained manpower available within the country, it is necessary to offer security of office, and salaries and conditions of service, together with opportunities for training and prospects of a full career, comparable with what is offered to equally well qualified candidates of the civil service.”

A scheme on these lines was, in fact, formulated and published⁷ in May, 1962, providing for the establishment of a unified Local Government Service and a Local Government Service Commission. The Commission came into being in July, 1962, and the service was deemed to be unified from 1st January, 1963. The act of unification was given practical significance by the promulgation in early January, 1963, of regulations⁸ dealing with such matters as appointments, promotions, transfers as well as disciplinary procedures. At the same time a comprehensive set of staff regulations was introduced, setting out in detail new salary scales and conditions of service applicable to all local government staff. The new scales of remuneration were closely related to those of central government, each council being graded for purposes of measuring the degree of responsibility and the remuneration of its most senior officials.

NEW INITIATIVES

Local Authorities and T.A.N.U.

The effectiveness of local authorities as instruments for providing and improving social amenities is likely to depend mainly upon an increase in wealth through the development of local resources. However, new initiatives have recently been taken by the Government in an attempt to improve the efficiency of local government as an institution. In January, 1964, a Presidential Commission was appointed to consider the changes in the Constitution of the Republic, in the Constitution of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), and in the practice of government that might be necessary to bring into effect a democratic one-party state in Tanganyika. After consultation with all shades of opinion, the Commission reported⁹ that considerable confusion existed in the districts, townships and municipalities of the country between the role of TANU and that of local authorities. It concluded that there was a strong case for incorporating the executive committee of TANU in each locality within the structure of the local government authority.

7. General Notice No. 1225, published as a special supplement to the official Gazette.

8. The Local Government Service Regulations, 1962, published as Government Notice No. 1 of 1963.

9. *Report of the Presidential Commission on the Establishment of a Democratic One-Party State*. 1965. Dar es Salaam: Government Printer.

The Commission then went on to make certain concrete recommendations as to the composition of local councils, the qualifications of councillors and the method by which councillors should be elected. First, all members of the district executive committee of TANU should be ex-officio members of district councils, i.e. the elective body of the rural local authorities, in addition to councillors elected from the constituency wards in the normal way. Secondly, all candidates for election to local councils should be members of TANU. Finally, pre-selection of candidates should take place through the party organisation to ensure both the suitability of candidates for election and the presentation to the electorate of a choice of candidates. This arrangement, it is argued, would enable constituents to exercise their democratic right of casting a vote and obviate the return of candidates unopposed. To facilitate this process, the Commission recommended that there should be a sub-branch of TANU in each of the wards into which local authorities are divided for electoral purposes.

The legal position of TANU in relation to local authorities has yet to be formalised, though there are definite indications as to the type of relationship which Government has in view. In August, 1965, the Local Government Elections Laws (Suspension) Act was brought into force. It provided for the temporary suspension of those provisions in existing laws which require local councillors to retire in rotation and new councillors to be elected in their place. It also extended the term of office of councillors already elected and negated the existing requirement for casual vacancies to be filled. When the Bill for this Act was introduced to Parliament, it was made clear that Government intended to implement the recommendations of the Presidential Commission:

"In order to give effect to the recommendations, it will be necessary to introduce legislation amending substantially the present laws relating to the membership of local authorities and local government elections. Pending such legislation, the present laws require vacancies in local government bodies to be filled in a manner not consistent with the proposals."¹⁰

However, the most recent pronouncement by Government consists of a White Paper¹¹ whose proposals reveal that some of the dangers inherent in the Presidential Commission's recommendation are recognized. The White Paper stated:

"The Government is of the view that members of the District Executive Committee of TANU should not be ex-officio members of local councils. They should, like everybody else, be free to stand for election."

On the other hand, it is intended that the President should be given powers to nominate up to ten members, some of whom may be members of TANU's district executive committee and some of whom may be civil servants. The latter would not be obliged to resign their posts. This proposal is clearly much more satisfactory than that of the Presidential Commission, the effect of which would have been seriously to undermine the representative element in the membership of local authorities.

At the same time, it is Government's intention that the district chairman of TANU shall be ex-officio chairman of the district or town council in his area. While such a move appears likely, at first sight, to strike a blow at representative local government, it should prove in practice to be broadly in line with democratic principles. An ingenious arrangement is proposed whereby all elected councillors (who, under the new electoral arrangements, would have their candidature approved by TANU) shall be made delegates to the Annual District Conference of TANU, where they may participate in the election of the TANU chairman.

The effect of the new legislation, when it is introduced, will be to strengthen in a formal manner the connection which already exists between the Party and local authorities, and to give TANU officials a louder voice in the deliberations of councils,

10. In the "Objects and Reasons" for the legislation.

11. *Proposals of the Tanzania Government on Local Government Councils*. 1966. Dar es Salaam: Government Printer.

including those which have in the past shown themselves unwilling to be dominated by local politicians of TANU. Most local councils are composed of TANU-sponsored candidates, many of whom were returned unopposed at election time. But given the large number of indigenous tribes in Tanganyika, each with its own distinctive customs and characteristics, it is hardly surprising that divergences of view should become apparent from time to time between the elected representatives of local tribesmen and TANU leaders whose interests and sympathies are not necessarily always identical where local issues are concerned.

Contests of strength between 'independent' candidates and TANU-sponsored candidates for seats on a council have been rare in the post-independence era. They have been most in evidence in those districts where a powerful tribal group exists, with a tradition of strong local government and a relatively good record of social and economic progress. In Bukoba District, for example, a number of young men stood in April, 1963, as independents in opposition to official TANU candidates for seats on the Buhaya District Council. Although many TANU-sponsored candidates were returned unopposed, several were defeated in wards contested by independent candidates, and one of the fallen was the regional chairman of TANU. The tug-of-war did not halt after the election. When the new council assembled, a majority of the councillors (including several who owed their seats to TANU support) refused to toe the party line on certain issues. So serious was the cleavage within the council that the Minister for Local Government refused to appoint as councillors those who had been returned in the informal elections recently held.¹² Instead, he used his statutory powers to nominate a new council. Even after the party machinery had been alerted to the possibility of similar situations arising elsewhere, it was unable to prevent the election of several non-TANU candidates to the Kilimanjaro District Council in July, 1963. Though TANU's majority on the council remained impressive, it was nevertheless considered advisable for TANU councillors to assemble as a separate body before council meetings in order to reach prior agreement on issues likely to arise.¹³

Another development which is designed to bring the machinery of government into a still closer relationship with the party organisation is the appointment of the Secretary-General of TANU¹⁴ as Minister for Regional Administration in October, 1965. The Regional Administration is a department of government which has at various times since Independence been part of the Ministry of Local Government or been placed directly under the control of the President or Vice-President and (in pre-republic days) of the Prime Minister. With the creation of a new Ministry of Regional Administration, its special status has been given more formal recognition than heretofore. The Ministry of Local Government has been abolished and its functions absorbed into the new Ministry of Regional Administration. There is a clear logic in placing the functions of regional administration and local government under one roof, since a close relationship exists between the two departments. The real significance of the new arrangement, however, lies in the appointment of a high-ranking TANU leader to be head of a ministry on which so much depends for the future progress of the country. It is he who will be responsible for introducing the legislation to Parliament to give effect to the proposals of the Presidential Commission and of Government for the reconstitution of local councils.

Modifying an Alien Institution

In the half decade since Tanganyika attained Independence, the main objective of its Government's policy has been clear and consistent. It has sought to develop

12. The Local Government Ordinance provides that all councillors must be formally appointed by the Minister.
13. The substance of this paragraph is extracted from an article on "Regional Administration in Tanzania" by W. Tordoff, published in *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp.78-9.
14. The present incumbent is Mr. O.S. Kambona, M.P., formerly Minister for External Affairs and one of the few TANU candidates returned unopposed at the 1965 elections to the National Assembly.

the human and material resources of the country as rapidly as possible in order to raise the living standards of the population as a whole. At the same time, it has recognised the need to preserve and foster national unity in order to make such development possible. Many of the changes which have come about in local administration are the direct result of this policy. The appointment of political commissioners, the pre-eminence given to the Party in local affairs, the setting up of machinery for development planning in the rural areas, the expansion of education and community development services, the encouragement of co-operative and other enterprise geared to the work of development: these are some of the principal methods used to achieve the grand design. Institutions and administrative structures inherited from the colonial Government have been modified and adapted to suit new conditions. Only in rare cases have they been completely demolished. Radical innovation, where introduced, has been supplementary to, rather than in substitution of colonial patterns of administration.

The main innovations in local government since Independence may now be summarised. First, Native Authorities have given way to local authorities constituted on the lines of the English local government system. Secondly, the status, remuneration and general conditions of service of local government employees have been revised and improved with a view to raising standards of efficiency. Thirdly, the activities of both central government departments and of local councils have been placed under the surveillance and direction of the Party. This has been done through the appointment of political commissioners as local heads of Regional Administration and by the election to local councils of party nominees. If the recent proposals of the Presidential Commission on a One-Party State and of Government prove acceptable to Parliament, local authorities will forge closer links with TANU. Finally, local institutions have been given a new major function to perform: the efforts of departments of government and of local authorities alike have been directed towards the overriding objective of government policy, i.e. to accelerate the process of rural development. A system of development committees has been introduced for the purpose.

It seems ironical that at a time when national leaders have continually extolled the virtues of unity in the political field, a tendency towards divided responsibility and separate jurisdictions began to manifest itself in the sphere of local government administration. It was an inevitable consequence of accepting the English model of a local authority that a sharp division of responsibilities and functions should become apparent between elected councillors and salaried employees. This principle of organisation was not new in Tanganyika. The colonial Government had been applying it gradually since 1954 when the Local Government Ordinance came into force. But at the time of Independence the majority of local councils were still not fully representative and most councils were composed of varying proportions of elected members and salaried staff, most of the latter being chiefs. It was only when council membership everywhere became fully democratic in 1962 that the divisive character of the machinery of local government made itself apparent. Its initial impact led to difficulties and problems which have already been mentioned.

The concept of a separation of powers, the divorce of the policy-making from the executive function, is something relatively new in Tanganyikan experience, both at the national and local levels. Colonial government had been government by civil servants. The latter were responsible not only for the implementation of policy but also for the framing of it and for the legislation in which it was embodied. At the lower levels of government administrators (whether expatriate officials or local chiefs) had traditionally dictated policy on local issues and had been intimately concerned with its execution. The English system of local government is based on the assumption that elected councillors, though they may be competent to determine issues of principle, lack the professional expertise to implement the decisions which they make. Moreover, they have occupations of their own which preclude them from devoting more than a small amount of their time to public affairs.

This reasoning, however apt to describe the English scene, loses considerable force when applied to the rural areas of Tanganyika. The average councillor, often

without regular employment himself, welcomes the opportunity to probe into all aspects of administration, to prolong discussions, and to draw his allowances. Being a councillor is, for him, a form of employment. Perhaps a more real disadvantage, however, is that the basis of organisation within the English-type local authority is alien to the traditional African concept of leadership and authority. The formal division of authority between masters and servants, between part-time councillors and permanent employees, is largely unknown either in the tribal or colonial history of Tanganyika.

The leadership function in local government has passed from individuals to groups of individuals. Initially, at least, the diffusion of power and influence has weakened rather than strengthened the institution as an instrument for getting things done with reasonable speed and efficiency. Advocates of the system will argue that this is the price that has to be paid for democracy; but compromises with doctrinaire principles of freedom in order to gain real or imagined advantages are not unknown in the post-Independence history of Tanganyika.

The principles of elected representation and autonomy of operation (consistent with central government policy) are basic to the English system of local government. Local autonomy in Tanganyika at the present time is compromised not only by the degree of technical and material assistance which central government renders but also by the strict control over council business of all kinds which needs to be exercised from above. There is no way out of this dilemma. Rural councils in general have simply not got the expertise at their disposal to enable them to manage their affairs successfully without considerable supervision from central government. This situation is not likely to yield quickly to treatment; it will improve only when general educational standards improve and when suitably qualified people have been found for positions of management in local government.

On the other hand, if genuinely representative local government is the aim, it seems hardly a satisfactory solution to attempt to impose management from outside, either in the sphere of policy decision-making or in the executive field. Legal provision already exists for the appointment of political commissioners as chairmen of district councils in circumstances where mismanagement by elected councillors makes this necessary.¹⁵ So far, however, it has not been found necessary to invoke this particular law. It now seems probable that it will never be used and that its place will be taken by the new constitutional arrangements already mentioned, having more serious implications for local government as a representative institution.

Local Authorities and Regions:

More effective participation by local councils in decision-making at regional level is probably long overdue. As the law now stands, a regional commissioner in his capacity of "proper officer" responsible for the supervision of the affairs of district councils within his region has power vested in him to approve, modify or reject budgets (including development programmes) submitted to him annually by district councils. He can bring his authority to bear on almost any kind of local government business. While district councils may make representations to him, there is at present little or no opportunity for direct consultation with him.

There would seem to be a case for the setting up of a small consultative body (a regional development board perhaps) to provide a regular and effective means of communication between district councils and the regional commissioner, their legally appointed guardian and mentor. Such a body could prove useful not only for the discussion of local problems in general, but also as a means of advising the commissioner on development priorities involving the expenditure of local government funds. At the present time, substantial sums of money are lying idle in the hands of the Local Government Loans Board, through physical inability on the part of councils

15. The Local Government Ordinance (Amendment) Act, No. 58 of 1963.

16. In November, 1965, out of a total of £1,780,000 deposited with the Board in the local authorities' compulsory reserve fund, less than half (£850,000) had been returned to councils in the form of loans for capital development.

to put them to good use. It is the poorer rather than the richer councils which lack the executive capacity to benefit from loan assistance. Unless financial and technical assistance is deliberately channelled in their direction through appropriate planning machinery, the economic pattern of development over a period of time is likely to resemble a chequer board of contrasting levels of prosperity.

At the present time, regional development committees exist to provide a channel of communication on development matters between central government and important interests in the regions. One of their weaknesses is that they do not have at their disposal substantial funds with which to initiate major development projects. Another difficulty is that they lack the legal powers necessary to enforce decisions taken. Their value, as at present constituted, lies essentially in stimulating a climate of thinking in terms of development and of providing a link between central government and regional interests. They would undoubtedly gain in stature and authority if they were to be made responsible for important additional functions connected with local authority development finance. There are two reasons, however, why these committees may not be ideal for the purpose. First, their extended membership is not particularly suitable for the close examination of matters of a technical nature, though this objection might largely be overcome by the use of sub-committees. Secondly, and perhaps more important, a regional body empowered to make decisions on the allocation of resources between district councils would more appropriately be one with a preponderance of members representing the councils, since the latter would be the main source of finance. A regional development board composed of representatives of district councils, assisted by government technical officers, might be more appropriate in the circumstances. Decisions would then lie with the people most intimately concerned with the supply and use of resources.

However, advocacy of local government representation on regional councils should not be interpreted as support for a system of regional local government. The experiment made by the colonial administration with an upper tier in the structure of local government ended in failure. Some of the reasons given at the time for its lack of success have lost none of their validity with the passage of time.¹⁷ A consensus of opinion on this issue from people with varied experience of local government under African conditions was formulated at a conference held at Kings College, Cambridge, in the summer of 1961. The relevant group report reads as follows:

"Especially in rural areas, one great handicap to the development of effective local government has been the tendency towards multiplicity and complexity in the local government structure. Though we appreciate the merits both of the pyramid and of the tier structure and the purposes these have served, they have led in Africa to the setting up of too many authorities. In our view, simplicity and concentration of resources are the best criteria for structure in African conditions. If this had been recognised in the past, many doubts about the effectiveness and suitability of local government for Africa might have been avoided. Multiplicity of authorities means dispersal of resources and militates against the principle of providing to each and every local authority financial resources and executive functions adequate to maintain interest and avoid frustration."¹⁸

There are no grounds for believing that this thinking is anachronistic today. Rather the contrary. Rapid political, economic and social change brings a host of problems in its train. Some institutional adjustments are inevitable to attain the desired objectives. But, in this kind of situation, organisational complexity is more likely to hinder than help the transition to a new society.

17. In his annual report for the year 1959, the Provincial Commissioner of the Lake Province diagnosed the failure of the South East Lake County Council experiment thus: "Due to its size it lacked cohesion, and was unable to command the necessary local loyalty which, generally speaking, extends little beyond the individual district boundaries. There was confusion over functions and economically it depended for its existence on assigned revenues from Government. . . ."
18. Summer Conference on Local Government in Africa held under the auspices of the Cambridge University Overseas Studies Committee. Background papers and group reports published by the Cambridge University Press.

KARAGWE (KAFURO)¹ AND THE FOUNDING OF THE NYANZA MISSION (C.M.S.)*

By Israel K. Katoke

A reader of modern studies concerned with the founding of the Anglican and other Evangelical Churches in and around the Lake Regions of East Africa, particularly that region of the so-called Interlacustrine Kingdoms, does not get the same impression of the importance of Karagwe as he gets when he reads the accounts of the first Europeans to visit this area. Modern scholars² seem to ignore or overlook the esteem in which Karagwe was held by the early explorers, especially Speke, Grant, and Stanley. The significance of Karagwe to these visitors is apparent in the discussions and plans for the opening up of a missionary enterprise in this area. This enterprise, as we all know, was to play an important role in the social and political development of the modern state of Uganda. The C.M.S. Committee was guided in its deliberations concerning the founding of this mission by the remarks and recommendations made by these early visitors to Equatorial Africa.

The realization of this weakness—of not mentioning the part Karagwe played in the preliminary plans of establishing the proposed mission—has led me to write this paper. Its aim is to bring to light some of the information which has been ignored by some scholars. In order to achieve my objective I have utilized the materials of these scholars, the explorers, and some of the material written by some of the people who participated in the planning conference.³

With this goal in mind I plan to begin with a brief account of Karagwe's potentialities as they were perceived by Speke and Grant, who thought that Karagwe could make a second main base for the C.M.S. enterprise in East and Central Africa next to Mombasa. I shall also mention the suggestions the explorers made to the C.M.S. Committee; the decisions by the Committee; the first expedition bound for Uganda; and finally some of the problems that beset the expedition when it reached Kageyi until it was forced to proceed to Uganda without going to Karagwe first.

It is true that the unexpected events which took place during the time when the mission expedition was travelling from the coast to Karagwe led to its being bypassed by the expedition, which had to hurry to Mutesa's court in response to his "S.O.S." message. But it seems legitimate that these events which took place in the early history of the mission should be included in any discussions related to its founding and establishment.

It can be said in general terms that the greater interests of the C.M.S. in the Lake region, like those of other English evangelical missions, were ignited by the celebrated speech of Dr. David Livingstone which he gave in December 1857 at the Senate House, Cambridge, saying:—

I beg to direct your attention to Africa... I go back... to try to make an open path for commerce and Christianity... I may die there, but take care you do not let that door be closed.⁴

* The author wishes to thank Professors D.F. McCall, and P. Hassing, of the African Studies Centre and School of Theology of Boston University respectively, for their constructive suggestions which led to the improvement of this paper.

1. It seems that the term Karagwe was generally applied to the Arab trading centre Kafuro, and the neighbouring King's residence Bweranyange, rather than the whole Kingdom, which covered the area that forms the present administrative district of Karagwe.
2. C.J. Hellberg, *Missions on a Colonial Frontier West of Lake Victoria*, Lund, 1965. J.M. Kibiria, "A Study of Christianity among the Bahaya Tribe," S.T.M. thesis, Boston University, School of Theology, 1964. R. Oliver, *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*, London, 1952, 1965. J.V. Taylor, *The Growth of the Church in Buganda*, London, 1958.
3. Edward Hutchinson, *The Victoria Nyanza, A Field for Missionary Enterprise*, 1876, and Sarah G. Stock, *The Story of Uganda*, New York and Chicago, n.d.
4. Quoted in Hutchinson, *The Victoria Nyanza*, p.3.

But it can as well be said, as Edward Hutchinson put it, that "the more immediate cause of the present movement for the establishment of a mission is due to Mr. Stanley, who in the midst of all excitement of travel, and having met Mutesa, the King of Buganda, "thought of the welfare of the King whose guest for a time he was"⁵ and from whom he drew an invitation to the missionary to come to Buganda.⁶

Mr. Hutchinson goes on to say that it should "not be forgotten that the very first incentive to exploration in this part... is due to the discoveries of the missionaries of the C.M.S. (Krapf, Rebmann, and Erhardt)," particularly to their map of East Africa, which included a great portion of the Lake region showing the "lake of such portentous size and unseemly shape."⁷ This map was phenomenon enough in those days to excite and arouse many people's curiosity including that of Speke and Grant. Later, after their famed "Walk Across Africa," their discoveries and suggestions pointed out to the C.M.S. Committee the potentiality of the region and its suitability for a missionary enterprise, long before Stanley made his visit to Mutesa's court in 1875.⁸

As soon as Speke and Grant had returned to England from their successful and celebrated expedition, Speke, at the request of some clergymen and missionaries, wrote in his "The Nile Sources":

As many clergymen, missionaries and others have begged to publish what facilities are open to the better prosecution of their noble enterprise in this wild country, I would certainly direct their attention to the district of Karagwe in preference to any other.⁹

Later in the same account he emphasized once more the importance of Karagwe by saying that "of all places in Africa, *by far the most inviting missionary enterprise*" were the kingdoms of Karagwe, Uganda (Buganda) and Bunyoro.¹⁰ His companion, Grant, when asked to give his personal opinion, answered in a letter to the Lay Secretary, that the missionary party which was to be sent should first arrive in Karagwe and from there work on Mutesa, because the area had many advantages. A further recommendation for Karagwe as the suitable site for a missionary base came from the *Edinburgh Daily Review* of February 8, 1876, which, while praising Hutchinson's *Victoria Nyanza*, as a valuable collection of "authoritative sources," went on to say that a successful missionary expedition to found a mission field in the area should *first* found a strong settlement in Karagwe"... the country to the southwest of Uganda of the gentle King Rumanika" from which ultimately work would be extended to Uganda "if Mutesa turns out honest."¹¹ Summing up the foregoing information in their final decision, the C.M.S. Committee passed the following resolution:

That this Committee... is primarily commissioned to Africa and the East, and recognizing a combination of providential circumstances in the present opening in Equatorial Africa, thankfully accepts the offer upon God, to take steps for the establishment of a mission to the vicinity of the Victoria Nyanza, in the prayerful hope that it may prove a centre of light and blessing to the tribes in the heart of Africa.¹²

5. *Ibid.*, p.4.

6. The invitation was relayed to Christians in the Western world by Stanley through the *Daily Telegraph*, Nov. 15, 1875.

7. Hutchinson, *op.cit.*, p.5, and Stock, S.G., *op.cit.*, p. 15.

8. Speke and Grant visited Karagwe and Buganda in 1861-62.

9. Hutchinson, *op.cit.*, p.7; Speke, *Sources of the Nile*, p.365.

10. Hutchinson, *op.cit.*, p.8.

11. *Ibid.*, "Opinion of the Press," at the end of the book.

12. E. Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, Vol.III. 1916, p.96.

As late as May 2 or 6, 1876, when Alexander Mackay on his way to Uganda caught for the first time a glimpse of Africa, he re-stated in great excitement the goal of his mission by saying:

... We go to plant churches of the living God in Central Africa... *where* I shall... set up my printing press on the shores of the Victoria Nyanza, and I shall not cease to toil till the story of the cross of Christ be printed in the languages of Karagwe and Uganda.¹³

As has been seen, Karagwe held the first priority in the minds of these explorers, as the ideal place for establishing a main base for the mission because it had many advantages over other possible areas.

First, it was a fine, healthy country, capable of affording missionaries every comfort of life which an isolated place could produce. Its remoteness from the coast would present less interference from the Muslims who resided along the coast. Provisions were plenty and the soil was fertile and prolific so that it was possible for a "missionary establishment, however large... to support itself after the first year's crop."

The high altitude, between 5,000 and 6,000 feet above sea level, and its mild climate, would make possible the continued *long* residence of missionaries. Moreover, such a climate would make it easier for the inhabitants "to learn any lesson of industry they might be taught" than in the hotter and more enervating lowlands. It was also recommended by Captain Marry of the U.S. Navy, at the British Association in 1863, that coffee and possibly tea and vines (grapes) could be grown because of the good soil, altitude, and the fact that wild grapes had been found in some places.¹⁴

On the political scene it was felt that the gentle and soberminded Rumanika would "gladly receive a party who would improve him and his people." As for the extortionate chiefs who ruled the countries along the way between *Kazeh* (Tabora) and Karagwe and could not be avoided, Grant offered the suggestion that Rumanika could be used to influence them to some degree by "ordering his men to accompany the party from *Kazeh* to Karagwe."¹⁵ The remarks made about the good-natured Banyambo (the inhabitants of Karagwe) were a further assurance to the missionaries of their safety in this area.

As far as the teaching of the Word was concerned, it was felt that, because Rumanika and some of his subjects spoke Swahili, it would be easy to teach the Wahuma (Bahima) because they would have to be taught only how to read and write the language which the missionaries were bound to use as the means of communication, as they were supposed to have learned it at the coast. The knowledge of this language would facilitate understanding between the two parties.¹⁶ The genealogy of the King and the Bahima (if it were true) was supposed to make it easy for the missionaries to implant the Word into the heart of the king and his people. The King was supposed to be a descendant of the Christian emperors of Ethiopia, thus possessing "latent Christianity" which would not take long to revive.¹⁷

Commercially, Karagwe occupied a central location. It was situated at the south-west corner of the Victoria Nyanza—here meaning the whole area which includes today's Bukoba and Karagwe districts.¹⁸ It was also at the cross-roads of north and south on the road that led to and from the ivory-producing countries of Ankole, Bunyoro-Kitara, and Buganda. From the south came traders and travellers who

13. J.W. Harrison, *Mackay of Uganda*, London, 1892, p.84.

14. Hutchinson, *op.cit.*, pp.7-9.

15. Grant, in Hutchinson, *op.cit.*, p.105. Professor Oliver points out that a minor station between the coast and Karagwe was suggested at either Mpwapwa (which later became a springboard for the mission in central Tanzania) and Tabora or in Usukuma. R. Oliver, *The Missionary Factor in East Africa* (1952, 1965), p. 41.

16. *Ibid.*, pp.43-44.

17. *Ibid.*, p.8.

18. *Ibid.*, p.119.

brought goods to be exchanged with the people from the north and north-east, including Kiziba. The commodities traded included ivory, beads, bark cloth, calico pieces, copper, guns and gunpowder, coffee, spears and slaves.

