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IN TANGANYIKA:

A Study of Institutional Adaptation

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UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS

PREFACE

The interest of American political scientists in problems of dependent areas is of relatively recent vintage. Aside from the scholars in the fields of international law and international politics who have concerned themselves with the operation of the Mandates and Trusteeship Systems, with the legal aspects of the acquisition of new territory, or with the provisions of international conventions regulating the slave or opium trades, political scientists have been almost exclusively absorbed in the problems of political thought and action taking place within and between the leading states of Europe, America, and Asia. When inquiry was made about the affairs of dependent areas, the question was usually formed in terms of: "How does the existence of colonies or "unclaimed" territory affect the political affairs of European and American states?" Less frequently, the question was asked: "How have the political affairs of the dependent societies been altered as a result of the situation of dependency?" If the scholar ventured to address himself to the second question, it was more than likely that the use of emotion-laden terms like "imperialism," "the white man's burden," and similar catch-phrases, added more heat than light to the analysis of the situation. The analysis, moreover, was often either limited to the description of episodic situations without any attempt being made to generalize on the basis of comparative studies, or alternatively, the generalizations were based on rather hastily gathered evidence and speculation.

On the grounds of economy of effort in approaching first the more obvious and immediate problems of constitutional law, Western political ideologies, and the operations of parliamentary systems, the parochial interest of American and European political scientists in the problems of

the West can perhaps be justified. However, the consequences of ignoring the non-Western areas of the world are greater than simply having a void with respect to specific knowledge about particular areas. Actually, the growing contributions of anthropologists, missionaries, administrative practitioners, and even casual journalists have been making quite clear that the indigenous political systems of Africa, Highland Burma, and other "exotic" areas constitute types of political systems which differ quite radically from those manifest in European, and European-imitated societies.¹

The manner in which manifestly political functions are performed, the supports for political authority, and the roles of leadership in the authority systems of non-Western societies cannot be studied completely in terms familiar to us through the analysis of Western authority systems.

While recognizing that there are those who despair of the attainment of a universal science of politics in the foreseeable future, nevertheless it need not discourage the young and enthusiastic from abandoning the quest. A certain amount of descriptive material on types of societies other than those with which political scientists have been traditionally concerned must be forthcoming. East Africa, it seems to me, presents a flowering of divergent types ranging in complexity of political organization from the small family bands of Wanderobo, which lack predominantly-political institutions, to the rather sophisticated administrative arrangements and centralized political authority of the Kingdoms of Buganda, Ruanda, and Urundi. From another viewpoint East Africa is of interest to the student of politics because it presents us with situations

1. Cf. M. Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, African Political Systems (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), and Paul R. Leach, Political Systems of Highland Burma (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1954).

of political dependency in which members of a number of distinct societies are inter-acting in the development of a new political order. It is with the latter situation that this study is particularly concerned.

It would be impossible to list here the several hundred individuals and organizations who have aided me in this research during my 12 months of field study in Tanganyika and in the subsequent preparation of this dissertation. Many of those of the three races in Tanganyika who were especially helpful to me in my study are included in the Appendix. To those who have been omitted by oversight, I extend my apologies.

For making the field study possible, my sincere appreciation goes to the officers and members of the Social Science Research Council for their award of an Area Research Training Fellowship, and to the Program of African Studies, Northwestern University, for its very generous assistance.

I should especially like to extend my thanks to Professor Roland A. Young (Northwestern); mentor and friend, whose almost limitless efforts in behalf of others can never be sufficiently appreciated; and Dr. David Apter, Northwestern University, for his helpful criticisms in the preparation of this manuscript.

Finally, for very personal reasons connected with the practical problems of field research in Tanganyika, I should like to thank Government Sociologists Hans Cory and Henry Fosbrooke and their respective wives, District Officer and Mrs. Tom Unwin, District Officer L. S. A. Smith, District Commissioner A. G. Stephen, and Jack and Barbara Mower.

SOME NOTES ON SPELLING

There is no universal agreement in Tanganyika on either the orthography of African words or of the particular form in which Bantu prefixes are employed.

Thus, on some maps of Mwanza District in Tanganyika, the name of a particular chiefdom appears as "Urima," while on another map it appears as "Ulima." This interchange of the "l" and the "r" appears both in the written form and in the speech of the local African population. The "r" form is employed throughout this study.

On still other maps of Mwanza District the chiefdom referred to above appears as "Bulima." The "Bu" form is usually employed in reference to tribes having a connection with the Nilo-Hamites who entered Tanganyika by way of Uganda. Thus, using as an illustration the people of Bukoba District, the Haya tribe, we have the following prefixes:

- Buhaya - the name of the country
- Bahaya - the name of the people
- Muhaya - one member of the Haya tribe
- Luhaya - the language of the Bahaya

In the present governmental usage the Swahili prefixes are being used in preference to the Hima form and in preference to the vernacular Bantu forms except in the case of tribes in the northwest sector of the Territory. This practice is followed throughout this thesis. The Swahili forms are as follows, using the Chagga tribe as an example:

- Uchagga - the name of the country
- Wachagga - the name of the people
- Mchagga - one member of the Chagga tribe
- Kichagga - the language of the Wachagga

Finally, the Arabic form of proper names is employed in Tanganyika:
Charles s/o Masanja (Charles, son of Masanja, or Charles bin Masanja).

ERRATA

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CHAPTER I

THE DESIGN OF THE RESEARCH

The analysis of African local government in Tanganyika undertaken here is focused upon the efforts of the British Administration to utilize traditional African authority systems as vehicles for administration at the local level. Without making value judgments with regard to the whole question of the justice or injustice of colonial systems of administration, this study will, nevertheless, be evaluative in the sense that (1) actual performance of the system of local government in operation will be measured against the discernible categories of aspirations held by the administrative officers in Tanganyika; and (2) traditional authority systems in two areas of Tanganyika will be explored to discover the extent to which their utilization as local government instruments has actually been compatible with the over-all goal system of the Administration regarding the provision of modern services and the introduction or retention of certain political values.

In conducting a social research study in Tanganyika today the researcher will in most cases be dealing with a mixed social situation. In the first place, the incursion of the European administrator and missionary and the Indian and Arab merchant have removed the tag of inaccessability from all but the remotest enclaves of the Southern and Western Provinces. Even where the number of Europeans and Asians in an area is negligible, the influence of these two races will have been experienced by individual tribesmen who return to their locations after having made contact with other races in the mission schools, or European farms, or in the townships. Thus, most social situations in Tanganyika are to some extent multi-racial ones.

Secondly, most social situations are mixed from the standpoint of the tribal affiliations of the African component found in any sizeable area. To a certain degree inter-tribal residence has been a feature of the Tanganyika scene in the Coastal and southern areas for a number of centuries. However, the elimination of inter-tribal warfare, the improvement in communications, and the economic incentives offered by European and commercial enterprises have accelerated the process of breaking down tribal parochialism which restricted individual spatial mobility to a specified tribal area.¹

Thus, in mixed areas, especially where the problems of research are directly concerned with the results of inter-societal contact, the task of handling the various racial and tribal strands entering the situation presents one with a methodological problem. Various approaches to the problem of culture contact or acculturation as developed by anthropologists have been considered, and have been useful in the drafting of the scheme for analysis.² Roughly, the approach here steers a middle course between the contention that a mixed social situation can be regarded as "a functioning unit, in temporary equilibrium,"³ and the opposing view that situations of culture change can^{not} be regarded as constituting integrated wholes.⁴ Further, although acknowledging that acculturation is

1. In the census of 1948, only 209 of the 411 locations had upwards of 80 per cent of their inhabitants drawn from single tribes. East Africa High Commission, Statistical Department, "African Population of Tanganyika Territory," Geographic and Tribal Studies (1950), passim (mimeographed).

2. Primarily those of Max Gluckman, "Analysis of a Social Situation in Modern Zululand," Bantu Studies, Vol. 15 (March, 1940), pp. 1-30, and Vol. 15 (June, 1940), pp. 147-176; Melville J. Herskovits, "Acculturation: Cultural Transmission in Process," Chapter 31 of Man and His Works (1948), pp. 523-540; and Bronislaw Malinowski, The Dynamics of Culture Change, ed. by Phyllis M. Kaberry (1945).

3. Gluckman, op. cit., p. 10.

4. Malinowski, op. cit., pp. 15-26, passim

a two-way process which affects the Europeans and Asians as well as the Africans, by the nature in which this problem has been framed, we are concentrating upon the effect which contact has had upon the African traditional authority systems in two areas.

It is, in this writer's opinion, unrealistic to study African local government in Tanganyika today without considering that each of the various racial groupings involved in the operation of local government programs bring with them into the common situation sets of norms and aspirations which in effect condition the outcome of the combined project. However, the fact that local government in Tanganyika is a combined project compels us to agree with Gluckman's contention that where the two or more races come together they form a community having specific modes of behavior with respect to one another and that there are individual and group linkages which makes it possible to regard the situation as a single unit for observation. Thus, although we find it convenient to treat the traditional authority system of the African societies separately from our analysis of the goals of the European administrators, we do not accept that the separate treatment indicates a rigid categorization. Although African local government in Tanganyika has been permitted to evolve (or has been modified intentionally) in accordance with the needs or circumstances of the local situation, local government bodies are regarded as a constituting but the lower echelon of units operating within an integrated governmental establishment of Europeans, Africans, and Asians.

The General Situation of Political Dependency

The common structure within which European, African, and Asian activities in local government is synthesized we designate as a situation of

political dependency. Since the general features of this structure will be examined throughout this study, it is imperative at this point to lay bare the various aspects and implications of a general situation of political dependency. By this situation, we denote a sustained relationship obtaining between individuals and groups representing two different societies or social units in which the persons and groups identified with one of these societies is able to control the aim content and form of the authority system of the second.¹ While wishing to avoid any implication that the first society is culturally superior to the second, we are employing the terms "superior" and "subordinate" advisedly in designating the two societies.² The element of superiority involved in this nomenclature is based on the fact that while the control mechanisms employed may vary from one situation to the next, the situation is not actually one of political dependency unless it is recognized and at least tacitly accepted by individuals and groups on both sides that the ultimate control over the situation rests in the use of, or threat of using, the superior physical force of the first society in bringing about modifications in the second society. By this proviso we eliminate from the general situation of political dependency instances in which one society out of friendship, fear, or respect voluntarily follows the leadership of a second society without the membership groupings of the second society demanding such deferential behavior or even being aware that it is taking place.

1. The definition of the societal unit is deferred for the moment.

2. The implications of the relationship, however, may actually lead members of both groups to assume that the first society is superior in cultural matters.

Moreover, since political dependence has to do with control of the authority system of the second society, we rule out from our definition those occasions in which familial, economic, or religious aspects of a society may be controlled or radically affected by groups and individuals external to that society, unless these aspects of the social system are integrally involved in the authority system. The authority system, as it is seen here, consists of the series of inter-related institutions which are of critical importance in serving the following functions:

- (1) creating and maintaining order within the social unit by providing norms of conduct for inter-personal and inter-group relations, and providing means for securing compliance with the norms;
- (2) socialization of the members of the unit regarding the definition of who exercises authority and within what limits;
- (3) providing certain minimum levels of goal satisfaction and security for the members of the unit; and
- (4) regulating the relationship between members of the unit and individuals from external units.

This list constitutes functions which, to the present writer, are predominantly political in character. The institutions through which these functions are performed may actually be predominantly political; but, on the other hand, they may also be institutions which are regarded ^{as} primarily economic, social, or religious in orientation, but which perform political functions concomitant to serving other functions.

Stated in its broadest terms, the phrase situation of political dependency can be applied to a number of inter-societal relationships including conditions of colonial rule, occasions of military occupation following defeat in war, as well as to the forcible assimilation of a

previously autonomous society into the greater society of which it has been considered a legal part. The last case is illustrated by the "Sovietization" of the Baltic States and the "autonomous" republics of Soviet Asia. The polar limits of the general situation of political dependency are, on the one hand, the lack of recognition by either party of the fact that such a relationship exists, and, on the other, the complete or almost complete annihilation or dispersal of the members of the second society. We may illustrate the first limit by noting that the inhabitants of the Americas, Africa, and Asia who were divided arbitrarily between Spain and Portugal by the Papal Bull of 1493 could not be considered as being in a situation of political dependency. No control over the authority systems of the Aztecs in Mexico, the Ashanti in West Africa, or the Malays of the East Indies could be exercised by Spain and Portugal when the former people were not even aware of the existence of these states. Secondly, the instances in which states or tribes request to have themselves placed in a situation of political subordination to a stronger state or tribe cannot be considered as a situation of political dependency unless it is accepted as such by the members or political leaders of the stronger state.¹ The other outer limit of the general situation is illustrated by the sacking of Carthage by the Romans in 146 B.C. and by the decimation of Indian tribes which accompanied European settlement on the North American Continent. No dependency could be said to have existed in these cases inasmuch as the authority

1. Egs., the requests on the part of Yucatan and Santo Domingo in the last Century to be brought under the political control of the United States.

systems of the conquered societies were obliterated through the extinction or dispersal of the individuals who were participants in, and perpetrators of, the critical institutions of the societies.

Accordingly, one of the essential tasks in analyzing an alleged situation of political dependence is to ascertain that such a "superior/subordinate" relationship does in fact exist. That is, we must establish that there are two social systems or societies whose members or agents are inter-acting. Following this we must establish empirically that individuals identified with one of these social units are actually in the position to control the aim content and form of the authority system of the second unit. The element of force will in some situations be made manifest by the bayonets of the soldiers of the first society; in other cases naked force will not be an obvious factor in control. Therefore it must be ascertained whether it is (1) the sufficiency of force employed at some previous period, (2) ready acceptance of the benefits of the relationship, or (3) some other factors which sustain the "superior/subordinate" relationship. It should be made clear at this point that the relationship does not involve one whole society standing in a position of superiority to another whole society. In fact the groupings which compose the "superior" element of the relationship may actually for the most part be drawn from third societies or from disaffected elements of the "subordinate" society itself. What makes these groupings superior is that they are able to draw upon the force of the "superior" society in bringing about compliance. Moreover, the "subordinate" society may or may not be affected in its entirety. This depends upon the type of relationship obtaining between the two components.

Within the broad polar limits of the general situation of political

dependence, there is a great range of possible variation which any particular "superior/subordinate" relationship may take. One of the most significant points on which variation might take place is in the goals which the "superior" component desires to accomplish through the establishing and sustaining of the relationship. That is, are the goals to be achieved limited to the accomplishment of one or a few objectives such as the suppression of the slave trade, the elimination of inter-tribal warfare, or permitting members of the "superior" component to have undisturbed access to products which are located within the territory occupied by the "subordinate" people? Or, on the other hand, is it understood that the control exercised over the authority system of the "subordinate" society permits the "superior" component to make unlimited changes in the social, religious, and other aspects of the second society? In other words, does the establishment of the relationship constitute a mission civilisatrice? Another way of viewing the goal orientation is to ascertain whether the relationship is one of a long-term or permanent character or whether the relationship is a short-term one which will be liquidated when the various objectives of the relationship are accomplished. Still a third way of analyzing the relationship is in terms of whether the "superior" component has been compelled to accept, or has voluntarily assumed, limitations on the means which may be employed in achieving the goals of the relationship. Are the limitations on means forced upon the "superior" component by factors in the situation which are beyond its ability to control? Or are the restrictions auto-limitations which are accepted out of consideration for the goals and interests of the "subordinate" groupings? This could get us into the

problem of individual motivations. In this thesis, however, we shall analyze explicit or reasonably implicit sets of goals on the part of the "superior" component in juxtaposition to the actual situation as observed.

Involved here is the question of whether the objectives of the relationship are carried out through the utilization of indigenous institutions or whether the "superior" component implements the relationship through institutions created de novo. On the face of it, the first approach would appear to be more considerate of the aspirations and interests of the indigenous population inasmuch as the existing institutions at least had the advantage of constituting familiar behavior patterns. Furthermore, this approach may provide for some system of popular control over leadership, and permits of innovation within the system in terms understandable to the local community. In colonial administration it has been popular to refer to these two alternative approaches to the use of indigenous authorities as "Indirect Rule" and "Direct Rule." The former term was used to indicate that native institutions would be utilized except in cases where such would be detrimental to the achievement of the over-all system of goals of the "superior" society. Long-range goals were to be achieved through the modification and adaptation of the existing institutions, and local opinion was to be consulted where possible. If it was necessary to recruit and train individuals for the new tasks involved in the relationship, such individuals would be drawn from the "subordinate" society if circumstances permitted. "Direct Rule," conversely, denoted the tendency on the part of the representatives of the "superior" society to move more rapidly, to replace existing institutions

with ones more suitable to the needs of the relationship or imitative of the institutions of the "superior" society, and to import a significant cadre of administrators, soldiers, priests, settlers, and teachers from the "superior" society or third societies.

The terms have not completely fallen into desuetude in scholarly circles although one seldom encounters the terms being employed by administrators in the field. Aside from the fact that the word "rule" has an autocratic ring to it not always justified by the actual case, the dichotomous terms are rather rigid and lacking in precision to be of much value in social analysis. The variations in administration within even a single territory with regard to the use of indigenous institutions are often more significant than comparisons of over-all differences between the policies in vogue in two separate territories. Some of the standard works on "Indirect Rule" such as that of J. S. Furnivall on South East Asia, and C. K. Meek on Nigeria have made refinements on the theoretical statements of "Indirect Rule" in accordance with actual practice; however, neither the theory nor the practice is static, and thus a refinement is often good for today only.¹ The term will be used very sparingly in this study and only to note that British Administrators in Tanganyika during the past three decades have used the expression "Indirect Rule" in characterizing their administrative policy.

The disposition to use or not to use indigenous authorities in

1. J. S. Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, (1948); and C. K. Meek, Colonial Law, (1948) constitute two of the leading case studies on colonial administration extant.

colonial or military administration is not the only factor to be considered when we investigate whether they actually are used. For the disposition is conditioned by a number of factors:

(1) cognition. Is the indigenous authority, with all of its leadership roles, the system of rights and obligations, the supports of and limitations on authority, and other factors, clearly discernible? Is similarity of outward form of an institution taken to be a similarity in substance; or is similar substance clouded by differences in outward form?

(2) adaptability. Are the institutions, accurately discerned, capable of being utilized in carrying out the objectives of the relationship? Or, will the establishment of the "superior/subordinate" relationship and the new tasks expected of the old institutions lead to an institutional enormity (to use Toynbee's expression)?

(3) character of the agents of the "superior" component. Regardless of whether the goal system of the "superior" component involves a great deal of change in the indigenous authority system or relatively little, some questions arise concerning the groupings affiliated with the "superior" society. Is the "superior" component limited to administrators and soldiers, or does it also include a cadre of priests, educators, merchants, and settlers? Are the members of these groupings recruited from the "superior" society, from third societies, or from the "subordinate" unit itself? Are the goals of the various membership groupings in the "superior" component mutually compatible or conflicting?

(4) emotional content of the relationship. What are the emotional factors involved in the continued operation of the relationship which

have an effect upon the achievement of the expressed goals of the various groupings within the "superior" component? For example, it may be that the bitterness and duration of the struggle which eventuated in the establishment of the relationship, precludes the possibility of cooperation between parties on both sides of the relationship. On the other hand, if the relationship was accepted without a struggle by the "subordinate" groupings, or the establishment was overtly sought by the latter groupings, then the possibilities of a cooperative atmosphere in the achievement of the goals of the relationship are enhanced.

(5) environment. Certain factors of the natural and social environment set limits upon the realization of the goals of the "superior" component vis-a-vis the "subordinate" social system. Climate, the presence or absence of natural resources, communications, and demographic considerations condition the rate at which social transformations may take place. Moreover, they set limits upon the number of settlers, commercial establishments, and missionary groups from the "superior" society who will feel inclined to locate in the new area.

(6) unplanned responses on the part of the "subordinate" component. The "subordinate" groupings are not totally passive actors in the relationship. Unplanned (and often undesired) responses on the part of the "subordinate" groupings may frustrate the "superior" groupings in the attainment of their goals.

The Selection of the "Subordinate" Societies

In choosing Tanganyika as an area for study, we were able to find ample documentation in governmental memoranda, public ordinances, speeches, and reports regarding the disposition of the British Administration to use indigenous institutions at the local level. Furthermore, for comparative studies we find that Tanganyika has 120 tribal societies, all subject

to a more or less common set of policies, administrative cadre, and financial controls.

In narrowing the field of observation to particular "subordinate" societies, however, our task was more difficult. It might well be argued that tribal societies in Tanganyika are not really societies. The term "tribe" is a configurational concept which may be based on one or more of the following factors: kinship affiliations, common language, similarity in customs and law, the historical accident of proximate habitation, or association based on long-standing military or economic ties. In only a few instances in Tanganyika were the limits of tribal affiliations coterminous with the limits of political authority in the pre-European period. Political functions were in many cases exercised within and between predominantly social organizations such as a lineage group, which divided authority throughout the tribe on the basis of kinship rather than residence, or age-grade groups, cut across kinship affiliation but seldom bound all the warriors of a tribal grouping into a common warrior age-grade. When predominantly political institutions did exist, the tendency was for political authority to be proliferated, with a dozen, a score, or even fifty multiple chiefdoms enjoying autonomous political authority within the confines of a single tribal grouping. The classification of a particular human aggregate as constituting a tribe, was often the classification applied by Europeans or other Africans external to the named tribe. The people within the grouping may have viewed their internal hostilities as being more significant than their putative unity. Tribal amalgamations,

which brought the various multiple chiefdoms within a single tribe under a common political authority, has in most cases been the work of the Europeans.¹ Thus, if political unity is an essential aspect of the criterion of self-sufficiency in the definition of a society, then it is questionable whether in taking the tribal grouping as a whole we are dealing with a society or an aggregate of societies.

The above consideration need not delay us unduly. The various situations of political dependency established between the British Administration, on the one hand, and the African groupings, on the other, are based on tribal situations. The establishment of federations and paramount chieftainships have brought proliferated chiefdoms having common social, linguistic, and historical bonds together under common political organizations. Local Government units today reflect the tribal origins of the African population. As long as we realize that we are approaching the problem of the definition of the unit of observation from the present period, the observation can be kept under control. The multiple chiefdoms within a single tribe usually exhibited parallel political institutions, and no great distortion results from our construction of a synoptic picture of the traditional authority system in each of the areas studied. Where local variations are significant, these are, of course, made explicit.

Not only are the tribal societies in Tanganyika great in number (more than 120), but they are also quite varied. They range in size

1. The Wahhe stand out as one of the exceptions. Tribal political consolidation was achieved during the middle of the last century. Cf. G. Gordon Brown and A. McD. Bruce Hutt, Anthropology in Action, (1935), pp. 23 ff.

from the Wasukuma, who number close to one million, to the tribes of the Coast and the southern section of the Territory which number less than a thousand. They vary also in the complexity of traditional authority systems from the well developed chieftainships of the Wahehe and the Bahaya to the disintegrated and reintegrated tribal societies of the Coast, and to the tribes such as the Masai, Kuria, and Makonde, in which political functions have been performed by the lineage system, age-grade organizations, and other institutions which were not primarily political in orientation. Accordingly, after several alterations in plans in the field and modifications in drafting, this study has been limited to the analysis of two examples of tribal unity, and in which the present system of chiefly succession is on an hereditary basis. Since not all sections of the Territory have authority systems of this type, it must be realized at the outset that only some of the observations made in this study are applicable to the problems of local government in Tanganyika as a whole; other observations are limited to the type of system selected or only to the particular unit being analyzed.

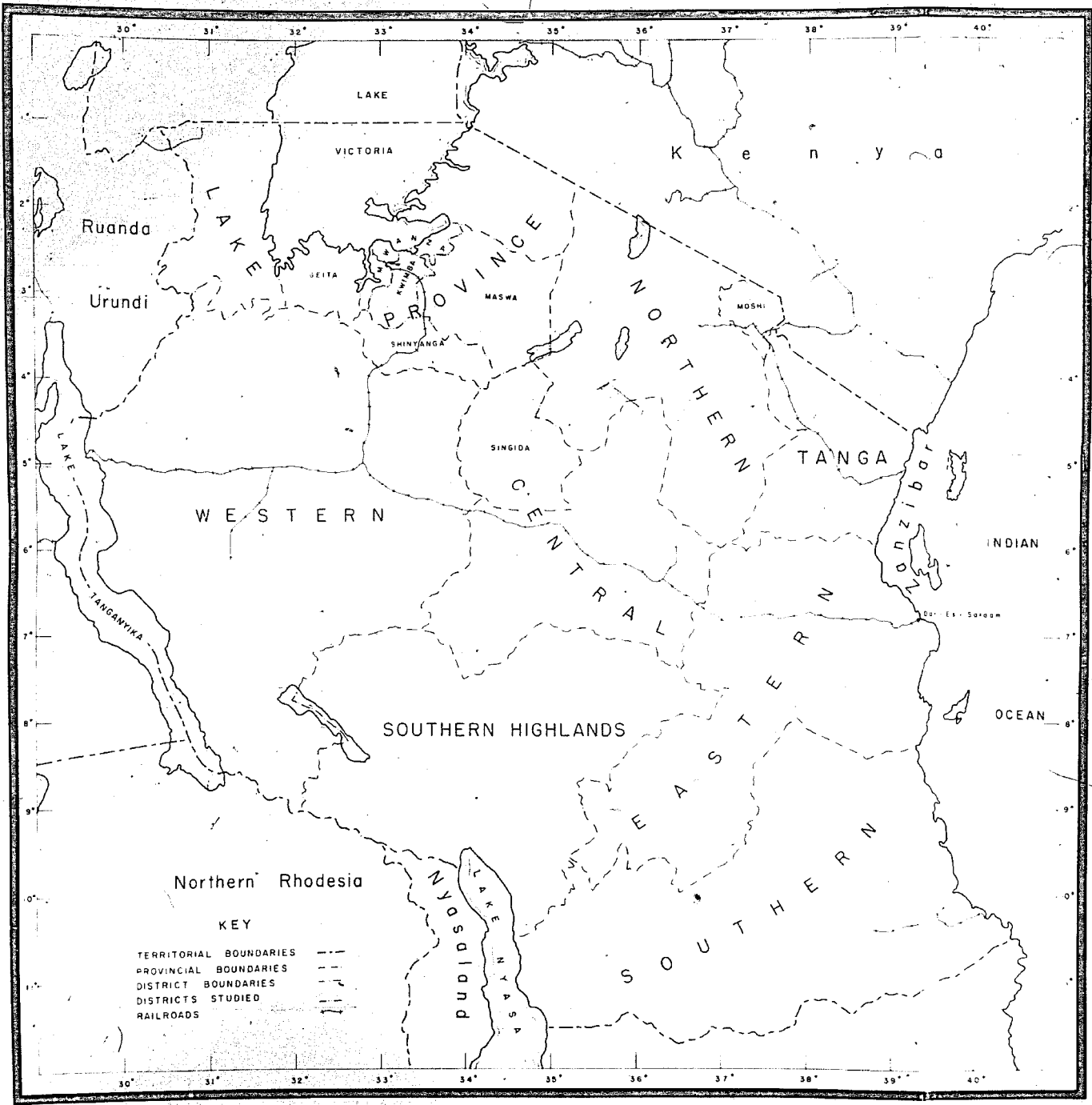
Our two examples represent different levels of advancement. Using the informal ratings of various administrative officers who had had Territorial-wide experience, it was found that there was a general consensus that certain tribes could be labeled as "well advanced," "coming along", or "backward," with respect to the achievement of certain modifications in the political aspects of British local government. In most cases the evaluation of economic development coincided with the evaluation of political development. There were also differences noted with respect to

the intensity of European contact. Thus, it was hoped that the selection presented us with two cases having a sufficient number of features in common as well as some observable variations which would have to be kept under control in the analysis.

The first unit selected for study was Sukumaland. This area, which has a population of over one million, embraces the four Lake Province Districts of Kwimba, Maswa, Mwanza, and Shinyanga, where the Wasukuma predominate, and Geita District, which is increasing its Sukuma component as a result of immigration into the newly-cleared areas.¹ The Wasukuma represent a middle level insofar as the consideration of tribal consolidation, introduction of local councils, and the acceptance of administrative and financial responsibilities by the local authorities is concerned. The cotton cash crop is giving the area the economic wherewithal for development programs and individual prosperity.

A higher level of development is evidenced in Moshi District, where a quarter of a million Wachagga reside. Here, the recent consolidation of 17 chiefdoms under a single paramount chief, the existence of nascent political parties, the flourishing councils at all levels, and the acceptance by chiefs and people of a great share in the handling of local government affairs, makes this tribe rank among the most advanced in the Territory. Moreover, the highly profitable coffee industry, which is largely run by African cooperative societies, places the Wachagga several strides ahead of the Wasukuma.

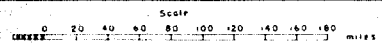
1. The 1948 census reveals that the 5 districts number 818,000 Wasukuma and 315,000 Wajita, Bazinza, and others. E. A. Statistical Department, "African Population of Tanganyika," op. cit., pp. 31-43.



Northern Rhodesia

KEY

- TERRITORIAL BOUNDARIES ---
- PROVINCIAL BOUNDARIES - - -
- DISTRICT BOUNDARIES - - -
- DISTRICTS STUDIED - - -
- RAILROADS ———



TANGANYIKA

The areas selected number only 2 of the 120 tribes of the Territory. However, they constitute a sizeable population---almost one/sixth of the eight million inhabitants of Tanganyika; and they are "typical" to the degree that developments taking place in these areas are representative of developments taking place elsewhere in the Territory. Thus, the recent attainment of a federation of chiefs in Unyamwezi parallels the creation of the Sukumaland Federal Council; and the Wapare have followed the lead of their Wachagga neighbors in asking for a paramount chieftaincy to be established for Pare District. The manifestations of popular political activity in Bukoba and Rungwe Districts have their counterparts in the Kilimanjaro Chagga Citizens Union. Other comparative material will be introduced at the appropriate stage.

Technique of Analyzing the "Subordinate" Societies

Each of the two areas will first be considered separately as case studies in their traditional setting with subsequent chapters following our analysis of the European component drawing from the materials of the present period. The initial task in presenting each case will be to make some remarks about the physical and environmental factors which are significant in setting limits to the expectations regarding the performance of the indigenous authority system. In our examination of the traditional authority system we shall attempt to make explicit the forms of the institutions serving political functions within the societal units. We shall examine how the various categories of political functions are performed, what are the bases of support for chieftaincy authority, what is the scope of authority of the individuals occupying various roles in the political structure; and to whom do the leaders owe responsibility. Since in both of the examples chosen, we have a system of heredi-

tary chiefs, it will be assumed that the institution which requires the most intensive analysis will be the series of relationships which constitute the idea of chieftainship. Other institutions of a political character, even though they not be expressly recognized by the "superior" component, will also be analyzed. The picture presented will be a synoptic one which would not be specifically accurate for any single chiefdom in a multi-chiefdom society, nor specifically accurate for any single moment in history---even if such accuracy were not precluded by the absence of complete documentary records. The synoptic picture will be developmental, considering origins of institutions as well as the practices which obtained in the period immediately preceding the establishment of the "superior/subordinate" relationship. The documentation for this section comes primarily from the writings of anthropologists, administrative officers, missionaries, and early travellers to the areas, although in many cases the material has been supplemented by information received by the writer in interviews with elderly chiefs and headmen.

A later synoptic picture will describe the "subordinate" society and its authority system as it exists in the present period, as modified by the sustained situation of political dependency. Here we shall examine alterations in roles and in the sources of authoritative supports; the emergence of new political groupings; and general modifications of the aim content of the indigenous authority system. It is not intended that this be merely a description of the "subordinate" society at a later stage in its history; rather, an attempt will be made to account for the

alterations and to consider the consequences of the alterations which took place in the transitional period. In the second synoptic picture we shall attempt to concentrate on the question of whether the utilization of the indigenous authority system by the British Administration has been in accord with the traditional expectations regarding the performance of the system; and the question of whether the real or alleged use of the indigenous authorities has actually been successful in the accomplishment of the goals of the "superior" groupings. The documentation for this section was drawn from (1) personal interviews which the writer held with European administrative and technical officers, African chiefs, officers of cooperative societies and popular political organizations, missionaries, and other persons pertinent to this study; (2) notes taken while in attendance at meetings of local government councils at various levels, of administrative committees, and of cooperative societies; (3) observation of chiefs, District Commissioners, and other persons in the performance of their official duties; (4) the perusal of District Books, tax and court records, annual reports of administrative officers, calendar diaries of chiefs and European officials, and other data available only in the field; and (5) examination of books, articles, and public documents published by the United Kingdom and Tanganyika Governments and by the United Nations and League of Nations. In this section, the analysis has been fortified by the inclusion in each chapter of case history materials on individual chiefs.

Inasmuch as the key to gauging responsibility in governmental activities often rests in an analysis of financial operations and control, a special chapter will be included on this subject. Here we shall draw upon materials from the two cases studied as well as supplementing these

with material applicable to the Territory as a whole. The focus of attention will be directed to discovering who bears actual and ideal responsibility for the initiating and carrying out of programs with regard to the raising of revenue and with regard to the expenditure of local government funds. The budgets of the two areas will be subjected to analysis to see what light they can shed on the development of local government in Tanganyika.

CHAPTER II

THE SETTING OF POLITICS IN SUKUMALAND

Part I:

The Natural and Social Environment

As one travels along the dirt road which runs between Mwanza on Lake Victoria and Shinyanga, some 110 miles to the south-east, one is scarcely aware of the fact that this area constitutes one of the most densely populated regions of Tanganyika. Perhaps it is the absence of all but the few minor settlements at Mabuki, Misungwe, and Ilula which misleads one into thinking the area is only sparsely settled. Perhaps, too, the sharp wind which whistles across the almost tree-less cultivation steppe adds to the feeling of loneliness; and the massive granitic out-croppings---which stand eighty foot high in some places---appear like solitary sentinels standing watch over an empty land.

Yet, one has only to accustom the eyes to picking out the euphorbia-encircled homesteads, which dot the landscape at intervals of a mile or less, to realize that the land is rather heavily settled. Only in the northern stretches of Shinyanga District is the area of continuous settlement broken. There, the expanse of thorn thicket, the lair of the tsetse fly, forms a barrier to human habitation. In the settled areas, one can discern irregular rows of maize and sorghum growing near the homesteads, or makaya, during the wet season. Beans, cassava, and other subsistence crops can be seen too. Late in the growing season, the land will appear as white as snow, for the cotton industry has been flourishing in Usukuma since the war. The lack of trees to block the wind and shield one temporarily from the mid-day sun, is depressing. Only the occasional micmo copse or the

solitary acacia thorn tree breaks the monotony until you reach Shinyanga District. There, the baobab trees, which in some cases exceed 10 foot in diameter, have been sturdy enough to resist the crude Sukuma axes.

In Stanley's time, Central Sukumaland appears to have had a greater forest cover, and to have been rather abundant in game. Now, one has to travel to the eastern reaches of Maswa District, to the Serengeti Plain, to see elephant, rhino, and buffalo. There are instances of leopards and lions attacking human settlement in Central Sukumaland, and even of a herd of frightened elephants swimming across the Malya dam; but as human settlement and hunting has proceeded, the animals have withdrawn. Only the vermin---baboon, porcupine, wild pig and hippo---have remained and annually destroy large amounts of the crops grown by human intruders.

Sukumaland is still a relatively mono-racial area. The ubiquitous Arab and Asian shop-keeper, a clerk on a sisal estate, or an employee of an Indian-owned cotton ginnery, constitute the few instances in which Asians are found outside the urban areas of Mwanza, Shinyanga, and Geita. The Europeans, too, are largely restricted in residence to the urban areas. However, since the Europeans make up the bulk of the administrative and departmental personnel, and there are a number of Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries in Sukumaland, a considerably larger proportion of the European population makes contact with the Sukuma cultivator in the rural areas. There are small enclaves of European settlement around the Shinyanga diamond mines and the Geita gold fields, but these constitute almost self-contained communities. There are few, if any, genuine European farmers settled in the area. The population of the five districts included in Sukumaland is as follows:¹

1. E. A. High Commission, Statistical Dept., Quarterly Economic and Statistical Bulletin, No. 19 (March, 1953), p. 11. Mwanza, Geita, and Ukerewe were included within the same district until 1950, African figures are from Analysis of Statistical Department, "Geographic and Tribal Studies", Tanganyika, op. cit., pp.

District	Area per sq. mile	Europeans	Asians	Africans	African Density Sq. Mile	Total Population
Kwimba	1,861	20	401	237,962	128	238,383
Maswa	8,794	37	377	244,968	28	245,382
Shinyanga	3,706	148	1,450	212,503	57	214,101
Mwanza (incl. Geita, Uk.)	5,558	331	3,535	187,219	79	331,123
	19,919	536	5,763	1,022,690		1,028,989

The African population is predominately Wasukuma and Wanyamwezi, two large tribal groupings which on the basis of common language, kinship ties, similarity in law and custom, and other factors are regarded by some scholars as constituting a single social grouping. Indeed, the name Usukuma appears to mean "north country" in the Kinyamwezi tongue, and the appellation, Wasukuma, appears to have been applied to the inhabitants of northern Unyamwezi by early travellers. The Wasukuma themselves in many cases still prefer to refer to themselves by the clan names or by the clan names of the ruling family of their respective chiefdoms. Only recently has the name "Wasukuma" been generally accepted.¹ The Wasukuma-Wanamwezi component constitute 97 per cent of the population of Kwimba District, 95 per cent of Maswa, and 85 per cent of Shinyanga. In the re-organized Mwanza District, more than 90 per cent of the inhabitants are Wasukuma. Only in Geita District, to the west of Smith Sound, is the Wasukuma population outnumbered by the Bazinza, Barongo, and the Basumbwa combined, but even here in Geita, the Wasukuma are fast attaining a majority as a result of resettlement in the bush-cleared areas.

The predominantly rural character of the population is revealed in the fact that only slightly more than 1 per cent of the African population resides in the three townships of Sukumaland.²

1. Hans Cory, "The People of the Lake Victoria Region," Tanganyika Notes and Records, No. 33 (July 1952) p. 25; and B. J. Hartley, "Land Tenure in Usukuma," Tanganyika Notes and Records, No. 5 (April 1938), pp. 17-18
 2. E.A. High Commission, Statistical Dept., "Geographical and Tribal Studies: Tanganyika", pp. 31-43 passim.

Mwanza Township	8,885
Shinyanga Township	2,103
Geita Gold Mine	2,194

Figures are not available for the population of such minor settlements as Ngudu, Shanwa, Mabuki, and others; but it is doubtful whether the population of all such settlements in the five districts amounts to more than 1,500. Although some Wasukuma go off to work in the mines or on the sisal estates, the bulk of the population remains close to the soil. In the writings of Stanley, Burton, and other early explorers, it appears that the travelling Wasukuma were very significant factor in the portage trade for both the Arabs and the Europeans.

The basic unit of habitation is the kaya, or homestead, which normally includes a husband, wife or wives and respective children, and often older persons or married sons and their wives. The typical homestead numbers four adults and three children. The homesteads, in turn, are grouped together into magunguli (villages) which are under the general supervision of headmen, or wanangwa.¹ In some cases an mwanangwa is an hereditary leader, in other cases he may be appointed by the chief or popularly elected by the people of the village. Villages, in turn are grouped together under the leadership of an hereditary chief, or ntemi.

The typical kaya is enclosed by a fence of euphorbia, or milk-weed, six or seven foot high. At the entrance-way to the enclosure there may be a tall pole on which are hung the skulls of the favorite deceased cattle of homestead. They are placed there to ward off illness to the cattle still living inside the kraal. The number of houses within a unit varies as to the number of adult families or the number of wives of

1. N. V. Rounce, The Agriculture of the Cultivation Steppe (1949), p. 2.

the owner of the kaya. Each wife has a right to a separate house in which to rear her children. Almost without exception, the Sukuma hut is constructed with a circular base made of numerous poles of sisal "trees" or of cassia siamea, bound together and covered with adobe. The inside of the conical shaped roof is blackened from the smoke of the fires.

Furnishings are of the most simple variety: straw mattresses, a few roughly-hewn bedsteads, a stool or two, earthen-ware pots, a couple gourd water containers, a bow and set of arrows suspended from a pole in the ceiling, and a picture torn from a magazine. Outside the huts, chickens, pigs, and goats run untethered; cows, however, are kept within an enclosure. While this is the typical kaya, the homesteads of the chiefs, headmen, and some of the more wealthy cotton producers are coming to approximate the homes of the Asians and even of the more humble missionaries. Brick houses, an assortment of chairs cast off by the Public Works Department, and even motor vehicles set the homes of the Native Authorities off from the rest of the population.

Agriculture is the primary form of livelihood for the rural Wasukuma. In most instances agriculture is on a subsistence basis, with each homestead planting maize, sorghum, millet, cassava, and some rice sufficient to meet the needs of the particular family. In most cases, by order of the Native Authority, an extra plot of cassava is planted to meet the possibility of famine. Traditionally agriculture was performed on a shifting basis, but as the crowding of the land becomes more intense and as more land is being devoted to the production of cash crops such as cotton, rice, and dengu, agriculture is tending to become sedentary.

Practically all of the labor of clearing the bush and working the soil is done by hand. The small iron hoe has largely replaced the digging stick, but only a few areas have felt the nick of the plough, and

even less have witnessed mechanical harrowing and disking of fields. Farm labor is differentiated according to sexes, and each member of the family plays a part in the agricultural work. The life of the farmer is not an easy one in Sukuma land. Some of the difficulties are man-made. I refer here to the faulty methods of cultivation which annually carry off the top-soil and fail to retain the water needed for crop growth. The land system, furthermore, which fragments land ownership so that one man might have two or more tracts of land several miles distant from each, complicates the problem of tending the soil, even though the system is socially beneficial. That is, each man gets a few tracts of land of variable quality instead of all top grade or all inferior grade soil.

Even worse than the man-made difficulties, are those which nature presents. Drought is a recurrent phenomenon in Sukumaland, and approximately one year in five finds Sukumaland burning under the tropical sun, famine threatening every household, and cattle dropping like flies. When the rain does come, it often comes in such torrents that it beats down the young plants, washes away the soil, and is quickly drained off into river bottoms, which then may remain dry most of the year round. The average annual rainfall throughout Sukumaland is about 30 inches, with the average increasing as one approaches the humid Lake Victoria littoral, and decreasing as one heads south and east into Maswa and Shinyanga. The rain comes in two installments. The period of short rains, which occur during November and December, is utilized for planting of crops. The long rains, which usually come during March and April, help with the maturation and growth of the young plants. Since it is difficult to get in two crops annually, grain and root crops must be stored for later use. Plant diseases, such as striga, and mosaic lay waste a good portion of

of crops planted, and locust swarms and the resident vermin (wild pig, baboon, and others) take off another sizeable portion.

Nevertheless, despite these drawbacks, the mbuga soils of the cultivation steppe are fairly rich. With the present-day construction of dams and use of tie-ridging and other techniques for keeping the water on the land, one of the most serious drawbacks to agricultural enterprise in Sukumaland is being alleviated to a certain extent. Manuring, contour-farming, and the observation of soil conservation rules will further increase the productivity of the soil in the years to come.¹ Many Africans have taken to producing such cash crops as groundnut, rice, bengua, and cotton. The production of cotton in the five Sukuma districts and two adjoining districts of Lake Province rose from 35,398 in 1945 to 62,752 bales of Grade A and 7,547 bales of Grade C in 1952.² The introduction of cash crops has affected the African social system in two ways. In the first place, it has placed the individual African cultivator into the European and Asian cash economy. Although figures on per capita are difficult to assess, some indication of the rising tide of money being poured into Sukumaland may be gathered from the following figures on sources of income in Mwanza District during the years 1948-1953.³

1. Much of the foregoing information was obtained through observations made by the writer while in Tanganyika. Rounce, Ibid., presents one best monographs extant on the problems of agriculture in the cultivation steppe.

2. Tanganyika, The Cotton Industry, 1939-1953 (Dar es Salaam: Govt. Printer, 1953), pp. 8-9.

3. Mwanza District, "Annual Report of the District Commissioner," 1952, p. 20 (typewritten).

	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952
Markets	£ 14,000	20,000	17,507	15,016	20,000
Sisal			16,750	22,000	3,500
Cotton	100,000	100,000	95,347	142,525	353,125
Cattle	16,105	27,859	17,413	31,471	55,834
Hides	33,500	33,823	43,301	54,706	17,902
Fish	60,000	100,000	100,000	75,000	50,000
Emoluments	60,250	71,250	79,500	91,178	111,500
TOTAL	£ 282,855	327,132	369,898	430,896	611,861
Minus Taxes	31,235	26,403	29,980	39,182	47,838
	£ 251,620	200,729	339,918	391,714	564,023
Taxpayers	41,667	39,794	42,490	45,240	44,917
Shillings p/tx.	120/-	140/-	155/-	175/-	250/-

The increase in cash in the hands of the Wasukuma, however, has not been equalled by an increase in the flow of commodities on which to spend the money. Canned goods, mirrors, and trinkets exhaust an African's cash supply rather rapidly, but these leave him with nothing of lasting value. Some European and Asian firms have been attempting to sell tractors, pre-fabricated houses, and other large items and are meeting with a measure of success. Between these two extremes, however, lies a suppliers' void.

The second way the cash economy has begun to affect the social system of the Wasukuma is in the emergence of producers' cooperatives. Inasmuch as this bears heavily upon the alteration in the traditional authority system, the discussion of the cooperative societies will be deferred for the present.

In addition to the traditional dependence upon agriculture, the Wasukuma have also depended upon livestock to supplement their food supplies. However, it should be noted that the Wasukuma attitude towards the ownership

of cattle differs not markedly from the attitude of the Masai and other East African cattle breeders.¹ That is, the milk of cows can be consumed, but the meat of the animals usually is only eaten when cattle are killed for festive or ritual occasions or when the animals die of old age. There is no taboo or cow-worship involved, for Africans will indeed eat meat when it is offered to them or when it can be purchased in a local butchery. The reluctance comes in the act of disposing of cattle which are owned by a particular Wasukuma. Cattle gives its owner prestige, and is necessary in many areas to seal the marriage contract. The presence of a cattle prestige economy has not only had serious consequences for the diet of the Wasukuma, but has also aggravated the problem of soil conservation. There are as many head of cattle in Sukumaland as there are people, and sheep, goats, and donkeys add another third of a million stock units of domesticated animals to nibble off the grass cover of the cultivation steppe.² High prices for cattle and the need for each to pay the Native House and Poll Tax has led many Wasukuma to sell at least a few of their animals. In the last few years compulsory destocking of cattle has been taking place in Sukumaland. The desire is to bring the number of stock units possessed by a single homestead into line with the "Sukumaland Equation." This equation is based upon the number of humans and stock units which can be supported on a given acreage of land in Usukuma. According to the formula, one household of seven persons and 10 stock units requires seven acres of arable and 35 acres of grazing land to support it during good years and bad.³

1. Cf. Melville J. Herskovits, The Cattle Complex in East Africa, reprint from the American Anthropologist (1926), passim.

2. Sukumaland Federal Council, "Minutes of 15th Meeting," Oct. 1953 (mimeographed). Five sheep or goats equal one stock unit.

3. Remarks of J. V. Shaw, Deputy Provincial Commissioner (Sukumaland), Dec., 1953.

However, as long as cattle occupy such a key position in the social system of the Wasukuma, destocking goes on at a very slow pace.

Like most peoples of Africa, the Wasukuma are afflicted with a great number of diseases, Malaria, amebiasis, bilharziasis, and a number of intestinal worms and parasites are endemic throughout most of the area. Sleeping sickness---a disease which affects both humans and livestock--- is endemic in the bush areas which have not yet been cleared of tsetse flies, the carriers of the parasite. In a number of areas of Shinyanga and Kwimba, the incidence of leprosy is rather high, and in all parts of Sukumaland, venereal disease rate is on the rise. Perhaps one of the factors leading to the high susceptibility of Wasukuma to diseases such as tuberculosis and other respiratory ailments common in the temperate zones, is the deficiency of the Msukuma's diet. A medical survey conducted in Kwimba District in 1952 revealed that the typical Sukuma diet was barely sufficient even in the years when the rains were good; in the drought years, the diet was below the sufficiency level.¹

The level of literacy and formal European-type education has been increasing several fold in the period since World War II, although Roman Catholic missions and Protestants of the African Inland Missions have been providing educational facilities in Usukuma for over four decades. The target for 1956 is to have 28 per cent of the school-age children in primary schools. After six years of development, the Education Department was still about 16 per cent short of its target; however, the usual procedure is for a program to "snow-ball" in its final years. Although the enthusiasm for education has not yet attained the fevered pitch noticeable in Uchagwa and Eukoba, the Africans do seem to feel that it is the service of Government which is most appreciated. Some figures

1. E. A. High Commission, East African Medical Survey, Annual Report, 1952 (1953), pp. 70 ff.

for the enrollment of school children in government and mission primary schools in 1952 are presented here:¹

	Government Native Authority			Voluntary Agencies		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Mwanza	1,446	195	1,641	794	300	1,094
Maswa	1,058	112	1,170	487	49	536
Kwimba	1,303	318	1,621	836	324	1,160
Geita	489	95	584	945	184	1,127
Shinyanga	1,620	216	1,836	589	124	713

Finally, some mention should be made of the internal transport system of the region and its contact with areas external to it. Contact with the rest of Tanganyika is maintained primarily through the medium of the Mwanza branch of the Central Line railway, an integral part of the East African Railways and Harbours; and via the main road which runs from Mwanza to Shinyanga, after which it branches, with one road leading south to Tabora and the other swinging northwest to Bukoba and Uganda. Another main road runs parallel to the Victoria Nyanza littoral through Kwimba, Mwanza, and Musoma Districts. The more rugged souls can take the ferry at Mara Bay and follow a narrow road on up to Kenya. Regular communication is maintained with Bukoba, Entebbe, Kisumu, and other Kenya and Uganda Lake ports by way of the two lake steamers which make weekly stops at Mwanza. Other contact off these main routes is maintained by several thousand peripatetic Wasukuma during each year.

Roads within the region are only gradually attaining the status of being all-weather roads. The majority of backwoods roads and trails are closed to all but foot travellers when the rivers are high or the mbuga soils are wet. Even the best of the all-weather roads, however, are hardly

1. Information supplied by Mr. E. Cooper, Prov. Educ. Officer (Lake Province), Dec. 1953.

equal to some of the roads in the American South, as bitter experience
has taught the writer.

PART II

The Traditional Authority System in Usukuma

There are a number of problems involved in delineating the traditional authority system in Usukuma. Indeed one of the more significant problems is a recurrent one facing the political analyst dealing with traditional societies in Africa and other non-Western areas. I refer here to the task of setting forth those institutions of a particular society which are involved in the authority system. There is no simple transfer of knowledge from what we know of political institutions and political behavior in America and Europe to what we seek to discover about political behavior in a non-Western society. In certain societies of East Africa one could search in vain to find a single institution which one could, by the usual definition of politics, label as a predominantly political institution. What we find in these societies is that institutions which are predominantly familial, economic, or religious perform a range of functions which we can classify as manifestly political.

While recognizing that the agreement on the finality of this list of political functions is far from unanimous; nevertheless, it is felt that in the following functions we have a listing which comes fairly close to being a simple common denominator of activity which has customarily been labelled "political." This list includes: creating and maintaining order with a social system by providing norms of conduct for inter-personal and inter-group relations and by providing means for securing compliance with the norms; socialization of the members of the unit regarding the definition of who exercises authority and within what limits; providing certain minimum levels of goal satisfaction and security for the members of the unit; and regulating the relationship between members of the unit and

members of external units.

To a certain extent the number of institutions which serve such functions within a particular society may be legion. Our problem is thus one of deciding which institutions are most relevant to the understanding of the operation of an authority system as a whole. It may be that one institution, such as that of chieftainship in Sukumaland, stands out in relation to the other institutions of the society; however, unless we have analyzed the part which subordinate, ancillary, or antithetic institutions play with regard to the performance of political functions, our analysis of the principal political institution will be lacking.

A second problem arises from the fact that Usukuma, or Sukumaland, did not constitute a single homogeneous political unit in the pre-European period. Although there was a degree of cohesion among the inhabitants of Usukuma based on language, social customs, law, and the spread and inter-mixture of kinship groupings throughout the area; political authority was proliferated among several score of relatively autonomous chiefdoms.¹

Thus, when we are discussing an institution like chieftainship, we are discussing not a single institution but rather a series of parallel institutions which operated simultaneously in a number of chiefdoms throughout a vast area. It may be expected that chieftainship in Massanza I, a small unit bordering on Lake Victoria, would not be identical in all re-

1. The exact number is known inasmuch as the processes of consolidation and splintering were going on continuously. In 1953, after numerous consolidations had taken place under the British Administration, there were still 39 chiefdoms (out of 47) in Sukumaland which were predominantly Wasukuma in population. Several of the chiefdoms in Geita District are lately achieving Wasukuma majorities. If we add to the figure of 39, the 30 chiefdoms of Kahama, Nzega, and Tabora Districts (Western Province), which have Wanyamwezi majorities; we see that political authority among the Wanyamwezi-Wasukuma groupings was proliferated indeed. Analysis of E. A. Statistical Dept., "Geographic and Tribal Studies: Tanganyika," op. cit., pp. 31-43.

spects with chieftainship in the rather populous chiefdom of Usiha in the Shinyanga hinterland. Nevertheless, a certain degree of similarity in the social and political institutions of Sukumaland as a whole is discernible; and where significant variations emerge, these will be made explicit. We are sacrificing the quest for detailed information on a single chiefdom (assuming that such is attainable), for a more generalized picture of a traditional authority system which can be applied to the greater portion of Usukuma.

A third analytical problem is concerned with the factor of time. Our synoptic picture includes material from the period immediately preceding the arrival of the European occupation force, but it also includes material regarding the origins and early development of certain political institutions. This means that in some instances we are dealing with a period covering more than 250 years. Even though we make explicit the fact that our remarks apply only to a particular period, a certain amount of distortion will be present in our synoptic picture.

The Origins of Chieftainship in Sukumaland

The institution of chieftainship in Usukuma is of comparatively recent origin. In Usmao, one of the large chiefdoms of Kwimba District in Central Sukumaland, the history of chieftaincy succession is purported to cover a period of over two centuries and includes the names of 23 holders of the post of ntemi (chief; plural, batemi). In the neighboring chiefdom of Nera, the chronology includes fewer office-holders, but the estimated period of chieftaincy rule covers a span of 260 years. The genealogies of chiefs of Sima, Magu, and other central chiefdoms also reveal that chieftainship has prevailed in those areas for no more than 180 to 200 years.¹ In Maswa District, so the writer was informed by Chief Majebera,

1. Recorded by W. F. Page in "Kwimba District Book," 1930 (typewritten).

of Mwagalla, chieftaincy rule is of even more recent origin.¹

There seems to be general agreement in the legends of the various chiefdoms that chieftaincy rule was an alien introduction brought by the Bahima, pastoralists into Tanganyika from the area north-west of Lake Victoria. The Bahima were Nilo-Hamites, who differed physically from the indigenous Bantu over whom they established their rule.² However, unlike the situation obtaining in Ankole, Bunyoro, Urundi, and other areas where the establishment of Bahima rulership has resulted in a class of royals who are physically distinct from the serf or other commoner classes; there are no noticeable differentiating features between the physical characteristics of the members of the royal clans in Usukuma and members of the non-royal clans. Furthermore, the ownership of cattle, which was the exclusive prerogative of the Bahima class in Ankole, has been a right enjoyed by royals and commoners alike in Sukumaland. All classes and clans, moreover, participate in the religious and festive ceremonies of the Sukuma chiefdoms.³

Perhaps the feature which most distinguishes the Sukuma situation from other examples of Bahima influence lies in the lack of political authority being administratively centralized in one, or a few, powerful and extensive kingdoms under the rulership of Bakama, as the kings were called. The type of indigenous political organization encountered by the Bahima

1. Conversation held at Ngudu, Feb., 1954.

2. Hans Cory, "The People of the Lake Victoris Region," Tanganyika Notes and Records, No. 33 (July, 1952), pp. 25-26.

3. Cory, The Ntemi; (1951), p. 3. For information on the Bahima of Ankole, of K. Oberg, "The Kingdom of Ankole in Uganda," African Political Systems, (1940) M. Fortes and E. E. Evans-Pritchard, eds., pp. 120-162, passim.

who journeyed to the south of the Lake was rather unsophisticated and extremely local in its application. Apparently the forest and bush cover in Usukuma was much heavier in those days, and thus communication among the various small clusters of population had been difficult to maintain. The Bantu clusters consisted of several families, numbering about a hundred persons in all, under the leadership of an ntemi (plural, batemi; derived from ku-tama, "to cut down trees in the bush"). Not much is known about the duties of the original batemi other than the fact that they settled inter-family disputes and were responsible for organizing the communal game hunts.

The Bahima in Usukuma seldom seem to have been capable of doing more than welding together a number of the Bantu colonies into small chiefdoms. Perhaps this stems from the fact that they came neither in large numbers nor as military conquerors. Rather, it appears that a number of individual Bahima migrated to the area and were accepted as rulers by the indigenous populations without any great resistance having been offered. Why political authority remained proliferated after the establishment of the Bahima chieftainship, is a question which can be answered only by conjecture. Perhaps the vastness of the area, the prevalence of tsetse bush, and the presence of wild game posed the same obstacles to large-scale consolidation in the Bahima period as they had in the previous era. If anything, the process of proliferation continued as time went on. Nera and Usmao in Kwimba District appear to have been formed as separate chiefdoms as a result of subordinate officials making themselves independent of the ntemi of Buhungukira.¹ A similar situation is evidenced in the names of the two littoral chiefdoms of Massanza I and Massanza II.

1. Historical Section, "Kwimba District Book" (typewritten).

Why didn't warfare affect the organization of political power in Sukumaland? At least one military conqueror did attempt to bring parts of Usukuma under the control of a single ntemi. Mirambo, the powerful Nyamwezi chief, pushed as far north as Urima in Central Sukumaland during the Nineteenth Century, but he was forced to withdraw his forces before being able to consolidate his victories.¹ There is sufficient record of various Sukuma chiefdoms being engaged in intra-tribal warfare and of some of the smaller chiefdoms forming alliances to stave off the aggressive tendencies of a powerful neighbor. One early European visitor to Usukuma expressed the opinion that the Wasukuma from Mondo, Nera, Ntusu, Sengerema, and other chiefdoms in the hinterland were rather war-like.² Usmao in Central Sukumaland appears to have been in an almost constant state of warfare with one or more of the neighboring chiefdoms of Urima, Nera, Magu, and Usukuma.³ However, most of these wars (except in those cases where the eastern chiefdoms had to engage in defensive battles against the Masai cattle raiders, an affair which has continued to the present day.) seem to have centered around a dispute between the royal clans of two chiefdoms or a struggle for leadership by various factions within a single royal clan. Whatever the occasion or the outcome of the war, victory seldom led to a change in the royal dynasty nor did it necessarily lead to the deposition of the defeated ntemi. Even in the case of the removal of the chief and the reigning dynasty, the defeated chiefdom did not always

1. Ronald J. Harvey, "Mirambo, 'the Napoleon of Central Africa,'" Tanganyika Notes and Records, No. 28 (Jan., 1950), p. 16.

2. Paul Kollmann, The Victoria Nyanza (1899), p. 160.

3. Historical Section, "Kwimba District Book" (typewritten).

disappear as a separate political entity.¹ A victor could plunder the cattle, take the women, ravage the fields, and in other ways cripple a chiefdom; but he could not destroy the spirits of the departed batemi, who looked over the defeated chiefdom.² Furthermore, an imprudent victor could probably expect the vengeance of the defeated chief's fellow clansmen. In interviews which I carried out in Sukumaland, I was impressed by the family character of chieftaincy rule throughout the area. Thus, the chiefs of Nera, Usmao, and Buhungukira are all from the Bakwimba clan; the batemi of Magu and Sima are Bagolo; the Bajashi clan is represented in the chieftaincies of Ujashi and Nassa; and the chiefs of Mwangalla, Kigoki, Sengerema, Nunghu, Itilima, Uduhe, and Uchunga are members of the Babinza clan.³

Although the legends regarding the founding of particular chieftaincies are not always consistent, there seems to be agreement that the Bahima strangers were accepted precisely because they were strangers. The encroachment of one village upon the hunting grounds of another, as well as the growth of population within each of villages, appears to have been occurring at the time of the Bahima incursion. Since the Bahima were reported to have superior knowledge and physical characteristics, as well as possessing the accidental attribute of being alien to the existing

1. The victorious chief of Mwangalla put in his own son as chief of Kimali

Meadu. D. W. Malcolm, Sukumaland: an African People and Their Country (1953), p. 24.

2. Information collected by Hans Cory in consultation with Sukuma elders. Cf. The Ntami, op. cit., p. 74.

3. Information obtained from the respective chiefs, Jan.-Feb., 1954. It is suspected that the Babinza of Shinyanga and the Babinza of Maswa are different clans.

village and kinship organizations, it appears that they were readily accepted as impartial arbiters in the settlement of inter-clan and inter-village disputes. Moreover, the diminishing supply of game, in the face of forest and bush clearance, required that there be someone to distribute the product of the chase.¹ While it is doubtful that the establishment of chieftaincies came about in such a rational and clear-out manner, nevertheless, the legends in this regard are fairly uniform throughout Usukuma.

The Chief as a Dispenser of Wealth

While voluntary acceptance of a Muhima as an impartial arbiter may have been sufficient in the early stages of chieftainship to sustain him in office, it is apparent that in the subsequent development of the institution of chieftainship other more positive forms of support for authority began to emerge. The order in which these supports made their appearance is not revealed in legends. Accordingly, the treatment here should not be assumed to constitute chronological listing.

The first of the supports to be discussed, is the ntemi's control over a considerable amount of wealth. Perhaps the earlier source of chieftaincy income came from the share of the compensation which an ntemi received in rendering a decision, and from the fees which he received for hearing the case. The fees were initially a payment for services rendered, but later it appears that the exacting of fees was a device for preventing frivolous disputes arising by requiring the disputants to indicate their good faith. Usually this fee consisted of 5 goats or hoes from each party, while the compensation share may have been several cows, hoes, or vegetable product.²

1. Cory, The Ntemi, pp. 1-4.

2. Cory, Sukuma Law and Custom, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

As more of his time was devoted to magisterial and ministerial duties, it became impossible for him to cultivate his own fields. Moreover, since a large number of litigants and royal retainers were collecting at the chief's court, it was necessary that some measures be taken to feed them. Accordingly, the custom arose of requiring each able bodied man to set aside a small plot of his fields for the chief, and the produce from this field was brought in to the chief at harvest time. This tribute amounted to about 20 pounds of grain, cassava, or whatever else the chief indicated.¹ Furthermore, in the distribution of game from the chase a certain share was retained by the ntemi; and scarce commodities, like ivory, became the exclusive property of the chief. An ntemi would use ivory in his bartering with Arab traders to receive cloth, metal pots, and other implements.² Thus, the chief not only was raised in stature by possessing more wealth than the ordinary Msukuma; but he was able to increase his prestige by dispensing cloth and cattle as tokens of favor; by feeding litigants and visitors from other chiefdoms at his court; through distributing grain and other stores as a form of famine relief; and in showing his generosity on festive and ceremonial occasions. In giving back to the people that which they had given him, he earned for himself a reputation for generosity, as well as being able to exercise control through the dispensation or withholding of favors.

There were other persons in the chiefdom who enjoyed great wealth through the ownership of large estates. In return for being spared exploitation at the hands of the chief, they could usually be relied upon to support the chief in any struggle for power within a chiefdom taking

2. Ibid., pp. 127, 149; Malcom, op. cit., p. 27.

place between the common people and the royal dynasty.¹

Primacy over the Use of Force

Although an ntemi enjoyed a primacy in the employment of organized force, this did not mean that there was a restriction on who might carry arms. The ordinary peasant used his spears, arrows, and other weapons in his everyday life in securing meat and in defending himself from wild animals. After the arrival of muzzle-loaders, attempts were made to restrict the carrying of these arms to individuals who were trusted by the chiefs. The attempts were not always successful. Through most of the traditional period, however, the primacy of the chief's use of force was recognized in the presence of an elite guard. This guard consisted of the best warriors of chiefdom and then stood in a clientship relation to the ntemi. Many of the members of the guard were recruited from the ranks of the chief's slaves, who had been captured in combat or in raids. Since these individuals had few local family ties, owed their lives to the benevolence of the chief in sparing them, and were lavishly paid, and cared for, at the court of the chief, their loyalty to the ntemi was greater than that of the ordinary peasant. When the armies of the chief went into battle, the elite guard remained behind with the chief in his enclosure. They were to be employed in protecting the chief, in checking a possible retreat, or as an element of surprise for turning an adverse situation into victory. At other times the mercenaries were dispatched on raids for cattle and other booty. This not only served the purpose of keeping the ntemi's best troops in trim shape, but it allowed them to work off any excess impulsiveness which might have been employed un-

1. Cory, Sukuma Law and Custom, op. cit., p. 114.

essarily against the ntemi's own subjects.¹

Having the clientship of the elite guard at his disposal, it was comparatively easy for an ntemi to secure compliance with his orders and to secure at least an outward manifestation of loyalty from the ordinary Sukuma peasant. Thus, in the name of the ntemi, the property of reluctant warriors could be confiscated; ordinary peasants could be captured and offered as human sacrifices for ceremonial occasions; and one who had disobeyed the order of a chief could be summarily condemned and clubbed to death.² It need not be inferred that the chief or his subordinate officials abused their use of force. For, as was mentioned previously, in the case of a bald misuse of power, individual peasants and families could practice withdrawal from the chief's jurisdiction. Furthermore, as we shall see subsequently, an abusive chief might even be deposed.