Without the knowledge of the waterfalls at Kikagati, on the Kagera, Grant suggested that a light boat and ship building should be established on the lake near Kafuro from where a sizable ship would be launched to cruise on the Kagera on to the Victoria Nyanza.¹⁹

After an anonymous donor, who desired to be known as "An Unprofitable Servant," had donated £5,000 as part of the expenses of the proposed Nyanza mission,²⁰ the C.M.S. Committee sat down to consider the suitable route which the expedition should follow in order to reach the Lake region. There were two possible routes suggested to the Committee. One from the Mediterranean coast up the Nile, as recommended by the anonymous donor and Stanley, because they felt that Colonel Gordon's operations on the Nile provided the needed protection for the missionary expedition.²¹ The other alternative was that of starting from the East coast on the Indian Ocean and following the trade route which traversed today's Central Tanzania on to Karagwe. This route was suggested by Speke and Grant, who, as a result of their expedition, knew both routes. Grant discarded the Nile route because he felt that Gordon was regarded in Central Africa, especially by Kings Kumrasi of Bunyoro and Mutesa of Buganda, as an invader. Hence, any "mission approaching Uganda from the North under his auspices would seem identified with the policy of annexation."²² Moreover the natural tendencies of the Sultan of Zanzibar, who according to Stock had visited England that year, pointed to the East coast as the natural starting point for an expedition to the interior of East Central Africa. Again, Grant questioned the "probable uncertain character of Mutesa," so he felt that "the mission should aim first at the Kingdom of Karagwe... where he had found Rumanika to be of a singularly noble and gentle disposition."²³

After a long deliberation examining all the recommendations about the two possible routes, the committee decided to pursue the route from the East coast, because a careful examination of Colonel Gordon's policy deemed the possibility of the northern route impossible, for "the prospects of a peaceful and speedy settlement of the difficulties in the way of the open roads to the Great Lakes" were more remote than were first hoped.²⁴ Besides, the tribes inhabiting the areas through which the expedition was to travel were more hostile than those on the second alternative. Earlier they had killed Lieutenant Linant. Also, Gordon had not strong enough forces to provide protection for the missionaries, and there was the absence of a strong and stable Egyptian government.

The committee also felt that by following the route from the East coast the party would have at its disposal the long and well established base at Mombasa. Here they would spend a few days or weeks of orientation before proceeding on into the interior.²⁵ Moreover, by following this route, Karagwe, which seemed more important to the party than the countries along the Nile, would be reached first and a permanent centre could be established without a prior approach to Mutesa's Court. The distance from Mombasa on the Indian Ocean to Karagwe was shorter than that from the Mediterranean to Buganda. The route would also follow the long established tracks

19. *Ibid.*, p.105.

20. The donor was stimulated by Mutesa's invitation to English missionaries to come to Uganda which was transmitted to them by Stanley.

21. Hutchinson, *op.cit.*, p.48.

22. E. Stock, *op.cit.*, p.96.

23. *Ibid.*, p.97.

24. Stock, S.G., *op.cit.*, p. 60.

25. *Ibid.*, p.63.

followed by the Arab and Swahili traders into the interior (Bagamoyo-Tabora-Karagwe).²⁶ In addition, a mission settlement at Karagwe would make it easy for the missionaries to dispatch and receive their mail to and from the coast, and they would be able to get the provisions they needed from the coast. The route from Mombasa to Uganda through Masailand, which would have been the shortest, was discarded due to the recent murder of Baron von der Decken (1865).²⁷

Although Karagwe seems to have been favoured by almost all recommendations, Oliver points out that to those members of the Committee "who failed to discern 'a providential combination of circumstances in recent openings in Equatorial Africa,' the idea of such a mission appeared romantic." These sceptics favoured the idea of developing a chain of stations slowly inland "with Buganda as the ultimate goal," but their proposals were hindered by "the terms of the anonymous offer and of the earmarked subscriptions" which aimed at establishing a Nyanza mission first and other supporting stations later.²⁸ Because of this disagreement within the Committee itself, E. Stock says that the question of establishing a station in Karagwe "was left undecided, but it led to the enterprise to be called, not the Uganda mission, but the Nyanza mission, leaving the *locale* an open question."²⁹

Despite the fact that Karagwe was highly recommended, it was not without a few drawbacks. There was the difficulty of getting through the lands of the extensively extortionate rulers between Karagwe and the coast, who demanded heavy taxes—*Hongo*—from the caravans traversing their kingdoms.³⁰ The distance from the Indian Ocean, though not as far as that from the Mediterranean, was a long and arduous journey which separated these areas from any point fairly accessible as a base of operation. Furthermore, Grant was dubious about Mutesa's feelings toward Rumanika as he was bound to be jealous of him if he heard that a mission had been established in Karagwe. Hence, Grant recommended that in order to prevent Mutesa's anger the party should split into two groups as soon as things were settled, so that one of the groups should immediately advance to Mutesa's court.³¹

When the members of the advance party of the expedition had reached the southern shores of the Victoria Nyanza (by avoiding the extortionate rulers of Usumbwa and Uzinza), they arranged to proceed to Karagwe. At Karagwe it was hoped that Lieutenant Smith, the leader of the party, would leave his companion, Mr. Wilson, there, while he himself continued to Buganda.³² However, before these arrangements could be finalized the party began to experience some troubles with the hostile tribe—the *Watuta* (?)—so that Lieutenant Smith stated in his letter home that if they were to reach Uganda they needed a good vessel, for without it they would "ever be prevented

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26. If by Karagwe the committee meant the Arab trading depot, Kafuro, and the King's residence, Bweranyange, it can be inferred that this metropolis would provide ample opportunity for the missionaries to contact all the people who came from north and south to trade at Kafuro. If some of them would be converted they would then return to their respective home areas where they would become missionaries to their own people.
 27. Stock, S.G. *op.cit.*, p.64. H.A. Fosbrooke in his article "Richard Thornton in East Africa," *TNR* 58/1959, indicates that the Baron was murdered on October 2, 1865, whilst on the expedition on the River Juba (p.60).
 28. R. Oliver, *op.cit.*, pp.40-41. He also notes that building started at Mwapwa in September 1877.
 29. E. Stock, *op.cit.*, p.97.
 30. Stock, S.G., *op.cit.*, p. 119.
 31. *Ibid.*, p.46.
 32. The advance party included Lieut. Shergold Smith, Mr. Wilson and Mr. O'Neill. They had followed the route which was first followed by Speke in 1858 and later by Stanley in 1874/75. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

from working among the many tribes settled all around the Lake."³³ But prior to Smith's letter Mr. O'Neill had written from Ukerewe indicating that they still intended to go to Karagwe first for: "Now as we are about taking our possession in the name of Christ of our respective kingdoms pray for us."³⁴ However, before they could think of new ways to get to Karagwe they received two pressing letters from Mutesa, which forced them to abandon their plans and answer his "S.O.S." The first letter reads:

To my Dear Firend Wite Men:

I have heard that you have reached Ukerewe, so now I want you to come quickly. I give you Magomba to be your guide, and now you must come quickly.—This letter from me, Mutesa, King of Uganda, written on April 10, 1877.

The second letter reads as follows:

My Second Letter to My Dear Friend Wite Men. I send this my servant that you may come quickly and let not this my servant come without you... Send my Salaam to Lukongeh of Ukerewe.³⁵

On the receipt of these letters the party resolved that Smith and Wilson should proceed to Buganda leaving O'Neill at Ukerewe, in charge of other stores and also completing the building of a dhow, which would take him probably to the shores of Buhaya (Karagwe). Smith and Wilson left in the *Daisy* on June 25, 1877, with the feeling that Mutesa's messages were "a signal of God's favour..." to their mission.³⁶

The hopes of opening a mission settlement in Karagwe faded away at least for the next two or three decades, when Smith and O'Neill were murdered by King Lukonge's forces which raided their camp and massacred almost everybody, after an Arab Trader, Songoro, had had a quarrel with Lukonge and then crossed over to Kageyi seeking protection from the missionaries.³⁷

Having considered here the proposals for opening a mission station in Karagwe and some of the reasons that led to its failure, we are still left with some questions which need to be answered or investigated:

1. Was Karagwe a really good place to start from? If so, why were no further attempts made until the 1890's?

2. If Rumanyika was as good natured, intelligent, and admiring of European (English) knowledge as he was, and most reports indicate he was, why did he not extend an invitation to missionaries or European entrepreneurs after Grant and Speke

33. J. E. Ellis, *Life of Alexander Mackay*, n.d., p.84.

34. Stock, S.G., *op.cit.*, p.47.

35. These letters were written by the famous ex-slave boy, Dallington Scopion Mufta, who added his own footnote at the end of the first letter, saying:

To My Dear Sir.

I have heard that you are in Ukerewe, and this king is very fond of you. He wants Englishmen more than all.

From your servant, Dallington Scopion.

Ibid., pp.50-51

36. Stock, E., *op.cit.*, p.100.

37. *Ibid.*, p.104. It should also be noted that C.M.S. missionaries from Uganda attempted to start work in Bukoba/Karagwe area in the 1890/s, but they were refused permission by German authorities in the area. "Formal" involvement of C.M.S. in this area came after World War I (1917-24), when the German missionaries were repatriated and so they asked their English counterparts to come from Uganda and take over the work until time came for them to return. Although the Uganda mission handed over the work to the South African Wesleyan Methodists in 1924, the former still retained stations at Rubungo, Katoke, and Nshambya — the first two of which are still part of the southern Nyanza Diocese (C.M.S.) up to the present day. See C.J. Hellberg, *Missions on a Colonial Frontier, West of Lake Victoria*, Lund, 1965, pp. 137-159, 163-235.

had explained to him the benefits he would derive from the presence of such people?³⁸ Can it be said that Rumanyika, though not a Muslim or interested in becoming one, was not interested in inviting other foreigners to his court who might compete with his old friends, the Arabs, and Buganda—in commerce and religion? Rumanyika is said to have owed his succession to the throne to the Arabs and the King of Buganda.³⁹

3. Were future attempts by missionaries to come to Karagwe prevented by the Baganda? When asked to give his recommendation for a suitable route for the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition, Stanley said that the route from Msalala-Karagwe-Ankole would present an immense loss of men and goods along the way, "because Karagwe was garrisoned by the Waganda and no expedition could pass through... without persistent hostility from (them)."⁴⁰

4. If Buganda, and Toro, are said to have gained many advantages from their early associations with the new invaders and their religion, what would have happened to Karagwe if Rumanyika had invited English missionaries and entrepreneurs to come and establish their business in his kingdom?

When all the possibilities that might have happened have been considered, together with their *if's*, one thing remains clear, namely that, if the Nyanza mission had succeeded in establishing itself in Karagwe at that early date, the subsequent political, ecclesiastical and social history of the district, if not that of the whole Lake region, would have been different from what it is today.

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38. Sir John M. Gray states that Stanley (who was the vanguard of Mutesa's invitation to missionaries) stayed in Karagwe for a month, but nowhere are we told that Rumanyika did extend any invitation for missionaries or fortune seekers. "Ahmed bin Ibrahim—The First Arab to Reach Buganda," *UJ*, 11/2/1947, p.91.
39. See A.D. Roberts, "The Sub-Imperialism of the Baganda, *J.A.H.*, III/3/1962, p.435, and R.W. Beachey, "The Arms Trade in East Africa in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Ibid.*, III/3/1962, pp.451-467.
40. H.M. Stanley, *In Darkest Africa*, Vol.I, pp.33-34, 53.

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SOME ASPECTS OF SWAHILI POETRY

by Jan Knappert

Poetry is the common heritage of all the people of the Swahili Coast. Its centres are found all along the shores of the Indian Ocean: between Barawa in the North (now part of Somalia but still in the nineteenth century a centre of Swahili Poetry) and Lindi in the South. Known centres of today are Lamu, Mombasa, Pemba, Zanzibar, Bagamoyo, Tanga, Dar es Salaam, Kilwa and Mikindani. Though the dialects of these towns are different, there is a free exchange of poems in manuscripts between one town and another.

Today one finds poems written in Roman script or even typed, but the old tradition, which is still kept up by many poets, is to write in Arabic characters with at the end the date and the words "Written with God's help by the poor, destitute and ignorant writer Fulani bin Fulani". The old type of poets wrote poetry for the love of God; their poverty was in line with their artistic principles.

All the Swahili educated in their old traditions can read and write Arabic script. The form of Swahili-Arabic writing now in use in Mombasa is based on the Urdu variety of Arabic script and is so well adapted to the language that it is now actually better than Roman script as it represents dental consonants, aspirates and velarized sounds. To overcome the extra cost of printing in Arabic, the latest publications are photographic reproductions of original manuscripts; this shows that the traditional poetry is still very popular.

The date of birth of Swahili poetry is not known, but I would put it very tentatively around 1500. It is possible that Swahili was written before that date but there was probably no extensive literature in Swahili before the sixteenth century. As for the place of birth, the evidence seems to point in the direction of Pate, as all the manuscripts of the first half of the eighteenth century, the oldest known period, are in the Pate dialect. These poems (Hamziya, Herekali and Inkishafi) are written each in a different metre and show such a high degree of artistic perfection that it is certain they stand at the end of a long period of development. The three poems that remain indicate that there must have been a rich literature at that time.

The oldest known poet who used the Swahili language is the legendary King Liongo who ruled the lower Tana area, according to Hichens at the end of the twelfth century. This does not seem to be corroborated by any archeological evidence; Kirkman placed him in the last part of the sixteenth century (*Man and Monument in East Africa*, p.82). That would just about fit the linguistic peculiarities of the poems attributed to him.

The most prominent poet of the classical period was no doubt Muyaka bin Haji al-Ghassaniy, who lived 1753-1837, according to notes of the late Sir Mbarak Ali Hinawy. Muyaka's "Diwani" was collected by the Rev. W. E. Taylor in the eightennineties and was later published by Hichens with an introduction by Sir Mbarak. Muyaka excelled in the *shairi*-metre, which became so popular that *ushairi* now means poetry in general. The *shairi* metre is built up of stanzas of four lines each, every line containing sixteen syllables. In all Swahili poems every line must have the same number of syllables; one cannot, as in European languages, insert lines of different length in one poem. The place of the stresses in the line seems to be free, and the poet uses the stress in order to create a special rhythm in his poems.

The following is a quatrain from Muyaka in the *shairi* metre:

*Naliwazato moyoni, humumo moyoni mwangu:
mambo pia duniani, Mtenzi ni Yeye Mungu.
Zizingukapo zamani, yazingapo malimwengu
Mava yatakuwa vyungu, vyungu vitakuwa mava.* (Diwani p.96)

*"I was thinking deeply in my heart, here in this heart of mine:
about all the things of this world, the one Actor is God.
As the time roll by, so the things of this world revolve:
Dust will become pots, pots will become dust.*

In Swahili, the heart is the seat of reason and common sense, not the centre of feelings and emotions as in English. The theme of the transience of this world is a popular one with Swahili poets of all ages; it is bound up with the Islamic tradition. We find the same atmosphere of resignation in all other parts of the Islamic world. The Swahili poets write entirely in an Oriental style, and both the themes and the metre are of Oriental origin. Swahili culture as a whole is not African but Oriental. The Swahili have always lived as it were with their backs turned toward Africa, looking Eastward across the Ocean toward Arabia, Persia and India, from where they received their standards of religion, culture and literature. Where the Africans enjoy life on this earth and celebrate it in songs and dances without another world worth longing for, the Swahili on the other hand look away from this transitory world toward a better life in Paradise; and whoever leads a life of dignity and restraint in this world, can be certain of a good place in the eternal world after this one.

In both worlds God is the only Actor: people are as it were like puppets in His hand. God causes the Universe with all its planets to revolve, and all the visible things it contains will change their appearance as time rolls by. Every attempt to escape from this gigantic system of divine laws is doomed to fail: we can never hide from the sight of an all-seeing God. On this, Muyaka wrote:

*Aliyekimbia wole, mwendo wa myaka sitini,
akerda umungojele, ukele mitilizini,
ukamba ndoo tukale, mwandani, wangu mwandani!
akiuza U nani? ukamba Sini weleo?*

*"He that fled from his Fate, a journey of sixty years,
while he was going, it was waiting for him, sitting in the gutter:
it said: Come and let us eat, my dear friend!
When he asked: Who are you? It said: Am I not your Fate?*

Rhyme in Swahili is effected by making the last syllable of two lines identical, as if we were in English, for example, able to rhyme mango with bingo. In the *shairi*, there is rhyme not only at the end of a line but also in the middle before the caesura. The end-rhyme of the first three lines is found again in the middle of the fourth line, on the caesura. A very rich but very difficult pattern!

Modern poets still use the same forms of verse line and stanza to write their lyrical and philosophical poetry. Most poets require several stanzas in one poem to express their thoughts properly, but some of the best-known poets need only one stanza: the genuine quatrain. The famous Shabaan Robert wrote a book of quatrains

"Marudi Mema", after he had translated Omar Khayyam's quatrains into Swahili, with which I hope to deal in another article. Here is one quatrain from the Marudi Mema:

*Nipe maneno launi mepesi kwa kukariri,
yenye wema na amani na moyoni kufikiri,
yenye wema na amani kwa watu yasikasiri:
yawe tamu ulimini na moyoni kufikiri,
yatie watu imani njema ya kutadhibiri.*

*"Give me colourful words, easy to repeat,
good and peaceful for people and not lacking anything:
let them be sweet on the tongue and in the heart, to reflect upon,
may they give people faith, a good thing to recite."*

We see how the poet has changed the original rhyme scheme so as to suit the form of a quatrain: all the middle syllables rhyme and so do the four end syllables.

Another well-known poet who died recently, Sh. Amri Abedi, did not follow Shabaan Robert in this. He retained the old design which was originally intended for verses with one final rhyme running throughout the whole poem:

*Pendo ni tamu ajabu, likutanapo na pendo
hulevya kama sharabu, likatawala vitendo,
na maradhi likatibu, kiwete hupata mwendo,
usipende asopendo, pendo ni huku na huku.*

*"Love is wonderfully sweet, if it meets love.
it inebriates like drinking, it rules our actions,
it cures diseases, the lame will be able to walk,
do not love someone who has no love; love is everywhere."*

*Ukitaka moyo wangu, ni tayari kukupao,
nawe wako uwe kwangu, usiwe kwa mungineo;
hapo takufanya wangu, niwe wako wa pekeo,
mpumbavu apendao, pendo upande mmoja.*

*"If you want my heart, I am ready to give it to you,
and your heart should be with me, it should be with no one else;
now I will make you mine, let me be yours alone,
a fool loves with love from one side only." (Diwani nos. 72 & 73).*

More difficult than the metre of sixteen syllables is the one with fifteen syllables in the line, the so-called long *ukawafi*. It can have a rhyme in the fifth syllable of every line, at the first caesura. It is mostly used for religious poetry, some of the oldest and best poems in the Swahili language being written in it. Nowadays it is seldom practised because it requires a great poetic skill. Ahmed Nassir Juma, of Mombasa, gave me one quatrain in which he managed to rhyme not only in the fifth, but also in the tenth syllable of every line, at the second caesura:

*Mvita ifile, kisiwa chetu kitwa kitini
mezima myale, na kulla mtu yumo kizani
uwi na ndwele nyoyoni mwetu ndipo shinani
na mizi tele na utukutu uso thamani*

*"Mombasa died, our island, its head is down,
the sparks are extinguished, and every man is in darkness,
evil and disease are in our hearts here at the roots,
there is an abundance of amulets and exorcism, which are of no value."*

This lamentation probably refers to the fact that the prominent Swahili families in Mombasa see their wealth waning; some even have to sell their proud houses in the town and move to more modest country dwellings. The pious Swahili see this as a punishment from God, because they have been slack in the performance of their religious duties. So the evil is in their own hearts; there is the root (*shinani*, lit. "in the stem") of the disease. Instead of following the precepts of orthodox Islam, the people have indulged in such heathen practices as amulets and exorcism. The word *utukutu* refers to the ideophone *tukutu tukutu*, a realistic imitation of the sound of the drums in a nocturnal dance to exorcise the evil spirits. All this is anathema to the pious Muslim, who knows that all evil can be averted by zealous prayer and strict obedience to God's commandments.

A shorter line with similar structure is a peculiar type of song often used for a sort of light philosophy. Here is an example from Ahmed Basheikh Husein, a well-known poet from Mombasa who lived in the first half of this century. The first part of the line has only four syllables, the last part only three. The middle part retains five syllables, so that the total number of syllables in the line is twelve. Inner rhyme occurs normally only in the fourth syllable, i.e. at the first caesura:

*Jitihadi haiondowi kudura
hazifidi nyingi za watu busara
halirudi landikwalo hata mara.*

*"Efforts do not avert fate;
the arts of men are to no avail;
the written (word) does not go back even once."*

Kudura is here short for *kudura la Allah* "God's power", which cannot be turned away by human efforts, nor is man's wisdom of any use. God's word has been written on the *Loho*, the Writing Board in Heaven; that cannot be reversed, no human effort can wipe it off.

Here is another example of this rare form of song:

*Hizi nyonda walla hazina imani
hukuzinda zikakutia kizani
asopenda hana raha duniani.*

*"This love, by God, it has no faith,
it tricks you and put you in the dark;
but he that does not love has no pleasant life."*

Swahili poets often complain that love is unfaithful and therefore has no mercy (*rahama*).

A last example dates from the time of Al-Akida, when Mombasa was independent and refused to pay taxes to the Sultan of Zanzibar:

*Sumaili Basha anena hakiri
Lingajaa kasha poso na mahari
Sumaili Basha hamuoi siri,*

*"Isumaili Pasha says that he does not give his consent, though his treasury contains enough money for the proposal and for the bride price,
Isumaili Pasha does not give away (his daughter in marriage) secretly."*

The song is a disguised allusion to the political situation of the day and therefore contains a number of *double-entendres*. Firstly, there is another word *hakiri* "poor,

destitute", so that the first line might be translated: "Isumaili Pasha says that he is poor". In the second line, *poso* could also be identified with *posho* "provisions for the journey", whereas *mahari* "bride price" has another meaning: "skill, cunning". In the third line, the word *kuoa* can mean "to marry" or "to write". The hidden meaning (*maana batini or kujua ndani*) of the song is thus: "Isumaili Pasha says that he is poor, though his cupboard is full of provisions and he has cunning; Isumaili Pasha does not write a secret contract." What on the surface seems to be an innocent song about a marriage, is in actual fact an outlet for political feelings.

In the last example the rhyming of the fourth syllable has been superseded by the rhyme in the middle of the line, on the sixth syllable. The following specimen shows the common form of the song (*wimbo*):

*Raha ya duniya ni mambo matatu
la kwanza afiya la pili ni kitu
la tatu bahtiya kupendwa ni watu,
Moyo si kiwanda hauna nafasi
siitii nyonda haudhi nafusi
huyuwi kupenda kupendwa huyisi
Nina langu kwanda fungu la usemi
K'iketi na nyonda sitindi ulimi
nayuwa kupenda na kupendwa mimi.*

*"The pleasure of this world is three things:
the first is health, the second is possessions,
and the third is to be loved by people.*

*"My heart is not an open space, it has no room;
I will not put (one-sided) love in it for I would only suffer from it myself,
You do not know how to love, nor do you know how to be loved.*

*"First I make use of my talent (lit, "share"), the gift of speech;
when sitting with my love, I never stop my tongue,
I know how to love and how to be loved."*

The singer is a young man of the world who has just won his sweetheart from a rival. He considers good health and wealth even more important than love. He is not going to suffer pains of love without any response from the beloved. When in the company of his sweetheart, he knows what to do: the gift of the gab makes girls fall in love. He is speaking scornfully to his beaten rival.

There are numerous *nyimbo* in this form, most of them dealing with the subject of love in a light manner:

*Mahaba ni sumu iuayo siri
hayana mwalimu wala dakitari
hutia wazimu nao ufakiri.*

*Mahaba ni sumu ni sumu katili
mahaba ni tamu kwa kiwiliwili
mahaba ni tamu kwa watu wawili.*

*Apendaye kweli haonyeki dawa
hawi na akili hapati kutua
usiku halali usiku belua.*

*Dawa ya mahaba ni ukipendacho
ndicho kitu tiba kikipumbazacho
fanya taratibu ukipate hicho.*

*Na dawa ni wewe wangu muadhamu
sina mwenginewe na hilo fahamu
mimi mbwako wewe hata wa salamu.*

*"Love is a poison which kills secretly
there is no scholar and no doctor (who can cure it) makes one crazy and it
causes poverty.*

*"Love is a poison, a lethal poison;
love is sweet for the body,
love is sweet if there are two together.*

*"He who really loves, no medicine can be indicated for him;
he has lost his senses, he is not able to rest,
at night he does not sleep, the night is a trial.*

*"The medicine for love is that which you love,
that is your cure that will make you cheerful again;
act with prudence so that you may get it.*

*"The cure is you, my beloved,
I have no other one, remember this;
I am yours until the end."*

If one leaves off one more syllable from the song-line of 6 + 6 syllables, one can form a new type of metre, the short *ukawafi* of eleven syllables in the line. Here is an example in the dialect of Barawa (Kibarawa) now in Somalia:

*Taka nikwambire nisikwambire
kijungu cha pengo usipikire
mke mwenye mwana usimuore*

*"Whether you want me to tell you or not;
do not cook in a pot with a sherd missing;
do not marry a woman with a child."*

This verse refers to the preference of men in East Africa for virgins; a woman who is divorced or a widow is compared to a pot with a piece broken off.

The best known example of the *Ukawafi* of eleven syllables is the famous poem *Inkishafi*, published by William Hiches (Sheldon Press 1939, p.88):

*Kwalina mabwana na mawaziri
wenda na makundi na asikari
watamiwe nti za makaburi
pingu za mauti ziwafundiye.*

*"There were once lords and ministers of state;
they went out with troops of soldiers.
But the earth graves gaped for them,
The shackles of death tied them down."*

It is easy to hear how different the rhythm of this metre is from the one above, though they have the same number of syllables in the line. This last type with always four lines in the stanza is exclusively used for religious poetry. Next to the Inkishafi, the Durra Mandhuma (See Dammann, *Dichtungen in der Lamu Mundart*, Hamburg 1940) is a very popular poem for pious Muslims. It is typical of classical Swahili poetry; in modern collections of Swahili verse I found only one example, in Sh. Amri Abedi's Diwani (p.112) where he speaks to a corrupt official who led a lecherous life until he fell from power:

*Dunia si njema imekutupa!
Sana hako mtu wa kukukopa!
Vya bure ukala ukanenepa!
Sasa utakonda kuvijutia!*

*"The world is not nice, it has rejected you!
Now there is no one willing to lend you anything!
You ate and grew fat, in vain!
Now you will grow meagre and regret it!"*

The long *ukawafi* has fifteen syllables in the line; it is likewise almost exclusively classical and mainly in use for the *historia sancta*, the hagiography of the Islamic world, the history of the Prophet Mohammed and other saints of Islam. One of the long poems in this metre is a Maulidi (or Mauludi) published by G. Neuhaus (Berlin 1935). A Maulidi is a poem in Arabic or Swahili which deals with the birth and life of the Prophet; it is traditionally recited on the day of the same name, when the birthday of Mohammed is celebrated. In stanza 71 an episode is related from Mohammed's life: The young Prophet who had not yet been called by the Lord, arrives in Mecca from a long caravan journey to Syria. It is a hot day and all the travellers suffer from the heat. Hadija, the future wife of Mohammed, is sitting on the roof of her house and sees the caravan arriving:

*Alimuonaye mefuata na malaika
na hari ya yua kwa mabawa humufunika
kaonya na wendi walo wote kifurahika
na Maisarati akanena aloyaona.*

*"She saw him, how he was accompanied by angels,
who shielded him from the heat of the sun with their wings.
She showed her friends this and they all rejoiced.
She told Maisara, her councillor, what she had seen."*

Hadija, the sensible woman, understands that this is a sign from God, that He has shown her His angels protecting Mohammed in order to let her know that He wants her to marry Mohammed. Hadija then sends a messenger to invite Mohammed who is then only a humble camel-boy. Of course her father is strongly opposed to the marriage, but, curiously enough with the help of heady wine, he is persuaded to consent, and so the two are married and live happily together until she dies.

By far the most important part of Swahili literature is the huge treasure of *Utenzi* poetry. Most of this is still unpublished, and new titles are still being discovered (see Mr. J. W. T. Allen's forthcoming list). The *utenzi* metre of eight syllables in the line and four lines in the stanza is used for the major part for epic verse. Some of these epics are short, only a few hundred stanzas, but some are long, such as the *Utenzi wa Rasi l'Ghuli* which has more than 4,300 stanzas, or the Epic on the Life of Mohammed which has more than 6000 stanzas and is thus the longest epic in an African language. I deal with the *utenzi* at greater length in my forthcoming "Traditional Swahili Poetry".

In modern times Christian poets have joined the ranks of their Muslim colleagues and added a voice to the chorus that uses Swahili for its language of expression. Though making use of all the extensive linguistic potential of the Swahili language, they tread new paths in the field of culture. Their leader is beyond doubt Mathias Mnyampala, whose *Utenzi wa Enjili Takatifu*, a versified life of Jesus in the *utenzi* metre, has already gained popularity in Tanzania. Here is his rendering of passage from the psalms in the *shairi* metre:

*Jalali wangu Mchungu, nikidhi yako rehema,
sinache natangatanga, nitaburuku kwa wema,
niweke kwenye kiunga, cha malisho ya uzima,
na majani ya rehema, na vijito vyenye raha.*

*"Majesty, my shepherd, bestow Thy grace upon me,
do not let me wander about, let me be blessed with goodness,
place me in the Garden of the food of bliss,
and of the green leaves of Grace, and near the revulets of Peace." (Psalm 23,1).*

Most of the hymns in the Christian hymn books are written in a free rhythm. It appears however, that in a language in which the stress accent is much less prominent than in English, one cannot rely on stress to create rhythm. In a language like Swahili with open syllables and a weaker stress accent, one has to rely on the syllable as the basis for the rhythm. It is therefore advisable to keep the number of syllables always equal. President Nyerere himself showed the way when composing his translation of Julius Caesar: the whole drama is written in the *shairi* metre, though often without a caesura. His translation is certainly a pioneer's work: it is the first play in Swahili verse, and the first piece of Swahili poetry written in blank verse. Yet the Mwalimu realized that in the matter of rhythm and metre a Swahili poet could not yet dispense with the old rigid forms. As Goethe says: "The master shows himself when he is limited."

MEMOIRS OF A GERMAN DISTRICT COMMISSIONER IN MWANZA 1907—1916

*Extracts from the Memoirs of Theodor Gunzert, translated by Joyce Hutchinson;
edited with introductory notes by Ralph A. Austen.*

INTRODUCTORY NOTES

The author of these memoirs, now living in retirement in Heidelberg, served his government as both an administrator in the former German East African Protectorate and as an official in the Colonial Section of the German Foreign Office.

While Herr Gunzert's career often brought him into close contact with the key issues and personalities of German colonial policy, he never attained a position of direct influence over major decisions. His activities and views are significant instead as typical expressions of an entire generation of enlightened German colonial officials, products of a university legal education, determined to improve on the nonetheless admired work of their "conquistador" predecessors, much concerned with emulating and yet rivalling British examples.

As Gunzert himself points out, his period of most satisfying achievement was the ten years from 1907 to 1916 spent as *Bezirksamtmann* (District Commissioner) of Mwanza—dealing with an area which corresponds to the present Tanzania Regions of Mwanza and Mara together with the Maswa Area of the present Shinyanga Region. Gunzert's name is still a household word among the inhabitants of this area—particularly the Sukuma—and many of them can verify the feats which he cites in his own account.

As a historical document the present text suffers from the obvious defect of having been composed—almost entirely from memory—long after the events under discussion. Factual accuracy can thus not always be guaranteed and some generalizations—such as Gunzert's analysis of his Mwanza native policy—appear influenced by more recent developments. The greatest weakness—but also the strength—of these memoirs is that they were originally intended for circulation only among Herr Gunzert's family and close friends. Many references to domestic German lore will escape outside readers, while those familiar with colonial history and East Africa may find some of the background explanations redundant. Wherever possible, the more obviously intimate material has been omitted from this edition.¹

To the extent that the author maintains at all times an extremely informal tone, however, he does render a very frank account of his experiences and recaptures some of the atmosphere of an era in Tanzania's past which now seems very remote indeed.

SUMMARY OF HERR GUNZERT'S CAREER

Gunzert was born in Baden in 1874, and qualified as a jurist in 1899. After a journey to England he enrolled in the civil service of his native province, then joined the Colonial Service of the German Reich as an Assistant Judge. He was posted to Dar es Salaam in 1902, as District Judge, was transferred to Tanga in 1904, and from 1905-6 was administrative officer for the Pangani district. Then followed the ten-year period when Gunzert administered Mwanza, which is described in the extracts from his memoirs printed below.

Mwanza fell to the British in mid-1916, and Gunzert was obliged to leave his wife and children as prisoners while he joined the German forces fighting in the south. Subsequently he fell ill with amoebic dysentery, and, incapable of marching, had to enter a British field hospital at Lupembe, whereupon he became a prisoner of war.

1. A fuller version of the original memoirs is available on film at the Rhodes House Library Oxford.

(He was later awarded the Iron Cross, First Class, for his military service—"principally for my organisational achievements" he states in his memoirs). After imprisonment in Nyasaland, Egypt and Malta, he finally returned to Germany in 1919, where his family had also undergone considerable hardship. He then served with the German Reparations Commission, and in 1923 took over responsibility for East African affairs in the newly created Colonial Section of the German Foreign Office. In 1936 as part of the Nationalist Socialist Government's programme for bringing colonial policy under the control of its own party organisation, Gunzert was dismissed from the Foreign Office; he returned to his post for a brief period during the Second World War.

FROM GUNZERT'S MEMOIRS

Country and Town

As District Commissioner of Mwanza I reached the climax of my African career. Everything here was on grander scale, more complicated, more problematic, more promising than at the coast. Lake Victoria and the approaching German central railway posed traffic problems. While Pangani district with some thousand square kilometres counted only 60 to 70,000 inhabitants, there were here in an area the size of Bavaria almost a million people, the majority admittedly lived in the granite-enriched middle zone of Usukuma-Ukerewe-Mara while the wings, in the west, Uzinza in the east, the wild Ruvanna-Serengeti plains, were either sparsely populated or completely uninhabited. Compared with the single native tribe of Pangani, the Wazigua, there were here ten, partly East, partly West, Bantus and even Nilotics. The fact that the southern border was too finely drawn and even cut through the principal tribes, was a distinct disadvantage.

The climate of the district, on account of its average height above sea level of 1200 to 1300 metres and the sharp day-night and seasonal variation in temperature, can hardly be called tropical. The interior stretches of country which are no longer affected by the sea breezes are relatively dry, the rivers are without flowing water for three quarters of the year. The soil formation is as throughout the African high plateau—crystalline, and only in the already mentioned bulky granite outcrop region of durable fertility. The landscape seems like a hilly sea, often crowned with gigantic boulders, cultivated almost on a European scale, full of green fields and meadows in Spring, changing to grey-brown stubble in Summer and Autumn, a typical "cultivated plain". European plantations of high-grade, sensitive perennial, tropical crops are impossible here and even the few white farmers who went in for annual crops achieved no success. The basis here had to be the native economy.

The site of the capital, Mwanza, located on a bay of the gulf of the same name, had been well chosen by my predecessors. Placed between romantic mountain walls, with numerous granite kopjes—later crowned with buildings—located within the town, it presented the animated picture of a city on seven hills. A deep water pier, at which the "Uganda railway" steamer regularly berthed, was a sign of its link with world traffic. Among the 6,000 inhabitants were innumerable Indians, but only about 150 Europeans. The better known large German firms, and a few foreign hide exporters were represented with established settlements.

Administration and Justice

The business of administration was handed over to me by the commander of the 14th Field Company, who had until then been responsible for the government, in a complete muddle; no records had been kept. It was only later that I discovered that he had shortly before reported to Dar es Salaam the outbreak of a native revolt and had at the same time indiscriminately thrown a dozen chiefs into prison, where they were still waiting without trial or sentence. For this reason the Governor had sent a messenger after me to Kissenji with orders to return as quickly as possible and take

over the district. Since I could discover no unrest anywhere and nobody knew what the prisoners were accused of, I immediately set them free. The military post at Shirati became a district outpost; Ikoma remained mixed. As the mostly very old office and residential buildings fell to the civil administration, for the Company, now concerned purely with military duties, new quarters were erected on one of the town hills, including a commander's villa and a fortress which, being impregnable by natives, were never used. Mwanza was already then and became more and more an Open City. Only the government, alarmed by the Maji-Maji rebellion, continued to insist for a long time on such outdated strongholds.

With the more intensive administration, the number of officials and employees grew. Apart from an Assessor² as "Deputy" who was trained here and could if necessary replace me while I was on leave, there were normally 3 secretaries and 7-8 assistants, such as police corporals; in addition, one government doctor, veterinary officer, agricultural officer, post and customs officer, public works foreman, making altogether about 19 Europeans, together with about ten white troopers, including two surgeon majors. This was still a modest complement for such a vast area and a proof of the frugality of the Imperial Government and of the industry of the officials. I organised the internal work as unbureaucratically as possible and without the usual paper war. I put on record only what had documentary value, such as land sales, and for the rest relied on my memory. I seldom wrote reports except when government edicts required pulling to pieces after they had been held up to public ridicule. This worked admittedly to my own disadvantage as my administrative principles never reached the highest quarters. I placed the greatest value on keeping in contact with and gaining the confidence of my district and its inhabitants by constant travelling. A detailed map of the district based on countless compass bearings was the by-product of these travels. I can say with pride that during the 10 years of my administration there occurred not the slightest hostile clash with the natives, and indeed that I never even considered such a possibility—in spite of strict discipline.

I conducted European justice in the same spirit. In spite of my non-observance of legal formalities, the senior judge paid me the compliment that the lowest number of appeals were made against my judgments and decisions. As Registrar I had to conduct marriages and make wedding and funeral speeches. A tragi-comic case arose during the war, when a Berlin girl wanted to marry with all speed her Swiss lover, whose child she was expecting, and I had to forbid the bans in the absence of personal guarantees; the neutral father went back home and the deserted mother pressed the small half-Swiss baby on my wife in the Prisoner-of-war camp, saying "Take it, Madam, your husband is responsible!"

The office also involved managing an enormous household; vehicles, draught and riding animals, workmen and craftsmen, stores of all kinds had to be kept and buildings erected. Under my aegis were built: a new office with storerooms and a native prison, hospitals for both races, official quarters, a school, a market, bridges, gravel roads, water supply, police and *katikiro* quarters, stabling, a European cemetery. The sub-station at Shirati, which had no harbour, was transferred to Musoma at the Mara gulf, where an entirely new town complete with deep water pier grew up. The money for many of these schemes came from the "self-help fund" into which was paid a quota of the tax receipts of the district—which were very soon the highest in the Protectorate. Even when this arrangement came to an end and all expense had once again to be officially approved, my financial skill enabled me to go on drawing from the funds.

In the year 1912 a fine house with four rooms, kitchen, large verandah etc. was also finally built for me on the so-called "Calf Hill", the middle one of the town hills, with a wonderful view over the lake. The name recalled a lieutenant of the same name who had shot the great Wahima Sultan Ruoma during a court case—a strange local saint! The natives believed that a ghostly goat wandered round the place at night,

2. A university graduate in law, qualified to serve as an assistant judge or to enter the senior branch of the civil service.

which however happily shared its beat with genuine marmosets, mountain sheep, lizards, termites, spitting cobras and iguanas, and the gazelles, dog and parrot which we kept as pets. Other Europeans kept lion cubs, leopards, wild pigs, tortoises and crocodiles and it was astonishing how tame these wild animals became. Inevitably our social duties increased with the new house. We had to entertain the officials, prominent travellers, the British ships' officers. Rhine wines and Mumm extra dry became important imports on my account. At the party for Solf³ we got through 24 bottles of French champagne. It was fortunate that our head boy Asmani and the cook could organise such "Karams", including the food, by themselves and could decorate the table artistically. The menu, tinned hors d'oeuvres, Lake Victoria fish, roast sirloin with homegrown vegetables, pudding and fruit, was inevitably always the same; occasional mishaps, such as a taste of kerosene, scrambled eggs on the chocolate pudding, the expensive fresh grapes swimming in boiling water, were accepted with good humour. Everybody met on the verandah of the guest house without constraint and in complete social equality for the daily sundowner with bottled beer or whisky and soda.

It was fortunate for the service that I was not an enthusiastic hunter. The densely populated Usukuma was empty of game; so I shot only meat on the steppes to feed the caravan. The only big game I killed was a rhinoceros, to spare it suffering after it had been wounded by an askari. On the other hand, I enjoyed hunting the enormous crocodiles which lay brooding and dozing on the Lake islands, and which one shot at close range through the open jaws or from the side in the soft belly. Only once did I have a narrow escape when I got in the way of a croc fleeing out into the lake and, while trying to escape fell backwards from a rock, and the beast jumped high over me. Our vast eastern plains, teeming with game, had at that time not yet been discovered by the international hunters; they were a favourite spot for the military which carried out mock battles there and on one such occasion killed 30 lions. The slaughter was even greater when, on the orders of the Governor, they cleared the Kenya border of game, in a campaign to prevent the spread of rinderpest, which had existed there for a long time. This piece of foolishness is said to have cost the Governor his job.

Personal

The fact that in seven and a half years of peace and two of war I had become a kind of Mwanza specialist and almost untransferable, did not worry me for I had no desire for a Secretariat job in Dar es Salaam. I was from time to time mentioned as a candidate for the governorship but whether I should have exercised the necessary diplomacy remains a moot point. As a District Commissioner one had no material worries; a salary of 9-13,000 marks which also had to suffice for keeping up appearances, still left room for savings and made it possible to live according to one's position when on leave. The Berlin ladies evaluated colonials on leave according to the colony: the Cameroons people had money but were weakened by fever, those from South West Africa on the other hand were strong but had few savings; the East Africans combined both qualities! I once took over the East African desk in the Colonial Ministry, and for the rest spent my time with my parents in Heidelberg or took a holiday in some spa.

Mwanza Europeans: Predecessors, Colleagues, Miners⁴

The European society of Mwanza—as of other interior stations—differed from that of the coast in that the two independent groups of the missionaries on one side and of small self-made men and prospectors on the other, were more prominent, and the enormous numerical superiority of the natives led to a closer community life

3. Wilhelm Solf (1862-1937). Colonial Secretary from 1911 until the dissolution of the German colonial system.
4. A lengthy but not particularly original description of the Mwanza African population has been omitted.

among the whites. There was less class distinction and no white opposition to the Government, as the latter—although admittedly intended for the benefit of the natives—also furthered white interests.

My two predecessors, Army Captains S. and B., had also maintained order in the district and tried to increase native production, but for the rest had devoted their time more to military things.

Under the sober, lackluster, civil administration, the military personal and droll style of enjoying life was replaced by Work—"the eternally unvaried hours of duty." The few names which follow will do for all: the splendid Bavarian secretary R. who for years was in charge of financial affairs and found spare time to prepare the skeletons of African animals. The Alsatian W., an outstanding lay brother of the Catholic Mission, married to a Boer woman, knew all the native dialects and customs, and directed building and public works. The sub-station Shirati-Musoma was for a long time under the charge of the so-called Kiboko (hippopotamus), who owed this nickname to his enormous build, strength, and corresponding liquid capacity. The Customs Officer G. accompanied my miserable cello efforts on the piano at the weekly musical afternoon; although himself of slim build, he had a truly robust and emancipated half-caste daughter who, after her "papi's" death, made good her claim to his estate in Germany. Generally esteemed for his readiness to help and his devotion to duty was the Postmaster P., who, during the war, spent night after night at the wireless telegraph but on quarter days was accustomed to emerge from a succession of alcoholic nights with an embarrassed look and a sigh: "Bwana, I am shot dead!"

An international touch was provided by the prospectors—usually from South Africa or Australia. The district, being a continuation, geologically, of South Africa and Rhodesia, was interesting from the point of view of mining and a number of goldbearing quartz seams and small ore deposits had already been discovered and were being worked. The big places, the gold bearing location in Geita-Uzinza and the Williamson diamond mine in Usiha-Usukuma, were first opened under the British mandate, both in places which had been prospected in our time and abandoned, so that one might almost suspect that they had been purposely kept secret. Today Mwanza is the leading mining centre in East Africa and mining has replaced the unsuccessful European plantations.

Missions

The largest, and naturally the most mixed from the point of view of nationality, group of white inhabitants were the missionaries, at the head of which came the widespread Catholic so-called White Fathers from Algiers, a French order, but with many Germans and Benelux citizens. Protestantism was represented by Englishmen, Americans and German Seventh Day Adventists. It was only later that organised Islamic propaganda was introduced. The time when the Catholic mission prepared the way for the colonial expansion of France and the Protestants for England, when for example, the political allegiance of Uganda was decided by a real religious war, when the methods of obtaining converts were reminiscent of the middle ages, was over. In my time only the Adventists tried to force the native to "observance of the sabbath" by taking away their agricultural implements, which together with Sunday and the Islamic Friday would have ensured a generous weekend. The white lay population was fundamentally opposed to the missions, partly because they disapproved of any kind of integration, partly because they preferred Muslims. Also the fact that in some villages the Christians stayed apart from the rest of the population on the mission property, caused strife. On the other hand, the missionaries may well have felt that the religious indifference and the way of life of many lay Europeans hardly furthered their endeavours. It was only when, under the British mandate, the missions—especially the Catholics—carried out a large-scale cultural, hygienic and social programme, which also benefitted the pagans, that Christianity rose to be a force equal to Islam and one of the recognised African religions.

The Catholics owed their lead, as well as to their superior means, to their more collective system of conversion and to their more masterly appearance, which were more suited to the psychology of the native than the individual soul-saving of the Protestants.

"Black Policy"

In 1907 the German central railway line reached Tabora⁵ and diverted to Dar es Salaam the goods traffic of the colony's central and western regions which had previously been transported to the Uganda railway via Mwanza, and had indeed constituted half of Mwanza's exports. It was prophesied that my district would decline catastrophically in importance, and as the result of an unusually severe drought that very year this actually seemed to be happening. However, I was soon able to increase Mwanza's own production so much that not only was the loss recovered, but was in fact reversed. After all that has been said, it was only the natives who could be the force behind this upward trend, and it became the main objective of my administration to raise them in every respect and organise them usefully. Thus, in addition to increasing their export production, efforts were made to arrange bulk purchasing and transport in such a way as to ensure the producers greater profits, to care for public health and education, etc. This was only possible with the cooperation of the blacks or their clan chiefs. I won their cooperation by making the latter the exclusive agents between their followers and the white administration, and to this end I backed up their authority as much as possible, investing it with official prestige, and thus finally gave the district's negro population its own legal-political status. In any case these hereditary institutions were much preferred to the alien akidas from the coast, and it was irresponsible to make the latter master over the population of the interior, as some of my colleagues did. My system undoubtedly resembled the British West African "Black Policy", but—given the undeveloped state of affairs—it left the white district administrator much more scope for direct intervention or made him the actual driving force of the development. The example of the Turkish pasha ruling in dignity with unseen hand would not have appealed to me anyway, nor would it have impressed the negroes. They needed the "enlightened", ruthlessly effective and harsh Absolutism of 17th and 18th century Europe!

Native Agriculture

As the so-called "village shambas" of the coast districts were held to be partly responsible for the Maji-Maji rebellion, increased production by command was tabu in the colony. The European officials could only "recommend, persuade and encourage voluntary efforts". But since I knew that the natives expected orders from Europeans—*wanapenda kwa amri*, said an experienced Sudan officer, Schaush—I ignored the ruling and, through the chiefs, or the assistants assigned to them, arranged for each peasant to be allotted an annually increasing area for the cultivation of export crops and for the work to be inspected. I myself made spot checks and punished the idle. They could choose between groundnuts, whose oleaginous kernel was either consumed by the producers, or pressed in Indian mills, was also exported, shelled, in considerable quantities: or rice, the cultivation of which was restricted to the moister lake shore and islands, where springs made irrigation possible. As it was still pounded in primitive wooden mortars, I tried in vain to interest the Governor in the establishment of a government steam mill; German capitalists leapt into the breach and immediately had two factories constructed, in Mwanza and Ukerewe, which were served by a small steamer and a fleet of lighters for the preparation of paddy. During the war the product was indispensable as food for the troops.

I considered it vital to extend this programme still further and for this purpose chose cotton which was in great demand at home; the cultivation of the long stapled

5. Gunzert is in error. Dernberg visited East Africa in 1907 and presided over the completion of the first section of the Central Railway at Morogoro. The decision to extend the line further west was taken only at this time and construction as far as Tabora was not completed until 1912.

Egyptian variety was prescribed for the Protectorate, a variety unsuitable for our drier high ground. I therefore introduced on my own initiative the American Upland variety, admittedly shorter stapled but more robust, and was gratified that other inland districts gradually followed suit. After a test year with communal lands it was possible to hand the work over to the individual plots mentioned above. When the governmental "Colonial Economic Committee" went back on its word and withdrew the guaranteed minimum price for the first crop, I bought it up with money from the District funds, stored it and sold it at a profit when the market was steady again to a private firm which constructed a ginnery for the purpose. Later, when local cotton markets had been set up, there was never a lack of buyers. In all the three above mentioned items, Mwanza became the greatest exporter of the Protectorate, and in cotton it even exceeded all the other districts put together.

The most valuable native export goods nevertheless remained the produce of cattle raising, skins, hides and fat. To increase the number of animals kept—over a million cattle and smaller stock—would, considering the current overstocking of the pasture, have been equally as stupid as crossing with superior breeds before epidemics had been overcome. At least we succeeded in improving the quality of the skins, to which bits of rotting meat stuck, and which suffered through being dried in the sun. They were now brought fresh to market and there treated by authorised buyers, experienced in cleaning, and spread out in shady, open sheds until the inside shone golden yellow.

Against these reforms there must also obviously be counted some failures. An experimental farm for native cultivation, seed production, plough farming etc. under an expert, had to be set up by illegal means—as the Government refused; water storage in the dry areas, planting the hilltops with tsetse free trees, resettling population overflow in uninhabited Uzinza, would all have been useful tasks. But one can't do everything at once!

Trade and Commerce

While the business of the wholesale and middle dealers, who were principally established in the town, was governed by the world market, the profit of the producers in the hinterland depended almost entirely on the honesty of the Hindu-African bush buyers who formed the lowest rung of the trading organisation. These people had previously settled, mostly singly, in native villages, where, free from competition and control—they had exploited the natives to their heart's desire. I now obliged them to come together in definite market places, of which I founded a number throughout the region and likewise obliged the natives to bring their produce for sale at these places. The market police was controlled by the existing chiefs through overseers appointed by them; measures were taken against fraud by controlled weights and measures and minimum prices, based on world prices, and the use of more modern means of transport was encouraged by greater turnover.

The projected Tabora-Mwanza line, which would have mechanized—but also reversed—the main trade routes, was not realised in my time; the British Lake Victoria steamers served only the mainports. It was therefore my aim to transform the local coastal and interior transport from portage to vehicles and thereby free manpower for agriculture. For the former there were already the aforementioned steamers and a number of Arab sailing ships. Simple landing stages with sheds were built at all suitable coastal locations and the southern end of the Mwanza gulf and the channel between Ukerewe and the mainland were made navigable; but the same attempt failed on the Mara river. Enormous columns of "voluntary" workers laid down in Usukuma in the dry months gravelled roads, complete with drains, meadows, cement conduits and also partially with concrete bridges, which were passable for the greater part of the year. Two 3-ton Benz motor lorries, several Boer waggons with 16 oxen, and Ford Jeeps for personal transport were already running successfully, while the "well-informed" East Africa expert of the Colonial Office was still assuring "urbi et orbi" that vehicles were impracticable in our protectorates.

Health Measures

As well as malaria and dysentery, we had also to contend with plague and sleeping sickness, syphilis and yaws, recurring fever, worms, infectious leg ulcers, coast fever in cattle, and in the bush districts testse infections. I myself, together with the army doctor, dealt on the spot with a large-scale outbreak of TB in South Usukuma. Our measures were at all events unhindered by any expert knowledge; the rat extermination centre was swarming with rat fleas, which bit us right up to the stomach and it was only later that we learned that they are the real bearers of the fever. It died out after about 40 deaths but not without Mwanza itself having a few stragglers. Shores threatened with sleeping sickness were cleared or blocked and the sick collected and isolated under medical care. An anti V.D. and Yaws Commission worked in Ukerewe and had good results with arsenic compounds. Sexual diseases in particular were spread in an alarming fashion by married couples. They were traced back in Uzinza to the witchcraft of the women—as with a man whose penis was completely perforated by venereal disease. Even my educated Asmani made a distinction between infection and “Kisunono ya shaitani”—devil’s gonorrhoea. For my part in the fight against disease Berlin awarded me the Order of the Red Eagle IV Class.