The Wanangwa and the Banang'oma

Certain other social groupings, in addition to the elite guard, were also primarily concerned with supporting the institution of chieftainship in the Sukuma societies. A chief had not to rule alone. The early Mhima who was accepted as the ntemi of a Sukuma chiefdom brought with him a number of followers who aided him in the hearing of cases, collecting of tribute, and overseeing the cultivation of the chief's fields. As the number of members of the royal clan increased through intermarriage with the Bantu inhabitants, a chief would begin to appoint his own sons as wanangwa (village headmen; singular, mwanangwa). This meant that the ntemi could rely on a degree of filial obedience in the proper performance of orders. This was an ideal situation in the areas ruled by Bakwimba,

1. Cory, The Ntemi, op. cit., pp. 64-73.

2. Ibid., pp. 10, 35, 65; and Kollmann, op. cit., p. 171.

Babinza, and Basiha clans, inasmuch as these were matrilineal kinship groupings. Since the laws of succession did not give the sons of an ntemi claims to the office, they constituted no direct threat to their father's authority.

Inasmuch as a new ntemi was usually permitted to choose his own wanangwa,¹ it meant that these officials had to link their futures with the success or failure of the chief who had appointed them; for, should the chief be deposed for misrule, the career of the incumbent wanangwa would undoubtedly be cut short as well. In exchange for their support, the chief maintained his headmen while the latter were at court, he permitted them to have their fields cultivated by the common people, they shared in the fines exacted in cases heard at their barazas, and they enjoyed the privileges of leadership and all the respect that went with it. The degree to which the individual mwanangwa could exact more from his village depended on the force of his own personality, the laxity of the chief, or the lethargy of the people.

The brothers, uncles, and other relatives of the chief have a different relationship to the ntemi than occurred in the case of the ntemi's sons.

This was especially true in areas where matrilineal succession prevailed.

These relatives constituted the royal courtiers (called banang'oma in the north, and ban'hon'hogong'ho in Shinyanga and Unyamwezi). Acting as the

1. In certain instances the posts have been hereditary, and the local population has had a great deal to say in the selection of a new mwanangwa. Moreover, in the case of one individual pioneering a new settlement, the chief, upon receiving a pledge of fealty from the pioneer, would usually appoint him as his headman for that area. Cory, Sukuma Law and Custom, op. cit., p. 8; Malcolm, op. cit., p. 29.

Council of State for the ntemi, they advised him on his religious duties (to be discussed below); regulated his official marriages; acted as his assessors in court; acted as his listening posts regarding disturbances in his chiefdom and threats to his rule; were his constant companions on his journeys; cared for him in his illness; arranged his funeral on his death; and elected his successor. Their power extended to putting to death anyone who threatened the authority of the chief; and they could act on their own in settling certain cases, even those dealing with homicide. Moreover, they shared in the distribution of cattle and hoes resulting from payment of fines; and the chief had to consult them when he disposed of any cattle or other property which was his by virtue of his holding the office of ntemi.¹

It would appear from this that the banang'oma constituted a body to which the chief owed responsibility for the exercise of his office. Chieftainship was not the proprietary right of the individual chief, but of the royal dynasty. Accordingly, since the misbehavior of an ntemi might jeopardize the dynasty itself, the temporary holder of the office had to be held accountable for his actions to the royal courtiers. Moreover, under the broadly based system of matrilineal succession (any of the sons or grandsons of any of the sisters of a former chief had a claim to the office), the banang'oma included in its ranks a number of individuals whose claims to the office were as legitimate as those of the reigning chief. Therefore, an mnang'oma with a strong personality, independent wealth, and a personal following, could have awaited the falling of the incumbent chief as a sign for the rising of his own star. Indeed, the

1. Malcolm, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Cory, *Sukuma Law and Custom, op. cit.*, p. 8; and T. M. Revington, "Concerning the Banangoma and Basumba Batale Societies of the Bukwimba Wasukuma," *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, No. 5 (April 1938), pp. 60-61.

remembered history of Usmao Chiefdom in Kwimba District reveals several instances of royal fratricide.¹ It would appear that in those cases in which a chief was deposed "by the people," the term ^{often} refers to the action taken by the banang'oma in removing the chief.

Although the banang'oma could keep an ntemi accountable for his actions, it was incapable of exercising chieftaincy authority itself. The instability within the ranks of the banang'oma was revealed in their duty of selecting a new ntemi. As we saw above, matrilineal succession opened the ranks of claimants to a host of relatives of the deceased chief. Patri-
Succession
lineal/narrowed the field of claimants to the brothers and sons of the former ntemi; however, patrilineal succession was apparently only observed among the royal Bagolo and Basega clans and a few others ruling on the Victoria Nyanza littoral.²

In some cases a chief might be able to name his successor, and through turning over power to this individual, he could present the banang'oma with a fait accompli. Even without resorting to the latter measure, the spirit of a recently departed powerful chief might have been sufficient to sway the banang'oma in accepting the successor named by the deceased. Where this was not the case, the possibility of internal disorder arising within the ranks of the banang'oma was intensified. Accordingly, great pains were taken to keep the news of the death of the ntemi a secret from the people until a successor had been chosen; and an elaborate method of selection was used as a facade for concealing the actual struggle for power which went on among the banang'oma. The selection was performed ostensibly through the divination of chicken intestines. The discussion

1. Historical Section, "Kwimba District Book" (typewritten).

2. Paul Kollmann, op. cit., pp. 137-139, records that patrilineal succession prevailed in the Chiefdom of Mwanze, Bukumbi, Nyegezi, Urima, Nassa, Sima, Massanza, and Magu.

which took place concerning the color of the intestines and the meaning of the entrails vis-à-vis the individual leading candidates served as a forum where the merits of the various claimants could be discussed and respective sources of strength gauged. Thus, no individual member of the banang'oma need commit himself in a straight-forward manner and run the risk of retaliation at the hands of the champions of the victorious candidate.¹ Like Papal elections and American presidential nominating conventions, the discussion usually ended in an unanimous interpretation of the chicken entrails.

Deviations from this pattern of selection did occur, and in fact in one chiefdom, Usmao, the struggle for power during a considerable period was fought out, not within the ranks of the banang'oma, but between two powerful headmen. These two rivals, Linjachi and Kibiti, created and deposed chiefs at will. Since both were sons of former chiefs, they were ineligible under rules of matrilineal succession from occupying the office themselves. Nevertheless, in drawing their strength from their reputations as rain-makers, they exercised real power and shared in the ^{and} tribute fines which were due to the chiefs.² Other exceptions occurred in the case of women being elected batemi or of wives exercising considerable influence during the life of chiefs.³

Magico-Religious Supports of Chieftaincy Authority

One of the significant supports to chieftaincy authority in the traditional system was the belief in the ability of the ntemi to exert magico-religious control over agriculture, rain, warfare, and the abatement of

1. Cory, The Ntemi, op. cit., pp. 5-9.

2. Historical section, "Kwimba District Book" (typewritten).

3. Kollmann, op. cit., p. 140.

epidemics and other calamities. The origins of such a belief are beyond our reconstruction. Perhaps it was the reputed superiority of the Bahima in intellect which led the indigenous Bantu to suspect that the Hima superiority was based upon supernatural powers. Again, it may have been the coincidence of good fortune in agriculture and the absence of epidemics occurring at the same time that a Muhima and his followers arrived on the local scene. Another possible explanation may lie in the fact that the indigenous Bantu as well as the Bahima looked to the spirits of respected ancestors to aid the living in attaining good fortune and averting disaster. It is not the custom to remember all ancestors, but only the more significant ones as far as a particular family or clan was concerned. Now, inasmuch as the Sukuma villages and chiefdoms were an agglomeration of clans, the only ancestors who could be regarded as impartial spirits and speak for the whole chiefdom were those of the royal dynasty, and particularly the spirits of departed chiefs. This may be evidenced concretely in the fact that the graves of the chiefs are remembered by the people and visited annually at the time of the planting season.¹ In the past, as today, the one who was most qualified to commune with the departed chiefs in behalf of the chiefdom was the reigning ntemi.

The superiority of the person of the chief was enforced by his isolation from the ordinary people and by the transformation of deference into an attitude of awe. The ordinary ~~Muhima~~ was bound to show deference to the chief in view of the fact that the chief was the dispenser of favors and justice, and the ntemi held the power of life and death in his hands. The chief was usually only accessible at his baraza. When he did go about the countryside, he was always accompanied by an impressive number of

1. I observed several such ceremonies in Nera and Buhungukira chiefdoms in Nov., 1953 and Jan., 1954.

banang'oma who established a barrier between the ntemi and the common people. This isolation may have been encouraged by the banang'oma on the grounds mentioned earlier. That is, inasmuch as the time of succession was a period of instability in the chieftom, efforts were made by the banang'oma to conceal from the people the condition of ntemi's health. Indeed, in the event of senility or of the chief being subject to a lingering illness, the banang'oma took the extraordinary step of hurrying the ntemi on his way by strangling him with a rope.¹ A new chief was elected before the people were informed of the death of the preceding chief.

Seclusion also presumably served the purpose of de-emphasizing the fact that the chief once lived as a commoner himself. Under the system of matrilineal succession, any of the sons or grandsons of the chief's sisters were eligible for the chieftaincy. Since the fathers of the eligible candidates were in most cases commoners, the young chief had been reared as a commoner as well.² His common origins might easily be soon forgotten were he secluded most of the time or ^{if he} made his public appearances primarily on occasions in which his supernatural powers were stressed.

The transfer of the supernatural powers of chieftainship from the late chief to his successor emphasized at the burial of the late chief and the new ntemi's investiture. Various symbolic acts emphasized the continuity of supernatural power. For example, half of the wooden stool of the late chief became the property of the new ntemi; while the other half of the stool was buried with his predecessor. The new stool of

1. Cory, The Ntemi, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

2. Cory, Sukuma Law and Custom, op. cit., p. 114.

authority which was presented to the young ntemi at his investiture would also be halved at his death. The head of the deceased ntemi was severed from the body, and he was buried with the skull of his predecessor. The skull of the late chief was dried and used as a bowl for lion fat with which the new chief would be anointed on ceremonial occasions.¹ This symbolized the perpetuation of the brain power of chieftaincy and the continuity of the dynasty. At the investiture ceremony the ntemi-elect is given the royal insignia of office, without which the enthronement would not have been regarded as valid by the people.² The enthronement ceremony was elaborate and the significance of each act was made known to the common people, many of whom were the former neighbors of the chief. During the ensuing weeks, there were ceremonies connected with the preparation of medicines for the new chief; and the occasion was taken by the leaders of the clans represented in the chieftom and other important personages to present themselves and their gifts of cattle and goats to the chief as a sign of their fealty.

Contingent and Repetitive Ceremonies

The Sukuma ceremonies which centered around the person of the chief were of two types: contingent and repetitive. The contingent ceremonies, of which the investiture in office was the first and most significant, included rites following the birth of twins, and the magico-religious ceremonies performed in connection with warfare and efforts to stave off or rid the chieftom of epidemics and other calamities which might have fallen upon the country. Of the contingent ceremonies, we can dismiss the "twin" ceremonies as being of least significance. The purpose of the ceremonies

1. Cory, The Ntemi, op. cit., pp. 6-7, 10-11.

2. Bangles, beads, a lion skin, a sacred bow and arrow, a fly-switch, sandals made of lion skin, and---most significant of all---2 bangles made from four small special shells and strung together. Cory, The Ntemi, op. cit., pp. 6-7, 10-11, 18-19.

was to cleanse the village of evil consequences which it was felt follow the birth of twins.¹

The problems of warfare in general were discussed previously. However, in this regard the ntemi had certain obligations of a magical character for ensuring success in battle. Special medicines were prepared for the warriors and sprinkled over their arms before going into battle. The medicine was prepared by a medicine man, (nfumu wa vulugu), who specialized in war medicine. Thus, the chief himself did not prepare the medicines; nor, as was noted in the discussion of his elite guard, did he actually go into battle. The campaign was conducted by a leader of warriors who received his instructions from the medicine as to precautions which must be observed. Thus, the chief played the role of an intercessor rather than an active participant in warfare. In case of failure in the campaign, blame could not be directly laid at the feet of the chief inasmuch as he was twice removed from the action: the medicine man and the leader of the campaign stood between him and the fact of defeat. To an extent even the medicine man had an escape since he could attribute failure to the fact that a wife of a warrior had broken the taboo on sexual intercourse during war-time.²

The third contingent ceremony had to do with the duty of the ntemi in protecting his people from disease, famine, and other calamities. The calamity may have come in the form of a crop blight, smallpox, dysentery, severe drought, or the persistence in the area of marauding lions and leopards.³ As in the case of warfare, the duties of the chief in the magico-

1. Ibid., pp. 29, 32, 55-59.

2. Ibid., pp. 64-68.

3. Shortly after the Europeans appeared in Usukuma, the area was visited by locusts. The Wasukuma assumed that the locusts were the dawa (the medicine or magic) of the Europeans; and like other evils had to be exercised. Kollmann, op. cit., p. 168.

religious ceremonies connected with calamities usually consisted primarily of securing a clever nfumu to prepare counter-measures. If the nfumu "succeeded", he was richly rewarded with produce and enjoyed a place of prestige in the eyes of the Wasukuma. Should he fail, however, he would vanish, and a new nfumu would be secured by the ntemi. In some cases, the chief took a more direct part in the activities. This was true when the medicine man decided that the severity of a famine or pestilence could only have been caused by a discontent predecessor of the ntemi. Since the departed chief was most accessible through his living heir, the ntemi had to make the necessary sacrifices. In some instances sacrifices of purification had to be made by the ntemi when his own indiscretions with regard to the taking of property or wives of the subjects or in adopting the Moslem faith were viewed as the "cause" of the visitation of evil.¹

The repetitive magico-religious ceremonies of chieftainship centered primarily around the agricultural cycle. The importance of agriculture and the vagaries of nature in Usukuma were noted in the section of this chapter dealing with the physical environment; accordingly the chief's role in the ceremonies connected with food production were highly significant. The Sukuma year began with the request on the part of the banangoma that the chief make his annual visit to a medicine man to get a weather forecast. At this time, too, all the fires of the chiefdom were extinguished and the new fire was distributed from the fire at the home of the chief. Also of symbolic character was the fact that the chief's head would be shaved, simulating thereby the preparation of the fields to receive the new seed.

1. Ibid., and Cory, The Ntemi, op. cit., pp. 60-63.

On receipt of the weather forecast the chief arranged for the distribution of seed and, in the company of his leading headmen, would hoe specially designated plots in the royal fields. The climax of the ceremonial period---which in most cases lasted a week---came on the third day. The ntemi, dressed in his royal robes, mounted the royal drums. There, in the presence of all his courtiers and several thousand excited commoners, the ntemi would take a mouthful of beer (brewed from mtama or millet) and spit it out over the crowd. After he had thus symbolically blessed the millet of the whole chiefdom by spitting in each of the cardinal directions, he would give the command: "Cultivate from dawn to dark." After several days of dancing, drinking, and general merriment, the people repaired to their fields for the serious task of planting the seed which had been distributed by the wanangwa at the behest of the chief.

As the agricultural season progressed, the activities of the chief and his rain-makers continued in efforts to ensure that there would not be either too much or too little rain. Finally, as the crops began to mature, the first fruits were brought to the chief from the royal fields he had tilled during the planting season. After he had eaten of these and spit or cast portions of the yield in four cardinal directions, the word went out that the chief had eaten. Thereafter the people of the chiefdom could proceed to their first meal of the new harvest.¹

In thus deriving one of the principal supports for chieftaincy authority from a putative ability to control the environment and the security of the chiefdom through propitiations to the spirits of departed chiefs, there was possibility of an ntemi acting in an irresponsible fashion. To the extent that his troops were successful in war, that the rains came in 1. The foregoing was recorded in the Historical Section, "Kwimba District Book." (typewritten).

the right quantity, and that the chiefdom was spared pestilence, he could go far in securing his own comfort without being accountable for his actions to the people, the economic age-groups, or even to the banang-'oma. During these times a "successful" ntemi could (and apparently did) acquire a hundred wives or more, live lavishly, and possess large herds of cattle.¹ The prosperity of the chiefdom was a sufficient sign to the ordinary peasant that the present ntemi was in good favor with his ancestor-chiefs; and to attack him or rebuke him for his excesses would be a crime of impiety.

What may have been a source of power in good times, however, was the source of weakness in bad times. Indeed, considering the vagaries of rain-fall in Usukuma and the recurrence of blight, locusts, and other calamities, the bad years almost equal the good ones. Thus, the ntemi, in basing his actions on sources of support which, objectively, were quite beyond his power to control, was placing himself in a tenuous position. There was apparently a limit to his ability to shift the onus of responsibility for crop failure or defeat in battle to his medicine men. During times of famine, he could not afford to be abusive. This is indicated by the fact that tribute payment was dispensed with during times of famine, and indeed, distributions were made from the grain stores of the chief.² Thus, generosity on the part of the chief lessened the effect of his "failure" in bringing the rains or averting the pestilence during the current season.

If the pestilence continued or a famine occurred several years in succession, the position of the incumbent ntemi became unstable indeed.

1. Kollmann, op. cit., p. 160.

2. Malcolm, op. cit., pp. 27-28.

There was no indication that the royal dynasty was at fault. Indeed it could not be assumed that a displeased ancestor of the ntemi desired that his own line should not be perpetuated in office. Rather, it was to be assumed that only the present holder of the position was out of favor with the ancestors and the sacrifices of the incumbent were inadequate to appease the ancestors. It might be possible for a chief to withstand the anger and discontent on the part of the populace; for, he could fall back on his elite guard and the support of his wanangwa and the banang'oma. However, when the latter turned against the ntemi in order to preserve the royal dynasty, the end of his reign was signalled. Thus, there is evidence that the chief of Utuwa (Dutwa) was driven out by the "people" because of his failure to bring rain.¹ Magu, Sima, Nera, and Usmao in Central Usukuma have also had a number of instances in which chiefs were deposed because of the recurrence of pestilence, the failure of the rains, or because the chief fell victim to epilepsy or some other infirmity. A remark such as the following, which is recorded in reference to chiefly succession in Usmao, is fairly prevalent; "Twiga bin Mbuki. Ruled one year only.....Crops failed and the people drove him away."²

In times of disaster it once more became convenient to recall the fact that the chief had been reared as a commoner. The actual steps in deposing the ntemi, however, were not undertaken lightly. The task was in some cases performed by the basumba batale,³ who would gather in front of

1. Kollmann, op. cit., p. 168.

2. Historical Section, "Kwimba District Book" (long-hand notation).

3. Cf. p. 62 infra.

the chief's enclosure and demand that he abdicate.¹ At other times it was the banang'oma who took upon themselves the task of protecting the royal dynasty from the injuries which the incumbent ntemi was inflicting upon it.

Although political functions in traditional Sukuma societies was performed primarily by chieftainship and the various clientship relations between the ntemi on the one hand, and the elite guard, the wanangwa, and the wealthy cattle-owners on the other; these were not the only institutions involved in the traditional authority system. There were other institutions which were manifestly familial or economic in character which were also instrumental in the performance of predominantly political functions. One of the foremost of these was the institution of kinship.

Kinship Groupings in Usukuma

The acceptance of a Muhima as an ntemi, having certain judicial and ministerial functions to perform, in no way constituted a Hobbesian contract, at least in the initial period.² The patrilineal and matrilineal kinship groupings have continued almost to this day to regulate such matters as inheritance of property, marriage and divorce, and certain other aspects of what we would call civil law. Other matters, such as cases of cattle theft, assault, or other items which involved two or more clans or the chiefdom as a whole were usually brought before the ntemi or his headmen. A case of assault within a clan was usually settled out of court inasmuch as the clan as a whole would be further weakened by the

1. Cory, The Ntemi, op. cit., p. 54.

2. The Bahima took over the title of ntemi, and retained the original batemi as village elders. Cory, The Ntemi, op. cit., p. 3.

fact that the ntemi or headmen would collect fees from both parties to the dispute and would take a share in the compensation.

The Wasukuma, even to this day, fail to appreciate the reasons for distinguishing between civil and criminal law. Any injury, whether it was murder or desertion by a wife, involved the payment of compensation to the injured individual or clan.¹ The action of an ntemi in maintaining control over disruptive forms of behavior was a secondary stage of action; the first stage involved the bringing of a claim by an offended party. It was not the "chiefdom versus X" but rather "Clan Y versus Clan X." Thus, the kinship groupings themselves must be included in an analysis of the Sukuma authority system.

Although practically all clans in Sukumaland today are patrilineal, in the past some of the royal and commoner clans of the southern Sukuma chiefdoms were matrilineal.² The clans have performed a significant part not only in the maintenance of internal order within the Sukuma chiefdoms, but in the function of providing their members with a certain minimum level of security. A young man about to marry could expect assistance from a clan member in getting his cattle assembled for the bride-wealth. In times of disaster the clan formed a unit for providing material and psychological comfort to the grieved party. Furthermore, the clans in the past as well as in the present have participated in the regulation of certain aspects of behavior taking place between members of separate chiefdoms. Clan membership was not restricted by chiefdom boundaries. The hinterland chiefdoms of Usukuma contain a strong intermixture of clan affiliations, and some of the larger clans have members

1. I witnessed several rather pathetic cases of widows and brothers of murdered men coming to collect their "compensation" after a verdict had been rendered. The District Officers found it difficult indeed to convince these people of the essential justice of the European legal system. Ngudu District, Oct. 1953-Feb., 1954.

2. Cory, Sukuma Law and Custom (1953), pp. 118, 153, regarding the present situation. Interviews revealed the material character of kinship groupings in several sectors of Sukumaland.

in chiefdoms of all five of the present districts of Sukumaland. This interlacing of clan residences has been characteristic of Usukuma for many generations.¹

In certain respects the interlaced character of clan residence and the spread of clan membership served to place clanship in conflict with parochial chieftainship. For example, the fact that clan membership was spread out among a number of Sukuma chiefdoms resulted in divided loyalties in times of war between two Sukuma chiefdoms. Moreover, if a particular chief became oppressive to his subjects, the members of a clan could, although with some difficulty, remove themselves from his area and be accepted by their fellow clanmen in another chiefdom. On the other hand, there were certain advantages which accrued to the chief because of this dispersed character of clan residence. Should the clan leaders of one clan begin to gain undue political power, the Sukuma chief was usually able to call upon the leaders of the other clans represented in his chiefdom in playing down the demands of the first clan. Moreover, since only the chiefs and the members of the royal clan were more or less permanent residents of the chiefdom area, they came to assume a proprietary interest in the chiefdom land which was not enjoyed by the transient clans. There is no land in Usukuma which is regarded as the exclusive domain of a particular clan. Land belongs to the chiefdom and it is occupied by individuals whose claim to land is based either on "usufructory right of occupancy" or upon the holding of a particular political office. A second factor, aside from permanency of residence, which gave the chief and the royal dynasty a proprietary right in the land, was the fact that disputes over shamba (field) boundaries, grazing rights, and other land questions

1. Cory, Tanganyika Notes and Records, No. 33, op. cit., p. 26.

were brought to the ntemi or his headmen for settlement. Through this judicial role in settling land disputes, the batemi gradually came to have the right of expulsion.¹ Alienating chiefdom land to another chiefdom, seem to have been relatively rare.² For, as noted above, individuals and clans could exercise a negative check over the arbitrary actions of an ntemi, through the act of withdrawal from the chiefdom. That this has been a common practice is evidenced in the Sukuma saying that "The subjects of the ntemi are his monkeys" (Banhu bali nhumbili ya batemi). This proverb thus compares the ordinary peasants to monkey, which shift from field to field without any particular attachment to one place.³ As we shall see subsequently if this form of withdrawal attained great proportions the chief would have had his sources of tribute and warriors diminished. Accordingly, this was a method of keeping the ntemi responsible in his actions.

The Economic Age-Grades in Usukuma

A further grouping which both a support to, and a restraint upon the exercise of, chieftaincy authority were the age-grade societies. For Sukumaland as a whole, each chiefdom had a parallel set of age-grade organizations based on the village or sub-village. Membership cut across clan ties and gave a degree of solidarity to the community which would otherwise be lacking. One researcher listed nine age-grade societies

1. Regarding the proprietary interests of the royal dynasty, cf. Hartley, "Land Tenure in Usukuma," Tanganyika Notes and Records, op. cit., pp. 16-24. Regarding right of occupancy, cf. Cory, Sukuma Law and Customs, op. cit., pp. 111-134.

2. Malcolm, op. cit., pp. 25-27.

3. Remarks of Hans Cory, Mwanza, Dec., 1953.

which he considers important. These include four for males (pre-puberty, young men of the working age group, men aged 40 to 50, and old men) and five for females (pre-puberty, young women, women who have been married and have children, and widows). All but the young girls' group and the middle aged adults' society are mutual assistance groups which provide aid to their members in times of disaster. The most significant group in the list, however, is the elika, which are the societies of young men of working age. Depending upon the size of a village, the number of elika may range from one to about eight. The leader of each society, the nsumba ntale, is elected by the group and acts as its leader in transactions between the society on the one hand and the chief or headman on the other. In the case of several basumba batale existing in one village, one of their number is chosen as the senior.¹

Although the duties of the basumba batale and the elika varied from area to area (and in some cases were non-existent), the primary purpose of the elika was to act as a work group for the cultivation of fields. In the case of members of their own group, work was done on a mutual assistance basis. In the case of aged and destitute persons, the work was done free. However, when work was performed for the wealthy persons of a village, the collective labor was done on a contract basis acceptable to the members of the organization, with payment being in meat and hides.

In some areas the tasks of the elika extended to assisting in the construction of new houses, the removals of abandoned dwellings, organizing of funerals, and transporting food stores for new immigrants to the village. In some areas they were of direct assistance to the headmen in dealing with new-comers to the area, by making inquiries concerning the history and character of an applicant for land. In Maswa District the basumba

1. Malcolm, op. cit., pp. 33-ff.

batale themselves have been delegated the power of actually allocating land. In the latter case, however, there was no doubt that in cases of dispute the headmen remained the primary authorities in this respect. Nevertheless, the elika played a significant part in the provision of present and future security for great portions of the Sukuma societies.

The elika also served the function aiding in the maintenance of internal order within the village and in the maintenance of relations with chiefdoms external to their own. Through the device of levying sanctions---which included at a minimum the exacting of fines and at the maximum the ostracism or even expulsion of one of their numbers---the elika was able to control the behavior of its membership. It could take action against members who failed to observe good manners, refused to assist in the communal efforts, repeatedly broke the social code, or practiced witchcraft. In the defense of the chiefdom in time of war, the elika served as the basis for the recruitment of warriors. Even to this day in the eastern reaches of Maswa, the members of the elika are recruited to repulse Masai cattle raids.¹

Despite the fact that the actions of the elika in many ways complemented those of the chief and headmen by relieving these officials of some of the burdens of administration and by contributing to the maintenance of social order, they were not organizations totally subordinate to the chief. The basumba batale were elected by the people of the villages directly, and it was not necessary to consult the wishes of the chief and headmen. Nor, indeed, could the basumba batale be removed from office by these latter officials. The independent character of the elika is manifest in the fact that there are numerous instances in which the members of an elika or the several elika of a village have objected to a particular work con-

1. Revington, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62; Malcolm, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-40; Hartley, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-24; and Cory, Sukuma Law and Custom, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

tract and refused to contribute their collective labor. In these instances, the basumba batale acted as spokesmen for their group in informing the chief or headmen that the contracts would not be engaged upon. In this capacity the nsumba ntale was similar to a trade union leader through whom the elika bargains collectively. There is evidence that the elika did not limit themselves to apathetic behavior in opposing the headmen and chiefs. In Western Shinyanga in the period immediately preceding the arrival of the German administration the basumba batale had achieved a position of power which was a direct threat to chieftaincy authority. It was only through the securing of muzzle-loading guns that the chiefs were able to suppress the basumba batale.¹

The Dance Societies of Sukumaland

A further set of social organizations in Usukuma were the dance societies. These have existed for a considerable time. Although these societies are secret, there is no evidence that they ever constituted a threat to the authority of the chief. They have not been limited in their activities to the performance of dancing and other forms of recreation, however. Like the elika, some of the dance constitute work groups and mutual assistance associations. The utilitarian efforts of some of the specialized dance groups have been highly appreciated by the Wasukuma. The members of one society, the Buyeye (or Buyeye), possess great knowledge about the poison of snakes and the antidote³. The members of the Banunguri specialize in the destruction of porcupine, which constitute a menace

1. Malcolm, op. cit., p. 16.

to root crops. Still a third society specializes in the social-
 task of killing leopards.¹

Thus, in the traditional authority system delineated here, the ntemi occupied a pivotal position in the performance of manifestly political functions. The supports for chieftaincy authority lay in economic factors, the primacy of the ntemi with regard to the use of force, and magico-religious performances on the part of the chief. Clientship, involving the elite guards and the headmen, was an institutional support for chieftaincy rule. His authority, however, was by no means absolute, for other units of the Sukuma social system, such as the kinship groupings and the age-grade groupings enjoyed a certain degree of independence from the control of the ntemi. Furthermore, these additional groupings played a significant part in the performance of certain political functions such as providing security for their members, maintaining order within the social system, and regulating the conduct of members of one chiefdom in relation to the members of a second chiefdom.

Although in good times, a chief might avoid his responsibilities to the people of the chiefdom by being "successful" in fulfilling his responsibilities to the ancestor-chiefs, he could rarely depend upon his magico-religious performances alone in maintaining himself in office. He had to acknowledge his responsibilities to the clan leaders and to individuals who might remove themselves from the chiefdom and thereby withdraw their support; to the elika, which might refuse to cooperate or even demand his abdication; and to the banang'oma, who had a proprietary stake in the office of ntemi.

1. Information obtained in interview with Chief Charles of Nera, Nov., 1953. Also R. de Z. Hall, "The Dance Societies of the Wasukuma," Tanganyika Notes and Records, No. 1 (March 1936), pp. 94-96; and Malcolm, op. cit., p. 41.

THE SETTING OF POLITICS IN UCHAGGA

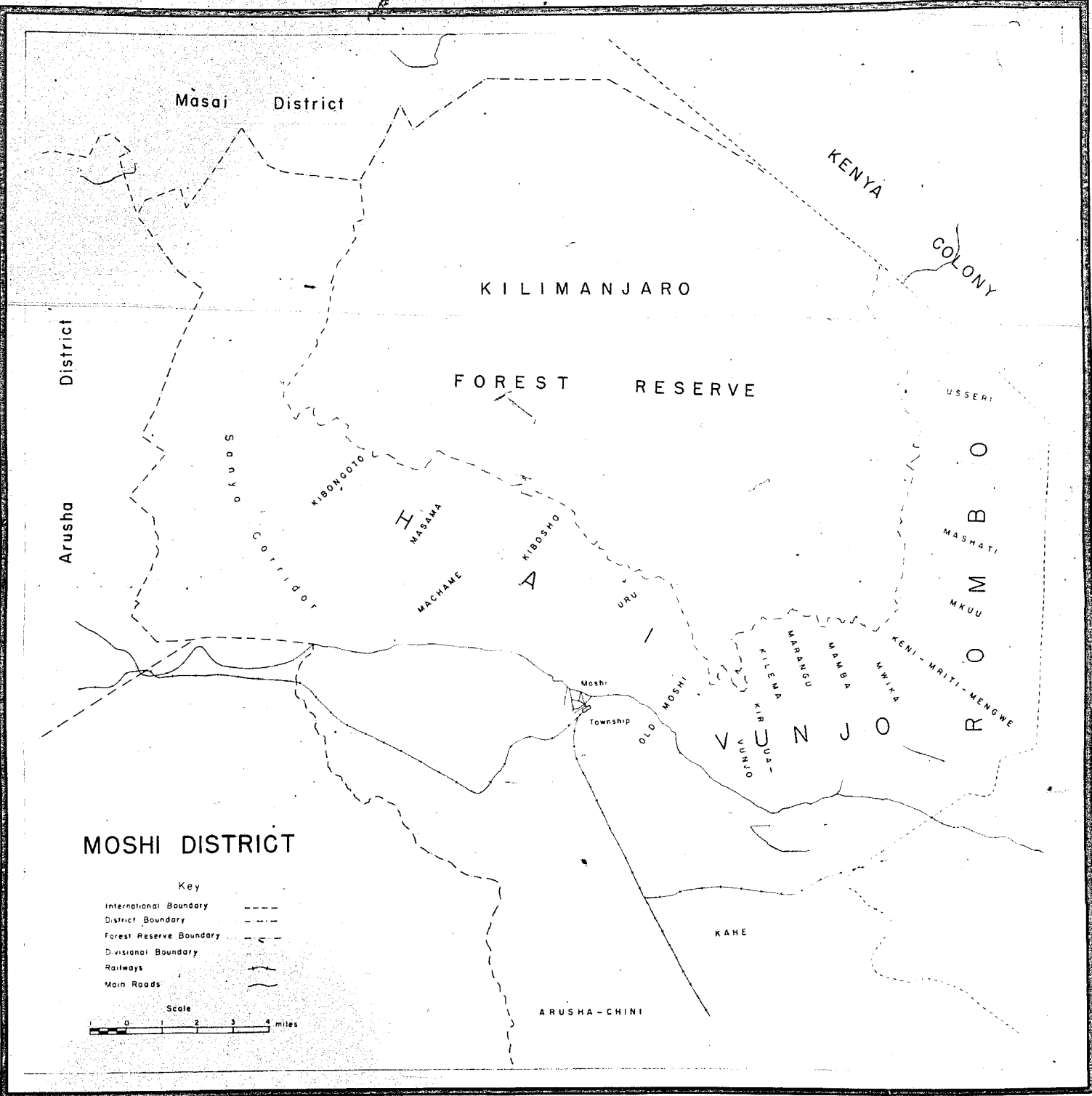
PART I

The Natural and Social Environment

In contrast to the rolling, almost monotonous, landscape of the Sukuma-land steppe, the homeland of the Wachaga presents us with one of the more scenic areas of East Africa. For, when the sky is clear, the famed snow-capped peaks of Kilimanjaro dominate the District. Even during the months of April and May when the heavy rains keep the peaks obscured from view, one can still appreciate the fact that the peculiar vegetation of the District, the brisk climate, the copious supply of rainfall, and the high productivity of cultivation are attributable to its presence. The melting snows from the volcano feed the fields of the Wachaga well into the dry season.

In very compact and continuous lines of settlement on the eastern, southern, and western slopes of this 19,000 foot colossus live over a quarter of a million persons. Most of them are Africans; and most of the Africans are Wachaga; however Wapare, Wakahe, Wairamba and Masai have also taken up residence in the low-lying areas to the south. Although a considerable portion of the European and Asian population of the Territory resides in the fertile and rather healthful slopes of the mountain, they are almost a handful in comparison to the African population. Here, the density of African settlement is the highest in the Territory.¹

Settlement on the mountain, even today, is predominantly rural although 1. 136 persons to the square mile. The population figures are: Wachaga, 230,268; other African, 34,012; European 745; and Asian, 2,669. Figures based on 1948 census. East African Statistical Dept., Quarterly Economic and Statistical Bulletin, No. 19 (March, 1953), p. 11; and Ibid., "East African Population of Tanganyika," Geographic and Tribal Studies (1950), pp. 48-49 (mimeographed).



Masai District

KENYA COLONY

KILIMANJARO

FOREST RESERVE

District

Arusha

OKUDD

KIBONGOTO

MASAMA

MACHAME

KIBOSHO

URU

USSERI

O

B

MASHATI

M

MKUU

O

R

Moshi

Township

OLD MOSHI

MARANGU

MAMBA

MWIKI

FILEMA

KIBUA

KENI-WRITI-MENGWE

VUNJO

MOSHI DISTRICT

Key

International Boundary

District Boundary

Forest Reserve Boundary

Divisional Boundary

Railways

Main Roads

Scale

0 1 2 3 4 miles

KAHÉ

ARUSHA-CHINI

minor settlements with a few African dukas, a market place, and an office of the local branch of the coffee cooperative have been established in recent years. One of the earliest European visitors to Kilimanjaro described the manner of settlement in the following terms:¹

There is no such thing as a congeries of habitations forming a town or village in our sense of the word. Each family lives apart with its own two or three houses for men, women and beasts, surrounded by its plantations and gardens, with plenty of room for expansion all round. In another sense, however, each separate state of Chaga may be looked upon as a huge straggling city, one vast capital of huts and gardens, equally inhabited and cultivated throughout its extent.

Although habitation is continuous from the base of the mountain upward, the deep gorges, down which the glacier-fed streams of Kilimanjaro cascade on their journey to the Pangani River and the Indian Ocean, proved an obstacle to settlement on the mountain branching out in lines parallel to the base of the volcano. It is probably this factor more than any other which prevented the unification of the Wachagga during their early history.² Most of the population of Uchagga lives at an altitude of between 4,000 and 5,000 feet above sea-level, although in recent years the crowding of land, coupled with the irrigation of new land and the elimination of attacks from their Masai neighbors has brought many Wachagga down into the low-lying areas to take up their cultivation.

The traditional dwelling of the Mchagga is still the predominant architectural feature on the mountain. Only a minority of Wachagga have built their homes of stone. The traditional hut is conical structure con-

1. H. H. Johnston, The Kilima-njaro Expedition (1886), pp. 250-251.

2. J. P. Moffett, "The Chagga Elect a Supreme Chief," The Geographical Magazine, Vol. 25 (Feb., 1953), p. 501.

3. Chagga Native Authority, Hai Division, "Report Ya Saba Kwa Mwaka Mzima," Jan-Dec. 1953, p. 1 (mimeographed in Swahili).

sisting of poles strapped together and interlaced with reeds and thatched with grass. Like many homes in Central Europe, the hut of the Wachagga is a home for both humans and animals. The lean, almost milkless zebu, which the Paramount Chief of the Wachagga described to me as "a kind of tribal ornament more than a form of economic wealth," have become near blind from seldom seeing the light of day. Although it is no longer necessary to hide one's cattle from marauding Masai, the practice of stall feeding is continued to this day; and it is typical to see the roads leading up from the base of the mountain filled with constant streams of women and children carrying loads of grass brought up from the lower areas. Cattle play an important part in the social life of the Wachagga, but it has not prevented them from being among the leading meat-eaters of East Africa. Furthermore, like their neighboring Masai, the Wachagga of yore enjoyed drinking a mixture of cow's milk and blood.¹

The mountain is one of the richest agricultural areas in the Territory, and the flora is one of the more varied in East Africa. If one starts a journey up the mountain from Himo, on the road between Moshi and Taveta, one passes through a number of vegetation types---ranging from the cactus and acacia of the flats to the heavy rain forest further up the mountain. This rain forest is a wet dense mass of evergreens, which is impenetrable off the established tracks. At times the mass of interwoven liana vines shut out the light as well as the heat of the tropical sun. At the base of the trees is a spongy carpeting of fungus which retains moisture until well into the dry season, releasing its water gradually to keep the streams flowing. The soils are not deep---indeed, in some places they go down only a meter or less until one strikes volcanic rock---but they are very fertile and well watered.

1. Johnston, op. cit., p. 441-442.

The agriculture of the Wachagga has been a marvel to all Europeans visiting the area. Johnston, New, and other early visitors took great joy in describing the elaborate system of furrows which the Wachagga had constructed to tap the mountain streams and irrigate the fields throughout the mountain. They knew the value of manuring with ashes and then used wooden hoes in their cultivation in contrast to the simple digging stick of other African tribes.¹ Eleusine, millet, and yams have long been in the Chagga fields; but the staple of the Chagga diet is the banana, which is either cooked, eaten fresh, or brewed into a beer. Traditionally, cultivation has been a communal affair with members of a work-group cultivating the vihamba of the members in rotation. Division of labor is by sexes. Men break the new land and cultivate it; women plant the seeds. Men irrigate the fields; women weed them. Later in the season the men harvest the crop, and the women cart it up to the homesteads.²

After the arrival of the Europeans maize, potatoes, and other crops began to make their appearance on the Mountain. The most striking innovation, however, came in about 1895 when the Roman Catholic missionaries at Kilema introduced a few coffee trees. Ten years later the Wachagga themselves planted coffee and by 1916 there were about 14,000 trees in Kilimanjaro owned by Chagga growers. The war interrupted further planting, but through the encouragement of Sir Charles Dundas during the early years of the British Administration, the Chagga coffee industry took on a new spurt of energy.³ By 1953, there were over 35,280 Wachagga involved in

1. Moffett, op. cit., p. 505; Johnston, op. cit., p. 440.

2. Chief T. L. M. Marsalle, "The Wachagga of Kilimanjaro," Tanganyika Notes and Records, No. 32 (Jan. 1952), p. 61.

3. R. J. M. Swynnerton and A. L. B. Bennett, All About "KNCU" Coffee (1948), p. 11.

the industry, with over 14,059,170 coffee trees growing on the shaded slopes of the mountain. Production in 1952-1953 exceeded 40,000 hundred-weight.¹

It is coffee which forms the basis of Chagga prosperity and makes it possible for them to lead the rest of the Territory in the development of new schools, dispensaries, and other facilities. It was estimated that the primary coffee producers made an average gross income of £50 during 1953-1954, with some individual incomes exceeding even £5,000.² This has enabled the Mchagga to pay for his schools and to purchase lorries, and other ways increase his standard of living. As in most areas of Tanganyika, British commercial enterprises are only gradually coming to realize the potentialities of the African consumer market. Thus, a great deal of Chagga earnings go into the purchase of bangles, beads, canned goods, and the inevitable "Tusker" beer.³

The Chagga have been among the most adaptable people of Tanganyika to the European money economy. This stems, no doubt, from the fact that the system of marketing on the mountain was a rather intricately worked out affair. Market days were held on a rotational basis among four markets in given areas. Although the method of exchange was barter, they at least had excess produce over and above their subsistence produce. In many cases the produce was given for the purchase of utensils, weapons,

1. Moshi Native Coffee Board, Annual Report for the Year 1952-1953, p. 27; and Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union, Twenty First Annual Report, 1952-1953, p. 22.

2. United Nations, Trusteeship Council, Report of the U.N. Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1954, Tanganyika, p. 110.

3. Chagga Native Authority, "Annual Report of the Mangi Mkuu," 1952, p. 25 (typewritten).

and ornaments made locally by iron-smiths. Basket-making had also achieved a high level of development in the pre-European period. Their early trade-consciousness was noted by Johnston and was recorded that the Wachagga often asked him to set up a duka in Uchagga, and that the people were in possession of Maria Theresa dollars and Indian rupees and knew the purpose of coins. Mandara (Rindi), the Chief of Moshi, even wanted Johnston to open a banking account for him at Zanzibar, and he had a distinct, though crude, idea of drawing checks.¹

Although the problem of disease in Uchagga has not had all of the ramifications common to the other areas of Tanganyika, malaria and bilharzia are endemic in Chagga low-lying areas. In general the highlands area is quite healthful, although a few tropical ailments, like tapeworm, as well as a number of temperate climate diseases like whooping cough, tuberculosis, and measles have been rather common during the recent years. Venereal disease, as in all areas of Tanganyika, is a gift of Arab and European civilization and is difficult to eradicate. The Chagga in the modern period have taken quite readily to European medicine, and there are eleven Native Authority dispensaries and five clinics spread around the mountain. The Mangi Mkuu (Paramount Chief) of the Wachagga attributes this mutually to the long years of Lutheran and Roman Catholic missionary activities on Kilimanjaro, and to the fact that Uchagga has never been a center for the activities of witch-doctors. There have been a number of herbalists, but most of the "doctors" came from Upare, Usukuma, and Unyamwezi.

1. Johnston, op. cit., pp. 439, 55.

It is in the field of education that the Wachagga really stand out. The earliest missionaries, like Rebmann and New, who visited Uchagga during the middle of the last century, were impressed by the receptivity of the Wachagga to European education. Mandara (Rindi) of Moshi and the chiefs of Kilema and Machame had expressed an interest in having their sons and the sons of the royal clan educated at mission schools. After their resistance to German rule in the 1890's, the Wachagga settled down with enthusiasm to learn the arts of Western Civilization.¹ The Wachagga in their traditional societies had had a form of education of the youth which was under the direction of the chiefs. This undoubtedly contributed to their receptivity. The modern system of education in Uchagga is in striking contrast to some of the areas of Usukuma, where only 12 per cent of the children of school-age are in primary school---and Sukumaland is much more advanced than many areas of Tanganyika. In Uchagga, over 90 per cent of the children are in Native Authority, Roman Catholic, and Lutheran primary schools. Furthermore, although the Territorial practice is to permit one child in five to advance from primary school (Standard I-IV) to middle school (Standards V-VIII), in Uchagga approximately one in three proceeds to the higher level.² Education is also taking place at the adult level with classes being held in the evenings.

In contrast with Usukuma, the physical features of the Chagga homeland appears to have presented the Wachagga with some initial advantages with respect to the factors of health and agricultural production. The appearance of markets in the pre-European period indicates that they were

1. Moffett, op. cit., p. 508.

2. Moshi District, "Minutes of the Moshi District Advisory Council," 1 June 1954, p. 19 (mimeographed).

able to rise fairly early above the level of a purely subsistence economy. Moreover, the existence of a favorable climate, plus the accidental introduction of the coffee tree to Kilimanjaro, has provided the Wachagga with the economic wherewithal to finance public projects in education, health, and natural resources, as well as to raise the personal standard of living. On the other hand, the factors of geography appear to have presented similar obstacles to political unity in Uchagga that the forests and the tsetse fly presented to the Bahima in their consolidation of rule in Usukuma.

The contrast between the Wachagga and the Wasukuma appears also with regard to personal characteristics. Actually, the level of technology with respect to the use of iron, the construction of irrigation furrows, and other crafts, and their organizational talents with respect to marketing did not place them relatively far ahead of the rest of the East African tribes. Nevertheless, the initial superiority appears to have been recognized and appreciated by the European missionaries who established schools in the area, and thus what was a relatively small advantage in education and training 60 or 70 years ago has "snow-balled" into a very great advantage indeed, leaving many other tribes of Tanganyika far behind. Moreover, the fact that the climate on Kilimanjaro was one which was healthful for Europeans, meant that the European settlers' effort in the Territory was concentrated to a certain extent in this area. Thus, although we cannot vouch for the merits of the example, the Wachagga did at least have the possibility of observing agricultural techniques of Europeans at first hand.

The Traditional Authority System in Uchagga

In Uchagga, as was true of Sukumaland, the political authority has been proliferated among a score of multiple chiefdoms. It is true that occasionally a warrior chief, like Horombo, was able by dint of his gifted oratory and personal courage to bring a number of these petty chiefdoms under his sway. However, neither Horombo, in the east, nor the Chiefs of Machame in the west were ever able to do more than bring a number of the petty chiefs of Uchagga into a vassal relationship with the conquering paramount chief.¹ On the death of the paramount, or as a result of internal dissension or defeat in war, the petty chiefdoms usually reverted to their relatively autonomous political status. It was not until the European period, and actually until the election in 1951 of the Mangi Mkuu Marealle II, that the Wachagga have experienced cohesion at the political level.

The designation of the Wachagga as a tribe has rested not on the bonds of political unity. Rather, the Chagga "tribe" is a configurational concept based partially on language, custom, ethnic origins, the spread of kinship ties, and the historical accident of co-residence. Actually, none of these is sufficient in itself to explain the feeling of unity among the Wachagga. Although the vernacular Kichagga is generally regarded as the language of the Wachagga, the difference between the pronunciation and the vocabulary with respect to even a basic word, like "water", makes it difficult for the people of Usseri in the east to understand the Wachagga from Kibongoto on the other side of the mountain. Only the people in the central area can understand the Kichagga of east

1. Eva Stuart-Watt, Africa's Dome of Mystery (1930), pp. 57 ff; and Rebmann's account of the Wachagga which appears in J. Lewis Krapf, Travels Researches, and Missionary Labors during an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa (1860), p. 201.

and west Kilimanjaro. A similar variation in the details of law and custom prevails between the people of Rombo and Hai Divisions.¹

The ethnic origins of the Wachagga also give one scant ground for speculating on the basis of Chagga unity, for the genealogies of members from the 400 odd clans represented on the mountain reveal that settlement of Uchagga is the result of incursions from Ukamba and Teita in the north-east, Usambara and Upare in the south-east, Kahe in the south, Arusha in the west, and from Masailand in a number of directions. Since this settlement took place an estimated 300 to 400 years ago, time and co-residence have undoubtedly been factors in blotting out the divergences in ethnic origins of the Wachagga.² Thus ethnic origins constituted a divisive factor rather than a unifying one.

Even co-residence cannot present us with a completely satisfactory answer to Chagga unity, for one of the factors leading to the emergence of multiple chieftainship was the fact that the deep gorges on Kilimanjaro prevented ease of communication between one side of the valley and the next. The original lines of settlement consisted of a number of finger-like projections running up from the base of the volcano. To make contact between two areas, it was often necessary to ascend the mountain to the place where the streams were narrow or to descend to where the streams broadened out, and could be forded.

Nor can the existence of common histories and legends be a satisfactory explanation. In the time of Rebmann and Johnston, the people on the mountain referred to themselves as Wakibosho, Wamotsi, or Wamarangu, and

1. Conversation with Divisional Chief Abdiel s/o Shangali, July, 1954.

2. Chief T. L. M. Marealle, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

only seldom by the collective name of Wachagga. The hostilities between the political subdivisions were sometimes extremely intense. One chief in Hai Division informed me that even today, he knows of an old man who, whenever he finds it necessary to leave Machame and cross Kibosho Chiefdom, carries a gourd with him for the purpose of collecting his urine and sputum lest the people of Kibosho attempt to put a curse upon him. In most areas the historical accounts of significance are those of the chiefdoms rather than of Uchagga as a whole. This parochialism has been enforced by the factors of geography, the recurrence of inter-chiefdom warfare, and by the fact that the chiefdom itself was looked upon as a sacred unit. Even if a Chagga chiefdom were defeated in battle, the chiefdom would not disappear as a separate entity. Often, the conqueror would place on the throne of the defeated area an effeminate vassal who would be amenable to the conqueror's wishes; however, just as frequently, the vanquished chief would be retained in a subordinate position.¹ Thus, in many ways, the chiefdom unit in Uchagga constituted a more meaningful unit than the tribe.

Despite the primary significance of the chiefdom as a social unit, it did not sharply circumscribe the range of social contacts which the Chagga peasant might make. There were a number of inter-chiefdom and inter-tribal relations which were complementary or supplementary to the obligations which one owed to the chiefdom; and in a number of instances these extra-chiefdom relationships were actually antagonistic to political loyalties based upon the parochial chiefdoms.

There were a number of external relationships which a chief might encourage or which he regarded as constituting no threat to his political control over his chiefdom. For example, in the market places "foreign"

1. Various examples of this appear in Stuart-Watt, *op. cit.*, pp. 55 ff; Krapf, *op. cit.*, p. 201; and Sir Charles Dundas, Kilimanjaro and Its People (1924), p. 50.

traders were assigned stalls, and in a number of cases these "foreigners" were able to gain considerable influence through their relationships with the chiefs.¹ Rebmann records that the Chief of Machame relied upon a Swahili sorcerer, and that a number of Dafeta, Ugono, and Wakahe were active in the market places.² In the years immediately preceding the German occupancy, the contacts which the chiefs of Uchagga maintained with the Arab slave traders, brought them a considerable fortune in rifles, powder, and bolts of cloth. Moreover, it appears that few chiefs were averse to receiving immigrants from other Chagga chiefdoms or of accord- ing asylum to Chagga fugitives, for this increased the number of warri- ors and contributors to the chieftaincy tribute. In Moshi Chiefdom, in order to encourage the immigration of foreigners, Chief Mindi (Mandara) forbade his people from referring to immigrants as foreigners; they were to be called "wamotsi" in the same manner as were the indigenes.³

Further, it was in the interest of all chiefs that minor misunderstand- ing not lead to major wars; and in the case of wars, that there be some matter for concluding them. To meet these needs, regular embassies were maintained between chiefdoms, and it was a custom of inter-tribal and inter-tribal custom that emissaries were to be respected. These emissaries

1. Bruno Gutmann, Das Recht der Dschagga (Chagga Law), Translated by A. M. Nagler (1953), p. 360.

2. Krapf, op. cit., p. 203.

3. Gutmann, op. cit., pp. 272, 360..

4. Stuart-Watt, op. cit., p. 28.

were given safe conduct during times of war. Other inter-chiefdom emissaries were involved in hearing cases which affected individuals from two chiefdoms. In the hearing of cases, the envoy thus represented his chief in behalf of the plaintiff, for cases were always heard in the court of the chief of the defendant.¹

There were some external relationships to which the chiefs were indifferent. For instance, almost every Mchagga had a friend or two in a neighboring chiefdom, and in times of peace there was no objection to visiting taking place between them. Even the Machili, or headmen of the chief, had friends in other chiefdoms. However, in the case of the latter officials, it was necessary that they report such visits to the chief lest they be suspected of plotting sedition.²

Finally, there were several categories of relationships which were antithetic to the idea of parochial chieftainship. For example, the system of cattle trusteeship (also common in Usukuma) was a very practical device for obviating the total loss of one's herd in the case of an epidemic or in case of a Masai raid. Nevertheless, it was resented by the chiefs since it removed cattle from the direct control of the mangi and was a method of concealing one's actual wealth from the chief's tribute collectors. Even more threatening to the political order based on local chiefdoms was the spread of kinship ties which overlapped chiefdom boundaries. Thus, a clan could exercise a veto over the actions of an abusive chief by withdrawing from his area and being accepted by their fellow clan-mates in an adjoining chiefdom.³ We can better appreciate

1. Guttman, op. cit., pp. 365-366; 453-456.

2. Guttman, op. cit., pp. 360-364.

3. Ibid., pp. 222, 360-364.

the antagonistic relationship between the chiefs and the clans, however, after we have described the manner in which chieftainship in Uchagga emerged.

We have dwelled at length on the parochial character of the traditional Chagga political organization operating within a framework of social relations which was much broader than the chiefdom and even broader than the Chagga "tribe," because this ambivalent attitude has had ramifications in the present-day developments in Uchagga. Having a more worldly view than many tribesmen in East Africa, the Wachagga have indicated a receptivity to contact with alien influences, whether European, Asian, or other-African. It has also permitted them to rise above the level of chiefdom parochialism when the conditions were ripe for such a development. However, once more Chagga parochialism has been brought to bear upon the political affairs of the Wachagga, and the leaders are torn between an attitude of "Sisi Wachagga au Sisi Tanganyika" ("We Chagga, or we citizens of Tanganyika"). Practically every gesture on the part of the Wachagga to engage in leading the other tribes of Tanganyika can be balanced off with an action that spells a desire to remain locally nationalistic.

The General Character and Origin of Chieftainship

Chieftainship in Uchagga also provides us with some basis for speculating about the factors contributing to the "successful" response which the Wachagga have been making to European education and technology; in contrast to a rather belated and almost "spoon-fed" response on the part of the Wasukuma. At the time of the European arrival on Kilimanjaro, the Chagga chiefs had reached a position of great power within their respective chiefdoms. Rebmann, the first European to have viewed the

snow-capped peaks of Kibo and Mawenzi, had this to say about the political system of the Wachagga:¹

...The Jaggas go to the...extreme; they exalt a single individual to such a political height above themselves, that they are almost slaves, just as their snow-crowned Kilimanjaro lifts its head so high above the clouds, that the other mountains around it are almost reduced to comparative insignificance.

Three quarters of a century later a European who was to play an instrumental role in the modern history of the Wachagga recorded:²

The Chagga Chief is well able to say "L'etat c'est moi," for he is the commanding figure of the state, around his person centres the body politic, and within limits the constitution of his country is as he pleases to make it.

Tradition and his own choice may restrain this despotic power, but there is nothing to compel a Chief to set any bounds to his own will or to share his authority with anyone. None has the right to question his acts. . . . He is both Sovereign and Judge, to him the people look for guidance in personal and public affairs, for security of the land, for the lead in agricultural industry, for distribution of water and land, and in some respects he is their high priest. His ancestors are the only spirits to whom all his subjects are subservient and to whom public sacrifice is offered; even in the spirit land they rule and must be served by the subject spirits.

The legends remembered by people in scattered areas on the mountain would seem to indicate that chieftainship in Wachagga had not always been the powerful institution which the early European explored encountered. Indeed, to a certain extent, the emergence of chieftainship in Wachagga from a heterogeneous grouping of clans drawn primarily from the Wakamba, Masai, and the Wateita---none of which witnessed the flowering of chief-

1. Krapf, op. cit., p. 96.

2. Sir Charles Dundas, op. cit., p. 278.

tainship in their home countries until the days of the Europeans---is surprising.¹

It appears that one of the earliest raison d'etre of chieftainship was that an impartial arbiter was required for the settlement of disputes arising between members of the various clans. These clans were almost uniformly patrilineal, totemic, exogamous clans (although chiefs could themselves violate the rule on exogamy in order to increase the possibility of maintaining desirable physical attributes). These clans segmented into houses and eventually formed new clans when the rules of endogamy became too difficult to trace or when the clan became too large for a common gathering in one place.² A number of these clans were specialized, with their members providing the iron-smiths in some areas, the counsellors to the chiefs in other areas.³

In the period before the emergence of chiefs, the clans held the power of life and death over their own members. In relations with members of other clans, an Mchagga acted not as an individual but as the representative of a clan. The clan would support him in his debt claims against a member of another clan; and would protect him against abuses from his debtors. In cases of the member of one clan murdering the member of a second clan, the law of talion, or blood vengeance, went into operation; however, this was not always the case. In some instances compensation.

1. Dundas regards 113 clans as being of Kamba origin; 100 of Taita; 101 of Masai; 31 of Pare; and 46 of Kahe, Arusha, Kaufi, and Dorobo origin. Ibid., p. 44.

2. Gutmann, op. cit., pp. 5, 22, 59.

3. Chief T. L. M. Marealle, op. cit., p. 59.

or even really offenses against individuals; they were offenses against clans. Accordingly, the mangi as magistrate was obliged to listen to the leaders of the clans with respect to points of law; and in the initial period fines were not paid to the chiefdom upon the conviction of a criminal, but rather compensation went to the aggrieved individual or his clan-mates.

Increasingly, it is true, the chiefs came to share in the compensation, and thus the idea of an offense against the sovereign was introduced.

The emergence of the chief as president of the clan council, however, did not signal the demise of the clans. The clan organization, and especially its leader, or master of ceremonies, was instrumental in performing a number of manifestly political functions. The master of ceremony was one who acted as the legal trustee for the clan in court cases, as well as serving in the capacity of director of social services for the orphans, the aged, and the indigent within the clan ranks. He also aided in the maintenance of public order by expelling troublesome members from the clan when their actions resulted in an undue drain upon the clan resources. By and large, the position of clan master of ceremonies was respected by wanangi even in the period of more nearly autocratic rule.¹

The independent character of the clans was recognized in a number of other ways. Some land, which had been compactly settled by a single clan was viewed as clan land, and one could not settle on it without the permission of the clan elders. Moreover, the fact that the settlement of a clan within a chiefdom was compact, the family unit was able to present a physically united front against the extreme abuses of a chief. Certain other property rights, such as those dealing with the smaller furrows built on clan initiative, and those dealing with beehive areas,

1. Gutmann, op. cit., pp. 11-17, 630-632.

were left under the clan jurisdiction rather than being allocated to the chief or ruling age-grade. The independent character of these essentially familial groupings was in some cases dramatically manifest. For example, the Kimambo clan left Mbokomo (a former chiefdom) en masse because the chief had killed a clansmate without affording him a trial.¹

The duties inherent in the first magistracy, however, were bound to lead to an increase in the powers of the mangi in relation to the clans. Clans were viewed as acting in selfish interests; the chief was above the common fray. Actually, the mechanics of the court system accentuated his impartial role. While a case was being presented and argued on the lawn of justice by the elders, and a decision being rendered by the age-grade which was in the ascendancy at that time, the chief himself was not present. He only made his appearance when the verdict had been reached. It then was incumbent upon the chief to decide upon the compensation and the punishment. In this capacity he was usually advised by the elders, although the actual decision was regarded as his. He was able to demonstrate his wisdom by rendering a verdict which would give the victor his due and yet not deprive the loser of everything. Thus, from the standpoint of both parties, the institution of the magistracy was a preserver of property. Under the system of blood vengeance, the loser was subject to impoverishment, and for the winner, the victory was often a bloody one. The system of blood vengeance, however, did not always die easily; nor, did the system of private blood alliances. However, since both of these systems of private justice deprived the chief of his appropriate court fees and established a system of justice which was in opposition to his role as first magistrate, he did his best to eliminate such recourses to private justice. Occasionally, it was necessary for

1. Ibid., pp. 222, 370 ff.

a weak chief to bide his time in monopolizing the administration of justice. For example, he might wait until the parties involved in a blood alliance appeared before the chief with regard to other matters (often an "incident" planned by one of the chief's henchmen), and then present his bill.¹

As the process of litigation increased, so also did the wealth of the chief through the levying of court fees. Initially, these consisted of grain, iron, hoes, and produce. Later as the raids into Masai territory increased, cattle was demanded by the chiefs.² Although the Chiefs did possess the powers of banishment, enslavement, and execution for various crimes such as treason or witchcraft; the authority was seldom abused, for this was "killing the goose that laid the golden egg."³

The Chief as Captain-General of His Chiefdom

It is the opinion of Gutmann that true chieftainship in Uchagga only appeared at the stage when the chief elevated himself from the position as President of the Clan Council to that of political Captain-general of the country.⁴ It was at this stage that chiefdom loyalties came to transcend loyalties to the patrilineal clans. While he was serving merely as a judge, he was resolving differences within the chiefdom without actually disturbing the arrangement of these groupings. As long as the clans

1. Ibid., pp. 18, 224, 235, 278, 426, 431, 483, 530-535, 635.

2. Guttmann, op. cit., pp. 547-548.

3. Dundas, op. cit., p. 288.

4. Op. Cit., p. 204.

maintained their independent character, conflict could never be reduced to the level of the individual, but rather necessarily involved conflict between two great portions of a chiefdom. Thus, the scope of internal disruption was intensified. The position of the chief as spokesman for the whole tribe during warfare, however, gave him the opportunity of serving as an integrater. When the war-cry was raised, the chief's compound provided a common area for assembly.¹ In many cases chiefs, like Mandara (Rindi) and Horombo, themselves led their troops into battle and by their personal heroism further enhanced their positions.²

The elimination of the antithetic attitudes of clanship, however, did not occur with ease in all chiefdoms. Dundas was informed that if two warriors in battle realized that they were fellow clansmen, they would cease fighting and take on other combatants.³ Moreover, the experience of Mandara was that the ordinary citizen felt no compunction about deserting a defeated chief; the cultivator and his fellow clansmen were only interested in a chief who could successfully defend them, their fields, and their cattle. Thus, Mandara of Moshi introduced the system of a private army, consisting of young boys he had purchased as slaves and trained in his service. Since he was able to promise these young warriors the lion share of the booty and the best banana groves, and to turn over to them the captive women according to their needs, a client relationship emerged between the chief and his serfs. Since they had no clan loyalties

1. Otto Raun, Chaga Childhood (1940), p. 341.

2. Stuart-Watt, op. cit., p. 59.

3. Op. cit., p. 49.

within the chiefdom, they could be employed both in external warfare and in exercising control over the recalcitrant subjects of the chief.¹

The existence of a private army further enhanced the ability of the chief to control the distribution of booty. Actually, the process whereby booty had been transformed from a voluntary gift from the warriors to the chief to a right demanded by the chief, had been developing prior to this. Nevertheless, the manner in which Mandara organized his troops into warriors, who concentrated on killing the enemy, and looters, who guarded the booty, further secured the control by the chief. The distribution of women and property at this stage became a gift from the chief.²

The position of the chief as captain-general also enabled him to establish alliances with neighboring chiefdoms. This not only meant that he could carry out his raids and wars with a greater surety of success, but, as the example of Chief Klavi of Mamba demonstrated, he could use the force of his allies in keeping his own subjects pliable. Other Chiefs, like Marealle I, attained the chieftaincy by being placed on their thrones by the chiefs of other areas.³ Gradually, the chief came to control the use of force in all forms within his chiefdom; and one like Mandara could decree that no one was to carry daggers or other weapons except when in the service of the chiefs.