Strengthening of tribal ties

It was laid down that the existing way of life, to which the natives were accustomed, should not be unnecessarily disturbed. I therefore did not touch the numerous and often Liliputian clans or their boundaries, but left them the choice of chiefs and kept for myself merely the right of confirmation. Alongside progressive elders, there were also indolent and even tiresome ones. I purposely refrained from deposing them but tried to encourage them by the example of the efficient ones and through the trust I placed in them; I supervised their administration on my travels through the district. Disobedience towards the chiefs was punished by the district administration. The most important object was that they should be allowed to build up a capable administrative system out of tribal members chosen by them. To the “Katikiros” who had been introduced earlier as the chiefs’ representatives at the district office, were now added the already mentioned market police, agricultural and road construction assistants, partly equipped by the administration with carbines and sashes of office; the chiefs’ clerks who had to handle the now generally introduced and most important regular correspondence with the Boma. These were all paid from the Chiefs’ fund (discussed below), whose administration by the District Office increased the chiefs’ dependence on the government. In order to integrate the tribal organizations more closely into the district administration and at the same time to increase their autonomy the following institutions were established:

(a) *Chiefs’ Schools.* Under my predecessors there had been in Mwanza only a miserable school for a handful of Muslim town children under a coloured coastal teacher. The youth of the tribes of the district who provided the staff for the above mentioned clan administrations and were also to provide indigenous assistance for the district administration, were still completely without European elementary education. For them I founded a purely tribal school, comprising about 100 boys, had a fine school house constructed and obtained a German headmaster. The pupils were nominated exclusively by the chiefs, partly from among their own children, and enjoyed free lodging in the families of the existing Katikiros. After a 2-3 year course, which also included contact with Europeans, the school leavers fulfilled their duties satisfactorily almost without exception; without them many of the reforms mentioned would not have been possible. The desire for higher, particularly academic education, did not manifest itself among the natives of the interior during my time.

(b) *The District Police.* I broke away also from the old colonial principle of relying on askaris who were strangers to the district in order to play them off against the

local people. My aim was co-operation, not outside domination! The old police, which had developed out of the colonial troops, was withdrawn and a new force created from indigenous natives who, like the pupils, were appointed by the chiefs but naturally paid by the District administration and trained by German sergeants. In this way the tribes were indirectly responsible for the security of the district—and for my own on safaris—something which very few other district officers could risk. The new troops conducted themselves equally well in peace as later in war.

(c) *Native Justice*. When the white administration took this power away from the tribal chiefs, it deprived them of their main function and the basis of their prestige; the reasons were admittedly important but the disadvantages were nevertheless not inconsiderable. The tribal law which he had to execute was often foreign to the "Bwana Shauri"; he could devote only fleeting attention to individual cases in the midst of the mass of complicated litigation, whereas the tribal judges had time to enjoy discussions lasting for hours; if he relied on witnesses, the administrator knew very well that these were often merely "sworn supporters" of the parties, as in Europe in olden days. In the end he had no choice but to rely on the judgment of the displaced chief or of the interpreter. I personally placed more importance on strengthening the authority of the tribal organisations by renewing their old powers. I therefore handed over to them jurisdiction in the first instance over tribal members in all property disputes and in criminal cases, as long as the latter did not involve murder, breach of the peace or witchcraft. They could inflict punishment in property cases, for example the customary fine of cattle to be paid to the plaintiff, and they also received the usual court dues in small stock. Appeal to the district administration was in fact possible in every case, but was seldom exercised. The court clerks had to keep a record of the proceedings, judgments and fees, which I inspected on my tours of the district. The European court was grateful to be relieved—especially of minor cases—by this arrangement; corporal punishment was removed from the greater part of justice; prison labourers in Mwanza were allowed to be cared for by their wives, who were sent for, in order to preserve for them some kind of family and tribal life.

With the Chiefs Fund, I took the first definite step towards making the tribal associations into public, legal corporations, with their own finances. The members had to pay annually $\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee surtax on the government poll tax, into a fund, which was the communal property of the tribe and out of which the tribal officials were paid, with the remainder used for road building. It was raised and administered, as I have already explained, by the administration; but it was possible that a particularly well educated native would later be placed in charge of it and the contributions increased. The legal construction prevailed even against an attack by the Dar es Salaam Director of Finance, who wished to forbid the setting up of "black funds."

The 1914 War prevented the extension of my administrative system—possibly through co-operation between the administration and a chamber of chiefs. But the celebrated reforms of the Mandate Governor Cameron in the middle twenties⁶ was based on the same essential ideas; he also relied entirely on the tribal chiefs except that he grouped several in federations, provided them with greatly increased tax payments, which they were to use on their own responsibility for the development of their districts, although subject to the approval of the government. His system departed further from my ideas in that the chiefs were at the same time degraded to salaried employees and the "Native Treasuries" closely bound up with the British banking system.

6. Sir Donald Cameron (1872-1948). Governor of Tanganyika Territory from 1924 to 1931, during which time a system of "Indirect Rule," based partially on Nigerian models, was introduced.

TANZANIA NATIONAL ARCHIVES

The first annual report on the National Archives of Tanzania was published this year.¹ The Hon. Editor is most grateful to the Director of National Archives for permission to summarize it below; it is believed that this report will be of considerable interest to many readers of this journal.

It seems that the establishment of archives was never given priority in British administered Tanganyika; in July 1951 recommendations were submitted to the Chief Secretary for an archival service, by the Chief Archivist of the Central African Archives,² but no action was taken. The first interest in the matter appears to have been aroused when a research student from the United States, Miss Marcia Wright, investigated public records in 1962 and found that Secretariat archives "stored in a virtually roofless warehouse" were in grave danger of disintegration. Few copies of Miss Wright's report exist, but the Director of National Archives expresses the hope that it will be reissued when his division is able to undertake a publications programme. The report established the archival history of the oldest records—in particular those of the German administration. This time the Government took action, and in June 1963 UNESCO provided a professional Archives Adviser, Mr. J. R. Ede, under whom the National Archives office was established as a division of the Ministry of National Culture and Youth—later of the Second Vice-President's Office, which it is today. Mr. Ede, who was seconded from the Public Records Office in London, wrote a report which completed the documentation of the archives of Tanganyika. He was replaced in June 1964 by another professional archivist, Mr. M. G. Cook, under whom a working archival service has been established.

Legislation:

On 2nd December, 1963 the President, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, issued a circular letter³ which forbade the unauthorised destruction of records, invited co-operation in their collection, and announced the establishment of National Archives. This circular letter provided the National Archives Division with authority to start work, until, on 28th August 1965, the National Archives Act came into effect.⁴

Among the provisions of general interest contained in this Act are:

- full responsibility for the selection of records for preservation rests with the Director of National Archives;
- it is an offence for any person to export or attempt to export a record from Tanzania without a licence if it has been declared a historical record by the Director of National Archives—the penalty on conviction being a fine not exceeding shs. 10,000/- or imprisonment not exceeding six months, or both;
- the "closed period" for Tanzania records is set at thirty years, the Minister responsible having powers to make exceptions both for classes of records and for individuals;
- there is a considerable degree of centralisation, as most institutions in Tanzania are not yet equipped to undertake their own records management: the provi-

1. *First Annual Report of the National Archives of Tanzania for the Year 1964/65*. Dar es Salaam: Government Printer 1966, shs.2/50. The Report includes three appendices, consisting of the National Archives Act, 1965, the National Archives (Access to Public Archives) Regulations, 1965, and a detailed summary of archive holdings available for study.
2. V.W. Hiller, *A Report on the Public Records of Tanganyika, with Recommendations for a Joint Archival Service with Uganda and Zanzibar*
3. No. 7. of 1963.
4. *An Act to establish the National Archives of Tanzania, to provide for the preservation of public records and for connected purposes*. Act no. 33 of 1965. Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, shs. 1/70.

sions of the Act cover all Government offices, courts of law, local authorities, and statutory or semi-public bodies, including the University College, Dar es Salaam;⁵

- the provisions of the Act extend to Zanzibar in relation to any records of Parliament, the Zanzibar Government or the High Court of the United Republic as well as to Tanganyika.

Records Management:

Progress has been made in collecting and organising the quantity of papers amassed haphazardly under the colonial regime. Those now available for study in Dar es Salaam are listed in Appendix III of the Report. (It is expected that the National Archives Report for 1965/66 will be published by the Government Printer early in 1967, and this will list further papers made available for research workers).

One of the major problems affecting the service has been inadequate accommodation. The Archives division soon outgrew the three rooms allocated to it in the "old Treasury" building,⁶ and is now in the centre of the commercial area of Dar es Salaam (India Street), the archives themselves being stored in a concrete strongroom behind the German building which houses the Ministry of Lands, Settlement and Water Development on Azania Front (German records), and in three basement rooms in the "Old Treasury" building (other non-legal records). These storage spaces are full, and space is borrowed from the University College for the overflow, until a National Archives building can be constructed on the University College campus at Observation Hill.

The condition of two of the storage rooms in the "Old Treasury" building are described as far from satisfactory:—

"The atmospheric conditions in these rooms are destructive: moulds and insects are encouraged, and it is impossible for staff to work in the stifling, humid heat. Technically the rooms share the main air-conditioning of the building. In practice, not only does the plant not work, but it is subject to periodical breakdowns during which the whole basement becomes flooded up to as much as one inch of water."

Another problem is the difficulty of obtaining university graduates for professional training; it has been accepted that for some years the professional Tanzanian trainees will be secondary school leavers, especially those with Higher School Certificates.

In spite of these problems, the Report shows, there have been notable achievements during the short time that the division has existed.

In early 1965 a *Law Documentation Project*, financed by a Ford Foundation grant, was started in co-operation with the Faculty of Law at the University College. This aims at collecting legal records from primary, district and High Courts and providing indexes and calendars to make them readily available for research. District magistrates were asked to call for primary court records—with the full co-operation of the Registrar of the High Court. Law students from the University College went to selected district centres in their vacations to list and sort the records, which were then sent to National Archives to be calendared—also by student labour. The Faculty of Law at the University College has lent space in its staff library, where National Archives now have 1,008 linear feet for storing court records. Sorting and indexing is undertaken by students on a part-time basis.

Accessions up to July 1965 included closed records from ten of the seventeen

5. It is understood that the East African Common Services Organisation plans to establish its own archives—Resolution of a meeting of EACSO Heads of Departments held in Nairobi on 16th March, 1965.
6. The building on Azania Front known in German times as "Building No. 1", and during much of British rule as "The Secretariat", it became the Treasury building shortly before Independence until the new Treasury building was completed, and now houses the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development Planning.
7. *First Annual Report of the National Archives of Tanzania* p.2.

Regional Offices and thirty-six of the sixty District Offices. The seventeen Regional Offices included all but one (Mwanza) which were formerly Provincial Offices.

District Books, considered to be the most important single archive class in Tanzania, are inspected whenever National Archives staff visit a District Office. At a Conference in June 1964 Regional Commissioners resolved that District Books should be left in District Offices, for Area Secretaries to keep up to date. A programme is under way for National Archives to microfilm District Books, which will then be on record centrally in Dar es Salaam.

German Archives are almost entirely stored in one air-conditioned strongroom in the "Old Treasury" basement. The policy has been to reconstitute the original German registry system, and much of the basic collecting and ordering has been completed, although there is not yet a general guide to the series.

Secretariat Archives consist of some 40,000—50,000 files from the Chief Secretary's Office; with the help of students on vacation they have been sorted into their original order and may now be consulted with the help of "an old and complicated card index."⁸ It appears that confidential despatches with the Colonial Office, Executive Council Minutes and Papers, as well as files and parts of files from the main series, were removed to England just before Independence in 1961, and the Director of Archives remarks: "We must hope for the eventual return of these valuable archives."⁹

A *Search Room* has been made available in the National Archives Office, although present lack of space allows seating space for only four researchers at a time, together with a search room supervisor. It is estimated that there were at least 164 visits by researchers during the first six months of 1965, and 1,678 files were brought to the search room for their use.

Archive Holdings Available for Study:

As already mentioned, these are listed in detail at Appendix III to the Report. The main groups of archives available for study are as follows:—

- (i) *Archives of the German Administration*, consisting of files from the Central Secretariat, 1890—1914, from German District Offices, (unlisted and incomplete), and from certain courts, mainly Dar es Salaam District Court.
- (ii) *Archives of the Office of the Chief Secretary*, consisting of an early series (1918—1925), a late series (1926—1955), and a classified series (1926—1955) available as and when de-classified.
- (iii) *Archives from Up-country Stations*, consisting of some former Provincial Office files (1927—1961) and some former District Office files (1920—1961).
- (iv) *Court Records*, (1918—1961), from 31 courts.
- (v) *Local Authority*, files from 7 town and 5 District Councils.
- (vi) *Departmental Offices and Ministries*, including a number of German files.

8. *Ibid.*, p.7. It was found that files prior to 1926 were not indexed on the cards; there are about 1,500 such files covering the period 1918—1925.

9. *Ibid.*, p.7.

A CHECK-LIST OF THE TREES AND SHRUBS OF THE SOUTH KILIMANJARO FORESTS

By R. C. Steele

PART II. LOCAL NAMES—BOTANICAL NAMES¹

Local names are given in alphabetical order followed by the locality in which the local name is used and the botanical name. Local names have been listed according to the system used in Check List No. 5, Tanganyika Territory (Imperial Forestry Institute Oxford 1940) in which the alphabetical order is that of the root words and not of the prefixes.

A few names may have been confused in this list. Mnengenange, for example, is the name used for *Galiniera coffeoides* and *Grumilea exserta* in Marangu. Both are rubiaceaceous shrubs and they may not be differentiated locally but equally there may be a recording error.

The dissimilarity of names between Kibongoto and the rest of South Kilimanjaro is noteworthy and it would be interesting to get an explanation for this.

Kichagga name Locality of name

Botanical name

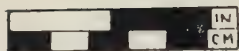
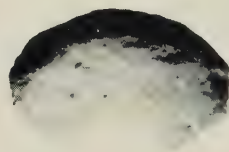
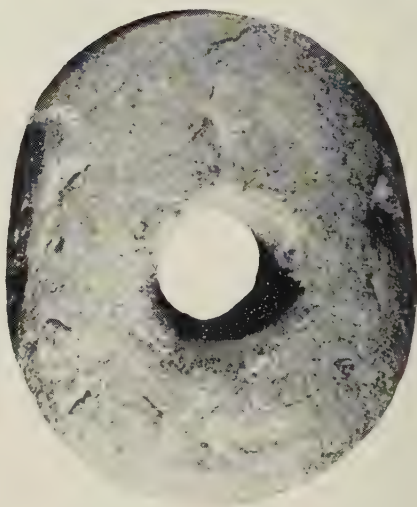
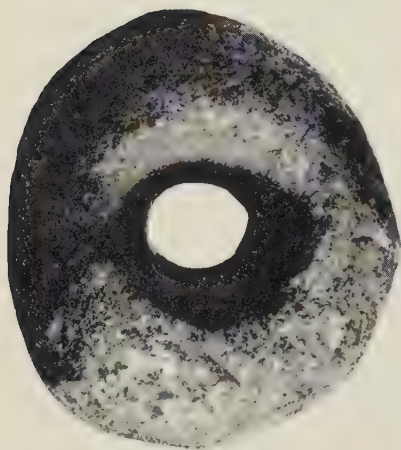
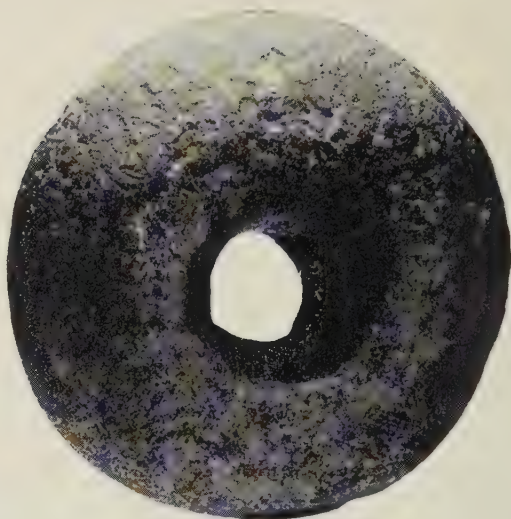
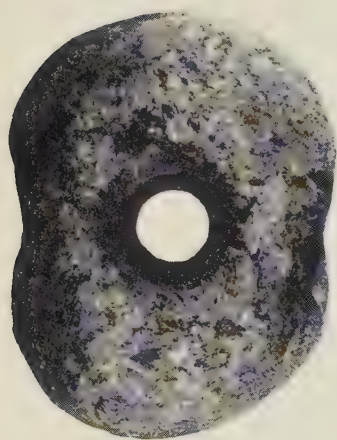
		B
Barakio	Machame	<i>Canthium hispidum</i> Benth.
Mbalasho	Old Moshi	<i>Eriosema</i> sp. nr. <i>montanum</i> Baker f.
Mbarambambo	Kiboshu	<i>Garcinia volkensii</i> Engl.
Mbasa	General	<i>Stoebe kilimandsharica</i> O. Hoffm.
Mbiwi	Kilema, Uru	<i>Maytenus acuminatus</i> (L.f.) Loes.
Mbiwi	Kirua Vunjo	<i>Ochna macrocalyx</i> Oliv.
Mbiwi	Uru Shimbwe	<i>Ochna</i> sp. nr. <i>holstii</i> Engl.
Mbowe	Kibongoto	<i>Vangueria rotundata</i> Robyns
		C
Mchechwe	Kilema	<i>Pevatta</i> sp.
Mchengu	Kirua Vunjo	<i>Brucea antidysenterica</i> Mills.
Mchio	Kibongoto	<i>Olea hochstetteri</i> Baker
		D
Mandala	Machame	<i>Rubus steudneri</i> Schweinf. var. <i>dictyophyllus</i> (Oliv.) R. Grah.
Mnduruma	Kilema	<i>Olinia usambarensis</i> Gilg
Mudi	Kibongoto	<i>Olea hochstetteri</i> Baker
Mudi	Marangu, Uru Shimbwe	<i>Pygeum africanum</i> Hook. f.
Ndiri	General	<i>Xymalos monospora</i> (Harv.) Baill. ex Warb.
Ndrandawa	Kibongoto	<i>Celtis africana</i> Burm. f.
Nduruma	Uru Shimbwe	<i>Aningeria</i> sp. prob. <i>Aningeria adolfi-friederici</i> (Engl.) Robyns & Gilbert subsp. <i>usambarensis</i> J. H. Hemsley
Nduruma	Kibongoto	<i>Trichilia</i> sp.
Ndusano	Uru Shimbwe	<i>Ochna</i> sp.
Maefu	General	<i>Cyathea deckenii</i> Kuhn
Mfu	Kibongoto	<i>Fagaropsis angolensis</i> (Engl.) Dale
Mfule	Kibongoto	<i>Fagaropsis angolensis</i> (Engl.) Dale
Mfuranje	Kibongoto, Uru	<i>Albizzia gummifera</i> (Gmel.) C.A. Sm.
Mfuranje	Old Moshi	<i>Albizzia schimperiana</i> Oliv. var. <i>schimperiana</i> Brenan

1. Part I of this Check-List was published in *Tanzania Notes and Records*, No. 65, March, 1966 p. 97.

Mfurufuru	Kibongoto	<i>Croton macrostachys</i> Hochst. ex A. Rich.
Mfurukwe	Kibongoto	<i>Myrica salicifolia</i> Hochst. ex A. Rich.
Mfuruma	General	<i>Schefflera volkensii</i> (Harms) Harms
G		
Mgadi	Kibongoto	<i>Faurea saligna</i> Harv.
Ngario	Machame	<i>Smilax kraussiana</i> Meisn.
Ngesi	Kibosho, Machame, Marangu	<i>Embelia schimperii</i> Vatke
H		
Ihundu	Kibongoto	<i>Neoboutonia macrocalyx</i> Pax
Mhahana	General	<i>Agauria salicifolia</i> (Comm. ex Lam. Hook f. ex Oliv. var. <i>latissima</i> Engl.
Mhinja	General	<i>Aphloia theaeiformis</i> (Willd.) Benn.
Muhaa	General	<i>Macaranga kilimandsharica</i> Pax
K		
Kikorwe	Machame	<i>Erlangea amplifolia</i> O. Hoffm. & Muschl.
Kiviroe	Kirua Vunjo	<i>Vangueria apiculata</i> K. Schum.
Kiwiro	Machame	<i>Chasallia</i> sp.
Kiwiro	Machame	<i>Rutidea odorata</i> K. Krause
Krasasa	Kibongoto	<i>Ochna</i> sp.
Kumbiri	Kirua Vunjo	<i>Casearia battiscombei</i> R.E. Fr.
Kyarai	Kirua Vunjo	<i>Teclea simplicifolia</i> (Engl.) Verdoorn
Ikororo	Old Moshi	<i>Ochna</i> sp.
Mkengemra	Marangu	<i>Hypericum kenienae</i> Schweinf.
Mkimbowo	Marangu	<i>Grumilea platyphylla</i> K. Schum.
Mkiu	Marangu	<i>Dombeya leucoderma</i> K. Schum.
Mkiu	Old Moshi	<i>Dombeya</i> sp. aff. <i>leucoderma</i> K. Schum.
Mkodekode	Kibongoto	<i>Pygeum africanum</i> Hook f.
Mkondekonde	Marangu	<i>Mimusops</i> sp.
Mkororom	Old Moshi	<i>Smilax kraussiana</i> Meisn.
Mkowakowa	Kibongoto	<i>Teclea nobilis</i> Del.
Mkowe	Machame	<i>Adenocarpus mannii</i> (Hook.f.) Hook.f.
Mkudukudu	Kibongoto	<i>Mitragyna rubrostipulata</i> (K. Schum.) Havil.
Mkufi	General	<i>Newtonia buchananii</i> (Baker) Gilb. & Bout
Makiberi	Kibosho	<i>Begonia meyeri-johannis</i> Engl.
Makuperi	Machame	<i>Senecio syringifolius</i> O. Hoffm.
Mankorokoro	Machame	<i>Begonia meyeri-johannis</i> Engl.
Nkenye	Kibongoto	<i>Euclea divinorum</i> Hiern.
Nkyaki	Kibongoto	<i>Croton megalocarpus</i> Hutch.
L		
Lemambacha	Kibosho	<i>Canthium hispidum</i> Benth.
Ilebu	Kibongoto	<i>Nuxia floribunda</i> Benth.
Ilelema	Old Moshi	<i>Senecio syringifolius</i> O. Hoffm.
Mladehe	Kibongoto	<i>Turraea robusta</i> Gurke
Mlandehe	Old Moshi	<i>Turraea robusta</i> Gurke
Mlatangao	Old Moshi	<i>Calpurnia subdecandra</i> (L'Herit.) Schweickerdt
Mlikoliko	Kibongoto	<i>Nuxia floribunda</i> Benth.
Mlimangombe	General	<i>Rapanea rhododendroides</i> (Gilg) Mez
Mliwa	Old Moshi	<i>Galiniera coffeoides</i> Del.
Malafuo	Old Moshi	<i>Allophylus volkensii</i> Gilg
Mulidandeghe	Old Moshi Uru Shimbwe	<i>Turraea robusta</i> Gurke
Nlodolodo	Kibongoto	<i>Olea welwitschii</i> (Knobl.) Gilg & Schellenb
Nluhi	Kibongoto	<i>Diospyros abyssinica</i> (Hiern) F. White

		M
Mmamba	Marangu	Halleria Lucida L.
Mmango	General	Dovyalis abyssinica Warb.
Mamasha	Machame	Plectranthus sp.
Iniri	Kibosho	Senecio syringifolius O. Hoffm.
Mmanzihe	Kilema	Pavetta silvicola Bremek.
Mnemvu	Old Moshi	Ehretia cymosa Thonn. var. silvatica Gurke
Mnengenenge	Marangu	Galiniera coffeoides Del.
Mnengenenge	Marangu	Grumilea exserta K. Schum.
Mnyanuka	Marangu	Lasianthus kilimandsharicus K. Schum.
Mnyora	Kilema	Allophylus macrobotryx Gilg
Manana	Kibosho, Uru	Pauridiantha holstii (K. Schum.) Bremek.
Nnyinga	Kibongoto	Dasyloplexis leptophylla Gilg
		O
Mongongo	Kibongoto	Nuxia congesta R. Br. ex Fresen.
Mongura	Old Moshi, Uru Shimbwe	Nuxia floribunda Benth.
Moroma	Uru	Casearia sp. nr. battiscombei R.E. Fries
Moroma	Kirua Vunjo	Turraea robusta Gurke
		P
Mpache	Marangu	Myrica meyeri-johannis Engl.
Mpache	Marangu	Myrica salicifolia Hochst. ex A. Rich.
Mpeka	Kirua Vunjo	Trichilia volkensii Gurke
Mpile	Masame Sawe	Aphloia theaeformis (Willd.) Beenn.
Mpokori	Kirua Vunjo	Cussonia spicata Thunb.
Mpororo	Machame	Cussonia spicata Thunb.
Mapala	Old Moshi	Rubus steudneri Schweinf. var. dictyophyllus (Oliv.) R. Grah.
		R
Rumbasale	General	Dracaena sp.
Irangwale	Kibosho	Smilax kraussiana Meisn.
Iridwe	Machame	Maesa lanceolata Forsk.
Mracha	General	Conopharyngia johnstonii Stapf.
Mranguwe	Kilema	Bersama abyssinica Fresen.
Mrido	Old Moshi	Maesa lanceolata Forsk.
Mrikawandu	Old Moshi	Casearia battiscombei R.E. Fr.
Mringonu	Old Moshi	Alangium chinense (Lour) Rehder
Mriro	Kirua Vunjo, Uru Shimbwe	Maesa lanceolata Forsk.
Mrundu	General	Celtis africana Burn. f.
Mruwe	Kilema	Maesa lanceolata Forsk.
Nri	Kibongoto	Cassipourea malosana (Baker) Alston
Nrua	Kibongoto	Phyllanthus discoideus (Baill.) Mull. Arg.
		S
Saira	General	Ilex mitis (L.) Radlk.
Shananga	Machame	Tephrosia aequilata Baker
Shushu	Machame	Eriosema sp. nr. montanum Baker f.
Isanga	Uru Shimbwe	Dasyloplexis leptophylla Gilg
Isanga	Uru Shimbwe	Leptaulus holstii (Engl.) Engl.
Msaada	Masama Mawe	Olinia usambarensis Gilg
Msada	Kilema	Olinia usambarensis Gilg
Msaera	Kibongoto	Ilex mitis (L.) Radlk.
Msarangu	Kibongoto	Casearia battiscombei R.E. Fries
Msenefu	Kibongoto	Olea africana Mill.

Mseri	General	<i>Ocotea usambarensis</i> Engl.
Mseusa	Old Moshi	<i>Maytenus acuminatus</i> L.f.) Loes
Msongocha	Kibosho	<i>Rutidea olorata</i> K. Krause
Msongolia	Kibongoto	<i>Allophylus abyssinicus</i> (Hochst.) Radk.
Msurungu	Kibongoto	<i>Aphloia theaeformis</i> (Willd.) Benn.
Masai	General	<i>Syzygium guineense</i> (Willd.) DC.
Masili	Marangu	<i>Anthospermum usambarense</i> K. Schum.
Masili	General	<i>Philippia excelsa</i> Alm.&Th. Fr. Jr.
T		
Towoso	Marangu	<i>Podocarpus milanjanus</i> Rendle
Mtokosi	Kilema, Marangu	<i>Podocarpus milanjanus</i> Rendle
Mtongoso	Kibongoto, Uru	<i>Podocarpus milanjanus</i> Rendle
Mtowiri	Kibosho	<i>Garcinia volkensii</i> Engl.
Mtsutsu	Marangu	<i>Ekebergia ruepelliana</i> (Fresen.) A.Rich.
Mturusha	Kilema	<i>Peddiea volkensii</i> Gilg
Mtutu	Marangu	<i>Ekebergia ruepelliana</i> (Fresen.) A.Rich.
W		
Wawae	Kibongoto	<i>Faurea saligna</i> Harv.
Wowosa	Kibongoto	<i>Bersama abyssinica</i> Fresen. subsp. <i>abyssinica</i> var. <i>abyssinica</i>
Mwalale	Kibongoto	<i>Faurea saligna</i> Harv.
Mwalanga	Kibongoto, Kilema	<i>Hagenia abyssinica</i> (Bruce) J.F. Gmel.
Mwana	Kibongoto, Kibosho	<i>Aguaria salicifolia</i> (Comm. ex Lam.) Hook. f. ex Oliv. var. <i>latissima</i>
Mwanga	Kibongoto, Kilema	<i>Hagenia abyssinica</i> (Bruce) J.F. Gmel.
Mwilu	Old Moshi	<i>Albizzia petersiana</i> (Bolle) Oliv.



THE USE OF DIGGING STICKS, BORED STONES, AND STONE BALLS AMONG THE SANDAWE*

by Eric Tenraa

The aim of this paper is to present a comprehensive view of the use of digging sticks, bored stones, and stone balls among the Sandawe people of Central Tanzania, and to show that some of the uses of these implements may have hitherto escaped attention. The following notes may therefore be of some interest to archaeologists.¹

Digging Sticks

The digging stick is commonly regarded as a woman's digging tool (Goodwin, 1947, p.195) but according to Kannemeyer as quoted by Clark (1959, p.239) game traps are also dug with them. In addition it is an agricultural implement for making seed holes and, as we shall see, even a hunting implement. For these various activities the Sandawe do not use the same digging stick but different types, each with its own name.

The *tl'ueé* is a stick used for digging up (*túa*) tubers and the bulbous roots of various plants in the bush; some of these are eaten, but most are used for preparing medicines. This is not only a woman's job, for medicinal roots are often dug up by men and the *tl'uee* is also commonly used by men in other activities. When a house is built, fairly deep holes have to be dug to receive the main posts (*góro*). Between the main posts furrows are then dug into which the filler posts (*swe'swe'mo*) are placed. Large amounts of anheap clay have to be excavated for use as roofing soil and for plastering the walls. The clay is pried loose with digging sticks and then carried off in wooden bowls (*la'sé*). Game traps are dug in the same way, and all these excavation jobs are done by men. The sticks are also used as hunting implements to dig out burrowing animals and deep-nesting birds from their holes. This is also a man's job.

The sticks are usually as thick as a wrist, and measure up to five feet in length. They are commonly made of the hard and heavy wood of the trees called *ll'óxe* (*Acacia nigrescens* Oliv.), *máa'* (*Mimosaceae* sp.), and *dégera* (*Dichrostachys cinerea* Wright & Arn.) When the cleaving edge of a stick has become blunted it is sharpened again with an axe, and usually a stick lasts a considerable time as a useful implement.

The *sulúl'* is a modern version of the *tl'ueé*, the foot of which has been provided with an iron axe blade. This type is common among the Warangi, the Bantu-speaking northern neighbours of the Sandawe; they call it *mulo*. The Sandawe usually carry on with the simple wooden stick, and the *sulúl'* is rare.

The *tl'óxo thee* ("hole-making wood") is an agricultural implement which is used at the end of the dry season just before the short rains begin. With it the earth is broken up at the spots where seeds are to be planted. The cutting edges of these sticks are wider than those of the ordinary digging stick. A sufficiently large hole is made for sowing several seeds; this is done by stamping the stick into the hard soil and then prying it loose and breaking up the soil with a turning movement. In sowing a man usually works together with his wife; the wife makes the holes with the stick and her husband follows, dropping in the seeds and closing up the holes. But there is no objection to a man handling the stick, and either the husband or the wife may do the hole-making plus the seeding-in on their own. The most common material for these

* I wish to record my gratitude to the Nuffield Foundation, London, whose generosity has enabled me to undertake the field research during which I collected the material for this paper; and to the University College, Dar es Salaam for the help given to me as a research associate. I also wish to thank the Curator and Mrs. P.L. Carter, National Museum, Dar es Salaam, for their help in finding reference material and for the production of the photograph.

1. Orthography: In what follows, rather than use the Zulu system which I employed in previous papers in this journal, I have now adopted the recommendations of the Africa Alphabet.

sticks is provided by the trees called *tl'óxa* (botanically unidentified), and *támbe* (*Dalbergia melanoxylon*). The verb *tl'óxe* means "to make seed holes," and a derived noun, *tl'óxoo*, is the name of the period when this is done, i.e. between the end of October and the beginning of December. *Tl'óxoo* as a calendrical term is therefore roughly equivalent to the month of November, and it may be freely translated as "Sowing Month."

Sandawe digging sticks never carry weights in the form of bored stones to make them heavier, for the sticks are quite sufficiently large and heavy to do the job without them. When deep holes have to be dug in house building, pit excavations, and digging out burrowing animals, the bulk of such weights would even form an impediment because they would prevent the sticks from digging deep.

Bored Stones

In the literature bored stones are usually thought of as weights for digging sticks, but other uses have also been recorded for them. Goodwin lists the weighting of digging sticks as their principal use (*op.cit.*, p.195), but he also mentions them as nozzles for bellows (p.198), for burnishing copper and other wires (stones with very small holes, same page), and such secondary uses as binding them to the necks of young oxen which have to be broken to the yoke (p.200), and even pulleys (*ibid.*). The Sandawe use bored stones in none of these ways, and according to my informants they did not do so in the past either. However, they do use them in two different ways in hunting.

Pigs are normally hunted in organized parties. A group of men chases them out of their hiding places in the rocks by beating horns and sticks and making a lot of noise, while a team of bowmen lies in waiting to shoot the animals with poisoned arrows. But another method is to use a dropping-spear trap. A spear is suspended over a path in the bush which the animals are known to frequent; the spear which points downwards is held in place by a peg which is connected with a tripping rope. When an animal trips over the rope the spear is released and plunges into its back. A bored stone is used to weigh down the spear. One Sandawe, who is an expert in this method of hunting, is said to have killed nine pigs and three porcupines in this way last year. Pig-hunting is an important activity because of the damage which these animals do to cultivation each growing season. The traps are called *kirándako* in Sandawe.

There are several ways of hunting elephants: (1) to build a pit trap (*n/uaá ban'* or elephant pit), (2) to use a large spear trap (*kirándako*), (3) to shoot an elephant with poisoned arrows and trail it until it falls down, and (4) spear-hunting. The latter method is considered the most effective, and it is the way elephants were usually hunted in the past. (It should be noted that because of the enforcement of game legislation Sandawe elephant hunts no longer take place.) It was dangerous business, and elaborate ritual was involved. The practice provided the Sandawe people with innumerable songs and a type of dance which is called *lalá'so* or "stabbing dance," for the hunters did not use their spears as throwing spears but as stabbing spears. The word *lalá* means a burning-iron; this is an instrument which is made red-hot in a fire and then pressed into the heads of hoe and axe handles, to burn the holes into which the metal is fitted. The spear hunters had to go right up to the elephants to kill them, and the spears they used were of a special type. A Sandawe who as a youth accompanied his father on such hunts describes the weapon as a large, thick spear (*muké*), made even heavier by a large knot of beeswax just behind the blade. To make such a knot or ball is called *híthíhítisé*. The wax of a small bee called *is'na* is used, as this wax (*sána*) makes a tough ball not easily broken. A second knot of wax is placed at the tail end of the shaft. When the hunters stab their elephant they aim at a spot which is under the end of the ear flaps when the ears are folded back alongside the body. This spot is vulnerable and enables the hunter to reach the elephant's heart. In order to achieve this the spear has to carry much momentum and must be heavy. The front knot provides much of the required weight while the rear one provides

leverage. With a weight at its tail the spear will sway while the blade is buried in the body of the moving elephant; the blade will therefore churn around in the body and cause lethal damage.

The Sandawe are great honey collectors, and usually sufficient quantities of wax from the dwarfbee have been available for making the spear weights; but when I wondered whether in times of wax shortage some hunters might not have been compelled to make heavy wooden balls for their spears, my informant told me that this was not done but that sometimes stone weights were used instead (*!hwé dī*), or holed (stones). It is curious that this term is virtually identical with the term "*!kwe* stone (bored stone)" which Clark uses when he refers to Bushman digging stick weights (1959, *loc.cit.*).

Among the Sandawe bored stones are rare, and many people do not even know about their existence. To make them is a tedious job, and they have probably never been common, at least not in recent history. One never sees them in the bush where such other relics of human activity as grindstones and stone balls are often encountered. The Tanzania National Museum owns four bored stones, one from Lake Eyasi, two from the crossroads at Ivuna in the Rungwe area, and one which may be from the Kondoa area.² The Geographical Survey Museum at Dodoma possesses a further fragment of a bored stone from the Dodoma reservoir, and that is all that appears to have been collected in this country from surface finds. The Ivuna stones were found together when the road was being graded, and, since they form a pair, it is perhaps not too wild a speculation that they might have belonged to a single spear, such as a Sandawe elephant spear. The Ivuna stones are deep rather than flat, and they would make excellent spear weights.

Stone Balls

Stone balls are not rare in Sandawe country, and they should not be, because they are commonly used. An excellent brief summary of their uses is given by Sonia Cole where she discusses the finds of such balls in archaeological digging sites; she also mentions the problem of some balls which have been found in groups of three. I quote from her the following two passages (1963, pp.155-6):

"Modern usage of stone balls is common in most parts of Bantu Africa. Native women pound the surface of their grindstones to roughen them when they become too smooth, using naturally shaped round boulders for the purpose. The same practice has been noted in northern and central Tanganyika among the click-speaking Sandawe. A spherical stone is also used by the latter for grinding or pounding tobacco (for snuff) and vegetables."

On the group finds she says:

"Leakey suggested that these stones in groups of three may be "*bolas*", a hunting weapon which at present is confined to South America and the Arctic. American Indians of Patagonia used a three-ball *bolas*; the balls are of different sizes, held in bags made of hide and tied together with the twisted thongs of different lengths, while certain Eskimos use a much lighter *bolas*, for hunting birds. Apart from the suggestive finds of stones in groups of three at a few Stone Age sites, there is no evidence that this weapon was ever used in Africa."

In fact there are, among the Sandawe, two types of stone balls, and when we consider the use of these implements we shall find that one of them may be found in groups of three.

2. This stone was presented to the museum by Mr. F. J. Bagshawe, who was District Commissioner Kondoa, in the 1920s. The museum register does not mention the location of the find. The stone is flanked by a stone ball which is described as having come from Sandawe country; the register does not mention the name of its donor but the numbering suggests that it may also have been presented by Mr. Bagshawe. (The Sandawe live in the Kondoa area).

The Sandawe grind their flour on large grindstones which are simply called "stones" (*dī*, for both the singular and the plural). Millet is put on top of them and ground by rubbing it fine with smaller stones which are flat on one side; they are pushed over the grain with both hands. These stones are called "the children of the grindstone" (*dī n/oko*, singular *dī n/oe*). I shall refer to them as rubbing stones.³

Grinding wears the grindstone as well as the rubbing stones smooth, and both have to be roughened at regular intervals. For this process different tools are used. The grindstones are roughened with "hammerstones" (*wák'a'i*), and the rubbing stones with "knocking stones" (*!hwe'!hwe'sa*). The hammerstones are larger and heavier and are held with both hands; they usually measure four and a half inches or more in diameter. The knocking stones are used with one hand only, and they normally measure only three inches across. These tools wear in use, and sometimes a hammerstone may become reduced to the size of a knocking stone; if it still has workable edges, it may continue to be used as a knocking stone, for roughening not the grindstone but the rubbing stones. When the small knocking stones have become rounded they may still be used as pounding stones for snuff and vegetables in the manner stated by Sonia Cole. Another common use is as weights for climbing ropes which are called *galama*. These are used to climb trees in order to place beehives, or to take honey from the hives; also for climbing trees in which a natural beesnest indicates the presence of honey. In order to make access difficult for predatory animals and casual passers-by, the Sandawe place their hives in trees which are difficult to climb, like the baobab. Unless pegs are driven into them they are virtually unclimbable, and the climbing ropes have been devised as an alternative means of getting at the honey. A stone ball is sewn into a suitable piece of hide, usually the scrotum of a slaughtered animal, and this is then sewn to the end of the rope. The heavy end of the rope is now thrown across a branch of the tree and the honey collector can climb up the doubled rope. The Sandawe climbing rope has been described and illustrated by Hunter in this publication (1952, p.93). When no use is found for the worn out knocking stones they are simply thrown away. They are therefore found single in the bush.

When the larger hammerstones (*wák'a'i*) have become worn and rounded off they may be used as supports for a grindstone. The underside of a grindstone is unworked and quite uneven, and without proper support it might wobble when in use. Supporting stones (*dī didi'sa*) are therefore used which not only stabilize the grindstone, but also give it the tilt which is necessary for efficient use. The end at which the woman sits is raised; she pushes the rubbing stones away from herself over the millet, and the resulting flour is pushed off the far side (the front end) of the stone, on to a hide which has been placed there. This is "the stone's hide" (*dī kelemba*). In order to give the grindstone the desired tilt, two supporting stones are put under the front end at the sides, and one centrally under the rear end. The supporting stones thus form a triangle, with the largest stone at the grinder's end.

The Sandawe countryside is cluttered with grindstones; it is almost impossible to go far without noticing them. Many of them lie about in the cultivated areas near the homesteads, but also in secondary bush on abandoned cultivations, and even in what at first sight may appear to be virgin bush or forest land. When a family moves

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3. Usually several rubbing stones (*dī n/oko*) are kept by a grindstone (*dī*). These are of two types, and preferably at least two stones of each type are kept so that one can be roughened while the other is in use. One type is "for grinding the grain" (*!uāā noowe'i*), and the others, is "for refining (the flour)" (*aātsuku'i*). The difference is in size and in the hardness of the stone. The manufacture of the grindstones, and the shaping of the rubbing stones is women's work. The grindstones are selected at hill sites where rocks are found of suitable shape and consistency. The rocks are split and hammered into shape with hammer stones (*wák'a'i*). For making the rubbing stones smaller pieces of rock are carefully selected. The women do not pick just any stone which happens to be of a suitable shape, for the hardness of the rock is important to good grinding. They therefore take the trouble to quarry suitable types of stone at sites which are known to contain a good type of boulder. The digging is done with digging sticks.

to another site because of soil exhaustion or for any other reason the grindstone, being worn and heavy, is left where it is to become the permanent marker of the old home site. The Sandawe word for such a site is *tongo*, and a grindstone in the bush is called *tongo di*, "the stone of a former homestead." Sometimes the supporting stones are missing, for they may have been taken away to support a new grindstone at the new home, but in other cases they are left in place.

Also common in the field are stones the size of grindstones, but without the familiar smoothly hollowed-out top. Actually these *are* grindstones, but they are upside down, showing their rough undersides. They are grave markers. The Sandawe bury their dead in the courtyard, and graves are covered with grindstones taken from nearby *tongo* sites. For this reason such sites may be marked not by one grindstone, but by three hammerstones.

Conclusion

In summing up I should say that (1) to describe digging sticks as a woman's implement is to state only half the truth; also, several types may be recognized. (2) Bored stones may very well have been used as digging stick weights elsewhere, but this is not the case among the Sandawe; here they form part of the hunting equipment, and this may also have been the case in other parts; and (3), stone balls may be found in groups of three, but these are usually of the large variety. Groups of three stone balls are rare, for these stones can be moved easily and as often as not one or two stones have been removed; apart from that, the original cluster may have included some rough boulders. Finds of three "bolas" of the small type are not explained by historical Sandawe practice.

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WITCHCRAFT AND TRADITIONAL MEDICINE AMONG THE LUO OF TANZANIA

By P. J. Imperato

The Luo are divided into two principal groups of clans, the larger Ramogi and the lesser Chenwya. Those Luo who migrated to Tanganyika (now Tanzania) were for the most part Chenwya, and they had many cultural differences from the Ramogi group.

The purpose of this article is to present some detailed data on witchcraft, sorcery and traditional medicine, which I collected during 1961-62 in the North Mara district of Tanzania. In view of the profound changes taking place in Africa today, a great deal of what follows should be regarded as historical notes. The Luo concepts about the causation of disease, for example, are in a state of rapid transformation, and it is difficult to say now what is believed by a particular individual, family or clan at any time. Someone in a remote rural area may well retain traditional beliefs which differ drastically from the ideas of his fellow-citizens who have been exposed to city life or to modern education. It is usual to find a wide spectrum of beliefs, ranging from the purely traditional to the sophisticated concepts of modern medicine.

Traditionally the Luo possessed a dual classification of disease—those due to witchcraft and angered ancestor-spirits and those having a natural cause. While a great many illnesses were thought to have a supernatural origin, by no means all cases were interpreted in this way. Serious diseases were sometimes considered to be the result of witchcraft and sometimes to have natural causes. It was not uncommon to find that the same disease was attributed to a natural cause in one person and a supernatural one in another. It was the patient's family which decided which sort of cause was to blame, and there seemed to be no consistent set of rules or system of reasoning which guided the decisions.

At the time of my research patterns of illness-behaviour among the Luo were such that it was difficult even for an educated person living in his home environment to disregard tradition. The influence of a person with primary or even secondary education had to contend with the overwhelming and comforting routines and rituals which conveyed the authority and assurance which stem from age and experience. If he himself fell sick, any decision about treatment would be taken right out of his hands, and often he would be treated by a traditional practitioner or witchdoctor. The sick person among the Luo traditionally has little say either about his disease or about its causation and treatment.

WITCHCRAFT AND SORCERY

Witches:

In the past any misfortune not readily explicable by a natural cause was attributed by the Luo to the action of a malicious power called *juok* (witchcraft). It was thought that certain individuals possessed a corporeal substance—a witchcraft substance—which worked psychically and caused harm to both health and property. An individual possessing this power substance was called a *jakinga* (witch). Witchcraft substance was located in the gastro-intestinal tracts of witches, where it was alleged to grow in size and strength with advancing age. The Luo believed that it was found particularly in the gall bladder, where its activity was governed by the various phases of digestion and claimed to know this as a result of autopsies performed on witches in the past.

Usually a witch was quite unaware of harbouring this substance and its evil powers until he was accused. However, there were some people who believed themselves to be witches and were actively aware of their powers; within the framework of Luo society this was plausible as no direct action was ever taken against a witch.

The Luo maintained that witchcraft substance was inherited—from the parent

of the same sex, passed on from mother to daughter and father to son. It could lie dormant in a person for many years, becoming active in old age. Yet if it were known that somebody's parent or grandparent had been a witch, it was always suspected that that person was also one. Because the Luo kept local lineages in remarkable detail, such information was usually common knowledge. Witches were never ostracized since a person was rarely interested in them until he or a member of his family had been bewitched.

People could be bewitched by either sex, but more often than not it was by a person of the same sex. (The Luo differ from tribes such as the Azande where one could be bewitched only by witches of the same sex.¹) Children could never be accused of being witches, but they could be bewitched.² The common belief was that *juok* usually worked at night, but all Luo conceded that it could also operate during the day; then its presence could be detected only by a witchdoctor, whereas at night it could be seen by all as a bright glow traversing the countryside with great speed. All of those I questioned said it was round to oval in form, and of variable size. It was interesting that many of the old Christian men and women questioned gave a description of *juok* that fitted the stereotype picture of Satan—pitchfork, horns and all. This would seem to be one more piece of evidence against the protanonistic argument that Christianity will remove all fears of witchcraft.

Witches dispatched their witchcraft substance to attack a victim on a number of occasions, and it was believed that the psychical part of the victim's organs were then carried away. Were this process repeated often enough, the victim would eventually die. However, the victim could always escape by fleeing to another area, for witchcraft had a limited geographic range. Witches themselves were not considered immune to the witchcraft of other witches, and could themselves be bewitched.

It was believed that when a witch died his or her spirit became an evil ghost or *jachien*, its haunt known as a *chieno*. All witches—and some sorcerers—were said to have an *iro* (evil eye). The Luo verb for “to evil eye” and “to bewitch” is one and the same: *idho*. It was thought that witchcraft, and some sorcery, was dispatched from the eyes.

Sorcerers:

Evans-Pritchard defines sorcery as “bad magic that is illicit or considered immoral.”³ Monica Wilson has amplified the definition by stating that “sorcery is the use of material rites and spells for illegal ends.”⁴ Both of these descriptive statements are applicable to sorcery as found in Tanzanian Luo society. In fact the Luo *janawi* (sorcerer) fits perfectly the definitions given by Evans-Pritchard and Monica Wilson. The *janawi*'s trade was learned and required the use of medicines, material rites and spells, and he or she would use herbal medicines the sole purpose of which was to inflict harm. The *janawi* excelled in the use of *ofunggarwa*—a medicine containing strychnine, frequently used to kill the victim, derived from the seeds of *Nuxia congesta* or other plants of the family *Loganiaceae*.

Anyone could hire a *janawi* to harm an enemy or the enemy's property. The sorcerer's power was mainly imaginary, but as a skilled herbalist he could do a good deal of damage. The Luo maintained that poisons were slipped secretly into food or drink by a *janawi*'s messenger or by the person who had hired the sorcerer. I had the opportunity of seeing several patients who were allegedly poisoned in this manner. All of them were suffering from fairly severe gastroenteritis which rapidly cleared without *sequelae*. Lacking the services of a toxicology laboratory, it was not possible to test the allegation that these patients had been poisoned by a *janawi*.

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1. Evans-Pritchard, E.E. *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*, Oxford: 1937, p.119
 2. Imperato, P.J. *Doctor in the Land of the Lion*, New York: Vantage, 1964, p.45.
 3. Evans-Pritchard, *op.cit.*, pp.9-10.
 4. Wilson, Monica, *Reaction to Conquest*, 1961, pp. 275-290.

Witch-sorcerers:

As I noted above, some witches were actively aware of their witchcraft power, and many of these also practised sorcery—thus forming the unique Luo institution of *jajuok*—witch-sorcerers. Being both witches and sorcerers, they were greatly feared. The medicines, rites, spells and charms which a *jajuok* used in his sorcerer capacity were considered more powerful than those used by a *janawi*, and his evil charms (*ndgala*) possessed not only an inherent evil occult power, but also witchcraft substance (*juok*). Furthermore these charms were not simply directed against a single person, but against a whole family or even a village.

The charms would be placed at the entrance of a village (*pacho*) during the night, either by the *jajuok* himself or by his messenger. No villager dared to remove them since they contained *juok* and were a curse (*ayany*). In most cases the village would be abandoned. However, I did hear of instances where a member of a neighbouring tribe, such as the Basembeti or the Bakuria, had been paid to remove the charms. The families affected would then seek the assistance of a witchdoctor to counter the effects of the curse, and remain in their village.

A child bewitched by a *jajuok* was believed to get a disease called *sihoho*. I saw several children who were said to be suffering from this disease. They all had a wide variety of common pathological conditions, and I could find nothing unusual either in their subjective symptomatology or in objective physical findings. The Luo maintained that the disease was caused by the *jajuok's* witchcraft substance and not by his ministrations as a sorcerer.

Counter-magicians/witchdoctors:

The Luo belief in witchcraft was accompanied by an equally firm belief in the power of counter-magic. This was provided by a variety of witchdoctors, differing from each other in methods and ability to counteract witchcraft. The ability was claimed by five district groups—known as the *jathak*, *ajuoga*, *jamirieri*, *jafiko* and *jasewe*, each of which is described below. These witchdoctors, with the exception of the *jathak*, were of either sex; the *jathak* were always men. The Utegi and Kowak clans were renowned for having the largest number of witchdoctors, and among the Kowak the majority of them were women. Although the Luo witchdoctors were considered skilled primarily in the art of counter-magic, they were often suspected of practising a little sorcery as a side-line. With the exception of the *jathak*, these counter-magicians were believed to possess a certain amount of *juok* or witchcraft substance.

The most frequently consulted of the witchdoctors was the *jathak*, who excelled in curing trivial afflictions believed to have been caused by witchcraft. He was unable to accuse someone of being a witch, but could counteract witchcraft. He was unable to deal with a *jajuok's* witchcraft, however, but then this kind rarely resulted in the trivial afflictions in which the *jathak* specialised. In exercising counter-magic the *jathak* would make small incisions in the victim's skin over the part of the anatomy affected, then cup the area with the base of a hollow horn. Thus the *juok* or witchcraft substance was sucked up into the *jathak's* mouth, neutralized by his oral juices and expectorated onto a designated spot where it was rendered innocuous.⁵ This procedure did not protect the patient from further visitations from witchcraft; he would safeguard against these by obtaining an amulet from a *jabilo* (wizard)—see below.

The *ajuoga* counter-magician was able to uncover the identity of a witch or witch-sorcerer with the use of oracles. His assistance was always sought when the harm done to health and/or property was considered great. The victim of witchcraft would be brought to the *ajuoga's* village, where counter-magic would be provided after consultation of the oracles. One of two oracles would be used—*gagi* (cowrie shells) or a divining rod, the latter being an acquisition from the neighbouring Basembeti and Bakuria where it was in common use. The *gagi* would be thrown on the ground with due ritual before the victim, the identity of the witch being revealed from their

arrangement. The divining rod—a metal rod about four feet high ending in a bulbous upper end—was always used by female *ajuoga*, as it was in the neighbouring tribes among whom it originated. The rod would be placed upright in the ground, the victim and the *ajuoga* sitting on either side opposite each other. The identity of the witch was pronounced to the *ajuoga* by voices said to emanate from the top of the rod.