1. Johnston, op. cit., p. 437.

2. Gutmann, op. cit., p. 485.

3. Gutmann, Ibid., p. 487; and Stuart-Watt, op. cit., p. 64 ff.

The Chief and the Control of Wealth

The fees which the chief collected as the first magistrate of his realm, and the share in the booty which he claimed gave him a very important position with regard to the control of wealth in his chiefdom. As his importance increased, so did his wealth, as individuals made contributions to the chief to secure special privileges or to let the chief know that his cultivators were industrious. The clans as well, mindful of the fact that the chief might be rendering a court decision with respect to a fellow clansman, would send the chief a portion of the beer brewed for a wedding or for other ceremonial and festive occasions. Other individuals contributed cattle to the chief, and in return were placed in a client relationship with the mangi and were given special privilege with regard to tending the herds of the chief.

Gradually, a regular system of taxation evolved. This might, for example, consist of a special tax, such as those announced by a chief upon his retirement. The old chief would announce: "Tomorrow you shall have a new chief. You do not want an emaciated chief; therefore, what will you give him?" The warriors would then present a large number of cows to the chief (and it did not pay to be penurious at a time like that), and the new chief would announce: "I do not want emaciated warriors." He would then distribute the cattle to his warriors to be tended for him. In this way, the chiefs of some areas like Moshi came to control all the livestock of the chiefdom.¹ On other occasions special taxes might be levied if the chief desired to buy an elephant tusk to exchange for guns, powder, iron, and cotton items needed for his warriors.

1. Gutmann, op. cit., pp. 341-351; and Johnston, op. cit., p. 155.

In addition to tribute in produce, each man in the chiefdom was required to devote 10 to 20 days a year in the service of his chiefdom. For women the service amounted to 6 to 10 days. During these periods work was performed in digging trenches, erecting watch towers and other defense works, and constructing large furrows to tap the waters of the Kilimanjaro's rivers. Furthermore, since it was expected that a chief would have to feed his workers, other communal labor projects involved the filling of fields for the aleusine to be used in preparing the beer. Raum feels this communal labor effort not only strengthened the position of the chief directly, but it also taught the people to work together without regard to their clan origins. Communal labor was an education in civic duties. Moreover, the district organization of the labor projects under the wachili or headmen provided the chiefdom with leadership and series of local organizations which could be of value in times of war.¹

Control by the Chief over the Youth and the Age-Grade System

Although it appears to be a much latter development, the controls which the Chagga chiefs came to exercise over the Chagga youth and the age-grade system were probably the most significant development insofar as the establishment of a continuous attitude of loyalty to the chieftaincy was concerned. By the time the first European arrived on the Chagga scene, the training of youth appears to have been rather effectively governed by the chiefs. As Rebmann wrote:²

The greatest delight of the mangi lies in the birth of a warrior. As soon as they can do without a mother's care, all male children are compelled to live together, to be trained early to serve the king as guards, and their country as engineers in the construction of watercourses and in keeping up the trenches of defense...

1. Raum, op. cit., p. 347.

2. Krapf, op. cit., pp. 196-197.

Raum is of the opinion that the chief pre-empted the right to control the education of the youth through his position as prime arbiter in cases of infanticide, and through his distribution of the children who were captured in raids on neighboring chiefdoms.¹ Gradually this right was extended to include the children of all families in the chiefdom, and he could demand that a large family surrender one of its younger sons to serve him at court and to be educated in military tactics.²

The age-grade system in Uchagga was a much more significant and intricately constructed system than that which obtained in Usukuma, and resembles in certain respects the system of the Masai. There were six age-grades, two for each generation, consisting in each case of all the males who passed through their circumcision ceremony at the same time.³

Thus, there were:

{Aa	The elders, who were wise in the law and advised the chief on foreign policy;
Ab	
{Ba	The warrior adults and executives of the chiefdom;
Bb	
{Ca	Recently married youths; and Young men, doing their wooing.
Cb	

The system cut across kinship ties and bound together individuals on the criterion of age. Viewed as a whole, the age-grade system resembled the relationships obtaining within a single clan. Obedience and respect is demanded from the younger age-groups, while leadership and liberality

1. Raum, op. cit.; pp. 90, 93, 343.

2. Gutmann, op. cit., pp. 348-350, 131.

3. There were also circumcision rites for females, but they bear little relevance to the authority system in Uchagga.

comes from the older. Fraternal coordination exists between the group immediately preceding and the group immediately following (for example, Bb enjoys a fraternal relationship with Ba and Ca; on the other hand, Aa exercises a parental relationship to Ba and Bb.¹

The most significant of the age-grades was that of the upper-warrior grade. This was the grade which assembled on the lawn of justice to hear the court cases. They watched over the chief to see that no undue influences were exerted on him which would be detrimental to the chieftom: they were the leaders in battle. And finally, the land of the chieftom was theoretically theirs rather than the property of the chief. Thus, the leadership of the chieftom lay in the hands of those who were in their full vigour, and they did not relinquish their position of leadership until the younger warriors had proved themselves to be capable of the responsibilities or until the elder warriors were themselves defeated in battle. The elder generation constituted a reserve of wisdom upon which the warriors and the chief could fall back upon for advice. They were especially versed in cautioning the chief with regard to the presentation of his plans to the assembly of warriors. Moreover, in the training of the young heir to the chieftaincy, their advice was eagerly sought by the chief.²

Despite the fact that the warriors held significant posts with regard to the judicial, military, and administrative conduct of the chieftom, there appears to be little doubt in most instances, control rested with the chief. Furthermore, the effect of the operation of the age-grade

1. Gutmann, op. cit., pp. 284-288.

2. Gutmann, "The African Standpoint," Africa, Vol. 8 (Jan. 1935), p. 12.

system was to strengthen the hand of the chief in his relation to the clans. The system capitalized upon the natural antagonism between a parent and a child. The child was released early from his parent's control and placed in a group, the members of which were competing for the favor of the chief. The members of the lower grade as units were competing with the next higher groups to excel in bravery. All of the competition accrued to the strengthening of the chieftainship. To ensure that the sons of the chief would be protected and would have warriors to support them in their rule, a chief would bind an age-group to a royal son.¹

Recruitment for the Chieftaincy

Succession to the chieftaincy in all cases followed patrilineal lines. Since the spirits of the deceased chiefs were the only ones who were qualified to act in behalf of the whole chiefdom, it was presumed that the sacrifices could normally be best made by the deceased chief's rightful heir. To a certain extent this elevated the chieftaincy to a religious post, but in Uchagga the elaborate ceremonies which were evident in connection with the magico-religious functions of the Sukuma chiefs seem not to have developed. There, some categories of crimes which came to be regarded as not merely as offenses against the chief, but acts of impiety. For example, this attitude was extended to cases dealing with the theft of cattle which had been blessed by the chief, or with the killing of certain sacred animals, like the colobus monkeys, whose death endangered the life of the chief.²

1. Raum, op. cit., p. 347.

2. Raum, op. cit., p. 373.

According to Gutmann, the succession in most cases went to the first born son by the chief's senior wife, even if the individual was chronologically junior to his brothers. This position, however, merely established a claim, not a right; however, it was a claim which was given high priority inasmuch as he was the leader of his own clan and the first in line with regard to personal inheritance. Accordingly if the second son were chosen, he would not be superior in all respects to his elder brother. In the actual selection, the wishes of the dying chief and of the elders were considered, and the warriors could themselves raise objections based on weighty reasons. A claimant could be rejected because he lacked certain physical characteristics such as great height and a light-skin. Moreover, a strong chief was desired inasmuch as a weak and shortsighted mangi could not protect the property of his subjects or support their claims against individuals in other chiefdoms. Apparently, the Wachaga were not averse to permitting women to ascend to the chieftaincy, although in most cases the role of queen-mother was the position from which women usually exercised influence if not actual power. The mother and the grandmother of the chief were normally included in his council of state.¹

If the eldest son was found to be objectionable, the succession passed to the second son.² Inheritance and privilege only went to the first and

1. Chief Marealle, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61; Stuart-Watt *op. cit.*, pp. 31-33; Raum, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

2. According to Johnston, who received his information from the mother of Marealle I, it was the second or third sons who were considered first in succession, *op. cit.*, p. 254. On the other hand, I was informed by the Divisional Chief of Hai that succession went to the first son, and skipped to the third son, if the first was objectionable. The second son is considered to be of the clan of the mother. Hai Division, July 1954.

second born; all other sons receive the cattle of their mothers' homesteads, and they had to obey the commands of the chief like any ordinary subject. Frequently the chiefs treated them with greater cruelty inasmuch as they constituted a dynastic threat to him in the case of failure. Since they were claimants to the chieftaincy, it would have been dangerous to have followed the Sukuma practice in the matrilineal clans of appointing one's brothers as headmen.¹

The Education for Rulership and Subjectship

The Wachagga were very careful about the education of both the chiefs and the people with regard to the rights and duties of rulership and subjectship. Actually, their process of education was developed to a considerable extent before the arrival of the missionaries, and perhaps this accounts for the receptivity of the Wachagga to European education. The young heir to the chieftaincy was not only given general instruction by the elders of the chiefdom, but he was assigned two tutors who accompanied him on his daily walks through the chiefdom and gave him specific instructions regarding his social manners, his obligations to the poor, the history of his chiefdom, the intrigues to be wary of in foreign affairs, and the manner of arriving at a just solution in court cases.

This had its counterpart in the education of the ordinary citizens regarding the duties of subjectship. Although military education at the court of the chief and the lessons given at the time of the circumcision rites constituted a formalized approach to education in this regard, for the most part education was an informal process which was imbibed through daily experience. At an early age a child heard the name of the chief invoked in the same manner as which an American parent threatens to call

1. Gutmann, Das Recht der Dschagga, op. cit., pp. 429, 456 ff.

the "boyman." He was placed on a par with the sacred ancestors. As a child accompanied his father on walks, he might pass the chief and be impressed by the size of his retinue. He noticed the manner in which the people, young and old alike, arose to greet the chief in honorific terms. Later the child, especially in Marangu, is taught the words to the Chaga "national anthem" ("We have a Mangi and whoso breaks his word wil die; wil die the death..."). Later the games of the children are organized around role-playing with one of the stronger lads being elected the "mangi" and others playing the part of young warriors and village elders. Finally, the child is accepted for training at the court of the chief and his education begins in earnest. Throughout the rest of his life, these precepts regarding the lofty position of the mangi remain with him.¹

Conclusions

In analyzing the character of chieftainship in Uchagga in relation to that which obtained in Usukuma, we find that there are a number of points of similarity. In both areas political authority was proliferated among a series of multiple chiefdoms within a tribal grouping. There were certain social, linguistic, and historical bases which enable one to classify both peoples as "tribes;" however, the basis for this configurational concept did not include the centralization of political authority in a common unit. There were a number of cases in Uchagga in which chieftainship emerged from the position of clan leadership, however, we find that the origin of chieftainship in many cases resembled that which occurred in Usukuma. That is, "strangers" were accepted as impartial arbiters in the settlement of inter-clan disputes. In both areas the roles the chiefs expanded from the strictly magisterial one to include roles in connection

1. Raum, op. cit., pp. 339-340, 372-373; Stuart-Hatt, op. cit., p. 26.

with warfare, the control and distribution of wealth, and the performance of religious rites in behalf of the chiefdom. In the performance of these roles, kinship and clientship relations with various individuals and groups within the chiefdom constituted supports for chieftaincy authority. Although in each instance, chieftainship, based on hereditary succession, was the most important institution insofar as the performance of manifestly political functions was concerned, other social and economic institutions were instrumental in the provision of certain levels of security to the members of the chiefdoms, in the regulation of disruptive forms of behavior, and in the maintenance of extra-chiefdom relations.

By way of contrast, however, chieftainship in Uchagga appeared to be a more dominant institution for the regulation of conduct than was true of chieftainship in Usukuma. In part this may be attributed to the fact that there had been chiefs in Uchagga for almost 100 to 200 years prior to the appearance of the Bahima strangers south of Lake Victoria. It may also be attributed to the fact that Chagga chiefs appear to have been more successful in bringing ancillary and even potentially antagonistic social and economic groupings under their control. True, clan organization in Uchagga constituted a greater threat to the supremacy of chiefs than the clan organization did in Usukuma. However, the Chagga chiefs wedded the youth and the age-grade system to the institution of chieftainship, creating thereby a system of chieftaincy loyalties which fractured clan loyalties. In Usukuma, the age-grades remained independent from the chief and his headmen, and in certain cases were responsible for the deposition of chiefs.

The type of succession which was predominant in Usukuma also led to a degree of instability at the time of the succession and in the continuance of a chief in office. That is, under the form of matrilineal succession

obtaining in Usukuma the range of choice was almost too great, and the claimants could continue their opposition long after the election through their position as members of the Banang'oma (Councillors of State). In Uchagga the range of choice was usually narrowed to the very senior sons of the senior wife of the chief. The brothers of the new mangi were quickly relegated to the ranks of the commoners.

The contrasting position of the chiefs with respect to two roles was also significant. In Uchagga, the chief was in many cases a military leader who took personal command of his troops in time of war. His personal courage strengthened his control over the clans and enabled him to dictate the distribution of booty. In Usukuma the chief was a mediator between the spirits of the chiefdom ancestors and the commander of the chief's troops. He could not use this role as a position of strength in struggles with the clans, and, moreover, were his forces defeated in battle, he might be regarded as being out of favor with the chiefdom ancestors and be deposed.

The second role, namely that connected with the performance of magico-religious rites in connection with warfare, disease, famine, and the like, also presents some contrasts. The position of the Chagga chief seemed less significant in this respect; the performance of rites was much less elaborate. This was to be a source of strength when the new religions of the West and Islam entered the Chagga scene. For the Chagga chiefs and their subjects could embrace the new religions without seriously disturbing the power position of the chiefs. Monotheism was not a novel idea to the Wachagga. Their religious belief system involved the idea of the existence of one god, Ruwa. The Usukuma, on the other hand, found that the new religions seriously undermined the power position of the chief inasmuch as so much of his strength lay in the performance of the

magico-religious rites.

There is no intention to give the impression that Chagga chiefs were able to abuse their people with impunity. The process of education for chieftainship and subjectship inculcated a certain obligation towards mutual respect. Only the strongest of the military leaders could afford to ignore the advice of the elders or of the age-grade which sat on the lawn of justice. Moreover, the possibility of clan withdrawal was a deterrent to potentially abusive chiefs, since they depended very much on the clans to provide them with warriors and taxpayers. Nevertheless, the general impression is that Chagga chiefs were less hedged in by popular restrictions on their ability to exercise power.

CHAPTER IV

THE "SUPERIOR" COMPONENT: THE GERMAN PERIOD

For many of the Coastal tribes of Tanganyika, political dependency is no new thing: the Pax Britannica of the Twentieth Century is but the latest of a series of alien dominations which began on the Indian Ocean littoral as early as the Eighth Century, A. D. The monsoon winds, which annually bring the life-giving rains to the East African mainland, have also brought with them the stately Arab and Persian dhows. The masters of these ships came to the Tanganyika and Kenya coast in search of converts to Islam, slaves for the Arabian aristocracy, and ivory and other exotic commodities. When the winds turned and the monsoon once more blew back upon the Arabian Peninsula and India, the dhow captains returned with their cargoes, leaving small settlements behind as holding operations.¹ This trade had been going on for eight centuries before Vasco da Gama and the Portuguese arrived and established forts at Kilwa, Mombasa, and other places along the Coast. They, in turn, gave up their sphere of interest in this area when the Moslem swords of the Arabs of Oman, Muscat, and Zanzibar proved too powerful for them. It was the Zanzibari whom the European missionaries found in effective control of the littoral when they began their labors there during the Nineteenth Century. It was the Zanzibari also whom the Germans had either to fight or buy out in order to gain control of the coastal strip during the European division of the African continent, which took place in the closing days of the century.²

1. G. A. Wainwright, "Early Foreign Trade in East Africa," Man, Vol. 48 (1947), pp. 143-148.

2. G. F. Sayers, ed., The Handbook of Tanganyika, (1930) pp. 45-50.

Penetration into the interior of Tanganyika from the Coast did not begin until the early part of the Nineteenth Century. At that time the quest for slaves and ivory brought Arab caravans as far west as Lake Tanganyika and even into the Belgian Congo. To make the Arab routes secure, from about 1830 onward the tribes along the way were gradually brought under the political control of the Sultan of Zanzibar. Although it is true that the inland tribes escaped extra-African domination until the arrival of the Arab caravans, a number of tribes of the interior had been subjected to domination by other African Tribes. These African invaders conquered extensive areas. In some cases members of one ethnic group migrated in waves and were accepted as leaders by the local populations. Thus, the Nilo-Hamitic sweep into the Great Lakes region of Uganda, Tanganyika, and Ruanda-Urundi two or three centuries ago resulted in this group being established as a ruling class over their predominantly Bantu subjects. The Ngoni wanderings of the early and middle Nineteenth Century are a later example---this time coming from the south---of African migration resulting in the forcible subordination of other African tribes.

While these invasions, both African and extra-African, have had noticeable effect on the development of what we refer to as the traditional authority system in the three tribal units being studied; it is not these to which we are referring when we speak of the "superior" component in the situation of political dependency obtaining in Tanganyika. Rather, we are limiting our discussion to the periods of European control. The first period to be analyzed is the German period, which ran from approximately 1884 to 1916; the second is the British period which began with the ouster of German troops from East Africa in 1916-1917 and has continued until the present day with Tanganyika being administered as a

League of Nations Mandate and presently as a United Nations Trust Territory.

The Establishment of German Rule

The modern period of European political control over the area presently known as Tanganyika was initiated in 1884 by Dr. Karl Peters and his companions of the Society for German Colonization. A most fascinating story of intrigue and bravado is revealed in the exploits whereby Peters, Dr. Juhlke, Count Pfeil, and a Mr. Otto secured treaty rights from a dozen chiefs of north-east Tanganyika. Illiterate chiefs were beguiled into surrendering to the Society some 60,000 square miles of territory as well as the right to dispose of the people and property occupying that land. Of interest too, is the history of the diplomatic struggles which ensued and which by 1890 were to see the German claims in East Africa recognized by Great Britain and other European Powers.¹ Nevertheless, neither of these maneuvers were sufficient in themselves to bring about a genuine situation of political dependency as defined in the beginning chapter of this study. It appears that the treaties were "signed" only after there had been a "judicious distribution of childish presents plus an injudicious application of grog;" and it is doubtful whether any of the chiefs concerned actually was aware of what he was consenting to.² Even if the chiefs were aware, it could hardly be expected that their counsellors and tribesmen could be expected to appreciate the niceties of International Law which recognized such "treaties" as valid instruments.

1. For an account of this phase, cf. Sir Reginald Coupland, The Exploitation of East Africa, 1856-1890, (1939), pp. 395 ff.

2. Mary E. Townsend, The Rise and Fall of Germany's Colonial Empire, 1884-1918, (1930), pp. 132-133.

As subsequent events revealed, covenants without the sword were of little effect in bringing about compliance in some African tribes. Nor, did the Germans reckon with the fact that the Arabs would not tolerate further infringements on their ivory trade and the trade in slaves. It was a full twenty years after Dr. Peters had made his initial venture into Usagara that German arms, money, and administrative personnel had finally succeeded in bringing the African tribesmen and the Arabs into a reluctant acceptance of the situation of political dependency to the German Empire. The Wachagga of Kilimanjaro, the Wahehe, the Wapogoro, and the Wagindo did not bow to German superiority until they had experienced it in battle. The two tribes mentioned last, as well as other tribes involved in the Maji Maji Rebellion of 1905-1906, did not cease resistance until an estimated 120,000 Africans had perished in combat or as a result of the famine which followed.¹

In the light of the stiff resistance displayed by the Africans of Tanganyika, it is not surprising that force and even brutality were considerable factors in the maintenance of the relationship during most of the German period. Even in the relatively quiet years between 1907 and 1914, the military component of the German administration was fairly large, consisting of 2,500 African askaris (soldiers), commanded by 152 German officers and sub-officers (exclusive of 108 German Red Cross Officers and sub-officers). This was supplemented by a police force of 2,140 Africans commanded by 65 German officers.² The African force,

1. Sayers, op. cit., pp. 68-75

2. Heinrich Schnee, German Colonization Past and Future, (1926), p. 79.

which was drawn primarily from the Wasukuma, Wanyamwesi, Wanyema, and Wavinza tribes, was considerably expanded during World War I and was supplemented during the previous rebellions by troops imported from Papua and Melanesia.¹ Furthermore, the organized forces were added in some cases by subsidized warriors under the command of a "loyal" chief.²

The use of force and the presence of armed troops were not the only factors in sustaining the relationship, however. The importation and the independent arrival of a cadre of alien personnel was to result in many changes in the traditional social system of a long-range character--- some of them planned and others unintentional consequences of the presence of aliens. The difficulties in classifying the membership groupings of the "superior" component of the relationship is revealed in the following. Many of the Arabs and Indians who came to Tanganyika during the German period did so because the German peace made it possible and profitable to do so. Previously, the tribal warfare had made settlement or commercial activity a dangerous enterprise. Now the Asians came in sufficient numbers to fill the positions as clerks on the German estates, with the railways, and in junior government service. The Indian population, which numbered 8,749 by 1913, was drawn in great measure from the Hindu Patel Brotherhood and the Sikhs from around Bombay, although a considerable number of Moslems from Baluchistan had arrived as well. These groups formed the backbone of the small artisan class, and from the previous century to the present the small merchandise trade has been in the hands of the Indians and the Arabs. The Arabs, of course, have had a much longer history of

1. Sayers, *op. cit.*, p. 75; and Andre Cheradame, La Colonisation at les Colonies Allemandes, (1905), p. 288.

2. Richard C. Thurnwald, Black and White in East Africa, (1935), p. 38.

residence in East Africa than the Germans, but under German rule their numbers increased from 2,000 in the 1880's to 4,101 by 1913.¹

While the Asians could hardly be classified as members of the German society, nevertheless, the fact that they were highly instrumental in intensifying the process of change and actually aiding the German administrators in sustaining the "superior/subordinate" relationship, requires that they be treated as a grouping within the "superior" component. They were accorded special treatment with regard to the acquisition of freeholds, were not subject to corporal punishment at the hands of European administrative officers, and were not under the jurisdiction of local African officials. In some ways, however, they worked at cross-purposes to several of the European membership groupings. We refer here to the fact that although the Hindus made no attempt at gaining African converts, the Moslem Asians did; and in this regard they came into conflict with the Christian missionary groups, which will be discussed below.

The European portion of the "superior" component was smaller in number than the Asian groupings, but their presence was of greater significance insofar as alterations in the traditional authority system of the African societies were concerned. A German census of 1913 indicates that there were 5,336 Europeans in Tanganyika. Of this number, 3,536 were adult males, 1,075 adult females and 726 children. The adult males fell into the following vocational categories:

1. This latter figure includes Turks and Levantines, as well as Zanzibari and Arabs from Oman and Muscat. There were also 656 Goan Christians in the Territory in 1913. Raymond Leslie Buell, The Native Problem in Africa, Vol. I, (1928), pp. 438, 441.

Civil officials	551
Military officials	186
Missionaries	498
Planters	882
Engineers, Contractors	352
Mechanics, Carpenters	355
Commercials	523
Professional men, and others	189

The nationality of the Europeans was predominantly German. However, the Settler class included a number of Afrikaans who removed from the Transvaal and Orange Free State after the Boer War, and also a number of Greeks were engaged in farming and in commercial activities.¹ Each of these groupings aided in the long-run maintenance of the "superior/subordinate" relationship and contributed to modifying in some respects the traditional authority system of the African societies.

The "Superior" Economic Grouping

The European population figures noted previously include a number of planters, commercials, engineers, contractors, mechanics, and carpenters. If we add to this the 13,000 Asians, the majority of whom were engaged in commerce, we find that the "superior" economic grouping for the German colony proper was but a small fraction of the population of four million Africans inhabiting the Tanganyika portion of German East Africa.²

1. Sayers, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33, 75. L. S. Amery in The German Colonial Claim, (1940), pp. 79-80, places the German population at 3,700.

2. Ruanda-Urundi included another $3\frac{1}{2}$ million Africans. Sayers, *op. cit.*, p. 31. One could include the crews of German steamship lines touching at Dar es Salaam; merchants and bankers in Germany dealing with the export-import trade; and others, as being a part of the "superior" economic grouping. However, their effect was far less direct and their members incalculable.

Their significance, lay not in their numbers, but in the fact that their presence set the tone for the whole "superior/subordinate" relationship. The goals of Dr. Karl Peters and the Society for German Colonization seem to have been two-fold: (1) to stake out territory in East Africa where the increasing number of German immigrants could go to settle and still remain under the German flag; and (2) to find and control new sources of raw materials and new markets to aid the infant German industries.¹

Thus, from the standpoint of Dr. Peters and others of a like mind, the activities of the German Society constituted a rational approach to the problem. The rationale was as follows: East Africa constituted an area which had not yet come under the suzerainty of any other European Power; it possessed a labor force for working on German estates and it was assumed that the highland areas would be suitable for European occupancy. Therefore, the acquisition of territory in this area would satisfy the two-fold objective of the German Society. In the statement of objectives, Dr. Peters and his associates appear to have given scant attention to the desires and aspirations of the African populations of Usagara and its environs. In the Imperial Charter of Protection granted in 1885 to the newly formed German East Africa Company, there was only one proviso imposed upon the Company in its operations: that the Company remain German controlled. In a period when Great Britain and other European powers were requiring their chartered colonial companies to include provisions regarding the abolition of the slave trade, regulation of the sale of liquor and firearms, promotion of the welfare of the natives, and the recognition of an "open door" policy regarding other European commercial and industrial interests, the German Charter was silent on these subjects.²

1. Coupland, op. cit., pp. 395 ff.

2. Townsend, op. cit., pp. 133-134.

More revealing than these omissions, were the commissions which took place under the land and concessions policy. Wholesale granting of land to Europeans was made without consideration being given to prior African occupancy. The same applied to the unregulated grants of concessions to mining firms, trading companies, and railway construction companies. These moves were calculated to attract investors and settlers to the area; however, the abuses seem to have been so severe that cries for reform were made in Germany. One German pioneer received 12,000 square miles of land on a lease which ran for ten years and which held the lessee to no obligation whatever. The East African Company, which constructed the railway from Tanga to Korogwe, received a right of way six kilometers in width.¹ Of the 342,706 square miles of territory in Tanganyika, only 3,115 square miles, or .9 per cent, were alienated to Europeans. This figure, however, is deceptively small inasmuch as the alienated land included some of the most fertile tracts in the territory, most of which were in the healthful highland areas around Kilimanjaro, Mount Meru, the Usambaras and the Southern Highlands.² The primacy of economic considerations in the "superior/subordinate" relationship under the German period may be evidenced in the fact that von Bulow and other leaders of the parties of the Right in the German Reichstag excused the omitted oppressions and abuses of the land and concession policies on the grounds that colonies were of economic necessity to the Fatherland. The economic factor, thus, took consideration over the interests of the African population of German East Africa.³

1. Ibid., pp. 170-171, 229.

2. Sayers, op. cit., pp. 78-79; and Lord Hailey, Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part I, (1950), p. 213.

3. Townsend, op. cit., pp. 234-237.

The activities of the German economic groupings made a marked impression upon the African social systems, even though the activities did not result in any appreciable realization of the goals set forth by Dr. Peters.¹ The road and railway systems were constructed primarily for the purpose of bringing the sisal, coffee, cotton, and other crops down from the European estates near Moshi and Arusha to the ports at Tanga and Dar es Salaam; and for the purpose of facilitating German Control. In accomplishing these purposes, however, they also had their effect upon widening the horizons of the individual African tribesman, giving him an opportunity for Territorial-wide experiences. The European economy removed many Africans from their parochial tribal existence---often by means of force and deception---and put them to work on the sisal or rubber plantations. In some cases, Wanyakyusa from near Lake Nyasa were brought 600 miles overland to work on the estates near Tanga.² In other cases an African might find that he was a paid laborer on an estate which had been carved out of his own tribal lands. Instead of encouraging people like the Wasukuma and Wanyamwezi to employ their natural talents as agriculturalists, the European economy enticed away as many men as possible. In one year, 1913, the plantation labor force increased from 80,000 to 92,000, and it was estimated that at least 172,000 African males were employed in some form of European enterprise. This figure was roughly twenty per cent of the estimated male population of the Territory.³

1. The few thousand German settlers coming to Tanganyika was but a small fraction of the several hundred thousand German emigrants, most of whom went to the United States or Latin America. The export and import trade between Germany and all of her colonies constituted less than one per cent in 1913. Amery, *op. cit.*, p. 78. The sisal, coconut, rubber and cotton industries, however, did aid Germany, however, by giving her a controlled market.

2. Buell, *op. cit.*, pp. 496-497.

3. *Ibid.*

On the estates, the harshness which had been characteristic of the military occupation of the area seems to have been manifest in the economic sphere in a number of ways. The iniquities of compulsory labor exactions, which were largely uncontrolled as to the number of days service, the matter of wages, and recruitment practices, were severely criticized in Germany. Over the vociferous opposition of the planters, the labor exactions were legally curtailed in ordinances adopted in 1907 and 1913. Enforcement, however, was another matter. There were only five labor supervisors for the whole of German East Africa, and the supervisors themselves were reported to have been rather brutal in the manner in which they meted out punishment to Africans who violated their contracts. European managers themselves were permitted to subject African laborers to imprisonment, corporal punishment or fines if contracts were violated; and since contracts were seldom understood by the Africans unaccustomed to the regular routine of the European labor system, infractions were frequent. Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, the German Colonial Secretary who visited the territory in 1907, reported that the whip was often employed without discretion.¹

The contact between the European settler population and the Africans was limited, of course, by the relatively small number of settlers in Tanganyika. Around Arusha, Moshi, and Lushoto, the possibility of contact between Europeans and large numbers of Africans was greater than it was in areas in the western and southern portions where European settlers were few. Even in the former areas, however, the European estate-owner usually dealt with the indigenous African population only indirectly, through the medium of an Asian or Swahili overseer.

1. Ibid., pp. 449-450, 496, 497; and Townsend, op. cit., pp. 285-287.

Despite the degree of African integration into the European economy, the traditional authority systems were usually only effected by the new economic system in an indirect manner---through the physical withdrawal of many adult males from the jurisdiction of their chiefs. This meant that a chief's source of tributary labor exactions was diminished, and that his ability to punish those who opposed him was frustrated by the fact that the individual African was no longer dependent on the economic protection of the chief or on the chief's control over the allocation of land. Economic survival could now be found outside the tribal framework. Even the mystical role which the chiefs and witch-doctors exercised in some Usukuma with regard to the agricultural cycle was undermined by the fact that European planned agriculture got along without mystical sanctions. Finally, the introduction of cash crops meant that the role of the chief as provider in time of famine was made less necessary in view of the fact that the African peasant could dig up the German rupees and hellers that had been buried in the floor of his hut and purchase food from the Indian dukas.