Once the identity of the witch or witch-sorcerer had been established, counter-magic was applied. Invariably this entailed rituals lasting many days. No direct action was ever taken against the witch or witch-sorcerer, even if the victim died, but he would be told by members of the family to stop his evil practices. If the health and property of an entire village had been endangered by witchcraft, the *ajuoga* would visit it and stay there several days. Oracles would be consulted and counter-magic initiated.

Often, however, an *ajuoga*, who countered witchcraft with ritual, would not be called in; instead one of three other groups of witchdoctors, the *jamirieri*, *jafiko*, or *jasewe*, all of whom removed witchcraft physically from a village, would be consulted. (The *jathak*, described above, was never called to counter witchcraft affecting a whole village).

A *jamirieri*⁶ called to an affected village would traverse it holding a large inverted basket, and after due ritual point to the spot where the witchcraft substance was supposedly hidden. This area would then be dug, and the earth put in the basket, which was securely covered and carried out of the village by the witchdoctor. He would take it to a place where it was considered that the affected village was safely beyond the geographic range of the witchcraft substance.

A *jafiko* would deal with an affected village by sniffing the ground, thus identifying the hidden abode of the witchcraft; when found, the earth would be removed from the village in a special calabash and taken somewhere where it would be powerless.

A *jasewe*, on the other hand, located the witchcraft substance by ritual shaking of a calabash in the affected village. Again, the earth from the area would be placed in a covered basket, but the *jasewe* did not carry it away, he would render it powerless by performing an elaborate ritual in the village. Afterwards the basket and its contents would be burned on the spot.

Wizards:

I mentioned the *jabilo* (wizard), whose function in Luo society was to retail charms (amulets) to protect people against further witchcraft visitations. The amulets (*bilo*)⁷, while considered to provide protection from witchcraft, were not accepted as safeguards against sorcery. The *jabilo* was also a fortune-teller, and in times of famine or pestilence was the only practitioner able to intercede direct with God (*Nyasaye*). Although not possessing witchcraft substance, the *jabilo* was held in high esteem as he was considered to be immune from witchcraft.

TRADITIONAL MEDICINE

It is difficult to evaluate the extent to which traditional concepts of disease are still held. However, certain patterns of behaviour among sick people and their families, which at first seem illogical and unreasonable, on further probing by a modern medical practitioner turn out to be the results of traditional practices. Examples of such behaviour include the sudden termination of western medical treatment, admission of

6. At one time the primary role of the *jamirieri* in Luo society was to uncover the spirit of a dead person who was causing the trouble. Using a horn filled with medicines, he would give it to two men picked at random from the crowd. While he canted nearby, the horn would lead the men to the right grave where it would gyrate up and down violently. The corpse was then dug up, the remains pulverized and put in horns; medicines were added. A fire was lit in the open grave. *Jamirieri* means "the one who digs up people who are bewitching."
7. Imperato, P.J. *op.cit.*, p.106. The amulet contain parts from animate creatures, e.g. snakes and insects.

prior consultation with a traditional practitioner or witchdoctor, and even simultaneous consultation with both traditional and western practitioners.

At the time of my research the Luo knowledge of anatomy was limited to what could be learned from slaughtered animals and from post-mortem Caesarean sections performed on women who had died in childbirth. In the distant past autopsies were performed quite frequently, but very seldom since the Luo arrival in Tanzania some hundred years ago. I found that any knowledge which may have been obtained from post-mortem examinations had been lost, and although several hereditary traditional surgeons seemed to know the method of performing an autopsy they themselves had never seen such an operation. They emphasised that it was not their guild which had made post-mortem examinations, but that of the *ajuoga* (witchdoctors.) And the *ajuoga* readily agreed that their ancestor had carried out autopsies to search for witchcraft substance.

The Luo originally came from what is now the southwestern Sudan, and there can be little doubt that they were part of the "Likunda culture," a term originated by Baumann to describe the core of concepts and practices connected with the performance of primitive autopsies in Central Africa.⁸ It is beyond the scope of this paper to delve into the Luo relationship with the Likunda culture, but it should be noted that Luo witchdoctors and that culture had a common purpose in autopsying bodies—to search for evidence of witchcraft. The Likunda culture laid stress on the gastrointestinal tract as the abode of witchcraft substance, and so did the Luo.⁹ There is also similarity in the methods used and the types of incisions made.

The Luo did not differentiate the alimentary canal from the genitourinary tract, nor did they interpret the muscles, nerves and blood vessels as belonging to separate systems. Pains in the extremities were said to travel the veins and traverse an air gap from limb to limb.

The Luo recognised that some diseases were transmitted from person to person, but had no idea of an infectious agent. They considered inherited congenital defects to be due to witchcraft, angry spirits during pregnancy, or simply to the will of God. Insanity was always thought to be caused by God's will.

Many diseases were differentiated by Luo practitioners, all of which have a modern scientific equivalent in western medicine. Among the conditions recognised as distinct entities were—anthrax, gonorrhea, primary and secondary syphilis, urinary bilharziasis, typhus, scabies, meningitis, encephalitis, bubonic plague, smallpox, leprosy, whooping cough, yaws, pulmonary tuberculosis, malaria, intestinal parasitic diseases and trypanosomiasis. Many other diseases, however, were not distinguished in terms of modern medical classification and were grouped either according to the outstanding symptom—diarrhoea, jaundice, fever etc.—or to the part of the anatomy apparently affected.

While the Luo were remarkable for recognising certain diseases as distinct pathological entities, their knowledge of the cause of the diseases was very scant. Anthrax (*yamo*) was considered to be the result of drinking dirty water, eating the wrong combination of foods, touching some tree, etc., and its relationship to cattle was never suspected. However, the Luo did know that there was a connection between wading in the rivers or Lake Victoria and getting bilharzia (*kichocho*), and between trypanosomiasis (sleeping sickness) and poaching game on the edge of the Serengeti Plains where tsetse fly abound. While I was in North Mara, none the less, only a few educated Luo knew that trypanosomiasis was carried by the tsetse fly.

The Luo recognition of specific diseases contrasts with the medical knowledge of their neighbours, such as the Basukuma. According to Tanner, who studied Sukuma concepts of disease, diseases in Usukuma were classified simply according to symptoms

8. Baumann, H. "Likunda Die Sektion Der Zauberkraft Sechzigster Jahrgang", (*Ztschr. Ethnol.*, 60, 1929, p. 73.)

9. See Davies, J.N.P. "Primitive Autopsies and Background to Scientific Medicine in Central Africa", (*New York State Journal of Medicine*, 65, 22, 1965, p. 2833).

and rarely matched a scientific description of a malady. Luo traditional medicine also differed from the Sukuma in that the bulk of herbal and surgical knowledge was confined to a specialist group of healers; among the Sukuma such knowledge was widespread.¹⁰

Traditionally Luo witchdoctors did not treat diseases thought to have a natural cause, while Luo herbalists and surgeons did not concern themselves with those considered to emanate from supernatural origins. More recently, however, the once-sharp line of demarcation became blurred, and I found that many witchdoctors used local medicines and western drugs in treating their patients. Nevertheless in general the traditional division of functions between herbal and surgical practitioners on the one hand and witchdoctors on the other was still accepted.

Home remedies:

All treatment of ailments believed to have a natural cause began at household level. Minor illnesses and trivial accidents were generally ignored, receiving little or no treatment. Moderate disabilities would be treated first with the common herbal remedies known to almost every adult Luo. Nearly everyone could cite mixtures for the relief of common symptoms, and each household appeared to have list of its own favourites. The family authority on medical matters was traditionally the female, but males were by no means excluded from medical practice. I obtained a lengthy list of infusions used for headaches, fever, diarrhoea, and of purges, inhalations and ointments. Most villages were familiar with the therapeutic value of the leaves of fig creeper (*katera*) in treating superficial lacerations.

A common treatment was to make numerous incisions in the skin overlying the area considered to be ailing. This was done by the paternal grandfather, and differed from the similar treatment given by a *jathak* (see above) in that no cupping was performed. Dirt would then be rubbed into the wounds to keep them open, so that the cause of illness could make an easy exit.¹¹

Often home remedies would be thought up to suit the occasion. Once I visited a village where a young hysterical girl was immobile—in a position of acute backward flexion of the back. Her mother told me that she had placed a crude powdered snuff into the girl's nostrils, which caused severe sneezing spells. The sneezing, of course, resulted in an acute forward bending of the upper portion of the body—the opposite of the girl's pathological hysterical backward position. But unfortunately as soon as the effects of the snuff wore off the girl resumed her backward position.

Traditional practitioners:

Serious diseases which were interpreted as having a natural cause were treated by a variety of traditional practitioners—none of them witchdoctors. The Luo word for these practitioners is *jathieth* (doctor). The majority of them are women, and many specialize in the treatment of one disease, treating no others. Unlike the witchdoctors, they do not charge for their services. They can be broadly classified into those who give surgical and mechanical treatments and those who use medicines. Each individual practitioner had his or her own reputation—some having gained widespread fame among the Luo and their neighbours the Basembeti and Bakuria.

Another difference between witchdoctors and traditional practitioners is that there was no hereditary prerequisite in becoming a *jathieth*. The majority of *jathieth*, however, did come from families famous for this type of skill. Their ability would be developed over many years of apprenticeship served with a parent. A *jathieth* who did not come from a medical family would serve under another practitioner for five years. It was not unusual for the Luo to consult traditional practitioners among their neighbours, and *vice versa*.

10. Tanner, R.E.S. "Sukuma Leechcraft". (*East African Medical Journal*, 36, 1959, p.119.)

11. Impersto, P.J. *op.cit.*, p. 40.

Some surgical procedures:

Most of the procedures employed by practitioners who used surgical and mechanical methods had a local origin, but others had obviously been more recently acquired from western medicine. Setting fractured bones was an ancient art among the Luo, but as a result of contact with scientific medicine methods of splinting had changed. Undoubtedly contact with mission and government hospitals had brought this about. Traditionally, fractures were treated with crude splints made of bark, heavy twigs and sisal leaves, and kept immobilized for several weeks. Some *jathieth* still used this method while I was in North Mara, but most of them had adopted the use of a dung cast containing a moderate amount of clay, closely resembling the classical plaster cast which was no doubt the prototype. Before the cast was applied herbal mixtures were rubbed over the fracture site. As cement was readily available, this was occasionally added to the cast mixture—creating difficulties when the time came to remove the cast!

Luo bone-setters would attempt the reduction and casting of most fractures, but not all. The majority would not attempt to treat a fractured clavicle, which is difficult to deal with, although there was one in North Mara who specialised in clavicular fractures. The bandaging he applied closely resembled that used in modern surgical units, and I suspect that his knowledge was acquired at a hospital. Few *jathieth* would attempt to treat a fractured hip, and none would try to remove the fragments of a depressed skull fracture. Trephining of the skull was unknown to the Luo, in spite of the fact that their Kenya neighbours, the Kisii, practised it on rather a grand scale. Most Luo did not seem to know that the Kisii trephined skulls, and I could find no satisfactory explanation for this ignorance.

A few *jathieth* restricted their practice to setting dislocated joints, and one of them who lived near Utegi had a wide reputation of his skill.

He would reduce most dislocations by a few quick manoeuvres of the sort employed by qualified surgeons.

Yet another group of *jathieth* specialize in making small incisions over the diseased part of the body and rubbing herbal and non-herbal medicines into the wounds. This procedure is considered different from that performed at home by the paternal grandfather, or by a *jathak*. (See above.) Other *jathieth* had gained recognition of their ability to lance boils and excise superficial skin lesions. I knew one such practitioner who actually sterilized his instruments prior to use.

The use of medicines:

The majority of *jathieth*, however, sought cures through the use of medicines. A wide pharmacopoeia of drugs—both herbal and non-herbal—were employed, most of them taken internally. At any given time there would be several practitioners specializing in the treatment of a given disease, or only one. When I was in North Mara several women specialized treating infant diarrhoea, but only one in treating primary syphilis. Generally there was no active competition among the practitioners.

Traditional practitioners sincerely believed in the efficacy of their medicines; judging from the results they obtained, not without good reason. They would never consider it necessary to see the patient personally, (although sometimes this was done), and the patient's family would make the diagnosis then go to the appropriate *jathieth* for the proper medicine. The ingredients and preparation of the medicines were usually shrouded in secrecy, and investigation was difficult.

Herbal medicines, either singly or in mixtures, would normally be mixed with the patient's food. The method of prescription had recently been influenced by clinics and hospitals in the area, in that a particular medicine would be given two or three times a day, or at bedtime. Great importance was attached to the proper preparation of all herbal drugs, which were considered ineffective unless pre-treated in a prescribed manner.

Other medicines were derived from wild animal products, although these became scarce after the early 1940s when game ceased to be plentiful in the west of the district, and obtainable only through illegal poachers, by 1961, in the east where wildlife still abounded. Examples included lion fat for onchocerciasis (river blindness), elephant dung for impotence, powdered wart-hog tusk mixed with milk for blindness, and (taken internally) zebra and eland bile for constipation.

Pulmonary ailments were treated by smoking a pipe (*obone*) filled with pulverized snake skin mixed with dried bark and weeds, the mixture known as *oyugi*.

A black powder, apparently mineral, was used for treating primary syphilis, and referred to by a *jathieth* as *marating ando*. (I took a sample back to the United States for identification, but unfortunately it was confiscated by the Customs, together with some botanical collections, as I had omitted to get the required permits to bring them into the country).

By 1961 the North Mara population had had easy access to various patent medicines sold over the counter at the local shops. While most of these were advertised as a cure for an impressive spectrum of ailments, the Luo tended to regard them as drugs for the treatment of specific sicknesses. The *jathieth* would prescribe them only very rarely, because as noted above, these traditional practitioners prefer to cloud their medications with an air of secrecy.

Childbirth:

The traditional Luo approach to the management of pregnancy and the immediate post-partum period involves the co-operation of a witchdoctor, a herbalist and midwife, besides various members of the woman's family. The mother-in-law of the woman in labour has power to direct these combined efforts. Food taboos varying from clan to clan are imposed on the pregnant woman, and customs are observed during the period of gestation which are beyond the scope of this paper.

The *ajuoga* (witchdoctor) would provide talismans to bring good fortune to the baby, while the *jabilo* (wizard) provided amulets to protect the mother and foetus from witchcraft, sorcery and evil spirits. The *jathieth* (traditional medical practitioner) prescribed medicines to ensure the proper development of the foetus. Certain female *jathieth* would provide pulverized roots of *Capparis kiku*, *Ximenia* sp. and *Pentamusia* to mothers on request; the mother would carry this powder around in a calabash, and, before her infant was allowed to feed, her nipples would be moistened with a little of it mixed with her saliva. A more recent practice for ensuring the quality of the mother's milk, which appears to have been adopted from the Sukuma, was to rub the nipples with the bark of *Minulopsis pensiflora*.¹² Failure of the child to thrive immediately after birth was generally thought to be due to an aberration in the mother's milk supply. At one time an *ajuoga* (witchdoctor) would be consulted to find out whether this was indeed the case, and he would reach his conclusion after due ritual and sucking the woman's breasts; this practice was extinct in 1961.

A good Luo midwife was capable of recognizing a breach presentation and of correcting it in some instances. She would use an arsenal of drugs on the woman in labour, all of them closely guarded secrets; but it was obvious to a trained physician that most of these contained ergot derivatives, since they induced violent contractions of the uterus.

Delivery of the baby took place while the mother sat on the floor, supported by someone sitting behind her. Pushing on the abdomen was discouraged until the final stages of labour, whereupon some rather violent manual methods were employed. The cord was cut only after the placenta had been delivered; in the past the cord was tied with string and severed with a sharp reed, more recently with a razor blade or knife. The stump was treated with wood ashes, and, occasionally, with milk from a *euphorbia* plant.

12. The Luo names for the plant species are *otire* (*Capparis kiku*); *ochwoga* (*Ximenia* sp.); *nyabolo* (*Pentamusia*); and *opoko* (*M. pensiflora*).

The newly born baby was promptly fed with liquid *ugali* (porridge made from millet or cassava flour) mixed with medicine. Although in 1961 twin births and breach presentations were no longer regarded as unlucky events among the Luo, in the more distant past all such babies were suffocated by the midwife as soon as they were born.

Faith-healing:

Faith healing was not found in traditional Luo society, but this method of treating disease became popular as a result of the influence of certain separatist churches, particularly in the South Nyanza area of Kenya. While I was in North Mara there were no local faith-healers among the Luo, but some members of the tribe travelled into Kenya to seek faith-healing, in particular that practised by a leader of a new religion, the Legio Maria, a woman called Gaudencia Aoko. Gaudencia, like many faith-healers who preceded her in South Nyanza, professed the ability to exorcize the devil, and many Luo consider the devil to be simply another form of the traditional witchcraft-substance described above. In view of this the faith-healing method fits neatly into traditional Luo beliefs, and I suspect that its popularity persists among the Luo today, and will do so for some time to come.

In fact all over the world a significant part of successful medical treatment consists in the unique patient-curer relationship. A search for the pharmacologically active ingredients of traditional Luo drugs will not in itself yield the answer as to why they are often effective. To a great extent their efficacy must lie in the confidence which is mutual to the patient and the practitioner—the Luo *jathieth* and his patient possessing the same culture, concepts of disease causation, and a mutual understanding of each other's role. Even if the procedures of Luo traditional medicine are in decline, they are likely to be replaced by other procedures which will still depend on confidence between patient and healer.

It is to be hoped that modern medicine, which is changing cultural concepts of disease causation and treatment, will nevertheless engender in Luo society that confidence which the traditional practitioners have enjoyed for centuries.



55-year old avenue of Teak trees on Tanga-Pangani road

July, 1966

P. J. WOOD

A GUIDE TO SOME GERMAN FORESTRY PLANTATIONS IN TANGA REGION¹

by P. J. Wood

The casual observer looking at the pattern of forestry development in mainland Tanzania today can be forgiven for assuming that the most favourable areas for growing trees are in the highlands. Indeed, plantations in Tanganyika since 1920 have mostly been put on sites where tropical pines and cypresses will grow, and in this respect the Forest Division were certainly influenced by the extremely successful plantations in the Kenya Highlands. Pines and cypresses of course, whilst not being aesthetically to everyone's taste, do provide wood of a type most suitable for the production of sawn timber for industrial and other development. They are easy to raise, grow quickly, suffer from relatively few diseases, and produce an easily harvested uniform crop after twenty or thirty years.

In the early years of this century the highlands of Tanganyika seemed to contain huge supplies of useful timbers like podò (*Podocarpus spp.*) and cedar (*Juniperus procera*); the German forestry administration made only a few attempts to replace these species by planting. Relatively few introductions of exotic pines and cypresses were made in the areas where there are most plantations today.

But a great deal of work was done on tropical lowland species, and many of the plantations dating from before the 1914 War are today providing important information on growth rates and substantial quantities of seed for our renewed interest in tropical hardwood plantations. Most of these plantations are in the Tanga Region and were controlled from the famous Research Station at Amani. Even today the remnants of the Amani plantations form one of the most interesting collections of exotic plants in the country.

THE PLANTATIONS

Undoubtedly the most important of the lowland trees introduced from overseas is teak (*Tectona grandis*). It is one of the world's outstanding timbers, being the premier ship-building timber, excellent for constructional work, and it has recently found an expanding use in cabinet making, owing to its fine appearance and stability. In Europe the price of Burma teak is more than twice that of mvule, one of Tanzania's finest indigenous hardwoods. Many introductions of seed from various parts of South East Asia were made between 1898 and 1910 and, although it is very difficult today to ascertain from where the seed for any particular plantation came, it is interesting to note the following recorded introductions in various parts of the country:—

- 1898 Teak seeds arrived from Calcutta, sown in Dar es Salaam Experimental Gardens.
- 1901 Teak seeds arrived from Tennasserim, Batavia (Java). Sent to Tanga, Lushoto, Mohorro, Moshi, Mnyusi, Mwanza, Arusha, Kondoa-Irangi, Morogoro, Kilosa, Kilwa, Lindi, Bagamoyo and Muhesa.
- 1904 Fifty bags of seed from Calcutta and seventy-four bags from Java arrived. Java seed to Morogoro, Mombo, Tanga, Rufiji and Bagamoyo. Indian seed to Morogoro, Mombo and Tanga.
- 1906 Java seed to Morogoro.
- 1907 Java seed to Bismarckburg (Kassanga) and Pangani.
- 1908 Java seed to Lindi, Pangani, Steinbruch, Mwanza, Kihuhwi.
Indian seed to Lindi and Kihuhwi.
- 1909 Two bags Siamese teak sent to Mohorro.

- 1910 Burma teak seed to Kihuhwi. Report from Amani that Siamese teak would be to planted in Sigi Valley.
- 1911 Fifteen bags of Burma teak seed given to the Railway Company to be planted along Central Railway Line, some also sent to Amani, Pugu, Mwanza, Bagamoyo, Tabora, Kassanga, Songea and Rhodesia.

Other important introductions included mahogany (*Khaya sp.*), cigar box cedar (*Cedrela mexicana*), Maesopsis (*Maesopsis eminii*) and various species of *Eucalyptus*. In this article I am considering only the lowland hardwoods, such as teak, mahogany and cedrela.

1. TEAK

This tree requires a well drained, loamy soil, a warm humid climate, and preferably a rainfall of not less than fifty inches *per annum*. Attempts to grow the tree in less favourable conditions have usually resulted in a crop that is unsuitable for timber. Thus the moist foothills of mountain ranges, such as the East Usambaras, and the coastal strip are the best areas for growing teak.

Kihuhwi plantation:

This plantation of approximately sixty acres is near Kihuhwi Railway Station on the Tanga Line, at an altitude of 750 feet. It was planted on a series of small hills in about 1909. Teak of several origins seems to be included here, but I have identified strains from Travencore (India) and Burma. The performance of this plantation is somewhat poorer than it should be owing to neglect in its early years. It is now well thinned, and at about 50 years old, the average height was 97 feet, average breast height girth 3 feet 9 inches, and there were 86 trees with a volume of 2800 cubic feet per acre. (Girth at breast height was taken at 4 feet 6 inches from the ground.) This plantation supplies most of the seed for the Forest Division projects for planting teak, and is probably the best stand of the species in the country. The timber from it has been tested and found to be good, though slightly inferior to the timber from Burma and Trinidad.

Amani plantations:

These consist of three plots, all planted between 1904 and 1910. Seed origins are unknown, but some trees have certainly been raised from Java seed, and some from Tennasserim (Burma). The form of the trees is generally poor, the branching heavy, and this is attributed largely to the seed origin, so that no seed is currently collected from these plots.

The plots are:—

- (a) Sigi, north of the old Longuza—Amani motor road (now passable only on foot); growth fairly good, maximum height over 100 feet, breast height girth up to 7 feet.
- (b) On the right of the road to Amani after passing the second bridge above the horticultural plots; average height rather less than in the Sigi plot, average girth breast height about 5-6 feet. Growth poor.
- (c) By the second hairpin bend above plot (b); growth and form particularly poor.

Muhesa:

There is a small plot of teak trees at the railway crossing at Muhesa. It is not certain when they were planted, but it was probably at about the same time as the Amani plantations and from the same seed. The average height is about 65 feet, average girth breast height 5-6 feet. These trees are rather heavily branched. Although good timber might be produced here, the form of the trees is not good enough to allow seed for future plantations to be collected from them.

Steinbruch plantation:

Introductions of teak by the Germans were also made here. The Steinbruch plantation is clearly visible on the left side of the Tanga to Muhesa road, just after Maweni Prison. The original plantings were very poor and have all been felled for poles. The present plantation is coppiced, and provided useful material for rebuilding houses in Tanga after the floods of 1961. The area is, however, too dry to grow good teak.

Tanga:

Some of the biggest teak trees in the country are to be seen on the Tanga to Pangani road. They were planted by Mr. W.J. Tame in about 1906, and their impressive girth (and very heavy branching) are due to the fact that they were planted as an avenue and not a plantation. Some of them are marked with crosses from the time when a local sawmiller wanted to fell them all, but this was happily prevented, and much of this fine avenue remains to give shade to travellers; it is a pity it does not extend further.

2. MAHOGANY

Mahogany—a trade name covering many different species—is a very important hardwood in the world's markets. Whilst not as expensive as teak, it nevertheless finds many uses in furniture, plywood making, boat-building; in fact whenever a fine, decorative timber is required. The main local species of African mahogany (*Khaya nyasica*) is a fine timber (local names Mtondoro or Mkangazi); and other species, whether local or introduced from other parts of Africa, do not grow as well.

There are several plots of mahogany at Amani, the species being *Khaya anthotheca* and *K. senegalensis*, though there has always been some confusion about which is which. The largest plant can be seen on the right of the fourth hairpin bend above Sigi horticultural plots. It was planted in 1906 and now has an average girth of about 5 feet 6 inches; and the height is over 100 feet. Mahogany does not figure largely in the Forest Division's hardwood afforestation programme at the present time, as the main emphasis is on the more valuable teak.

3. CEDRELA: CIGAR BOX CEDAR

This large tree, with leaves somewhat resembling those of a European Ash, was planted extensively in the Amani plantations, and has been used frequently as a roadside tree (together with the Toon tree) on the Amani road, both above and below the old Sigi railway station. The species used to be called *Cedrela odorata*, but the botanists have now decided that it should be called *C. mexicana*. Anyone who has been in a plantation when these trees are in flower, giving off a heavy, unpleasant smell, would however, probably agree that the tree is more aptly named *C. odorata*. In contrast to the smell of the flowers, the timber, when dry, is pleasantly scented, and besides being used for cigar boxes it is also useful for light construction, furniture and boats. In the plantations along the old Longuza—Sigi motor road trees planted in 1911 have reached a girth of 6 feet and a height of over 100 feet, although some of the nearby roadside trees are considerably bigger than this.

4. MAESOPSIS

This tree, *Maesopsis eminii*, is indigenous to Tanzania, occurring naturally in the Lake Regions. It produces a light general-purpose wood, and is fast-growing at Amani. There is a plot just below the Amani Rest House on a steep slope planted about 1913, the average height being over 100 feet, girth breast height 5 feet 8 inches.

Seed is collected from this plot for planting in the Kwamkoro forests, both by Forest Officers and by Hornbills. The birds can often be heard in the tree-tops, and they have spread the tree in gaps in the forest far from the original plantation.