In some cases the contact between the European economic groupings and a chief or other indigenous authority was direct, and actually placed the chief in a position antagonistic to his traditional role as defender of the solidarity of his tribal unit against encroachment from outside. We refer here to the fact that settlers instead of employing professional recruiters, occasionally made payments to chiefs to act as their recruitment agents.¹

1. Buell, op. cit., p. 496.

The Civil and Military Officials

The part which the military and the use of armed forces played in the submission of the Territory and in the sustaining of the "superior/subordinate" relationship was noted previously. However, official intervention on the part of the German State through the sending of military and civil personnel to East Africa came only after the chartered Company's administration found itself unable to cope with the African and Arab uprisings. The primary purpose for the introduction of both classes of officials was to support and make effective the economic activities of the German merchants and settlers. The military arrived shortly after the proclamation of the Protectorate in 1885. Six years were to elapse, however, before German civil officials took over from the Deutsche Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft.¹

The European core of the civil administration, even in the period immediately preceding World War I, was remarkably small considering that the African population for German East Africa (Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi combined) numbered seven million. The figure of 551 civil officials reported in the 1913 census noted above includes officials of the railway, doctors and other "housekeeping" staff. The number of officials actually engaged in administration at the local level in 1914 was only 79---with over half of this number being general administrators and secretaries. The Germans recognized that this situation made supervision and control difficult, and the situation was further complicated by a rather unimaginative centralization of authority in the hands of the Governor.² The Territory was divided for local administration into 3 residencies, 2 mili-

1. Sayers, op. cit., pp. 55-66.

2. Sayers, op. cit., pp. 76-77.

tary districts (Mahenge and Iringa in the southern portions where German rule had been resisted), and 19 civil districts. Each civil district was under the authority of a bezirksamtmann, who was responsible to the Governor for the peace and order of his district. Prior to 1907 the civil and military authority were united in his hands, but after that date his control was limited to civil matters.¹

It was obvious that 79 administrative officials could not, without further aid, control such a large population. Accordingly, two general systems of local rule were employed. In the Residencies of Bukoba, Ruanda, and Urundi, the indigenous chieftainship had consolidated large groups of Africans under single rulers having well defined administrative authority. Moreover, the chiefs (or "sultans", as they were called in the early period) had demonstrated friendliness to the Germans. The Residents in the three areas ruled through the chiefs and modified traditional practices only insofar as they conflicted glaringly with the goals of the German administration.²

Although Residents were not appointed to other areas, it is apparent from this writer's investigations that the chieftaincy system was retained in more areas than is usually acknowledged in general surveys of German rule in Tanganyika. In Ubena, for example, the Mtema managed to retain his post by ingratiating himself with the Germans through giving them aid in the Wahehe wars.³ Investigations in Usukuma and Uchagga reveal that other chiefs were able to stay in office by assisting the

1. Great Britain, Colonial Office, Report on Tanganyika, from the Armistice to the end of 1920, Cmd. 1428, (1921), p. 31.

2. Hailey, op. cit., p. 212.

3. A. T. and G. M. Culwick, Ubena of the Rivers, (1935), pp. 28 ff, 87.

Germans. In some cases noted in Uchagga, Unyamwezi, and Usambara, the reigning chief might be executed or forced to flee, but the chieftaincy system itself would be retained. The Administration would install a brother or son of the deposed chief in the hopes that he would be more amenable to German rule. Frequently the retention was only a temporary measure inasmuch as tribal unity had been weakened both by the struggle which preceded the establishment of the "superior/subordinate" relationship and by intra-tribal dissension aroused by the imposition of a new chief.¹ To cite the example of Uhehe, there the Germans attempted to rule through the brothers of Chief Mkwawa, after the latter had taken his own life. The experiment wasn't exactly a success: five of the brothers had to be hanged! The destruction of the paramount chieftainship was followed by the loss of power by the greater sub-chiefs of Uhehe. The local headmen finally emerged as the indigenous leaders in whom the Germans vested power.²

The Germans resorted to a second system of rule in other areas. This included the areas in which tribal disintegration had gone on apace as a result of half a century of Arab rule or as a result of the conflict which preceded submission to the Germans, as well as the areas in which clearly discernible and utilizable political institutions were absent. In these areas the Germans extended or imposed the system of rule through akidas and jumbes, which had been employed by the Arabs. In most cases, these local officials were Arabs or Swahili from the Coast who constituted a class of salaried civil servants. An akida (Kiswahili: "commander

1. G. B., Colonial Office, Tanganyika, 1927, Col. No. 32 (1928), p. 95.

2. Brown and Bruce Hutt, Anthropology in Action, op. cit., p. 36.

of troops") had executive and magisterial jurisdiction over a number of villages having a combined population of between 20,000 and 30,000. To assist the akida in his duties of tax collecting and finding laborers for government or for European travellers would be a number of jumbes. Each jumbe would be in charge of a village. In the case of an influential jumbe, he was accorded direct access to the District Commissioner and was given magisterial jurisdiction over his village. This stems from the fact that a number of jumbes were formerly independent hereditary chiefs who had been integrated to the akida system.¹

The akidas appear to have been given free rein in exploiting the people, and inadequate remuneration often led them to use their positions of authority and the backing of German bayonets to feather their nests to the extent that the traffic would bear. Being Moslems, moreover, they disregarded African law and custom in their administration of justice, and regarded Islam as the only road to advancement. A German Governor, Count von Goetzen, in 1905 acknowledged that the akidas resorted "to oppression and fraud, which makes our Administration detested by the people." He complained that the paucity of European personnel to supervise the system prevented it from being otherwise.²

Although von Goetzen had spoken with praise of the success of a policy "which, wherever possible, relies on the hereditary authorities," the overall impression is that the deliberate policy of the Germans was in favor of the akida system.³ Inasmuch as the Arabs and Swahili were conversant in the lingua franca, Kiswahili, as well as in some of the local

1. G. B., Colonial Office, Tanganyika, Armistice to end of 1920, op. cit., pp. 31-33.

2. Ibid.

3. V. Goetzen is quoted in Culwick, op. cit., pp. 87.

vernaculars, they were ideal from the standpoint of the German administrator whose linguistic abilities were limited. Since the Moslem were often literate, they could be trained in the German government schools in Dar es Salaam and Tanga regarding what was expected of them. They were more acceptable for German purposes than chiefs who were chosen on the criteria of royal birth, tallness, or other factors not relevant to what was expected of a local official under the German administration. It was preferable and more reliable for the District Commissioner to communicate with his subordinates in writing than to depend upon messengers giving a verbal and garbled message to an illiterate chief. So thorough were the Germans, that when the British took over they found it possible to communicate in writing with every akida and village headman and to receive written reports from them.¹ Finally, since the akidas and most of the jumbes were alien to the areas they ruled and received their pay from the Germans, the possibility of divided loyalties was less in their case than in the case of a hereditary chief. The latter could be torn between his traditional duties and those imposed upon him by the Germans. Loyalty was an important requisite in view of the size of the European staff and the difficulties in communicating with military centers in cases of disturbance.

These were not the only factors which led the Germans to ignore the traditional system. In many cases they lacked specific knowledge about what the actual traditional system was. Moreover, the existence of multiple chiefdoms or of family factions which were in the midst of a struggle

1. G. B., Colonial Office, Tanganyika, Armistice to end of 1920, op. cit., p. 41.

for supremacy at the time of the German arrival, made the indigenous system appear chaotic. Only in a few cases, like that of the Washambaa, was anthropological material on the African tribes available for use by the German administrator.¹ Other factors, like lack of experience in colonial administration, may have been responsible for their ignoring the traditional systems even when they were discernible.

What seemed to be of primary importance in the selection of the particular system of local rule to be used in an area was that the system selected fulfilled the requirements of the German Administration. These requirements had both positive and negative aspects. That is, it was necessary that disruptive behavior, especially when it threatened European commerce, was to be curtailed. Therefore, certain practices like inter-tribal warfare, cattle raiding, and blood revenge were to be suppressed by the akida or chief in the interest of maintaining peace and good order. If inter-tribal warfare was permitted, it was done so under the encouragement of the Administration for the purpose of bringing a recalcitrant tribe under control. For example, in 1892 the Washambaa were subsidized to take a punitive expedition against the Masai.²

Positive duties laid upon the local officials included the recruitment of labor for European estates and securing laborers for the tribal work turn-outs. This latter form of compulsory labor was used for road construction, clearing of tsetse bush, constructing public buildings, and engaging in other government projects. This labor was provided without remuneration and without regulation of the number of days each service required.

1. Thurnwald, op. cit., p. 38.

2. Ibid., p. 37.

The collection of taxes was another positive duty of the chiefs and akidas. This tax amounted to a three rupee hut tax, which was in force from 1905 to 1912 and was a source of much discontent to polygamous Africans. It was replaced in 1912 by a poll tax levied on all adult males without regard to their marital status. The revenue from this source went to pay for the costs of military operations and local administrations and served, moreover, as a symbol of obeisance in the same way as did the chieftaincy tribute which the Germans permitted to be collected during their rule.

In individual areas the minimum administrative expectations might vary, but the test of whether a traditional leader was retained or replaced depended in many cases upon how well the leader was able to carry out his duties. The superiority in force of arms permitted them to make whatever alterations in the social, political, economic, and religious aspects of tribal life that suited them. It should not be assumed that all decisions regarding the abolition or retention of the indigenous systems were made rationally or in accordance with a rigidly constructed policy. Military operations, small staff, and lack of adequate knowledge meant that in some cases the traditional systems were retained by default of any specific decision being made.

Although the over-all record of the German administration provides one with a contrary picture, certain official statements and ordinances would indicate that the German administrative attitude was tending in its final years to be more considerate of the wishes and aspirations of the African population. We may cite here the "reforms" in land alienation, economic concessions, and compulsory labor policies of 1906-1907. Moreover, the statement made in 1913 by Dr. Solf, the last German Colonial Secretary,

indicates that the German Government intended to view the African interests as being paramount to those of the European settlers.¹ Finally, there were signs that plans to revert to a modified form of traditional rule in many areas would have been implemented had not the First World War interrupted orderly rule in East Africa.²

In the case of the administrative groupings, as was true of the economic portion of the "superior" component, the contact with the African population was limited to a very small number of persons: chiefs, headmen, subordinate clerks, and others. The bulk of the "subordinate" population felt the impact of the European presence in a less direct manner, through the media of the chiefs and akidas who carried out the duties of recruiting laborers and collecting taxes. Unless the Bezirksamtman found communications well developed in his district or made a concerted effort to get around on safari, he had no occasion for dealing with the African peasantry. Unless the African went to work on an estate or to a mission school, he might avoid meeting a European at all.

However, the consequence of the establishment of a German bureaucracy vis-à-vis the status of the traditional authority system was obvious to African chiefs and peasants alike. The fact that the German administrators could depose and elect chiefs at will was sufficient manifestation of the heirarchical structure of power. The control by the chief or headmen over use of force within the unit was vested in these local officials by the Administration; it was not a power which they exercised by virtue of the traditional character of chieftainship. Tribal warrior organizations

1. Townsend, op. cit., pp. 274-275.

2. Tanganyika, Local Government Memoranda, No. 1, Part 1, (1954), p. 3.

were either disbanded completely or retained as long as it suited the purpose of the Administration. Tribal armies were no longer at the disposal of the traditional leadership.¹

The loss of power on the part of the chiefs and other traditional leaders to regulate the conduct of all persons residing in, or passing through, the area commonly assumed to be within the jurisdiction of a particular chiefdom, was revealed in a number of ways. Certain classes of people---Europeans, Asiatics, and certain Africans---were totally exempt from the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the local courts.² Even local tribesmen were not under the jurisdiction of local courts when the severity of the crime was viewed as being within the purview of the European legal system. The curtailment of the judicial and executive authority of the chiefs was dramatically evidenced in the case of chiefs in Usambara. In exercising what had been their traditional power over the life and death of their tribesmen, they suddenly found themselves being charged with "murder" by their German overlords.³

Actually, the European administrator seldom became involved in the disputes over native law and custom. They preferred leaving these matters to the traditional methods of settlement or to the Moslem akidas. As far as the good order of the Territory was concerned, it seldom made any difference to the Administration whether the tribal societies continued to carry on their social affairs regarding marriage, divorce, inheritance, initiations, ancestor sacrifices, and other matters (although it was of concern to the missionaries).⁴ Social customs were permitted to persist

1. Thurnwald, op. cit., pp. 40-41, 77.

2. The European court system included five High Courts and a Supreme Court at Dar es Salaam. G. B. Colonial Office, Tanganika, Armistice to 1920, op. cit., p. 31.

3. Thurnwald, op. cit., p. 41.

4. Cheradame, La Colonisation et les Colonies Allemandes, op. cit., p. 281.

unless they came into conflict with the goals of the Germans; and when conflict did occur, the administrators appeared not to have recognized any auto-limitations upon their ability to modify existing laws and customs. Native law appears to have persisted in Tanganyika because of suffering, ignorance, or indifference. There is no evidence of a positive stand being taken in favor of the retention of native law or of establishing any type of criminal code having application to the African population of German East Africa. As Sir Donald Cameron has noted:¹

..under their colonial system in German East Africa, the Native had no law and no court of justice to which he could appeal for protection. He was outside the law; the argument being that his state of society was such that it was reasonable to punish him as if he were a child and the person who punished him were a parent.

Missionaries and Social Service Officers

Although the missionaries are to be included within the "superior" component during the German period of rule, British and German missionaries had actually arrived as a permanent factor on the East African scene some 40 years previous to the expedition of Dr. Karl Peters to Usagara. The Basel Lutheran missionaries, who operated out of the Church Missionary Society's station at ~~Rabat~~ near Mombasa, were the first to enter Tanganyika proper. One of their number, Dr. Johann Lewis Krapf, carried the Gospel into the Usambara Mountains. ~~Rebmann~~, one of Krapf's associates, travelled to the land of the Wachagga in 1848 and in the process became the first European to have seen the snow-capped peaks of Kilimanjaro.² Other mission groups arrived in the ensuing decades. Many

1. Native Administration in Nigeria and Tanganyika, extra suppl. to Journal of the Royal African Society, Vol. 36 (Nov., 1937), pp. 22-23.

2. Krapf, Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labors in Eastern Africa, (1860), pp. 186 ff, 216 ff.

of the British groups were spurred on by the reports of David Livingstone's years of labor in establishing a mission station at Ujiji on the eastern side of Lake Tanganyika.¹ His death in 1873 marked the beginning of a feverish period of mission activity and growth in Tanganyika. By the time of the German occupation, three English Protestant groups (the Church Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, and the Universities Mission to Central Africa) had stations at Masasi and Newala in the south-east, Mpwapa in the Central sector, Ujiji and Urambo in the west, Usambiro near Lake Victoria and at Magila in the north-east. Roman Catholic Orders, too, were active in the race for the souls of Africans. The White Fathers and the Holy Ghost Fathers had stations at Bagomoyo on the Coast, at Bukumbi south of Lake Victoria, and at Tabora and Karema in the west.²

That these early missionaries came not as a "superior" component is evidenced by the condition of their earliest converts. Primarily the converts were unmarketable sick and wounded slaves, who had been turned over to the missionaries by the British Consul at Zanzibar.³ Their lot was not always a happy one. Missionaries, such as those of the U.M.C.A. and the L.M.S. in the Lakes Nyasa-Tanganyika region, had to keep their flocks in stockades until long after the German occupation out of fear of attack by the slave raiding Bemba and Ngoni. The White Fathers mission station at Tabora, too, had its troubles during the wars of succession

1. Cf. Livingstone, Missionary Travels and Researches (1858), passim.

2. Roland Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, (1952) pp. 17, 34 ff.

3. Ibid., pp. 51, 101.

following the death of the powerful Nyamwezi chief, Mirambo. For a time the station had to be abandoned.¹

The pattern of behavior which the missionaries were to follow in their relations during this early period was set by Krapf in his dealings with Chief Kmeri of the Wasambaa. As Krapf records it:²

The great matter in commencing is, that the missionary be admitted into and received in the country, that he be allowed to dwell among the heathen, and to begin his spiritual labors. But this can only be attained in a heathen land by making the friendship of its king or chiefs; and such friendship, in accordance with the notions of an African ruler, cannot exist unless the friends bestow on him a suitable present. A missionary has, therefore, to choose between two courses: either he gives a present, and is admitted into the country, or he refuses a present, and is consequently excluded from it, thus closing at once the avenue to his sphere of usefulness; for with the mendicant princes and chiefs of Africa there is no third course.³

Failing health prevented Krapf from following up the offer made to him by the Chief of Usambara to have a mission station established there so that the sons of the most influential Wasambaa could be educated by the missionaries. Other missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, however, found wisdom in Krapf's words that the friendship of the chiefs was a sine qua non to successful missionary activity. Indeed to some chiefs, like Mirambo in Unyamwezi, the missionaries presented the Bantu chiefs with a powerful counterweight to the growing wealth and power of the Arab traders. The connection of the missionaries with the British Consul at Zanzibar and of the latter's influence with the Sultan of Zanzibar were well known. In smaller chiefdoms, the trade goods and calico which were given by the missionaries in return for portage service and for food,

1. Ibid., pp. 57-58, 66.

2. Krapf, op. cit., pp. 323-324.

3. Ibid., pp. 330-331.

proved an economic asset which it was difficult for chiefs to ignore.¹

Far from constituting a threat to the Arabs or to the chiefs, the early missionaries took up the misfits from the African societies and those who were of no value to the Arab slavers. Since in most cases the early mission practice was to set up Christian convert villages, having their own political and economic organization and police force, these converts were physically removed from tribal society and were thus not a source of disruption for the traditional leadership.² Indeed the tilling of the fields and other tasks performed by the learners and converts for their keep at the mission was not unlike the tribute payments made to chiefs. In subsequent years these Christian Africans learned trades like carpentry, smithing, masonry, printing, and tailoring; were taught the value of the hoe and even the plough; were outfitted with Western clothing; were taught the value of sanitation; and had imparted to them the alien Christian dogma and moral principles. In subsequent days these Africans would form the spearhead of a slow but persistent revolution in the social structure of the African societies. In the middle of the Nineteenth Century, however, their numbers were too small to disturb the chiefs.

The chiefs and Arabs appear to have permitted missionary activities as long as it brought economic profit to them. A few chiefs, like Kmeri or Usambara, and the Chief of Machame in Uchaḡga saw that education for their sons and courtiers would place them in superior positions to other less-educated chiefs.

1. Oliver, op. cit., pp. 23, 67-69.

2. Ibid., pp. 51-55, 61.

The missionaries, for their part, appear to have respected the position of the chiefs, out of necessity, if not by inclination to respect "the powers that be." Actually, the long-run effect of their activities was to result in a considerable alteration of the traditional authority system, as the case studies of the Wasukuma and Wachagga will reveal. Christianity was eventually to effect the traditional political and social order in a number of ways. In the first place, monotheism undercut the magico-religious functions of the chiefs as well as disturbing the mystical foundation of the kinship groupings which rested upon propitiations to the ancestors. Monogamy, moreover, constituted a threat to the nuclear African Family and introduced novel ideas about the position of women. Thirdly, the new economic order placed great stress on individual initiative, thus diminishing one's dependence upon kinship ties and tribal loyalties. These factors, however, were only to become manifest at a future date.

From the point of view of the missionaries, however, the propagation of the Faith and the introduction of education, medicine, trade, and other products of Western Culture was altruistic activity, even though these might not necessarily be included within the goal system of the people who were the recipients of such behavior. That the shock and concern over slavery which was exhibited by the English missionaries and by the Roman Catholic Fathers (but not, it should be added, by the Pietist Lutheran missionaries who saw the African as "fallen man") was genuine sympathy, is manifest by the fact that several score Europeans were willing to brave the difficult pioneer life of Tanganyika. What

was self-sacrifice to the missionaries, however, may not have been viewed entirely in the same light by the slaves.¹ Neither was the new Christian sexual morality, the passion for work for its own sake, and other Christian demands always viewed with complete equanimity by the Africans who were reared in the Christian communities.² Nevertheless, the missionary efforts seem to have been sincerely applied.

After the German occupation, the relationship between the missions and the African societies altered considerably. Evidence does not support the case that the missions were conscious allies of the occupation forces and the Administration during the greater part of the German period. In fact, political and economic leaders in Germany were complaining about the fact that the missions, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, were spending too much time preaching about the brotherhood and equality of all men instead of concentrating exclusively on training Africans to work on the European estates and in other European activities. Moreover, at a time when the Administration was insisting that German be taught in the mission schools, the Continental Missionary Conference at Bremen decided that subsidies from the Government should be refused unless the principle of teaching in the vernacular languages was

1. Although slave raiding was generally a harsh activity, it is doubtful where the Africans who served as domestic slaves in the homes of Arabs and other Africans regarded their status as repulsive. From the point of view of many slaves, the security in this position outweighed the dubious advantages of leaving the protection offered by the master. The Germans were reluctant to abolish domestic slavery for fear of the great expense or political repercussions which would ensue. G. B., Colonial Office, Tanganyika, Armistice to 1920, op. cit., p. 39.

2. Oliver, op. cit., pp. 9, 18, 34 ff. 208-211.

respected. Some missionaries, like the Moravians and the Lutheran Berlin I showed their purpose to be exclusively religious by establishing themselves far from the areas which would be the centers of European secular interest.¹

Nevertheless, even if not conscious allies, the fact remains that the presence of mission activities did aid the European occupation through breaking down the tribal loyalties and in training a growing class of Africans in European ways of business, agriculture, and other enterprises. Moreover, the increase in mission activity after the German occupation was phenomenal and due in no small measure to the fact that previously hostile areas were now made safe for mission work. The latter point is demonstrated by the fact that the German missions which came after 1885 followed the line of colonial occupation rather closely, and in the south, the flowering of missionary endeavors did not take place until after the Maji Maji Rebellion of 1905 had proved the superiority of German arms.² The missionaries could now move out of their isolated Christian communities and use the European mission station as the core of a network of out-stations which were manned by African teachers and evangelists, who carried the Gospel into the villages.

The mixture of political and religious activities was manifest in a number of ways. For example, the method of approach of the White Fathers was to make an early attempt at winning such converts as the paramount chief of the Wasumbwa, the chief of Ukerewe, and finally the seven sultans of Bukoba. In each of these efforts, they succeeded. This enabled them to make mass conversions through utilizing the chieftaincy authority.³

1. Oliver, op. cit., pp. 105-166, 178-180.

2. Ibid., 96, 164-166, 195-198.

3. Ibid., pp. 195-196.

The Church Missionary Society in Uchagga also engaged in political activity. In one instance, they supported Chief Meli against the abuses of German soldiery. However, this was a game which only German and German sympathetic missions were permitted to play, and the English mission bowed to the wishes of the British Foreign Office by withdrawing from the Kilimanjaro station.¹

The German Administration in certain respects took an active interest in what the missions were doing. In the first place, the Germans wanted to eliminate the possibility of a re-enactment of the Catholic-Protestant wars which had enflamed Buganda in the 1880's. Accordingly the Territory was divided into mission spheres of influence.² In Uchagga, for instance, most of the east side of Kilimanjaro was allocated to the Holy Ghost Fathers, while the west side was left to the proselytizing efforts of the Leipzig mission which had taken over the abandoned C. M. S. post.

The German Government also took an interest in the social projects of the missions and attempted to supplement them, and, through the provision of facilities for higher education, complement their activities. The Berliner Missions-Gesellschaft, the Leipziger Missions-Gesellschaft, and the various Orders of Roman Catholic missions were far in the lead in educational matters. In 1914 the missions were running 1,832 primary schools having an enrollment of 108,550 under the supervision of 229 Europeans. The Government by 1914 had been able to add to this through the construction of 89 primary and 10 higher schools with a combined enrollment of 6,100 and a staff of 24 Europeans.³ In medical matters as

1. Ibid., p. 167. In fairness to the Germans it should be noted that the other British missions at Kpwapwa and elsewhere were not disturbed by the Germans, and relations were amicable until World War I.

2. Buell, op. cit., pp. 483-484.

3. Ibid., p. 478; and Townsend, op. cit., pp. 290-291.

130.

well the missionaries led the field in setting up Leprosariums, nurseries, small medical stations, and even a mental institution;¹ and subsequently had their efforts seconded by government subsidies or by the establishment of government hospitals. All facilities considered, there were 48 doctors in the territory in 1914, treating an estimated 60,000 African patients. The government sponsorship of the medical projects is illustrated in the labors of Dr. Robert Koch in combatting sleeping sickness in the Victoris Nyanza and Lake Tanganyika areas.² All of these efforts in medical matters added to the undermining of the dawa of the native medicine-men and of the chiefs who relied upon them in maintaining themselves in office. While it is difficult to differentiate the motivation of the government officials from that of missionaries in the matter of social services, it is probably safe to say that the alliance between government and the economic interests was much more direct than that existing between the missions and the latter. The primary purpose of Government activity in social service programs appeared to be a desire to secure a healthy labor force, trained clerks (and German-speaking ones at that), and to make the Territory increasingly more healthful as far as European settlement was concerned.

It was only in the final year or two that the missionaries actively sought government support, and this arose from the fact that the competition which Islam was giving Christianity in German East Africa was actually intensified by the European occupation. Under the German peace, Arab and Indian traders of the Moslem faith carried European hoes, cloth, metal pots, and the like into areas that had been inaccessible previously.

1. Thurnwald, op. cit., pp. 96-98.

2. Townsend, op. cit., pp. 295 ff.

Furthermore, the akida system of rule used by the government, the employment of Arab and Swahili overseers on sisal and rubber estates, and the fact that the servants of the officials, explorers and traders were Swahili, meant that for most Africans who were experiencing the "superior-subordinate" relationship brought about by German rule, it was a Moslem African rather than a Christian European who was the immediate contact. The missions were complaining that nearly every subordinate post in government was being filled by Moslems. Furthermore, the official use of Kiswahili was viewed by many as greatly facilitating the spread of Moslem propaganda. The appeal of Islam rested not only on the fact that the bearers of this montheistic creed were more nearly racially akin to the African tribesmen, but also on the fact that conversion did not require the arduous catechism of Christianity. Islam, moreover, did not require one to forego polygamy. Thus, contrary to the teachings of the missions, one could indeed enjoy the benefits of European civilization and still have four wives.

To combat this situation, the missions appealed to the German Government, and in 1913 the Government subsidized missions to undertake the training of subordinate officials for work in the pagan districts of the interior.¹ Another gesture on the part of Government adopted earlier was to encourage Africans in the raising of pigs.² How much of a deterrent this was to the pig-hating Moslems, is a matter of amusing speculation.

1. Oliver, op. cit., pp. 202-207.

2. Buell, op. cit., pp. 485.

Summary of the German Period

While our concern in this study will focus primarily on the "superior/subordinate" relationship obtaining during the period of British Administration in Tanganyika, it has been necessary to examine in some detail the consequences of the situation of political dependency during the German period. The almost 30 years of German rule had resulted in a considerable alteration in the traditional authority systems of Usukuma, Uchagga, and other areas of Tanganyika; and this to a certain extent set conditions on the degree to which genuine traditional authority systems were subject to manipulation by the new British Administration. The duration of the European situation of political dependency during several decades as well as the apparent disregard by the Germans of the traditional authority systems of many areas had irretrievably altered the internal political structure of the African tribal societies.

The activities of European and Asian economic enterprise had also altered certain economic relationship obtaining within the African communities; furthermore, these activities had introduced new ideas relative to the secular character of agricultural production which had only been a partial feature of the African concept of what constituted successful endeavors in the field of agriculture. The missions, although preceding the economic and administrative groups, by a number of decades in initiating labors in Tanganyika, were making alterations in the political, social, and economic phase of African cultures to a very marked extent. These activities were to be continued under the British period, but the ground-work for further change had already been laid.

CHAPTER V

THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

Establishing British Control in Tanganyika

Armed force, which had been a significant factor in the establishment of the "superior/subordinate" relationship obtaining between the German Reich and the tribal societies of Tanganyika, was again to play a crucial role in the replacement of German rule by Pax Britannica during World War

I. Whether the change in the complexion of the "superior" component came about as a result of planned aggression on the part of the British (as Dr. Heinrich Schnee, the last Governor of German East Africa, contends) or whether the invasion of Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi came in retaliation for the invasion of Taveta in Kenya and other aggressive stances on the part of the German Commander (as Sir Philip Mitchell charges) is not a major consideration in this study.¹ What we are concerned with here is that by the end of 1917 the last of the German East African forces had been compelled to withdraw across the Rovuma River into Portuguese territory. The three-pronged attack of over 100,000 troops, commanded by British, Belgian, and South African officers, had advanced on German East Africa from Kenya in the north, the Congo in the west, and Nyasaland and Rhodesia in the southwest. With the rout and eventual surrender of the Kaiser's forces in Europe, the demise of German authority in East Africa was assured.²

1. Schnee, German Colonization Past and Future, op. cit., pp. 89-90; Mitchell, African Afterthoughts, (1964), pp. 43-44.

2. "Campaign in East Africa," Encyclopedia Britannica (13th ed.) reprinted in Sayers, The Handbook of Tanganyika, op. cit., pp. 79-91.

Until the peace settlement had been concluded, the former German territories remained under the provisional administration of British and Belgian forces, with the former having jurisdiction over most of what is now Tanganyika, and the latter occupying Ruanda, Urundi, and some areas in east side of Lake Tanganyika. The history of the diplomatic negotiations which eventuated in the establishment of a Mandates System under the League of Nations and saw the division of German East Africa into the Mandate Territories of Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi, under British and Belgian Administrations respectively, is told at length elsewhere.¹ It suffices for this study to note that the "superior" position of the United Kingdom Government vis-a-vis the tribal societies of Tanganyika has been recognized in international law in the Treaty of Versailles and in the Mandate Agreement concluded between the United Kingdom and the Council of the League of Nations in 1922. This has been reaffirmed subsequently in the Trusteeship Agreement submitted by the United Kingdom in 1947 to the United Nations, as the successor to the League. The wording of the latter instrument, which is similar to the Mandate Agreement, recognizes the Administering Authority as having "full powers of legislation, administration, and jurisdiction," subject only to limitations found in the Agreement and in the United Nations Charter.²

The fact that British troops could put to rout the putatively invincible German forces that had so convincingly put down the MajiMaji Rebellion of 1905, must have made an impression upon the Africans. Now German plantations, commercial enterprises and mission stations were taken over

1. Cf. Quincy Wright, Mandates under the League of Nations, (1930), passim.

2. League of Nations, British Mandate for East Africa, Document C. 449 (1) a. M. 345 (2). 1922. VI., Art. 3 (hereinafter referred to as Mandate for East Africa). U. N., Trusteeship Council, Trusteeship/2, Agreement for the Territory of Tanganyika, U. N. Doc. T/Agreement/2, 9 June 1947, Art. 5a (hereinafter referred to as Trusteeship Agreement).

by other Wazungu (Europeans). The dreaded German askaris, who had been permitted almost complete license under German command, were disarmed and returned to their villages.¹ Thus, the British Administration profited indirectly from the German harshness of ten and twenty years previous, and it made the overt use of force by the British less necessary in their administration. In a more positive fashion, the 30 years of German contact had accustomed a great number of Africans to the ways of European commerce, education, and behavior. Enmities against the Europeans had diminished as the occupation increased; and inter-tribal enmities had been rather effectively submerged insofar as the use of physical violence was concerned. The tribal schools for young warriors had either lapsed, been abolished, or were truncated in their teachings about the valor of war-like conduct.

These factors, coupled with the fact that Tanganyika bordered only on territories which were either British controlled or friendly to Britain, made the anti-military provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations largely redundant with respect to Tanganyika.² The force of 10,000 Africans and their European officers in control of the Territory in 1918 was rapidly demobilized or returned home. At the end of 1920 the military force consisted of 3 battalions of King's African Rifles having a component of 2,450 African combatants and 99 European officers and non-commissioned officers.³ The size of this force was

1. G. B. Colonial Office, Tanganyika, Armistice to the end of 1920, op. cit., p. 34.

2. The Mandatory shall take steps to prevent "the establishment of fortifications...and of the military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of the territory..." Art. 22, Sec. 5.

3. Sayers, op. cit., p. 91; and G. B., Colonial Office, Tanganyika, Armistice to 1920, op. cit., p. 37.

further reduced as the rail and road system of the Territory was developed. It stood at 1,645 Africans and 65 Europeans in 1927; 1,317 Africans and 69 Europeans in 1929; and remained at that level until the outbreak of World War II.¹

The police force and prison staff during this post-war period aided in the maintenance of order. In 1920, this group consisted of 81 Europeans, 27 Asians, and 2,121 Africans. It dropped in 1927 to 62 European officers, non-commissioned officers and clerks; 36 Asian and African sub-inspectors; and 1,828 African police. In subsequent years the Asian clerical component increased, but the other elements in the staff remained constant. In the year 1953 the police force stood at 3,554, consisting of 125 Europeans, 100 Asians, and 3,329 Africans. Even adding to this the special constabulary of 961 persons of all races, this police staff is a relatively small one for a territory of 8 million persons, spread over an area of 362,688 square miles and connected by poorly developed transport and communication networks.² The element of force thus can only be a contributory factor to the maintenance of the relationship. We shall discover some of the other factors through an examination of the aspects of the "superior/subordinate" relationship as it has obtained under the 29 years of British control.

Provisional civil administration during the First World War was introduced by stages as soon as the pacification of the Territory permitted. An Administrator was appointed, having powers delegated to him by the General Officer Commanding, General Smuts. For the most part German

1. G1 B., Colonial Office, Tanganyika, 1927, Col. No. 32, p. 7; and Tanganyika, 1929, Col. No. 46, p. 43.

2. Ibid., Tanganyika, 1927, op. cit., p. 76; Tanganyika, 1939, Col. No. 105, p. 70; and Tanganyika, 1953, Col. No. 307, p. 10.

ordinances and regulations were followed where they were not actually repugnant to British law.¹ The British administrative staff was a mixture of personnel from the Kenya and Uganda Administrations and from South Africa, was small in number, and was largely unfamiliar with the local problems of administration. Accordingly, reliance had to be placed upon the former German police force as well as upon the local akida system. Only where a ruling chief or akida had displayed manifestly anti-British tendencies during the War was he removed from office.