5. MTAMBAA

This tree, *Cephalosphaera usambarensis*, is probably the most valuable constituent of the Amani forests today. The 1909 plantation lies just above the junction of the Amani and Bulwa roads, is well stocked, and has an average girth of over 5 feet. The trees are healthy and of good form.

CONCLUSION

These are the most important plantations of lowland tropical hardwoods dating from German times in the Tanga Region. What is their significance today? First, they provide us with trees of known age on which estimates of growth can be based. This is obviously of importance when planning a forest plantation project. Secondly, they provide important and reliable sources of forest tree seed, both for use in Tanzania and for exchange with Research Organisations overseas.

The five timbers I have described above are the most important at present, but it is only their growth over the last fifty years or so which has enabled them to be selected from the many scores of species tried out before the First World War. The Amani plantations are still a rewarding place for the botanist and plant collector, and in the early development of a country it is only by trying large numbers of new species that the few that are likely to become commercially important can be found. But what is an important species today was not necessarily so yesterday, and may not be tomorrow. Fifteen years ago the Amani plantation of *Cephalosphaera usambarensis* would have been regarded as one of botanical interest only. Today, however, the tree is one of the most important plywood timbers used by the Tanga Plywood Factory; and the plot at Amani contributes much to the Forest Division's knowledge of how to replace this tree when the natural forests have been felled. Similarly, Tanzania's two teak-planting projects, at Mtibwa near Turiani, and Longuza, near Amani, obtain supplies of seed from the Kihuhwi teak plantations, and estimates of the kind of yield we can expect from them (in 50 years' time) can be based on measurements taken in the old German plots.

As the years go by, of course, these old introductions will play a progressively small-part in Tanzania's forest development, but they are the oldest plots, and they do represent some of the earliest attempts to provide the country with valuable forest products. Besides having both of historical and amenity value, they are also playing an important part in developing commercial forestry for the future.

For further information on the Amani plantations see:

1. FERNIE, L.M. The Amani Plantations, *E.A. Agric. Journal*, XIV No.2, 1948.
2. GREENWAY, P.J. *Amani Plantations*, 1934. In Amani Library.

For more detailed information on growth rates of individual species see *Technical Notes (Silviculture)*, obtainable on request from The Silviculturist, P.O. Box 95, Lushoto.

THE ANGONI RAID ON MASASI IN 1882

By Canon R. G. P. Lamburn

In 1882 a war party of Wangoni from Songea descended upon Masasi and pillaged the country, carrying off slaves and booty. This was the last big raid before the entry of European Governments into East Africa put an end to such inter-tribal fighting. At the time of the raid the Anglican Church had already opened up missionary work at Masasi under the auspices of the Universities Mission to Central Africa (then known as the Central African Mission), and we have authentic accounts of the raid preserved in the archives of the Mission.¹ The present writer has also obtained an eye-witness account from the Reverend Eriko Akuchigombo, who was a boy at the time of the raid, and is still alive.

I

In the year 1882 the land which is now the Mtwara and Ruvuma Regions of Tanzania was nominally under the rule of the Sultan of Zanzibar, Seyyid Bargash. He had, however, no force by which he could make his rule effective. When the goods of the Reverend W. P. Johnson were stolen by Mataka's Wayao, all that the Sultan of Zanzibar could do was to send a protest to Mataka; he made no pretence of being able to insist on restoration of the goods or compensation.

So when, in 1876, Bishop Steere moved out a colony of released slaves from Mbweni (the released slave village on Zanzibar Island) to Masasi, he was placing them in a land where there was no effective government of any kind, and no protection from marauding bands should any appear. In these circumstances the missionaries at Masasi were faced with a very serious question—what is to take the place of a secular government when it is necessary to administer justice or to protect the community? All this was the subject of correspondence between the Reverend Chauncy Maples, who was in charge at Masasi, and Bishop Steere. A letter from Mr. Madan (the compiler of the Swahili dictionary) who was on the staff of the Mission in Zanzibar at this time, written after the 1882 raid and after Bishop Steere's death, says that a paper had been found (presumably in Zanzibar)

“which appears to me (Madan) a most complete sanction and vindication of precisely the line taken by Maples and Porter at Masasi, viz (i) avoiding bloodshed at all costs of stores, money etc. (ii) withdrawal in prospect of renewed hostilities.” It would seem, then, that Maples was not acting entirely on his own authority when he forbade resistance to the raiders.

At the time of the raid there were four European missionaries in what is now the Mtwara and Ruvuma Regions. The Reverend Chauncy Maples and the Reverend William Carmichael Porter (who had arrived in 1880) were at Masasi. The Reverend H.H. Clarke was at Mtua and seems to have been also in charge at Lindi on the coast; and the Reverend William Percival Johnson was far away on the shores of Lake Nyasa (now Lake Malawi).

At this point we should glance at the geography of the country. Lindi was the port of entry. Mtua is 30 miles inland up the valley of the Lukuledi River. Bishop Steere had made a new road to Masasi in 1876 via Mtua and the gap between the Makonde and Mwera plateaux, to avoid the embarrassment of using the slave route which passed

1. A file of letters and a few official documents was kept at Masasi Mission and, together with the published papers and letters of Chauncy Maples and W.P. Johnson, and the Reminiscences of the latter, forms the source of this paper. It is hoped that the Masasi file will shortly be housed either in the Tanzania National Archives or in the archives of the U.S.P.G., 15 Tufton Street, London S.W.I.

to the north of Masasi, and thence via Ndwika (of which we shall hear more) to the fords of the Ruvuma River. Masasi is ninety miles from Lindi; and at that time the Mission village there was built where the Mission Hospital now stands.

There was one house in the Mission village in which the missionaries lived and which formed part of the south wall of a compound surrounded by a stone wall. Opposite this house a wide road led downhill to the north and to the wells. On either side of the road were the houses and farm plots of the freed slaves. Behind the missionary house rose the small hill known as Chitututu, the eastern end of which has a large cave with prehistoric drawings on its walls. All round the site are rocks; half a mile or more to the east a mountain known as Chilonji rises some 1,500 feet above the plain.

II

The story must begin with the adventures of the porters who were sent off in May 1882 from Masasi to take supplies to the Reverend W. P. Johnson on the shores of what was then Lake Nyasa. There were twelve of these men and they were led by one Edward Abdullah. They reached Johnson safely at Ngoi. They found him planning a visit to the Chief of the Wangoni in Songea, at the settlement which is now known by his name. Johnson decided to take them with him to Songea.

In his book of reminiscences Johnson puts the date of this visit to Songea as 1883 but this is quite impossible. His own contemporary letters recounting the story of this visit are dated 1882.

Johnson stayed a few days at Songea's village in July 1882. Naturally enough no one breathed a word of the raid on his companions at Masasi that was, even then, in preparation. But no sooner had Johnson left, leaving behind him the seven Masasi men who were now to set out for home, than Songea peremptorily forbade the men to leave until the war party had started and until there was no danger of those seven passing the war party on the road and giving the alarm at Masasi. However, these Masasi men were given leave to go, and were able to do so unmolested, as soon as the raiding party (some four or five hundred strong) had left Songea.

Songea's plans for a complete surprise attack on Masasi went astray. According to the dispatch (No. 81) sent by Colonel Miles—the Acting British Consul in Zanzibar—a caravan carrying trade goods from the coast met the raiding party near Mayaya.² The Angoni attacked and scattered the porters, some of whom fled back to Masasi to give the alarming news that the Angoni were but sixty miles away and had shaken their spears towards Masasi.

Perhaps owing to this by-battle with the caravan, which must have delayed the raiders a little, eleven Masasi porters came up with the raiders at about this point. Probably they suddenly came upon an unexpected outpost, for clearly they were terrified and scattered in all directions. Eight of them eventually reached Masasi safely; the others were assumed to have died of thirst in the forest, but the leader of the party, Edward Abdullah, was later found near Mayaya by the party that went to try to ransom the slaves who had been carried away. I can trace no record of what befell the other two, but Archdeacon Johnson in his *Reminiscences* seems to assume that they survived.

This is the account which Edward Abdullah gave to Chauncy Maples, and which was written down by him at the time, of what the Wangoni had said their objects were in making the raid on Masasi:

“This European, who has just gone, says God tells us to leave off war and raids, and to keep peace with all men. We cannot do that. God has given us this work

2. This mountain, by a thousand feet the highest in the area, is referred to in contemporary accounts as Majeja, and is commonly known today as Majeja; but the name is a Kimakua one and should be Mayaya.

of war. He has told us to fight with everybody, and to try and make all serve us. Let the European fight with us, and if he conquers us then we will acknowledge that his words are true and that God is on his side. Then we will do what he tells us and help him to pray to God. Our work is war, nothing else. We have heard that all the Europeans who have come into the country are fierce and brave and strong. We know one of them is. He who lives at Komanga can conquer us, (i.e. Johnson). We recognise him as our better; we are in subjection to him, we know he is strong and that we dare not molest him. Now we want to try the Europeans at Masasi. We are just going to make war upon them. We shall surprise them before sunrise, carry off their people, and get all their property if we can. We shall not kill the Europeans themselves this time, but we shall try them to see if they are fierce and can conquer us. If they are not strong, if they are gentle and soft and refuse to fight us, we shall then know that we can get the better of them, and, having carried off their people, we shall after some months make a second war upon them, destroying them utterly, and shall, having killed the Europeans themselves, cut out the heart of the chief one and carry it away as a charm by which we shall be able to bring all other white men who come into the country into subjection.”³

Chauncy Maples states that he is convinced that Edward was giving him a true account.

III

The Wangoni went to war carrying shields of hardened skins, throwing spears and knob-kerries. Their soldiers' uniforms were almost non-existent, but a piece of goat skin, softened by treatment with oil from the castor plant, was worn to cover the *pubenda* to some extent, held by a cord tied round the waist. Chiefs, chiefs' sons and generals in command of raiding wore a mongoose skin instead of goat skin.

Strange to say, it was the Ngoni shields that saved their enemies; for the Wangoni could fight only in more or less open country where it was possible to hold the shields in front of their bodies. (It seems that the shields were hard enough to resist a bullet from a muzzle loader—or at least to diminish its velocity sufficiently to make a fatal wound unlikely.) But when the Wangoni got into thick bush, such as covered the sides of mountains and the Makonde Plateau, then they were compelled to advance with the edges of their shields foremost and their bodies exposed to any enemy with a gun or bow and arrow. They had a healthy respect for guns of all kinds, and people who fled from them into thick bush were safe from attack.

The largest part of a raiding party consisted of *majaha* or youths. These were divided into groups under older men, and the groups took it in turns to guard the camp and go out raiding. The *majaha* earned themselves a bad name for cruelty and wanton slaying, and it is clear that their elders were sometimes hard put to it to maintain discipline. Some of the more wanton killing at Masasi seems to have been done in defiance of orders from above.

The *majaha* were not allowed to keep for themselves any slaves they took. They were obliged to hand them over to their own commanding officer, according to my Ngoni informant; but Father Eriko Akuchigombo, who was an eye-witness, states that in fact the *majaha* never took any slaves. We may infer that these somewhat rebellious young men saw no point in taking slaves for someone else; when slaves were taken they were taken by the elders themselves.

The tactics of the Wangoni were always the same. They would divide their forces and surround their enemies—whether a whole village or a group going to the well or to get firewood. The Wangoni kept themselves very carefully hidden, calling to each other with a cry which they called *likwiru*, a sort of whistle, to make sure that all were in position; then, they rushed in upon their foes.

IV

When the news of the approach of the dreaded Wangoni reached Masasi there was consternation, but Maples and Porter remained calm. Maples "harangued" (his own word) the freed slaves and told them that in any event he and Porter would stay with them. It would appear that he also gave express orders that no one was to fire on the enemy; in his report Maples writes: "Not one of our men fired a gun. To a man they kept our order on this point."

The inhabitants of the surrounding villages fled, some to Chilonji Hill where the thick bush gave them safety, some to Newala where the Yao chief Matola was ruling a mixture of Makonde and Makua. Matola's people at this time are referred to as "the Yao", but in fact very few of them were Yao, and indeed Matola himself would have been hard put to it to establish that he was a pure-blooded Yao. The fact is that neither the Yao, with their excellent tradition of house building and agriculture, nor the Makua with their skill as iron-smelters and smiths, had ever had a state of organisation more complicated than village life. The Yao and Makua villages became inextricably mingled during the northward migration of the two tribes, intermarriage was common, but it was generally considered that if a man called himself a Yao and used the Yao language he put himself on a higher social footing.

Father Eriko Akuchigombo gives an interesting account of how his family fled away; (he must have been a boy of about eight years old at the time):—

"We were living at Napata (six miles north of Masasi) at the time of the first raid. As soon as the alarm was given we fled to Namakongwa (five miles north-east of Masasi), unable to take even food with us. But that night the men of the party went carefully back to the village and brought supplies of millet and cassava. They could not bring the heavy *vinu* (mortars for pounding the grain). We were therefore obliged to dig holes in ant-hills; the holes were then plastered inside with the sap of the *mtimbe* tree and a fire was lit in them—after this burning they became rock hard and could be used as *vinu*. At our camp in Namakongwa we were joined by refugees from Masasi who had fled when they heard what they thought was the *likwiru* cry of the ambushing Wangoni. What they had heard was actually the cry of the tree rat. The next day we made our way to Kanyimbi, and so through Majembe to the Makonde Plateau where the Wangoni could not follow us."

V

Tuesday, 12th September 1882 was a day of anxious consultation between Porter and Maples, and in the end it was decided that Maples should set off towards Mayaya to try to treat with the raiders. On Wednesday, 13th September, Maples set out on this venture. With him went five Africans. They followed the course of the present motor road westwards from Masasi passing through Mikangaula, where they camped. The next day they passed the dry bed of the Mbangala River, and rested at Nangombe. Setting out again in the afternoon they soon found the tracks of Angoni warriors and saw that they had left the path, presumably to start the usual enveloping movement towards Masasi. They paused to consider what to do. Was this the main body going to the attack? Or was it only a scouting party? Rather optimistically they decided it was probably only a scouting party. So they pressed on to try to meet the chiefs, who, they assumed, would be with the main body still ahead of them.

A few miles further on they came to the Ndwika Rock, a well-known camping place.⁴ Here was ample evidence that their optimistic appraisal of the situation had

4. *Ndwika* is the Chiyao name for any rock that is bigger at the top than at its base. The name was particularly applied to a notable rock of this kind which was a landmark and camping place on the old slave route from the Ruvuma fords to Lindi. It can be seen today a few yards south of the Lindi-Songea motor road, 30 miles from Masasi.

been sadly at fault. Scattered around were the debris of the camp of the whole Angoni raiding party. Maples and his companions turned and sped back to Masasi, their one hope to get there before the Angoni struck.

The Angoni were swift travellers, but their enveloping tactics compelled them to leave the path and make their way through the bush; so Maples and his party thought that in spite of their enemies' long start they might be able to pass them in the night. All that day and all the following night they pressed on, but when at last Masasi came into sight they saw the columns of smoke rising from the burning villages.

Hurrying on, desperately weary and sad at heart, they suddenly found themselves in an ambush, with Angoni *majaha* all round them, holding raised spears and knobkerries. One of Maples' men was felled to the ground, but not seriously hurt. Maples calmly sat down and tried to make clear by signs that he had no warlike intentions. The young Angoni made signs indicating that Maples and his party should pass on—apparently meaning that they should report themselves to the elders who were at Masasi. So they obediently passed on, but the opportunity for escape was obvious to them all, and presently one of the Africans in Maples' party put into words what was in all their minds, that instead of tamely surrendering themselves they should turn south and make their way through the bush to Matola at Newala—where they would be more or less safe.

Maples agreed and they left the path and made for Newala. Subsequently Maples was criticised for this decision. "Why", writes a correspondent (only a part of whose letter is extant) "did Maples assume the worst?" It is clear to us now that if he had pressed on to Masasi he would have been able to rejoin and help Porter. The Mission had been spared; the smoke that Maples had seen came from the surrounding hamlets not from the mission village. But Maples could not have known this. All the evidence he had pointed to the Mission having been destroyed and Porter and all the African Christians either dead or prisoners. No one can accuse him of cowardice. He must have been exhausted by his journey of some forty-five miles, made at top speed since leaving camp at Mikangaula, and he faced a further forty-five miles, which would have had to be covered without a camp, without food, and much of it without water. Moreover Maples was responsible for the men who were with him.

As it was Maples and the five Africans found their way to Matola at Newala, but only after agonies of thirst and hunger.⁵ Matola, to his eternal credit, had very bravely waited to see whether any refugees from the Mission at Masasi would come to him, before he made his way into the safety of the Makonde Plateau.

VI

For the account of what happened at the Mission at Masasi on Thursday, 14th September 1882, we turn to the description given to Maples by the African school master Eustace Uledi (or Malisawa). It appears that Porter himself never wrote any account of the events. This may well be because his own part was a heroic one, yet he came in for much criticism of what he had done and could have defended himself only by calling attention to his own heroism.

The Angoni surprised the mission village at early dawn, dividing into bands and rushing in from all sides at once as was their usual custom. At once they seized men, women and children as slaves, entered the houses and the church, and carried off what they would. Then, finding that there was no armed resistance, they settled down at the bottom of the village street and waited to know what price would be offered for ransoming the slaves.

The mission people, that is the freed slaves, tried to rush to the stone walled compound in front of the missionaries' house, or run for the hills where most of the Makua, who formed the main population of Masasi, had already fled. In this rush

5. Where Matola lived at this time was "Newala Chini", just below where Newala stands today on the south-western corner of the Makonde Plateau.

three people were killed by the Angoni—one of them because he attempted, against orders, to fire at the raiders. Four young children were slaughtered in the village street. These seven appear to be the total casualties of the raid.

The captives were mostly secured by the device of stationing an Angoni warrior at the door of a house, with spear raised to kill anyone who tried to emerge. All the inhabitants would then be taken as slaves. As soon as the Angoni elders saw that Porter was ready to treat with them, they made real efforts to hold back their *majaha*, and at length succeeded. Mats were spread out and a parley took place in the *baraza* of the missionaries' house. Porter agreed to pay cloth in return for a promise that there would be no further violence. The Angoni then retired to their camp which was about two miles away. Porter sent them more cloth as a ransom for the Christians who had been enslaved, but only two or three were sent back in return. One of those sent back, it seems, was Charles Selemani, the first Christian convert ever made at Masasi, who had voluntarily given himself in exchange for his wife who had been captured. In the end twenty-three adults and six children were unransomed, and there was no more cloth to pay for them.

The Angoni stayed at Masasi until 27th September. They sent raiding parties out into the surrounding countryside to bring in more slaves and plunder; but they kept their promise not to touch the mission village again, and in fact it was not long before the people of Masasi were visiting the Angoni camp on friendly terms, asking for souvenirs, while the Angoni visited the Mission to ask for more and more gifts. When the Angoni realised that the church was a sacred place and the vessels they had stolen from it were sacred objects they returned these.

VII

When the raiders left their camp near Masasi on 27th September 1882, they promised to wait at Mayaya, sixty miles on their way home, to see if Porter had been able to get more cloth for ransom. That same day Porter sent off a caravan of twenty-four men to Lindi, to buy this cloth. It was seventeen days before the new supply of cloth got to Mayaya, and it was too late; the Angoni had been attacked while waiting, and had moved on. Of the Christian captives, two had escaped and were found by the Mission's ransom party; all the children had been killed, and the rest were on their long journey with the Angoni to Songea. It is worth noting here that the Angoni never used the cruel slave stick to secure their captives; at most the slaves were tied by a cord made of bark-rope.

Maples returned to Masasi on 3rd October, very weak and ill after his terrible journey. He was so crippled by an ulcer on his leg that he could not accompany Porter when he set out for Songea on 1st November to ransom the remaining slaves.

Porter reached Songea on 2nd December, but he was able to ransom only eight of the captives. Maples later visited Songea—in 1887—approaching it from what was then Lake Nyasa, and tried yet again to ransom the three or four women captives who were still alive. He managed to find only one woman, and it is not clear from the record whether or not the Angoni were willing to accept a ransom for her.

When Porter returned from Songea he brought with him a spear with its point bent back. In a letter he wrote at the time of Porter's return Maples said: "(the Angoni) however broke the point of the spear... as a pledge that they would not make war again." From this the story has been elaborated to the effect that the Angoni were so impressed by Porter's bravery in coming all the way to Songea unarmed, that they gave this pledge of lasting friendship. The spear is now treasured at Central Africa House in London. However, it seems clear that the significance of the spear was very different from being a pledge of lasting friendship, and that Porter and Maples realised this. The Angoni custom was to *receive* a spear, made useless by bending back the

point, from those who acknowledged them as overlords and who were willing to pay tribute to them. This particular spear was one which the Angoni had left behind in Masasi, and Porter took it with him to Songea to return as lost property. It may well be that the Angoni, realising that Porter did not know the usual custom, bent the point of the spear back for him. However neither Porter nor Maples were under any delusion; they knew that they were now bound to pay tribute to the Angoni, and for the next ten years or so the Mission at Masasi paid considerable quantities of cloth to the Angoni. Maples wrote:—

“The results of the journey are not really satisfactory in any sense. It seems quite certain that the Gwangwara (Angoni) will require us every year to pay them a large quantity of cloth, salt etc., and they plainly say, ‘Unless we go and build and live there, no lasting friendship is to exist between us.’ They say that all the Makuas and Yaos and everybody else of these parts are now to look to us as their masters and lords, and we on their behalf are to pay cloth, salt etc., to the Gwangwara as our conquerors. That is really our position at present, and it is very unsatisfactory.”

VIII

The news of the raid reached England on about 12th November 1882. Reports had been made in the first place to Archdeacon Farler, who was acting as Vicar-General after the death of Bishop Steere. In England consultations took place with the Mission's committees at the ancient universities, with the British Government, and with other missionary societies. The Mission's committees realised that they were in a very false position. Bishop Steere had accepted responsibility for the slaves released by the action of the British Navy; and he had taken them to a place where neither the Sultan of Zanzibar, nor the British armed forces, could protect them, by placing them in Masasi. Furthermore if any missionary attempted to defend himself or the freed slaves by force, and killed somebody in the process, then he was legally liable to be tried for his life when he returned to England, no matter where the fighting had taken place.

Many held that the Mission at Masasi, having accepted responsibility for the freed slaves, were in honour bound to defend them by force if necessary. Others said that although this was true, yet it was so unseemly (to say the least of it) that a clergyman should take part in fighting that it would be necessary to appoint a layman as head of any freed slave villages that may be established; this layman should be responsible for arming and drilling the freed slaves so that they could defend themselves. Yet others modified the latter suggestion by recommending the establishment of “cities of refuge” where protection could be available in the times of war, even though freed slaves and others for whom the Mission became responsible might live elsewhere in times of peace. All this consultation seemed very necessary, because it was expected that Magila would be raided by the Masai, and a member of another mission had just been in trouble for killing an African.

But as it turned out the solution of the problem came through the annexation of the country by the Emperor of Germany.

REVIEWS

AGRICULTURAL CHANGE IN TANGANYIKA: 1945—1960

By N.R. Fuggles-Couchman

Food Research Institute, Stanford University, 1964. \$2.50, 98p.

Agricultural Change in Tanganyika: 1945-1960, forms part of a series of studies of agricultural achievement in the countries of tropical Africa during the 15 years following the war. Sandwiched between the wartime agricultural activities when heroic strides were made (against such odds as acute shortages of hoes, scarcity of motor vehicles, marketing, famines and the barest minimum of agricultural staff) and the momentous role of agriculture in post independent Tanganyika, the study loses much of its promised lustre. However, in the section dealing with the 'brief history of agricultural and related development', the author does give useful, if perfunctory, background information. The paragraph dealing with the ethnic composition did not materially contribute anything except opinionated views about certain tribes. For instance it is difficult to see the relevance of the statement that the Hehe are a "warrior tribe" and the Gogo are a "backward agricultural people mainly depending on their livestock for their income." or of the contrast between the "banana eating" Haya and the Chagga "the versatile, energetic, intelligent advancing people."

In forty brief pages the author describes changes under three main headings in the organization of production, in output and in marketing. A major handicap which even the author (a former Deputy Director of Agriculture) could not overcome was the lack of statistics for the agricultural activities undertaken by the majority of African cultivators. What the book mainly documents is the non-indigenous type of agriculture. The narrative should have attempted to separate plantation work from peasant agriculture, commercial agriculture from subsistence agriculture, for in this way the amazing dichotomy which exists would have been revealed. The net impression which one gets is that there has been change, but, one hastens to ask, how is this change any different from what has generally occurred in most countries of the world? The last section, dealing with incentives to change, after five pages, tails into discussion of land tenure, research, etc.

The addition of graphs, some reorganization of content and minor corrections would have enhanced the value of the book. For instance the canning factory in Dar es Salaam is geared to the export of meat rather than to the sale of meat in the home market. However, within the narrow context of describing agricultural change the book gives part of the general picture, and makes quite interesting reading.

Light has still to be cast on the changes that have taken place among the thousands of cultivators in the transition stages of subsistence agriculture. The agriculture of these people is not divorced from the day to day activities, it governs their tempo of life, their health, and their attitudes. The life patterns of nearly all the inhabitants has been altered and in many cases has left an indelible print on the landscape. Therefore, the united work of anthropologists, sociologists, economists, geographers and even agriculturists is called for, and it would reveal the great diversity and drama of agricultural change in Tanganyika. The present little book is useful and does not pretend to be more than a brief review of agricultural change in the narrowest sense of the word. There is still room for several volumes on the subject.

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AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN TANGANYIKA

By Hans Ruthenberg.

Springer Verlag, Berlin, 1964, xiv, 212pp., 1 map and 33 tables, No. 2 of the Afrika—Studien Series of IFO, Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung, München. 28 Dm.

The terms of reference for this book seem to be a description of agricultural conditions in Tanganyika, measures taken to encourage African peasant farming, evaluation of experience gained during British colonial administration and an outline of changes brought by independence. In addition, the publication, as mentioned in its preface, tries to reflect the intentions and ideas of the agricultural problems of many Africans, Europeans and Indians.

The author seems to have been unduly concerned with omitting nothing, so some valuable and interesting parts of the book are lost in a vast assemblage of material about departmental organization, African socialism, ministerial statements, scholarships and other 'newsy' bits of information. To make it worse there is no index. The book is divided into six chapters (A to F). Chapter A (why not One?) sets the background to the study, and could easily have been integrated with chapter B. The last section of the second chapter is probably the best part of the book. In twenty-four pages the author details the organization of farming in Tanganyika, paying special attention to the indigenous farming as practised on Ukara Island; Sukumaland; wheat farms in the Northern Region; and to the coffee/banana complex of Uchagga.