Although the Administration was put on a permanent legal footing by the Mandate Agreement and the Tanganyika Order in Council of 1920, the period prior to 1926 consisted largely of "stock-taking." The Order in Council provided for a Governor and an Executive Council to administer the Territory, and under his jurisdiction were 22 District Officers or Commissioners who had jurisdiction over the old German districts (the Residency of Bukoba, the 2 military districts and the 19 civil districts), which were retained for the time being. To overcome the deficiency in staffing, (which had been one of the German failings,) a staff of 108 was recruited to run the administration at the district level. This staff was carefully selected on the basis of their sympathy towards the goals of the Mandate, and on the basis of personal qualities such as tact, imagination, and patience. The staff was larger than that which the Germans had and was concerned with a smaller area and population. Nevertheless, the dislocations of war, the famine of 1919, and the fact that they were taking over a going concern, made the number seem small indeed to the officers who were in charge.²

1. Sayers, op. cit., pp. 91-95

2. G. B., Colonial Office, Tanganyika, Armistice to 1920, op. cit., p. 37.

No sweeping changes were made in the local system of administration although the privileges of the akidas and chiefs were curtailed and the power to inflict corporal punishment was removed. In several instances traditional leaders were re-instated or at least local Africans were appointed to fill vacancies in posts formerly held by Arab and Swahili akidas and jumbes.¹ Actually in this period, as the writer's investigations in Usukuma and Uchagga reveal, the British were not significantly more considerate of the pre-European authority systems than were the Germans. In Usukuma, several instances were found in which individual chiefdoms were consolidated under a non-local African ruler and in which a previously subordinate headman received recognition independent of that accorded his superior chief.

Although the intention was to subject the akidas and indigenuous chiefs and headmen to closer supervision, the first Native Authority Ordinance (1923) seemed poorly designed to do this. It provided for direct administration with executive powers being conferred upon the Administrative Officers and subordinate African officials "to issue Orders and Regulations for the maintenance of law and order..." Actually most of the Orders were issued by the Officers themselves, making the akidas and chiefs merely agents subordinate to their respective officers. Not only was the full onus of decision-making left in the hands of the District Officer, but his span of control over his subordinates was weakened by the fact that the 1923 Ordinance grouped all Native authorities under the single title of "headmen," and gave them all similar powers respecting native law, without regard to previously existing heirarchies of chiefs and headmen.²

1. Tanganyika, Local Government Memoranda, No. 1, Part 1 (1954), p. 3. (Hereinafter referred to as Local Govt. Memo., No. 1).

2. Hailey, Native Administration, op. cit., p. 217; and Tanganyika, Native Administration Memoranda, No. 1: Principles of Native Administration and Their Application, Sir Donald Cameron, ed. (2d ed. rev. 1930), p. 14. (Hereinafter referred to as N. A. Memo. No. 7.

In this stage, despite the fact that the Mandate Agreement committed the Mandatory Power to pay closer heed to the wishes and social welfare of the African population, no drastic changes in the nature of local administration were envisioned over and above what had obtained during the German period. The expectations of the British administrators regarding the performance of local African officials were rather minimal. The local rulers were expected to maintain law and order; keep open lines of communication through the clearing of secondary roads and paths; see that a minimum level of village sanitation was observed; allocate land to new African cultivators; cooperate with government officers in tax collection; assist in the enforcement of agricultural and veterinary quarantines; and attend to such traditional matters of tribal life as the settlement of disputes in connection with marriage and divorce, grazing and fishing rights, and other customary affairs.¹ In the matter of taxation, of fines levied in court cases, and of other fiscal matters the "headmen" were kept rather strictly accountable by the British, the contrast to the lax system which had prevailed under the Germans. The tasks of the "headmen" were usually clearly set out by the European officers, and failure to comply would result in dismissal. Some of the more odious tasks, such as the recruitment of forced labor for European estates, which the akidas had to perform previously, were eliminated by the new Administration.

The obligations to which the British Administration was committed by virtue of the Mandate Agreement would seem to require that the interests of welfare of the Africans be given primary consideration in administration. Admittedly the elimination of slavery, and the slave trade, the

1. Mitchell, op. cit., p. 127.

control of the alcohol and arms traffic, and other stipulations in the Covenant of the League are other-regarding acts primarily from the standpoint of European paternalism. These proscriptions, as was noted in the previous chapter, are not necessarily regarded in the same light by the Africans themselves. Furthermore, the guarantee of religious freedom and the obligation of the Mandatory to "promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress" of the inhabitants, is in this ambiguous category of altruistic action. One of the few clear-cut goals listed in the Agreement which is in strict accord with the traditional goals of the Africans themselves is the provision dealing with native land, to wit:

In the framing of laws relating to the holding or transfer of land, the Mandatory shall take into consideration native laws and customs, and shall respect the rights and safeguard the interests of the native population.

No native land may be transferred, except between natives, without the consent of the public authorities, and no real rights over native land in favor of non-natives may be created except with the same consent.

Other manifestly altruistic provisions are found in the articles concerning the supervision of labor contracts, the recruitment of labor, and the prohibition against unpaid compulsory labor.¹ The extent to which actual practices lived up to the ideal statements will be considered in this and subsequent chapters.

Adoption of the Native Authority System

These policy statements and activities of the British with respect to the welfare, property, and morals of the African population of Tanganyika enable us to differentiate the general character of British rule

1. Mandate for East Africa, op. cit., Arts. 3, 5, 6, and 8.

from that of the preceding German period. However, the action on the part of the new administrative component which seems to have been most calculated to take into consideration the goals and opinions of the African population, was not even listed in the obligations contained in the Mandate Agreement. We refer here to the decision to utilize, or re-suscitate, indigenous authority systems as vehicles for administration at the local level. This system of administration, has commonly been referred to as the Native Authority System (as well as by the very ambiguous terms of "Indirect Rule" and "Indirect Administration") was instituted during 1925-1927 by Sir Donald Cameron, the second Governor of Tanganyika. Cameron had served an apprenticeship under Lord Lugard in Nigeria, where he had been impressed by the manner in which the understaffed British Administration had been able to govern the Northern Emirates through the recognition of the Emirs as vehicles of administration. There, the traditional authority systems were disturbed only to the extent that existing practices had to be altered or abolished if they came into conflict with "British justice and morality." Tanganyika in certain respects presented Cameron with a situation which he regarded as being analagous to that of Northern Nigeria.

Cameron argued that it was not only for the sake of administrative efficiency but a positive good in itself that indigenous institutions be made living parts of the system of colonial administration. By administrative efficiency, Sir Donald was referring to the fact that the shortage of personnel available made "Direct" administration almost an impossibility. Thus, by capitalizing on the existing respect for authority, on indigenous democracy, and on the social restraints on destructive behavior which were inculcated in tribal societies, the Administration could

protect itself against the development of political agitators and against the disruptive behavior which would be a consequence of the breakdown of the old habits and traditions.

Positively the goal was to develop "good Africans," rather than Africans with a European veneer. Thus, Africans were to be trained (in the language of the League Covenant) "to stand by themselves", in accordance with their own environment and social system. British culture and example was to be a stimulus to dynamic development of Africans in African terms.¹ Depending upon one's point of view, we may characterize Cameron's attitude as being at base one of the following: an assumption that Africans, on the basis of their existing tribal environment and belief system, were incapable of attaining more than a veneer of European civilization; or a rejection of the idea of the innate superiority of European culture as a commodity which must be exported to, and imitated by, all peoples of the world. European civilization, under this attitude, is merely a stimulus.

Recognition of traditional leaders as Native Authorities in 1925-1927 involved much more than the utilization of the existing system of "headmen," for in many cases the chiefly systems had long been submerged as a result of 50 years of Arab rule, 30 years under the Germans, and almost a decade of British administration. Nevertheless, Sir Donald Cameron and his staff of officials went about their task of "finding the chief" and creating tribal unity of government with such vigor that, in the opinion of one of them, "the devotees were in some danger of becoming a sort of orgiastic order of monks----if there can be such a thing."²

1. N. A. Memo. No. 1, op. cit., pp. 4-5.
2. Sir Philip Mitchell, op. cit., p. 127.

The difficulties were indeed immense. The German administrative boundaries, which had been adopted by the British, took little cognizance of the tribal membership of the inhabitants of the districts. Accordingly, one of the first tasks was to re-group the territory into administrative districts more closely reflecting the ethnic composition of the inhabitants.¹ An exact correlation, however, was impractical, if not impossible, in view of the fact that the number of tribes exceeded 120, many were either far too large or far too small to constitute a single district, and many tribes were interspersed in their settlement.

Along the coast, the extent of tribal disintegration under the impact of 80 or 90 years of the akida system made the resuscitation of the indigenous authority system an impossibility. Actually, with the wholesale abolition of the akida system, it was the opinion of Sir Philip Mitchell that the Administration was wasting many valuable and faithful civil servants. Only in Tanga, where a determined District Commissioner held to his guns against the "orgiastic order of monks," did the akida system survive the onslaught.²

In other cases the indigenous authority system was discernible, but the Government was not able to accept the proliferated tribal systems as feasible vehicles of administration. This situation had actually been aggravated by the Native Authority Ordinances of 1923, which recognized all akidas and indigenous chiefs as "headmen" without any heirarchical arrangement of chiefs, sub-chiefs, and headmen. Accordingly, the Cameronian policy became one of grouping lesser chiefs and headmen under one

1. Buell, Native Problem in Africa, op. cit., pp. 450-451.

2. Mitchell, op. cit., p. 133.

superior chief in an area, and only recognizing single chiefs in areas where the population under their jurisdiction was sufficiently large or where there were objections on ethnic grounds to grouping a lesser chief with his neighbors. In areas like Uhehe, where the paramountcy had been broken by the Germans, the institution was restored. Other larger tribes which were less cohesive were formed into federations of multiple chiefs, with the federation having limited over-all functions. Where tribal cohesion was extremely weak, less formal tribal councils of chiefs and headmen were convened to discuss common problems. It should be mentioned, in the light of subsequent developments, that of the last three approaches, Cameron regarded the federations of chiefs as being the proper goal for tribal amalgamations. He regarded this as being a stronger and more responsible instrument for administration than the establishment of paramount chieftainships.¹

The record would seem to indicate that the administrative officers attempted to carry out their task through discussion and persuasion, and often in the face of deep seated tribal and local jealousies and fears. However, despite Cameron's admonition against "constitution-makers" and "king-makers," it was admitted that many of the chieftaincy systems were created out of whole cloth. Cameron and others were cognizant of the fact that the indigenous authority was not solely the chief or the headmen ruling in an autocratic manner. Invariably the chief had associated with him certain elders and other persons occupying positions of dignity and responsibility who were his councillors and who both supported him and required that he act in a responsible manner. However, though this was recognized, the actual practice was to concentrate the powers of the Native

1. N. A. Memo., No. 1, pp. 9-11.

Authority into the hands of the chief. The variations in form of local restraints made it rather impossible to enumerate all these in the Native Authority Ordinance of 1927. The gazetting of Native Authorities consequently consisted in most cases of naming the chief as the Native Authority. Sub-chiefs were only specifically recognized as subordinate Native Authorities when they had actually been delegated specific duties under the Ordinance.¹ The Ordinance and the gazetting was silent on the matter of court elders, traditional councillors, and the like.

The Element of Superiority in the Native Authority System

Leaving aside the problem of Cameron's basic motivations, it is apparent that what Cameron intended was that the traditional authorities be incorporated into a unified governmental system with the European Central Government and the local authorities working together. Each was to have duties that should never conflict and should overlap but infrequently. One of the most significant consequences of this decision with respect to the "superior/subordinate" relationship was that the African population of Tanganyika was not to be regarded as a single amorphous "subordinate" component. Rather the Africans of Tanganyika were to be grouped into a series of "subordinate" components based on the traditional, or modified, tribal societies. Although individual Africans would be absorbed into the Central Government civil service or into non-official European and Asian enterprises based on Tanganyika as a whole; the majority of Africans in the rural areas of Tanganyika would experience the impact of British Central Government Administration indirectly through their traditional leadership or through their contacts with the European

1. Ibid., pp. 9, 27; and Local Govt. Memo., No. 1, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

officials based on Districts within the Territory. As we shall see subsequently, the "superior/subordinate" relationship is most clearly delineated in the series of parallel relationships obtaining between a local chief, on the one hand, and a District Commissioner, on the other.

Although the Native Authority System embodies ideas of traditional societies being utilized as the basis for administration, there was no intention that these societies were to be reconstituted as they had existed before the imposition of European rule. The advocates of the Native Authority system have been quite explicit on two points. The first of these regards the subject of change; the second is concerned with the continued superiority of the European Administration with respect to the traditional authority systems. The change involved here had both negative and positive aspects. Negatively, such practices as slavery, ordeal by poison, the murder of twins, head-hunting, and other behavior which was "so flagrantly and dreadfully barbarous, so contrary to the accepted standards of modern civilisation or detrimental to the interests of others.." was to be suppressed.¹ Positively, change implied the belief that the ideas of democracy, progress, and other concepts of European civilization were to be introduced into tribal life insofar as they were compatible with the African environment.

The indication that the acceptance of the new policy has not constituted an abdication of the European position of supremacy in Tanganyika is evident in the language of the Native Authority Ordinance of 1927, as 1. Cameron, Native Administration in Nigeria and Tanganyika, op. cit., pp. 23-24.

well as in the African Chiefs Ordinance of 1953.¹ In the first place, the whole question of the establishment of a tribal unit as a unit of native administration under the Ordinance depends upon the recognition of this status by the Governor. It has not been sufficient merely that the unit had in fact existed as a separate tribal unit with its own authority system prior to European occupation or under the Germans. Moreover, the Governor could specify the framework of the authority, that is, decide whether there is to be only one chief or a superior chief with several subordinate chiefs.² Thus, in the case of the Wahehe, it was left to the discretion of the Governor to decide whether the Wahehe should be reunited under a single paramount chief, as had obtained in the pre-German period, or whether the subordinate sub-chiefs and headmen should exercise authority under the Ordinance. In this case he decided in favor of the former position. In the case of the Wachagga, however, the Governor decided in favor of the multiple chiefdoms rather than the paramountcy which had been established under German rule.

As to which persons should actually hold office, Governors have attempted insofar as possible to recognize these persons who have been selected as chiefs in accordance with customary law. However, there has been no intention that a Governor should tie his hands in this matter by permitting known misfits or persons of bad character to attain office. Accordingly, a person becomes a Native Authority only when he has been

1. Tanganyika, Native Authority Ordinance, No. 18 of 1926, Cap. 47 of the Laws of Tanganyika. The Ordinance was amended and expanded. In 1947 it was reissued as Cap. 72 of the Revised Edition of the Laws. Since 1947, 22 new whole sections and many sub-sections have been added. The Ordinance will hereinafter be referred to as N. A. Ordinance (1927) or N. A. Ordinance (1947).

Tanganyika, African Chiefs Ordinance, No. 27 of 1953, will be referred to as African Chiefs Ordinance (1953).

2. N. A. Ordinance (1927), Sec. 3 (1); and African Chiefs Ordinance (1953), Sec. 4.

so recognized by the Governor and clothed with statutory powers. Moreover, he who gives power can also take it away if the incumbent Native Authority is no longer deemed fit to continue in his position.¹ Theoretically, at least, the Governor should not appoint;^{he} should accept or reject nominees to the office. However, the Governor has discretionary power to ignore the traditional system of succession entirely, and in cases where no local African appears to be qualified to exercise the office, the Governor may even appoint an administrative officer to carry out the duties incidental to the office of Native Authority.² Thus, the office could no longer be considered as a vested interest of any single person or clan; the hereditary system merely established a claim, not a right.

The "superior/subordination" relationship under the Native Authority System was further manifest with regard to the legal system. The chiefs could no longer consider themselves to be above the law in the exercise of their duties. In the case of criminal acts, they were subject to dismissal from office and to the same procedures of trial and justice as concerned the actions of ordinary tribesmen. Moreover, for misfeasance and malfeasance in office a chief could be fined, suspended from office temporarily, dismissed permanently, or---in extreme cases---even be exiled from his chiefdom and from the District.³

In the matter of the use of armed force, the powers of the Native Authorities have been severely limited. Thus, it is true that a chief has had legal resort in the Central Government Courts against any individ-

1. N. A. Ordinance (1927) Sec. 3 (2) and (4); African Chiefs Ordinance (1953), Secs. 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, and 14.

2. African Chiefs Ordinance (1953), Sec. 7.

3. Ibid., Secs. 13-18 N. A. Ordinance (1927), sec. 14; (1947) sec. 15.

uals who conspire against him or attempt to undermine his authority and lawful power; and further, that he has resort in his own court against persons who impersonate a chief.¹ However, in these instances, as well as in the ordinary exercise of his duties in preventing crime and maintaining peace and good order, the Native Authority has had to rely largely on voluntary submission of the offender or upon the compulsory deputizing of his tribesmen in aiding him in the arrest.² There are, it is true, three classes of subordinate officials at the disposal of the Native Authority, who could assist him as enforcement officers. However, these officials (his traditional and general functionaries and advisors, the staff of messengers, and the natural resources instructors) have not been trained in police work, nor are they armed. The Native Authority is required to apprehend offenders "to the extent of his ability," and only where he is incapable of doing so, can he call upon the Central Government police. There has been a reluctance on the part of the British Administration either to permit Native Authorities to finance and control local police forces or even to have a police post established in the area under the jurisdiction of a chief. Close liaison is maintained between the chiefs and the police officers during an emergency period and for general consultation, but there has been a reluctance to second these

1. N. A. Ordinance (1927), Secs. 12, 13; (1947), Secs. 13, 14. African Chiefs Ordinance (1953), Secs. 26, 27. An example of this was the action taken against the members of the "chama oha Raia" in Lushoto District, where the leaders of the organization were tried on conspiracy charges for having disputed the legitimacy of the present chief of the Wasambaa. Tanganyika, "Tanga Province," Annual Reports of the Provincial Commissioners, (1952), p. 158.

2. N. A. Ordinance (1927), Sec. 5; African Chiefs Ordinance (1953), Secs. 23, 24.

police officers to the Native Authority staff.¹ Thus, the legitimate use of armed force is monopolized by the "superior" component.

The "superior" position of the British Administration vis-a-vis the powers of the Native Authority is further exemplified by the matter of taxation. As we have seen Sukuma and other chiefs in Tanganyika were maintained in the traditional period by a system of tribute, which consisted of cattle, hoes, grain, and other forms of produce, and in labor on the chief's or chiefdom fields. For the most part the tribute was used for the benefit of the chiefdom during times of famine, in feeding visitors and litigants at the chief's baraza (court), and in permitting the chief to live in a manner which his lofty position as head of the chiefdom required. In a subsistence economy everyone had to work hard and there was little left over in the way of food from season to season. Thus, there were few opportunities for abuse of the system. With the coming of the Arab trade and the German occupation, however, the inflow of cloth, metal ware, stock, maize, and other salable commodities, the chiefs were able to accumulate large fortunes without unduly disturbing the ~~livelihood~~ livelihood of their subjects. Although the system became abusive during the German period, no attempt was made to curb the system; indeed the subsidy earned from tax collection gave the chiefs and akidas an additional increment of income. One of the first steps of the British Administration in establishing the Native Authority system was to abolish the system of personal tribute to the chiefs (but not necessarily the tribute to the chiefdom) and to place the chiefs on a salary basis. The chiefs were not, however, to be considered as salaried civil servants of

1. Local Govt. Memo., No. 1, op. cit., pp. 11-12; N. A. Memo., No. 1, op. cit., p. 30.

the Central Government; rather, they were paid out of the Native Administration rebate from the Central Government Native Hut and Poll tax.

The basis of a particular chief's salary depended upon his previous sources of income, his needs, the number of taxpayers under his jurisdiction, and other criteria.¹

The rebate, small fees levied for marriage and divorce registrations and court fines were the only forms of revenue permitted to the Native Authorities until the passage of the Local Rate Ordinance in 1942.² This Ordinance will be discussed in a later chapter of this study, but it will suffice here to state that the amount and form of the rate is subject to Central Government regulation. Thus, the forms of revenue for Native Authorities have been strictly controlled. This control also extends to the matter of expenditures. The establishment during 1925-1927 of a series of Native Treasuries required that there be strict accountability for the expenditure of the funds secured through the rebate, fines, and fees. Actually, in the early years the only expenditures of Native Treasuries, aside from the salaries of chiefs and minor officials, was for the financing of small dressing stations. In this period the District Commissioner was in practice the Native Treasurer.³

During this whole period after the introduction of the Native Authority System, considerable sums of money have been spent in Tanganyika by both the Central Government and by the non-official European missionaries and commercials. However, until recently the amount of money being

1. Mitchell, op. cit., pp. 125-127.

2. No. 29 of 1942, Cap. 183 of the Laws.

3. G. B., Colonial Office, Development of African Local Government in Tanganyika, Col. No. 277 (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1951) p. 38.

spent by the Native Authorities was small and the expenditure was strictly controlled. To an extent this undercut one of the traditional supports for chieftaincy authority in Usukuma, Uchagga, and other areas of Tanganyika where the distribution of food from the tribute collections was a method of manifesting the generosity and the superiority of the chiefs.

The subordinate position of the chiefs has also been apparent in the matter of land policy. It was noted previously that the section of the Mandate Agreement dealing with alienation of land indicated an obligation to respect native laws and customs in this regard. However, there was the added proviso that land could be transferred to non-natives with the consent of the public authorities. Thus, under the Land Ordinance of 1923, the ultimate arbiter in the alienation of land for both public and commercial purposes has been the Governor or his representative.¹ Furthermore, although chiefs have jurisdiction over Africans living in minor settlements, in the case of townships, the area and its inhabitants are withdrawn from a chief's jurisdiction. Moreover, in the case of European and Asian estates, the Native Authority in that area has jurisdiction only over the estate laborers who were normally local residents.

Under the initial concept of the Native Authority System, it was presumed that the chiefs would exercise executive, legislative, and judicial functions. However, with regard to any particular Native Administration, the chief of that unit was only to have such powers under the Ordinance as were specified by the Governor. The only mandatory provision of the Ordinance consisted in the duty of the chief to maintain order and good government in the area under his jurisdiction. By analysis, however, a second mandatory provision is discernible with respect to the establishment of native courts although this is not specifically mentioned as an obligatory provision.

In carrying out the executive and legislative duties of the office,

1. Cap. 113 of the Laws.

the Native Authorities are limited by the fact that they only have such powers as are specified by the Governor and as are vested in them by native law and custom.¹ Thus, although a series of subjects about which the chiefs might issue rules and orders are contained in the Ordinance, the legislative authority is controlled. In the first place, no regulation can be in conflict with a law of the Territory, nor in conflict with British justice and morality. Secondly, Rules and Orders can only be made on the subjects actually permitted to an individual Native Authority. Thirdly, in the absence of action on the part of the Native Authority in issuing an Order necessary for good order and government or for the prevention of famine, the Provincial Commissioner or District Commissioner can himself direct the chief to issue such an Order. If the chief fails to follow the directive, the administrative officer may himself issue the Order, which has the same effect and force as if it had been issued by the Native Authority. A similar procedure prevails with regard to Rules and Orders, which, in the opinion of an administrative officer, should be revoked or not enforced.²

The necessity for such restrictions on the legislative authority of the chiefs was justified by the Administration on several grounds. It must be realized that although the action of the Cameronians in revitalizing the traditional authority was stated to be in the interest of encouraging African participation in the management of their own affairs, the British were not abdicating authority completely. They were merely establishing some auto-limitations on how they would govern. They had no in-

1. N. A. Ordinance, Secs. 3, 4.

2. Ibid., Secs. 8, 9, 11, 15, and 16; and N. A. Ordinance (1947), Secs. 9, 10, 12, and 16. N. A. Memo, No. 1, op. cit., pp. 12, 14, 16.

tentions of permitting the chiefs to regard themselves as minor Sultans of Zanzibar or Kabakas of Buganda. The granting of powers in a piecemeal fashion would, it was hoped, be a reflection of the varying rate of development of the different sections of the Territory. Thus, the advanced Wachagga, Bahaya, and Wanyakyusa were regarded by the Administration as more capable of wielding responsible authority than were tribes like the Wagogo or Baha. Furthermore, the administrative controls over Rules and Orders were necessary, it was felt, because the chiefs and headmen had grown unaccustomed to acting on their own initiative under the German rule and the first ten years of the British administration. Chiefs usually awaited the orders of an administrative officer before acting, and when they did act, they preferred to clothe their instructions as being Orders from Government, thus shifting the odium of responsibility to other shoulders.¹ Finally, the inexperience of the chiefs in dealing with many of the subjects covered by the Ordinance required that the path be tread slowly, and the grants of authority and their acceptance by the chiefs was to be an educative process. Administrators were to teach the chiefs to rule according to "civilized standards" and to take special pains to eliminate oppression of the people, abuse of the lower classes, bribery in judicial cases, and favoritism in appointment to office. Chiefs were also to be encouraged to delegate part of their authority to their subordinates in order to encourage initiative throughout the

1. Ibid., pp. 12, 14-16.

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system.

The Duties of the Native Authorities

As an examination of the Ordinance will reveal, the list of duties which could be specified for a Native Authority were rather limited in scope and largely negative in character. Sections 8 and 9 (now 9 and 10) of the Ordinance list a series of activities about which the chief may issue Orders "prohibiting, restricting, or regulating." The list of regulated or proscribed activities includes gambling, manufacture and distribution of alcoholic beverages, possession of firearms, and public disturbances. Other provisions aimed at prevention of pollution of water sources, deforestation, the spread of human and animal diseases, and the burning of grass. Positive action, but which nevertheless was done under compulsion, had to do with the provision of food for sale to travelers, exterminating tsetse fly bush areas, compulsory planting of famine food, and the provision of paid and regulated communal labor for essential public works and services. The special section dealing with powers of Native Authorities in the event of famine is also in the category of compulsory activities. This section empowers the chiefs to issue orders requiring all able-bodied males to work on public projects, prohibiting

1. Ibid., pp. 19-20. The legislative functions of the Native Authorities consist of two types: Rules and Orders. Generally, Orders are of a more limited application than Rules with regard to the area involved, the time period covered, and the number of persons affected. Furthermore, they may be either oral or written, whereas Rules must be written in a prescribed form. Since the section of the Ordinance governing Rules provides for the levying of fees and may include a right of entry (without which a regulation might be rendered useless), the modern tendency is to enact Rules rather than Orders. Rules in the present period are usually only enacted after much discussion and are viewed as being of a more permanent and responsible character than Orders, which may be issued by an Administrative Officer in the absence of action on the part of the chief. Discussion with J. V. Shaw, Deputy Prov. Commissioner, Sukumaland, Dec., 1953.

the removal of foodstuffs from an area, and controlling movement of the African population.

Positive services which a Native Authority might render were not specifically mentioned in the Ordinance. Indeed, with the exception of the mention of fees, nothing was said about the raising of revenue by the Native Authority, and nothing at all was said about the expenditure of funds. Positive services were still in the hands of the missionaries or the departments of the Central Government. Native Authorities gradually did come to assume responsibilities with regard to health, educational, and natural resources services, but in the early stages the relationship between the Administration and the chiefs on this point was left largely undefined in statutory terms. Services were to be developed empirically.

The Native Court System

Although the establishment of Native Courts is usually regarded as one of the mandatory activities of the Native Authorities, very little is said in the Ordinance about the courts. The Native Court System actually pre-dates the recognition of the Native Authorities by about five to seven years. The first courts were set up in 1919, with modifications and improvements being made in the system in 1920, 1925, 1929, and the latest being the Local Courts Ordinance of 1951.¹

The use of local native courts as integral parts of the legal system of a colonial territory, is a relatively unique practice in colonial administration. For the most part the practice has been to have the

1. Tanganyika, Local Courts Ordinance, No. 14 of 1951. Cf. Tanganyika, Local Government Memoranda, No. 2, (1953), p. 4.

indigenous legal and court systems swept by the boards in favor of the legal system of the colonial power. The rationale for the adoption of the Native Court System in Tanganyika was that the customary law was more in accord with the realities of tribal life, was better understood by the local population, was less expensive, and in other ways was more suitable to the Tanganyika situation than European law could be.¹

As mentioned previously certain customary practices repugnant to British justice and morality were not to be countenanced. Moreover, certain crimes, such as murder and treason, were viewed as being of concern to the Territory as a whole and thus were removed from the jurisdiction of the local courts. Customary law bearing on marriage, divorce, inheritance, guardianship, land tenure, grazing and fishing rights, and sale of property, however, were left within the purview of the traditional legal system. With the separation of the native court system from the control of the High Court in 1929, there have been in effect two separate legal systems existing side by side, with the Native Court System dealing substantially with a separate class of persons and a separate category of law. The appeal ladder went from the Native Courts to the District Commissioner, Provincial Commissioner, and Governor rather than through the High Court. This separation, in the opinion of Sir Donald Cameron, strengthened the position of the chiefs by ensuring that for the time being Native Authorities would continue to exercise both executive and judicial functions in the traditional fashion (where such was the traditional fashion). Since the District Commissioner was already supervising the chief in respect to his executive and legislative functions, it was just as convenient that he, rather than the High Court, would assume responsi-

1. Local Govt. Memo., No. 2, pp. 4-5.

bility for supervising him in his judicial capacity as well. Here, as in other aspects of the affairs of Native Authorities, the "superior/subordinate" relationship was clearly revealed in the fact that the establishment of Native Courts depended upon recognition by the Provincial Commissioners, as the representatives of the Governor.¹

In addition to the customary law, Native Authorities also heard cases involving breaches of Rules and Orders issued under the Native Authority Ordinance. By and large the administration of justice in all respects was permitted to develop in accordance with local circumstances. In most cases this meant that the legal procedures were rather loosely defined in contrast to the European legal system. Rules of evidence were vague, cases were protracted and subject to all sorts of interruptions, the chief might leave the court while testimony was being given, little or no record was made of the testimony, and in other ways the court procedures were extremely informal. Bias in cases dealing with offenses against chiefs was often noticed; many courts were lax in executing their judgment; and there were not a few cases of corruption turning up.² However, lest it be thought the fusion of executive and the judicial powers constituted an autocratic system, it should be noted that a chief, sub-chief, or headman did not himself constitute the court. In each instance these individuals were assisted by a specified number of court elders who were versed in customary law and who had much to do with the rendering of the final decisions.³

1. Ibid.,

2. Ibid., pp. 7-15.

3. G. B., Col. Office, Development of African Local Govt. in Tanganyika, op. cit., p. 37.

GOAL ALTERATIONS IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD

Although the term "local government" is gradually replacing that of "Native Authorities" in the vocabulary of the administrative officers in Tanganyika, the concepts which lay behind the latter term are still very much in evidence in the present period. The control by the Central Government and its agents over the use of force in Tanganyika, the restrictions on legislative and financial autonomy of local government bodies, and other facets of the "superior/subordinate" relationship previously delineated are still essential features of the governmental structure in the Territory. Nevertheless, there have been significant alterations made in the Native Authority System as a result of severe criticism having arisen within the ranks of the administration itself with regard to the advisability of the continued use of traditional authorities as vehicles for local administration.

In some instances the criticism has been leveled against the individual chiefs, rather than the system. It has been charged that the chiefs were old, uneducated, and out of sympathy with the very programs in education, health, and agriculture which they were expected to introduce in Tanganyika. In other instances, however, the criticism was leveled against the manner in which the system had been applied. It had been acknowledged by Sir Philip Mitchell that during his tour as Chief Secretary in Tanganyika it often had been the tendency of administrative officers to rely almost exclusively upon the chiefs without receiving or considering the opinions of individuals and groups who exercised restraint upon chieftaincy authority in the traditional system. During the Second World War the reduced staff and increased duties made it even

more expedient for a District Commissioner to rely upon the chiefs in securing prompt compliance in the matters of recruitment, production schedules, and the maintenance of law and order. All plans for increasing the popular base of the Native Authority System had been shelved for the duration, and in the meantime the chiefs became even more autocratic.¹

Some of the criticism, however, was leveled at more fundamental aspects of the system itself. It was charged, that in view of the expanding development in social and economic services which were being planned for the period following the Second World War, the units of Native Administration were unrealistic areas for the organization of social service programs.