Chapter C, consisting of seven pages describing the achievement of agriculture in Tanganyika, is very superficial. For instance in the third section of this chapter the two pages on interterritorial agricultural trade tells nothing more than the information which could be obtained by reading table 20.

Chapter D and E covering ninety-three pages, attempt to describe development policies during the British and post-Independence periods. The chapters are adequate, though it is difficult to get a clear picture because of numerous digressions. The last chapter on agricultural development aid is conservative but comprehensively treated. Finally there are two rather useful appendices covering technical—economic aspects and marketing.

There are thirty-three tables, but it is more than a geographer's bias which tells one that the book needs more than the one map on the last page. The book is unnecessarily segmented. The fine print, ranging from 6 to 8 points, actually means that it is rather long, but as a paper-back its present price seems prohibitive. Despite all its weaknesses, Dr. Hans Ruthenberg's book does put between two covers material normally lost in Government files and other notes, and the bibliography containing over 700 entries is really exhaustive.

A. Mascarenhas

SWAHILI GRAMMAR AND SYNTAX

By Alfons Loogman, C.S.Sp., Duquesne University Press, 1965

As one would expect from so distinguished an author as Father Loogman this book is of great interest. It concerns itself almost entirely with the "Standard" dialect of the Swahili language, derived primarily from Zanzibar and the Tanzanian mainland coast and spoken in a more or less pure form by Swahili speakers throughout Tanzania and, though with much less purity, in the Kenya non-coastal area, though we must still exclude a few dialects or sub-dialects such as Kimtang'ata, Kihadimu and some sub-dialects of Pemba, now admittedly moribund.

There are many illuminating passages which will attract scholars of the language. Among these may be mentioned particularly the first paragraph of Section 99, dealing with the comparison of adjectives, the first paragraph of Section 124, concerning the difference between the *a*-binder and *-enye*, Section 125, dealing with the locative in *-ni* and stressing that "the locative form of a noun is in itself a new noun," a theory which, though considered self-evident until a few years ago, has tended recently to be superseded by one which emphasises its adverbial function, and Section 149, which, though no doubt essentially true, overlooks the fact that Swahili many years ago incorporated into itself words for "own, possess, have dominion over" from Arabic, so that the West is not particularly blameworthy for the change in attitude though, of course, subsequent experience of the European way of life tended to develop this trend. Section 187, of the agent and the instrument, is valuable for its complete clarity. Section 360, on the derivation of nouns, is of great interest. We would have welcomed a lot more of this kind of thing, not only in regard to nouns, but in respect, among other things, of the derivations of such words as the interrogatives *gani* and *wapi* and of the imperative *njoo*, still enigmatic in Swahili etymology. Some remarks on the endings of deverbative nouns (Sections 361, 363 and 364) would have been welcome also, as would the author's own views on "apparently *e*-forms... which seem to be essentially different from those treated... as wishing-forms" (Section 567).

The third paragraph of Section 118 purports to explain why the possessive-*ao* can only be used of humans and animals, the reason given being that *-o* is the particle of reference for them only. But the other classes have their particles also and one might logically expect to find them in words for "their" in their plural possessives instead of their having to rely on the one singular stem-*ake*, thus *-ayo*, for *miti*, *-avyo* for *vitu*, *-azo* for *nyumba* and so on. Indeed, following the same principle, *-aye*, *-ao*, *-alo*, *-acho*, *-ayo* etc. instead of *-ake*, for "his" for the first and "its" for the rest. Do we find such forms in any dialect? We certainly find *nayo*, *navyo*, *nazo* etc. and *kwayo*, *kwayo*, *kwazo* etc. as well as *kwalo*, *kwacho* etc., forms of the connective *a* with particles of reference.

There are a few passages with which other scholars will be inclined to quarrel. Those particularly interested in phonetics or the *mizani* of poetry, for instance, will disagree with much of Section 9.

Few scholars other than those who specialise in the mainland Tanzanian form of "Standard" will accept the statement in Section 109 that to express an ordinal number the *n*-class form of the cardinal is used with an *a* binder. Actually the word used is the stem, not the *n*-class form. Take *tatu* for example: "three houses" is *nyumba t'atu* (the first *t* aspirated) while "the third house" is *nyumba ya tatu* (no aspiration): this is shown still more clearly in dialect, e.g., in Kivumba, which has *nyumba t'atu* and *nyumba ya tatu*.

Some of the examples of the use of *-enye* given in Section 123 would be repudiated by purists, at least those of the Kenya coast.

Another instance of theory which may well provoke argument is the somewhat unusual treatment of the imperative. In Section 141 the author states that "the subject must be represented in all forms of the verb except in the infinitive and the imperative". What would he say about a word like *mpige*, which, according to his grammatical analysis, is neither infinitive nor imperative? Presumably he would consider it covered by the saving clause two lines later "usually expressed and sometimes understood." But why is *mpige* not an imperative? The author will surely agree that "Give me a book" is an imperative in English grammar. Why then is *Nipe kitabu* not imperative? We are given no reason. We are merely told categorically (Section 266) that "the imperative never has a *kibadala* as a prefix: if a *kibadala* must be present as object the wishing-form terminating in *-e* must be used instead of the imperative." What is the difficulty about such an obvious imperative as *mpige* or *mpe*? Cannot one order someone to do something to or for somebody? Can one only wish it on him? Is it just the final change of *a* to *e*? If so, where do we place the Mombasa *nipa*, *niletea* etc. where there is no final change although an object *kibadala* is present? And what about other forms of the verb ending in *-e*, the "archaic perfect found elsewhere only in old poetry" (Section 567), for instance, though in point of fact many such "archaic" perfects are still in common colloquial use in Lamu and the north alongside the regular wishing-form in *e*? Are they wishing-forms also? Some scholars appear to think so. But is it just wishful thinking in support of a theory not very enthusiastically accepted?

Most Swahili purists will reject outright the suggestion that the *ku* of the infinitive can be inserted before the stem of monosyllabic verbs in the simple present (Section 293), producing *nakula* as an alternative to *nala*, *wakula* to *wala* etc. when no object *kibadala* is present, and *twakula*, *mwakula*, *wakula*, *yakula* etc. with the correct form *twala*, *mwala* etc. not even mentioned. They will rightly regard the forms with *ku* as vulgar in the extreme. *Nakula* means "I eat you": *yakula* could mean "it eats you" or "(the rain) eats (erodes) the countryside" but not just "it eats".

The translation of "Yes" and "No" (Section 321) requires fuller treatment if the student is to be freed from possible confusion. *Ndiyo* can mean No and *Siyo* can mean Yes in answer to a negative question. What they really mean, of course, is "That is so" and "That is not so". The examples at the top of page 235 can only be passed as ellipses of *Ndipo ilipo*, that is where it is, and *Sipo ilipo*, that is not where it is. The straightforward correct answers are *Ipo* and *Haipo*.

In Section 609 we read "For the corresponding negatives... those *vibadala* are used that regularly appear in the negative verb-forms." Does *hayu-* regularly appear in such forms?

It would seem desirable to make it clear in Section 612 that "It is here, it is there etc." can only be expressed by *Ni Ni hapa*, *ni kule* etc. when "It" refers to a place, not when it refers to any other object, or, in the case of *ku*, to a place or rarely an infinitive. Normally *Ni hapa* means "I am here."

Misprints are very numerous. Most of them are unimportant, but some may tend to mislead the reader who is not already fairly well acquainted with the language. Here are a few. In Section 143 *nitazinyoa*, translated as "We will sharpen them," actually means "I will shave them (razors)". In Section 598 *mtamnunua* is translated as "I will buy it" and in Section 606 *hatafanyi kazi* as "We will not do any work." In Aphorism 105 *ziumazo* should be *ziumiazo*.

Misprinting of a different sort also occurs. In this a hyphen at the end of a line splits a Swahili syllable. On page 392 the syllable *shi* is split in this manner and on page 396 the syllable *vi*. There are even instances in which consonants have been split in the middle. On page 251 the consonant *mb* has been split by a hyphen and on page 397 the consonant *ng* has been similarly treated.

There are two instances of what the author himself would consider bad Swahili which can hardly be accounted for as misprints. They must be classed as oversights. At the top of page 373 we find *atakuavyo* instead of *akuavyo* or *atakavyokua* and lower on the same page *nimempendavyo* instead of *nimpendavyo* or *ninavyompenda*.

The blurb on the jacket tells us that "this work is a *comprehensive* grammar and syntax of the Swahili language. It is the first grammar that approaches the language from within, that is, on the basis of peculiarities of the Bantu languages and not on those of Latin or English grammatical rules." The author himself makes no such extravagant claims. He would agree that his book is by no means as comprehensive as that of another distinguished Swahili scholar of the Holy Ghost Fathers, Charles Sacleux, whose work was published more than half a century earlier. As to the approach "from within" other scholars have appreciated the necessity for a change, in particular Mrs. Ashton, with her "Idea Approach", and Mr. Kapoka, who was busily engaged on a Bantu approach but had to discontinue his remarkable study before he had reached the end. All the present author claims in the Preface to his book is "the hope that it will be of some value to compilers of that ultimate treatment which will penetrate the real genius of the Swahili language and express the mentality of the Swahili people themselves. The formulation of such a grammar will have to be the work of scholars from among those people..." But the question naturally arises "Who *are* those people, the Swahili themselves?" There are, of course, residents on the East African coast and the neighbouring islands who would give definite answers, but those answers would exclude almost all the inhabitants of, for example, up-country Tanzania and consequently quite a number of our best poets and prose-writers. No doubt the problem, if there is one, will solve itself in time, but time is also changing the idiom, the genius of the language and it is to be hoped that the indigenous scholars will get the opportunity to produce the authentic grammar before the idiom has become so overlaid by its foreign rivals as to be unrecognisable to present-day speakers of the language and only remotely related to that of the classical period of Swahili literature.

The author's attempt to help "that consummation," that is, "that ultimate treatment," is threefold. Firstly in several passages he indicates the differences between the Bantu and European modes of thought and shows how these affect linguistic idiom, secondly, he has revised the English grammatical terminology and discarded a few names hitherto in more or less regular use in Swahili grammars in English and thirdly, he has introduced a number of Swahili terms either as substitutes for or alternatives to the terms generally used in European grammars of the language.

With regard to the first of these a few such passages have been mentioned in the foregoing. One's impression is that closer collaboration with Swahili scholars, not foreign scholars of Swahili, would have made this method of approach more comprehensive and effective. When we know how the Swahili thinks we will understand better how he speaks his language: this surely applies to all of us, trained linguists and enthusiastic amateurs alike.

The second method, the revision of the English terminology, is the one which has provoked considerably controversy among European scholars in recent years. Their particular bone of contention has been the Subjunctive—the Mood of the Subjoined Clause. The author solves this one, presumably to his own satisfaction, by discarding it altogether: he does not even mention it. Instead he uses the Wishing Form, which may have some advantages though it cannot be said to cover the whole field. In certain explanatory passages (e.g., Sections 555 and 558) he still writes of the "dependent verb", which means after all much the same as "subjunctive". Instead of the Tenses and Moods of the English grammar books he uses Forms and of the affixes and changes of vowel involved in their differentiation he uses the term Form-indicators. This is probably fully justifiable from the Bantu point of view, though in his English explanations of their use he still employs the usual names for tenses and for certain

DAVID LIVINGSTONE AND THE ROVUMA

*A Notebook edited with Introduction and related documents by George Shepperson.
Edinburgh University Press, 1965, Shs. 21/- (U.K.)*

The history of Malawi has been distinguished in the past century from the rest of East Africa to which it traditionally belongs by the fact, among others, that while European pioneers on the Kenyan and Tanzanian mainland tended to follow Swahili routes into the interior and make allies with those chiefs whom the Swahili had befriended, in Malawi they used the Zambesi—Shire water route running counter to existing paths of trade rather than along them.

This book may be considered a memorial to the direct East African approach and its most vigorous proponent, David Livingstone. It consists of Livingstone's field note-book over the period of his third vain attempt to find a navigable path to Lake Malawi via the Rovuma in 1862/63, to which Professor Shepperson has attached a long and informative introduction placing the whole venture within its wider context, plus the relevant extract from Livingstone's *Narrative on an Expedition to the Zambesi*, several of his despatches to the British Foreign Secretary, and part of the logbook of the man of war accompanying him to the river mouth.

The net result is a little disappointing. As Professor Shepperson relates, Livingstone at the time of his third attempt was distracted by grief at his wife's death some months before, and his notebook in consequence is notably sketchy and uninformative when compared with those he made on his trans-African crossing. With the exception of brief indications of his robust sense of humour and morbid state of mind there is little here that is not equally fully described in his published account. That the work remains of positive value is due in large part to the Edinburgh University Press for the painstaking care with which it has reproduced the whole notebook in its original typographical form along with almost every sketch contained in it, however insignificant. Such high quality publishing is doubly welcome when the price remains so moderate.

John McCracken.

University College,
Dar es Salaam.

HISTORY OF EAST AFRICA, VOL. TWO

*Edited by Vincent Harlow and E. H. Chilver assisted by Alison Smith
(Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1965) pp.766 84/- U.K.*

It must be said at the outset that this is not an easy book to review. It is a collection of individual chapters, many outstanding, some disappointing, rather than one book. There is much repetition between chapters and much discontinuity. The first volume in this History managed to achieve a striking feeling of internal coherence in its attempt at presenting "the history of Africa and not only that of its invaders." The comparative lack of such unity in this second volume is a commentary of the difficulties facing the author who has to write African history within a literary framework predetermined by political and geographical divisions decided upon by Europeans largely ignorant of the Africa which they partitioned. Secondly, the reviewer must remember that although the book was published in 1965 the drafts of all chapters were largely complete by the time of the death of the Editor, Professor Vincent Harlow, in 1961. African historiography has developed much since then, and not only in the unpublished underworld of Ph.D. theses. The qualities of the better chapters are all the greater when this delay in publication is borne in mind.

The volume covers the period between the establishment of colonial administration and the end of the Second World War. 1945 is the terminal date, with the exception of Dr. Flint's chapter on Zanzibar, which takes the story up to 1950. Any chronological full-stop in history has its dangers, perhaps none more so than 1945 in modern African history. No doubt Dr. Flint is right (p666) to reject the temptation to "weave the story around the thread of emerging nationalism", but surely he cannot be right to omit all reference to the Arab, African and Shirazi Associations of the 1930s. This small point illustrates the wider one. With 1945 dividing the second volume of the Oxford History from the third, it is all too easy to fall into the old Eurocentric trap of regarding modern African nationalisms as too exclusively a reaction to the colonial period, disregarding the continuities within them derived both from the precolonial past, initial African resistance to the European occupation, and the organisations of the interwar years. There are occasional unhappy reminders of this view throughout the book, not least in the Introduction where Miss Perham asserts that in general, "after a few early and usually very local acts of resistance and rebellion in all the territories, the African peoples were outwardly acquiescent and politically passive" before 1945. This statement admits no possibility of such continuities. It is to be hoped that the contributors to the third volume, with more local archival material available, will be able to revise this impression in exploring the antecedents of the nationalist movements. Meanwhile in this volume, with the exception of the chapters on Uganda and, only partially, those on Kenya, one must be content with what may be called the social ground-swell theory of African nationalism. It is sad to record in this Journal that the chapters on Tanganyika leave most to be desired in this as in other respects. While both Professors Ingham and Bates survey respectively colonial policy and changes in African life under the British, there is an almost total lack of African *personalities* and *organisations* in their picture. Professor Ingham seems almost deliberately to miss his opportunities here. On pp 580-81 he gives no clue as to the leading Chagga in the 1928 crisis over the Kilimanjaro Native Planters' Association; on p 568 he leaves the two African delegates to the 1925 Education Conference to their anonymity, and five pages later even fails to name the three African delegates from Tanganyika who attended the Joint Committee on Closer Union in London. Professor Bates mentions the Tanganyika African Association and the various tribal associations only in passing. Yet it seems increasingly clear that the existence of this central link-organisation and, arguably, of a link-society that one might describe as secular Swahili, is of considerable historical importance in distinguishing the politics of modern Tanzania from its East African neighbours. An impressionistic account of social ground-swell cannot

ZANZIBAR—BACKGROUND TO REVOLUTION

By Michael F. Lofchie

Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965, Pages 315.

Michael F. Lofchie, whose book *Zanzibar—Background to Revolution* has not been written as a definitive work on Zanzibar politics, has nevertheless attempted to set out and explain some factors which may give a greater understanding as to “why Zanzibar’s multi-party parliamentary system collapsed in a violent episode of political transformation.” To do this he seeks to determine very simply the origin and final ends of nationalism in Zanzibar. He sees the multi-party character of Zanzibar’s politics as a direct reflection of a social and economic structure firmly based upon race and ethnicity.

To Lofchie, the rise of nationalism in Zanzibar was a conscious and calculated attempt by the Arab oligarchy to move in two directions. First, they sought to free themselves of the tyranny of Asian financiers by re-establishing their political control over Zanzibar. This conscious development was a pre-war phenomenon which accentuated the ill-feeling between the Arabs and the Asians, and fostered a greater movement towards community solidarity and cohesion. The British administration was very partial on this matter. They sided with the Arabs in order to curb the economic ascendancy of the Asians through legislation.

Second and perhaps the most important fact was, in Lofchie’s words, the “almost ominously uncertain political fate of an alien aristocracy within a gradually democratising constitutional frame-work.” Continued democratisation of the political system was bound to lead to domination by the Africans who comprised over 80% of the population of Zanzibar. This meant that the elite position of the Arab aristocracy could only be maintained either by perpetuating British rule or by devising another system short of egalitarian principles. Since eventual independence was the avowed policy of Great Britain, the survival of Arab rule within a parliamentary democracy was contingent upon a “political strategy” that would “wrest political power from the British before African nationalism on the continent should spread to Zanzibar.” Thus the early development of Arab nationalism in Zanzibar was a conscious effort to gain political independence in order to maintain the *status quo ante*.

The development of African nationalism in Zanzibar is, therefore, seen as a reaction to Arab nationalism, an attempt to prevent the re-establishment of Arab hegemony. It was a nationalism which aimed at exploding the basic premises upon which rested the social and economic structure of Zanzibar society. The Africans saw this as the final end of their nationalism and were unwilling to settle for less. But this needed an ideology, a programme and a well-disciplined political organisation which the Afro-Shirazi Party had failed to supply, but which it found in the Marxist ideology of the Umma Party, thanks to Abdul Rahman Mohamed (Babu). Having achieved this new world view, aimed at a total re-organisation of society, Zanzibar society was, in the opinion of this reviewer, a polarised society and revolution was inevitable. Lofchie’s book has one single quality in that his simple and straightforward analysis has sharpened the foci of Zanzibar *nationalisms*.

I would, however, like to end this review with a few critical remarks. In part one of the book Dr. Lofchie is very cursory in his analysis of the origin of Zanzibar society. If he did not intend to do more than what is found in any good history book on Zanzibar, there was no need for a lengthy historical and social background. Secondly, the role the British administration played in trying to preserve the position of the Arabs in society is rather disjointed and cryptic. Thirdly, the book could have been given an even greater quality if the author had been willing to give a depth analysis of the effect of the institution of slavery on the African population. This should have explained, more than anything, the social organisation of production and its effects on the development of social, economic and political consciousness of the African population. Otherwise, the book is a useful introduction to politics in Zanzibar.

READINGS ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND ADMINISTRATION IN TANZANIA

Edited by Hadley E. Smith

Institute of Public Administration, Dar es Salaam. Study Number 4

This series of studies issued by the Institute of Public Administration is of great value to the student of current affairs in Tanzania and the contribution by Dr. Smith, a Visiting Lecturer at the University College, Dar es Salaam, which is the fourth in the series, is of special value to all interested in the development of Tanzania. Dr. Smith describes the collection of readings as a first step towards filling the large gap in the material available for studying the East African economy, there being as yet no introductory text-book available concerning Tanzania and much information not readily available.

The publication consists of almost 600 pages of text divided into 8 sections and 2 appendices. Each section comprises both descriptive and analytical selections from publications relative to the title of the section and introduced by a brief and lucid note from the editor. As the selection is both happy and compendious the student is able to gain ready access to a wide range of material and to form his own opinions without repeating the enormous labour of locating, collecting and selecting which Dr. Smith has so ably done on his behalf. The danger however in such projects is that the selection itself may become a fundamental authority and students accept, rather than check, the impression that is given by the editor's personal selection. The reviewer thus confines himself to remarks upon the nature of the selection rather than attempting a criticism of over 40 different and separate publications.

In developing countries events move rapidly and positions can undergo radical change. Dr. Smith's compilation seems to date from mid-1965 and there are useful additions to indicate some later events, especially regarding currency. However, to the reader in 1966 some of the seemingly recent material is already dated and the reader would have appreciated another lucid editorial note outlining briefly the effects of exchange control—the greatly increased availability of liquid cash within the United Republic—and of the rupture of diplomatic relations with Britain leading to the freezing of financial aid for development. Such an addendum would be particularly relevant to the editorial notes to Part VII, International Trade whilst a reprint or up-dating could usefully include Mwalimu's own "Principles and Development" issued in June 1966.

The editorial note to Part I states that "as yet there is no annual publication covering economic activities in Zanzibar", and that no data similar to that in a 1957/61 Gross Domestic Product survey "have been published since the establishment of the revolutionary Government in December 1963 (sic) which has made important institutional changes in the ownership of resources... many of Zanzibar's farms, plantations and residential properties, for example, have been expropriated without compensation...". I feel that such a statement on page 1 conveys an unfortunate impression of the state of the Union. Revolutions *per se* effect drastic changes of all types, but Dr. Smith does not mention such documents as the annual estimates of the Zanzibar Government, drawn up in traditional form; the various Presidential decrees on public accountability, the certified public accounts and the reports of the Auditor-General of Zanzibar, which have been printed in English.

Part IV covers Labour, Employment and the Trade Unions and the reasoning of the editorial note is hard for a layman to follow. The layman would assume that the decline in African employment and productive capacity was not necessarily due to the departure of expatriate skills but to the change in the nature of the labour force

i.e. higher utilisation of labour and the replacement of large numbers of unskilled labour by smaller numbers of labourers whose greater skill and productivity are rewarded with higher pay.

The largest section which is VI, Economic Planning, forms the most interesting reading. One would here, however, have liked some selection from the interesting and readable work on high-level man-power by George Tobias despite the fact that the editor indicates an up-dating in 1964 of the Tobias data.

The reader would also have liked some material upon Foreign Aid. Doubtless the editor did not wish to repeat the subject of Study Number 3, and thus he has contented himself with a bibliographical reference under "General Sources."

The Bibliography is extensive but I feel that at pages 577 and 594/5 the editor is less at ease when he widens the bibliography to cover such subjects as tourism, geological studies, fishing, and general sources. For instance, the reader is not referred to the works and bibliographies provided by the *Tanzania Notes & Records* (or at least the reviewer could not find the reference).

There are a few other mistakes of detail. The text of page 481 reappears on page 490 whilst the Treasury Librarian has been unable to produce to me the 1963 Accountant-General's Report mentioned at page 573, the last such report having appeared for the year 1959/60.

G. A. Hutchinson

Exchequer and Audit Department,
Dar es Salaam.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Hon. Editor,

Tanzania Notes and Records.

Dear Madam,

BWERANYANGE

The Government of the United Republic of Tanzania is hoping to establish a small museum at Bweranyange, the former capital of the Kings of Karagwe, which is some twenty miles south-west of Bugene in the West Lake Region. Bweranyange was visited by Speke in 1861 and by Stanley in 1875, and both writers have left descriptions of the impressive collection of spears, drums, and other objects which they saw at Rumanyika's court. More recently, R. de Z. Hall published an account of the relics in the 1938 volume of *Tanganyika Notes and Records*.

A comparison of these three accounts with the collection as it now exists shows that a very large number of objects have vanished over the years. It is believed that some of the missing items may have found their way into museums or private collections.

If any of your readers know the whereabouts of objects which may have come from the Bweranyange collection, I would very much appreciate it if they would write to me.

Yours faithfully,

Hamo Sassoon

Conservator of Antiquities

Antiquities Division,
Ministry of Community Development and National Culture,
P.O. Box 2280,
Dar es Salaam,
Tanzania.

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CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor,

Tanzania Notes and Records.

Dear Madam,

THE WORD "TANGANYIKA"

I should be grateful if someone could tell me which of the following theories is the best account of the derivation of the word "Tanganyika":—

- 1) the country which stretches from the port of Tanga to the land of the Nyika in Mbeya Region;
- 2) the open country (*nyika*) which is behind the port of Tanga, hence the hinterland of Tanga, which was extended to the rest of the country;
- 3) an early use of the word was by explorers who used it to refer only to one of the Great Lakes and especially to Lake Tanganyika, (e.g. Burton and Speke 1858), and later it was applied to the country between the lake and the coast;
- 4) the word can be seen as a composition of *tanga* (sail) and *nyika* (open country)—thus a sail, or a lake, in open country—if it has a Swahili derivation;
- 5) Sacleux (*Dictionnaire Swahili-Francais*, 1867) associates Lake Tanganyika with the verb *kutanganyika* or *kuchanganyika*; he also mentions a *jito* (*dijuto*) *la Tanganyika*, the whereabouts of which river I do not know. If the name of the Lake comes from *kuchanganyika* then it would contain the idea of mixing together, (of water or rivers?)
- 6) H.M. Stanley in *Through the Dark Continent* vol. II (1878) p. 16 says the Wajiji didn't know why the Lake was called "Tanganyika". They called small lakes *kitanga* not *tanganyika*. Livingstone in his letters refers to the "Upper Tanganyika" discovered by Burton and the "Lower Tanganyika" discovered by S. Baker. (Stanley, *ibid.*, P. 20). The Wajiji suggested *nyika* might come from the name of an electric fish which they sometimes caught. Stanley suggests that *nyika* (*nika*), meaning a plain, was applied to a large body of water as being like a plain. *Tanga* would have more of an augmentative meaning than the diminutive *kitanga* (a small lake in Kijiji). This Stanley didn't realise, and so the significance of the word "Tanganyika" could be "the plain-like large lake." This he supports by saying that other local people called the lake by different names—e.g. "Kimara", "Iemba" and "Msaga".

Yours etc.,

P. F. White (Rev.)

C.P.E.A.,
Milo,
Njombe,
Tanzania

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(Grateful acknowledgement is made of the assistance received from Bryan Langlands of Makerere University College).

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