The development of social and economic services revealed a further weakness in the Cameronian system of "Indirect Rule": namely, that the units of Native Administration were unrealistic units for the provision of Social services. Despite the tribal councils and federations which were formed in districts during the 1930's, the units were still too small to be able to afford the expense of providing duplicate facilities in health, agriculture, and other fields. The tribal chiefdom boundaries created obstacles to the common treatment of problems which had regional-wide, and District-wide implications. To an extent this situation had been alleviated by the post-war acceleration in the creation of tribal councils and federations at the district level which brought the chiefs of a district into a common organization. The most notable of the post-war federations have been the supra-district federations of the Wasukuma, formed in 1947, and of the Wanyamwezi, formed in 1954. The unity of other

1. Gov. Sir Edward Twining, remarks in G. B., Colonial Office, Development of African Local Government in Tanganyika, op. cit., p. 5.

tribes, like the Wachagga and Wapare, was carried even further through the establishment of paramount chieftainships.

Nevertheless, despite these consolidations, the basis of these units was tribal affiliation, a criterion which did not always fit the needs of local administration in Tanganyika. This criterion failed to take into consideration the fact that sleeping sickness, shortage of water supplies, cattle quarantines, plant blight, and faulty communications fall universally upon the inhabitants of a particular area quite without regard to the ethnic origins of the residents. And many sections of Tanganyika are, if not multi-racial, at least multi-tribal, areas. While some of the Europeans and wealthier Asians and Africans might be better equipped to handle the effects of calamity, the enormity of the problems and the environmental factors of the African scene have usually required governmental assistance on a fairly large scale in attacking problems. The number of enclaves of European and Asian communities of commercials, settlers, teachers, and other existing in the midst of predominantly African areas has increased rapidly in the post-war period. Further, the development of small industrialization projects and agricultural programs, like the ill-fated Groundnut Scheme, have brought countless numbers of "alien" Africans into areas which had formerly been the exclusive domain of one tribe. In many cases the original inhabitants were finding themselves outnumbered by the outsiders. Thus, throughout these areas, although the "alien" Africans were permitted to take up residence and engage in economic activities, they were excluded from full participation in the political affairs of the area. Even in those areas which have remained mono-tribal, however, the steady process of tribal disintegration in the face of education and new economic enterprises, have been

making the unquestioned acceptance of the tribal authority of the chiefs difficult to maintain.¹

Actually, the criticisms of the Native Authority system had a cumulative effect: changes in one facet of the system in response to criticism would illustrate further weaknesses in the system---or "weaknesses" which arose in consequence of the previous changes having been made. In general the alterations in the post-war goals of the British Administration regarding the expectations vis-a-vis the performance of the chiefs and the Native Authority System as a whole fall under two rubrics: the provision of social services, and reorientation of political values in African tribal societies. Since the modifications under the first rubric are not only chronologically prior but also logically prior with respect to the understanding of the political reorientations, we will treat of this subject first.

PART I

Expanding Programs in Social and Economic Services of Local Government

It was noted previously that the powers of the Native Authorities under the Ordinance of 1927 were both circumscribed and largely regulatory in character. Insofar as the maintenance of law and order was concerned, the chiefs and headmen were performing duties, which as we have seen in our case studies, were not unlike those which they traditionally performed in the tribal societies. However, in not being explicit with regard to the matter of services to be provided by the Native Authorities, the Ordinance overlooked the point that political leadership in traditional systems had often been responsible for providing a certain minimum level

1. Gov. Sir Edward Twining, in G. B., Colonial Office, Development of African Local Govt. in Tanganyika, op. cit., p. 9.

of goal satisfaction and security for the members of the tribal unit. The most obvious ways in which the chiefs, headmen, and other leaders performed this function was in the use of the tribute system as a sort of tribal welfare fund which could be employed in time of famine or crisis. In other ways, too, traditional leadership bore some responsibilities for the education of the young, for seeing that humans and animals alike were kept in good health, that water was supplied, that trees and crops were planted, and a number of other social services were performed.

The difference between the provision of services in the traditional period and the provision of services under modern government lies not in the ends sought---for these have been generally identical. The distinction lies in the means employed for attaining these ends. The provision of modern services of medicine, agriculture, and other natural resources is based upon methods which are rational, that is, they have been subjected to scientific observation and demonstrated to be calculated to achieve the desired ends. In the traditional system, the ends were empirical; but the means were frequently non-empirical. It could not be demonstrated scientifically that the magico-religious roles of a chief or medicine-man had any relationship to the success of crop-growth, the subsiding of epidemics, or the arrival of rain. Accordingly, the role of the chiefs in the provision of social security was not always appreciated by the medical, agricultural, and other technical and professional personnel of the Central Government.

As long as the chiefs were entrusted only with the regulatory aspects of local administration and left the social service functions in the hands of the Christian missions and the Central Government departments, there were relatively few deep-seated doubts voiced about the efficacy

of employing indigenous authorities as vehicles for local administration. The doubts were not really raised until the post-war period, for as one former British official has pointed out, the implementation of development plans in Tanganyika had difficulty in getting started. The depression took away three years from the planners, the locusts took two more, and Hitler took away six. It was not until the implementation of the Colonial Welfare and Development program had introduced the Groundnut Scheme and other large scale social, economic, and educational programs to Tanganyika that the soul-searching vis-a-vis the position of the chiefs became intense.

Exactly what role the Native Authorities should play in the provision of social services was, and is still today, a difficult question to answer. To an extent, the enforcement of Rules and Orders preventing pollution of water, deforestation, the growth of noxious weeds, or the spread of the tsetse fly had already involved the chiefs in at least the regulatory phase of natural resources programs. However, the enforcement of laws with respect to sound agricultural practices is not always the most effective teacher---as the experience of the British Administration in the Gold Coast with respect to the swollen shoot disease of the cacao industry demonstrated. What has been required is a more positive approach to education and an expenditure of funds on experimental agricultural plots, fertilizers, dam construction, and the like. The chiefs, often no better educated than their fellow tribesmen, were poorly equipped to act as educators. Moreover, funds were not readily available to Native Authorities inasmuch as their sources of revenue were limited; and the Central Government was reluctant to separate the responsibility of spending money from the responsibility for raising it. Accordingly,

most of the services were performed directly by the Central Government or by the missions with Government subsidies. This got some services performed, but the performance was often obstructed by local apathy and even outright opposition. It was felt that if the programs were to succeed, they had to be given a popular basis for support. At this early stage the only available media through which to work in securing that popular support were the chiefs and other Native Authorities.

In view of the silence of the Native Authority Ordinance of 1927 on the matter of social services, the administrative officers in subsequent years had to proceed partly without legal authority in developing Native Administration programs. Decisions in many matters were made simply on an ad hoc basis and subject to an almost day to day change in procedures. In practice, many officers regarded the vagueness of the provisions regarding what type of Rules could be made for the "peace, good order, and welfare" an advantage which permitted of flexibility and of a liberal interpretation respecting what functions were permitted.¹ Thus, starting with the initial mandatory functions of "maintaining peace, order, and good government" and establishing Native Courts, there was a gradual transition---especially in the immediate post-war period---from "may" to "must" with regard to the maintenance of roads, minimum health services, provision for primary and middle school education, prevention and alleviation of famine, and regulation and provision of services with regard to a number of natural resources activities. Above this minimal level, there were also an increasing range of activities which it was thought "ought" to be done by local government bodies.²

1. Local Govt. Memo., No. 1, p. 4; and N. A. Ordinance (1927), Sec. 15 (1); and (1947), Sec. 16.

2. Local Govt. Memo., No. 1, p. 12.

Concomitant with these changes, Native Authorities were authorized in 1942 and subsequent years to experiment with new sources of revenue to bolster the Native Treasuries. Actually, as we have mentioned previously, a Native Authority is but one among many agencies asking financial outlays with respect to a single area and often with regard to a single social service. Thus, in Sukumaland, the writer found that although the cadre of African agricultural assistants were all engaged in substantially the same type of activities, some received their salaries from the local Native Treasuries while others received their salaries from the Central Government Agricultural Department. A teacher in a Lutheran mission school in Moshi receives his salary partly from the Central Government and partly from the Native Treasury; and the building in which he teaches was built with mission funds and maintained in part with aid from the Native Treasury.

In view of the criticisms which have been leveled against the Native Authority system with regard to the provision of social services at the local level, an attempt will be made here to analyze the various services in which Native Authorities participate in the present period. Using as a base, the expenditures pages from the Final Financial Statements of two Districts covered in this study, we will attempt to analyze: (1) the various types of programs in which the Native Authorities are engaged; (2) the relative order of importance of the various programs; and (3) the expectations of the British Administration with respect to the performance of the chiefs and other Native Authority personnel in providing these services. The actual performance of the chiefs will be treated in the subsequent case studies. The analysis at this point will also assist us in our subsequent treatment of the role played by the European pro-

SUMMARY OF EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR 1953,
NATIVE TREASURIES OF KWIMBA AND MOSHI DISTRICTS.

<u>Category</u>	<u>Kwimba District</u>		<u>Moshi District</u>	
	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Per cent</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Local Administration	13,425	41.0	29,595	50.0
Marketing	936	3.1	680	1.1
Communications	289	.9	868	1.4
Health	3,635	12.1	5,151	9.3
Education	4,265	18.7	13,091	22.0
Agriculture	447	1.1	795	1.3
Veterinary	496	1.3	470	.8
Forestry	417	1.6	3,236	5.5
Water Development	252	.8	629	1.0
Game (Vermin)	91	.3	24	.04
Miscellaneous	5,614	18.7	4,197	7.1
TOTAL	29,867		58,736	

professional and technical staff in providing District programs; but it will also demonstrated at this point the crucial role which financial arrangements play in the maintenance of the Native Authority System.

(1) Local Administration. Since the introduction of the Native Treasury System, the expenditures in connection with Tribal or Local Administration have always constituted the largest single category. In fact, until the early 1930's it often constituted the only category of expenditure of some Native Treasuries. The payments made under this provision of particular category are not directly concerned with social and economic services; nevertheless, the funds allocated under "Local Administration" pay the salaries of chiefs, sub-chiefs, headmen, clerks, messengers and a host of other Native Authority personnel who are concerned with multifarious regulatory and promotional activities in the fields of education, agriculture, and other local government services. This will become apparent in the description of the subsequent categories, as well as in our case studies of the modern chiefs of Sukumaland, Uchagga, and Unyaturu.

(2) Water development. In the history of the Native Authority System, expenditures under this category have been^a fairly consistent feature of most ledgers of Native Treasuries. The shortage of water (although not necessarily a shortage of rainfall) is a pressing problem in all but a few areas of Tanganyika. Much of the early efforts, of the Administration in this regard consisted of getting the Native Authorities to use their enforcement powers to aid in protecting the existing natural resources of water from pollution and waste. In areas like Uchagga, as we have seen, the construction of furrows to tap the waters of Kilimanjaro and thereby irrigate the Chagga fields had been a performance of the tradi-

tional social system long before the arrival of the Europeans. Uchagga Native Treasury funds have only been used for large-scale furrow construction.

In recent years the Native Authorities have been urged to take more positive measures in meeting the problem of water scarcity. In some cases the problem of loss of water through run-off has been attacked on an individual basis. For example, the chiefs and other subordinate Native Authority personnel have been expected to urge the African cultivators to employ contour farming, tie-ridging and other improved agricultural techniques for holding the water on the land. Here the chiefs and headmen are serving in the capacity of educators, and their effectiveness depends in part upon their understanding and sympathy with the need for improved farming methods.

In other instances, it has been necessary to attack the problem of water collection on a communal basis. Reminiscent of the chiefdom turn-outs in the traditional societies, the communal labor system has been employed to construct a number of types of dams in low-lying areas, ravines, and sandy-river bottoms. Actually, the expenditure for this is almost a hidden item on the ledgers of Native Treasuries. The laborers receive only a nominal payment. Usually a cow is purchased for about Shs. 40/- and roasted for the laborers, and the only other costs are for supervisors and a few tools for digging.

The communal labor turn-outs finds the chief or his headmen serving in traditional tasks of supervising the labor. In some ways the communal labor exactions constitute a support for modern chieftaincy authority. The cow which is given to the laborers is referred to in Sukumaland as a gift from the chief, and the service is still regarded

as a form of personal obligation to the chief although the British Administration insists that it is an obligation to a chieftom. While communal turn-outs are a source of strength, they are also a source of weakness. As we shall see subsequently, in our examination of Sukumaland, the popular political leaders in that area have focused a part of their opposition to the chieftaincy system on the complaint that they have to give free labor to the chief when they could be spending the time tilling their fields and growing cotton.

(3) Communications. The activities of the Native Authorities with regard to the maintenance of small tracks into the more isolated areas of District as well as in the construction and repair of roads leading to the main Public Works Department arterials, have also been a fairly constant feature of the public services performed by the Native Administration. Here again, the chief's headmen were asked to perform tasks of a supervisory capacity which were not out of keeping with their traditional functions. Communal labor turn-outs have been largely replaced by paid labor financed by the Native Treasuries. Supervision still rests in the hands of the headmen, but the payment of salaries has removed the performance of this task from the category of services personally rendered by a laborer to his chief.

(4) Agriculture. In the field of Agricultural activities, the post-war expectations regarding the performance of the Native Authority System is receiving probably its greatest test. The importance of the test is magnified by the predominately agricultural character of the African economy in Tanganyika. In the first two decades of British administration in Tanganyika, the performance of the chiefs with respect to agricultural matters was concerned almost exclusively with regulatory activities

such as seeing that noxious weeds were rooted out, soil erosion measures were observed, people turned out to destroy locusts, extra fields of cassava were planted to meet the famine problem, and that baboon, porcupine, hippo, and other crop-destroying vermin were eliminated.

With respect to famine measures and other activities in which the chief and headmen urged their tribemen to cultivate and harvest their crops on schedule, the expectations of the British with respect to the performance by these officials were not radically divergent from what was traditionally expected of chiefs and headmen in Sukumaland, Uchagga, and other areas of Tanganyika. However, with respect to Sukumaland, the activities of the chiefs with respect to plant disease, locusts, and other pestilences were to be rather thoroughly secularized. The British Administration did not expect scourges to be exorcised by offerings to ancestor-chiefs; they expected scourges to be met by the sweat of the cultivators in facing these problems, and by the propaganda of the chiefs regarding the "natural" rather than the supernatural character of the phenomena. If porcupine were raiding the cassava fields, the chief was either to organize a communal turn-out to destroy the animals or employ someone to do the job on a paid basis.

With respect to soil conservation measures and other improved agricultural practices, the qualifications of the existing Native Authorities as educators of their people have been seriously called into question. In some instances the examples set by the chiefs on their own fields with respect to tie-ridging, the use of improved seed and fertilizers, the introduction of cash crops, and the purchase of ploughs and tractors for mechanical cultivation have been an incentive for the ordinary African cultivators to follow suit. Unfortunately, from the Administration's

point of view, this is not always so. For example, a few of the chiefs of Maswa District, (and the headmen in ^{most} districts) are among the worst violators of the very soil conservation Rules and Orders to which they themselves assented. It can hardly be expected that these same chiefs would be diligent in their efforts to persuade others to follow sound agricultural techniques when they do not do so themselves.

The expenditures of the Native Treasuries for such items as prizes for exemplary cultivators, the maintenance of demonstration farms, and the distribution of improved seed are further evidences of the swing to promotional activities on the part of Native Authorities. That the Native Authorities have not completely abandoned the regulatory and compulsory phase of their agricultural programs is evidenced in a reading of the various Rules and Orders issued by Native Authorities.¹ Moreover, the complaints expressed to me by several rather well-educated African Agricultural instructors that their efforts to encourage the cultivators to start planting early, to follow correct procedures in contour farming, or to use "green manuring" was usually frustrated by the fact that the cultivators were hostile to the instructors because they had to assist the Native Authorities in prosecuting violators of Native Authority Rules and Orders.

The promotional activities of Native Authorities in agricultural enterprises have increased enormously during the post-war period, not only in the ways already mentioned, but also with respect to establishing agri-

1. As an example we may cite the Sukumaland Federal Council, Cultivation of Cotton Order, 1952 (mimeographed):

"a. Any person cultivating cotton must keep his cotton plot clean and free from weeds.

b. It is forbidden for any other crop to be grown in the same shamba together with cotton.

c. Every cultivator of cotton must uproot and burn all cotton plants in his shamba on or before a date announced by the Mtemi (chief). The Mtemi will be notified of this date each year by the Government."

cultural produce markets; hiring staff to instruct in bee-keeping; and even in the purchasing of coffee, tobacco, and other African-produced commodities for bulk re-sale to European and Asian buyers. As this promotional phase increases, the expectations regarding the performances of the chiefs, headmen, and subordinate African departmental staff will also be increased.

(5) Veterinary services. With regard to veterinary services, as well, the scope of the duties of the Native Authorities has expanded from the strictly enforcement phase of ensuring that cattle quarantines are observed; unusual deaths of cattle reported; and over-grazing prevented. Now their duties include the encouragement of cattle inoculation against rinderpest and other diseases; providing watering facilities; and erecting cattle markets to facilitate the sale of cattle to European packing firms. It is in respect to cattle that the Administration has encountered one of its more difficult tasks in the refashioning of African social life. It might be quite logical to argue that the overstocking of the land with "walking hat-racks" (as the lean and sickly Zebu cattle are called by the European livestock officers) depletes the soil, does little to alleviate the Africans' protein deficiency, and deprives him of a source of ready cash with which to pay his taxes or purchase cloth and hoes from an Indian duka (shop). However, the African does not see things in the same light. The ownership of cattle in most parts of Tanganyika has sociological, political, and psychological implications as well as constituting an economic consideration. Cattle play a significant part in binding the marriage contract as well as in most other stages of the rites de passage. Cattle constitute a prestige symbol which gives the owners of large herds significant voices in the political

affairs of a community. Africans have a sentimental attachment to cattle not unlike the emotion shared by many Europeans in respect to their dogs and horses. African cows are not sacred in the Hindu sense, for cows are killed for festive or ceremonial occasion or in times of great famine. As one aged Sukuma cultivator said to the writer:¹

If famine comes I can trade my old cow for food. If she dies, of course, my family can eat her. But if I sell her and get money, and then famine comes---well what good is the money? My family can't eat shillings when there is no food to buy at the duka! Today she gives us milk and manure; tomorrow she may give us meat.

The Veterinary Department personnel find themselves involved in a circular problem on this score. For they are trying both to eradicate cattle diseases and to undertake destocking measures. The two goals are not necessarily incompatible; but in view of African attitudes towards diminishing their herds, the consequences make the two goals appear to be that way. The destocking campaign also runs counter to the actions of the Administration and Native Authorities who see the ownership of cattle as being the most obvious source of taxable wealth in Sukumaland and elsewhere.²

The activities of the chiefs with respect to the problem of destocking of cattle is not unlike that of most of their fellow-tribesmen. Many of the chiefs in Sukumaland, Singida, and elsewhere have the largest herds, and they frame the problem of destocking in personal terms. In areas where a destocking campaign has been approved by the chiefs

1. Nera Chiefdom, Kwimba District, December, 1953.

2. For an interesting anthropological study of the East African attitude toward cattle, see an early work of Melville J. Herskovits, The Cattle Complex in East Africa, reprinted from the American Anthropological (1926), passim.

(as in the five Sukuma Districts and Singida) it has been done so only after years of pressuring by the Administration. Its reluctant acceptance by the chiefs and people is only half the battle; for all manner of evasions are employed by the cattle-owners to keep their herds intact. The training of African subordinate personnel is coming along with difficulty in Tanganyika. The bulk of the staff consists of veterinary scouts, whose primary duties consist of reporting signs of cattle disease or of notifying people of market days, of plans for inoculation of cattle, and of quarantines on cattle movements.

(6) Forestry. In certain areas, like Uchagga, the expenditure for forestry programs by the Native Authorities exceeds that of expenditures for all other natural resources programs combined. This stems not solely from the magnitude of the problems of reforestation on Kilimanjaro, but also from the fact that the preparation of wattle bark for sale has brought the Native Authorities into a business-type operation. The heritage of the soil in the low-lying areas of Moshi depends upon a proper forest cover in the upper regions of Kilimanjaro; consequently the Native Authority staff there is required to use all forms of coercion and education in getting the people to observe proper cutting procedures and to join in reforestation programs. In areas with less forest cover to start with, the problems of reforestation are not looked upon as being so intense. Nevertheless, it is necessary from the standpoint of soil conservation in the face of wind and water erosion that the Native Authorities in Sukumaland and elsewhere urge the people not only to preserve the forest cover that they have, but also to plant more. Furthermore, in view of the lack of other sources of fuel, the establishment of local forest reserves with properly supervised gleaning of wooded

areas can provide the Native Authorities with a useful business operation.

Here again, what is expected of the chiefs as well as the forest headmen and nurserymen in the modern period is that they move into positive promotional activities. Whether they are better equipped to understand the problems of reforestation than are the ordinary cultivators is a difficult question to answer. The need of the ordinary peasant for fuel for his house, coupled with a prejudice in some areas against trees (primarily because they form nesting places for grain-eating birds), makes the educational task of the Native Authorities rigorous indeed.

(7) Health. The participation by the Native Authorities in the field of health services had for many years been largely^a/passive one of providing funds to subsidize mission hospitals and leprosaria or of equipping and staffing a small Native Authority dressing station. After the money had been allocated for salaries, drugs, uniforms, and other equipment, the responsibilities of the Native Authorities were at an end. It is true that the clearance of tsetse areas through communal labor efforts did reduce the incidence of sleeping sickness, but these Native Authority sponsored activities were undertaken more in the interest of increasing the available arable land than for health purposes.

It is only very recently that the chiefs have been urged by the Administration and the European health officers to impress upon their people at every opportunity the necessity for constructing (and using!) pit latrines; for boiling water for drinking purposes; for not eating the meat of animals which died of anthrax; and for observing other simple hygienic measures. In many ways the long years of missionary activity in the field of health have made it almost unnecessary for Native Authorities in

some areas to use compulsion in seeing that cases of venereal disease and other communicable diseases are properly treated at the mission or Native Authority dispensaries. In other areas the chiefs and people alike have to be coerced into observing simple health measures.

(8) Education. The service of local government which has witnessed the greatest transformation during the post-war period has been that of education. This applies not only to the increased expenditures of the Native Treasuries in underwriting both Native Authority and mission education at the primary and middle school level, but to the actual functions which chiefs and headmen are expected to perform with respect to educational services. The Ten Year Plan for Education which went into effect in 1946 has made a tremendous alteration in the literacy rate of many areas. Although the Native Treasuries are expected to bear practically the full cost of both primary and middle school education, the program is still subsidized to a great extent by grants-in-aid from the Central Government.

The activities of the chiefs, headmen and other Native Authority personnel extends to the siting of new schools, seeing that parents keep their children in regular attendance at the schools and pay their school fees, inspecting the school buildings and having necessary repairs made, and in other ways giving encouragement to the local teachers in their school and extra-curricular activities.

From the foregoing analysis, it can be seen that the expectations of the British Administration regarding the performance of the chiefs in social and economic services in only a few instances draw upon the traditional duties of the chiefs in securing the implementation of these services. The emphasis in the immediate post-war period upon educational

and promotional activities rather than simply those of a compulsory character brought into question the advisability of using the system of hereditary chiefs based on tribal units as effective media for instituting new programs.

PART II

Re-evaluation of the Political Aspects of the Native Authority System Goal Revaluation: Political Values

With the radical developments taking place in the social and economic aspects of the African way of life in rural Tanganyika, it was felt by many administrators that the Territory would be in for serious troubles if an equal pace were not maintained in altering the political values and structures of the local tribal units as well. It was argued that the monopoly of power which the chiefs held through combining in their persons executive, legislative, and judicial functions was not only autocratic, but over-burdened them at a time when Government was increasing the scope of their social service programs. Moreover, the fact that chiefs distributed the subordinate offices of the Native Administration to their sons, brothers, nephews, and cousins meant that voices in local government affairs were denied to the increasing ranks of popular elements. This latter grouping consisted of educated and semi-educated young adults; cultivators who had amassed considerable economic power through the sale of coffee, cotton and other cash crops; and the demobilized askaris who had received military training and seen services in other parts of the world. If these groups were not brought into local government affairs, it was argued, Government would be losing the cooperation of people who were better qualified to appreciate and deal with the complicated technical

problems of local services. Government, moreover, would find itself confronted with a political "powder-keg." The activities of teachers, clerks, progressive traders, and others in establishing community welfare projects independent of the local government programs were already manifest, and the threat which they posed to the authority of the hereditary chiefs was often only thinly veiled.¹ From a more positive standpoint, if the new goals of the British Administration in social and economic services were to be accepted by the Africans themselves as part of their own goals, it was felt to be necessary to move from coercion to promotion in getting new programs across. The aspect of coercion was bound to be present when popular education and new economic enterprises had given rise to a class or classes who felt that they were actually in advance of the political leadership which was to be responsible for their education in local government services.

The need for the Administration to be anticipatory with regard to the political aspirations of the Africans arose also from the replacement of the League Mandate System with the United Nations Trusteeship System. The Charter provisions which permit Visiting Missions to make periodic tours of inspection of Trust Territories and the provision for the transmitting of oral and written petitions direct to the United Nations, have given the Africans of the Territory an outside forum of the airing of political grievances. The relationship of the United Nations to the Trust Territory insofar as "control" of the administration is concerned, is often assumed by the less sophisticated Africans to be of greater substance than it actually is. Whether these legal subtleties are appreciated.

1. F. A. Montague and F. H. Page-Jones, "Some Difficulties in the Democratisation of Native Authorities in Tanganyika," Journal of African Administration, Vol. 3 (Jan., 1951), p. 21.

ciated or not, however, the case of the Wameru and their land dispute has demonstrated some of the political consequences of the United Nations channels for dissent which were lacking in the League system. Furthermore, the League pledge, that the Mandatory Power should help the peoples of the Territory "to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world," is much less specific than the statement in the United Nations Charter which sets as an objective of the Trusteeship System:

To promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the Trust Territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement...

Thus, it was the studied opinion of many in the Administration that alterations had to be made in the Native Authority System in order to keep political developments abreast of other changes. However, throughout all of the stages of modification which have taken place in local government activities and structures, the Central Government has been forced to reiterate that the official policy still favors the retention of the hereditary chieftaincy systems as organs of local government administration. This was evidenced rather clearly in 1953 by the publication of the African Chiefs Ordinance. This Ordinance appears to have been published for the express purpose of allaying the fears of the Native Authorities who felt that recent legislation in Tanganyika with respect to local government had signalled the end of the Native Authority Ordinance.²

1. Government of the League of Nations, Article 22, Sec. 1; and Charter of the United Nations, Arts. 76b, and 87.

2. Local Government Ordinance, No. 35 of 1953. This will be referred to as: Local Government Ordinance (1953), in subsequent notations. For information regarding the publication of the African Chiefs Ordinance, cf. Local Govt. Memo., No. 1, p. 7.

A number of official statements also seem to substantiate that the policy is to retain the chiefs. For example, the Governor indicated in a speech in May, 1954, that "it is of great importance that the position of the Chiefs and Native Authorities should not be undermined or brought into disrespect".¹

Although the chiefs were to be retained, they were not to be retained without some modifications being made in the Native Authority System. These modifications, taken as a whole, constitute the introduction of local government on the English model. It is difficult to lay bare the essential principles of English local government inasmuch as actual practice in the United Kingdom during and since the last war have resulted in many modifications of the long-accepted principles. Furthermore, colonial practices have usually resulted in modifications suiting the particular situation.² Nevertheless, at least a number of aspects of English local government are discernible in recent modifications in political structures and practices in Tanganyika.

(1) Encouragement should be given to the solution of local problems at the local level. This is based on the assumption that the substances and procedures of local action is best when it is in accord with the parochial environment and attitudes. However, since the local government

1. Tanganyika, Legislative Council, Statement by His Excellency the Governor to Legislative Council on 12th May, 1954.

2. A. H. Marshall, "The Adaptation of English Local Govt. Principles to Colonial Territories, Journal of African Administration, Vol. 4 (Oct. 1950), pp. 34-39.

3. The following works have been useful in this summary: Tanganyika, Constitutional Development Commission, Report of the Special Commissioner to examine matters arising out of the Report of the Committee on Constitutional Development (1953), pp. 5 ff; C. A. G. Wallis, Report of an Inquiry into African Local Government in the Protectorate of Uganda (1953), pp. 17-20; and Tanganyika, Local Govt. Memo. No. 1, pp. 16, 17. Observations in the field have been included in the summary.

body receives its authority from the Central Government, local actions should not be in conflict with the laws and policies of the Central Government. Furthermore, where services are jointly provided by both levels of government, cooperation is required and a certain degree of uniformity in procedures might be required of all local government bodies on the grounds of efficiency in supervision and control.

(2) Local government bodies should be representative of the local population. That is, the base for the selection of membership on councils or other bodies should be popular and as broad as possible. The executive, even in the case of hereditary chiefs and headmen, should be subject to some sort of popular approval, although this approval need not necessarily be given in a formal election with secret ballots.

(3) The unit of local government must have adequate financial resources under its own control. "He who pays the piper, calls the tune." The Central Government, it has been argued, cannot be expected to delegate full responsibility to a local body for the expenditure of funds which were derived from taxes collected from all sections of the Territory.

(4) The local government councils should be multi-purpose bodies. For convenience, the large councils should be divided into various committees having charge of finance, education, and various social services. The ultimate control over committees' actions would be vested, of course, in the plenary council.

(5) Separation of powers should be observed as between the executive, legislative, and judicial functions of government. Thus, the power to make Rules and Orders was to be vested in a representative multi-purpose council, with the chief as executive becoming a chief-in council. The necessity for judicial independence stems from the British tradition that

one should not be a judge in his own case. Since many of the cases before a chief's court stem from infractions of Rules and Orders issued by the chief and enforced by him.

(6) The actions of the local government bodies should have application to all the residents of a territory without regard to ethnic origins.

Actually a few of these principles of English local government were already features of the Native Authority Ordinance of 1927 (as subsequently amended). That is, the recognition of Native Authorities having varying powers to issue Rules and Orders under the Ordinance did indeed allow for adaptation of administration to fit the local needs. Further, the third point, financial independence, had been developed from the original situation, in which the Native Authorities had only authority to spend the Central Government rebate from the House and Poll Tax, to the present situation in which local rates and produce cesses are levied by Native Authorities.

The Conciliar System in African Local Government

The democratization of the Native Authority System has proceeded gradually in the post-war period, primarily through the addition of popular economic leaders, agricultural instructors, and other individuals to the tribal and federal councils of chiefs. These popular members have in most cases been merely advisory, and their effectiveness has varied from area to area. However, only in Bukoba, where the popular elements had achieved a degree of economic power through the local coffee trade, and were vocal in their political demands, did the strongly entrenched chiefs resent the presence of advisers.

Once the idea of popular participation in councils meeting had gotten

a hold at the federation and tribal council levels, the Administration started in the late 1940's to develop a hierarchy of councils which would ultimately find a pyramid of councils ranging from the parish or village level at the bottom, through the chiefdom and divisional levels in the middle, and culminating in the all purpose district or supra-district council at the top. As had been characteristic of the development of Native Authorities in the pre-war period, the post-war developments of the conciliar system varied in relation to the political acumen of the local population, the pace of economic development, and other factors. Certain broad patterns, however, were discernible. Inasmuch as we are concerned primarily with only three of the areas of Tanganyika, we shall reserve further analysis of this point until we take up the case studies.¹

The inclusion of non-official Europeans and Asians on local government councils was, until recently, restricted to municipal councils. Where the practice was extended to cover rural areas, it began at no level lower than the District. Probably the earliest attempt at such inclusion came with the creation of the non-statutory Lake Province Council in 1949. This Council, which was still in operation in 1954 (although its functions were to be taken over by the South East Lake County Council) consisted of the Provincial Commissioner, senior departmental representatives, and non-official African, Asian, and European membership. A similar venture was started in the Southern Highlands Province in 1950.²

1. The patterns of development are outlined in G. B., Colonial Office, Development of African Local Government in Tanganyika, op. cit., passim. Developments since the publication of this document in 1950 are traced in an annual release of the Tanganyika Secretariat entitled "Development of African Local Government in Tanganyika, for the year ____" (mimeographed).

2. Tanganyika, Annual Reports of the Provincial Commissioners, 1949, p. 43; and 1950, p. 135.

The formalization for Tanganyika of the conciliar system based on the principles of English local government came with the adoption of the Local Government Ordinance of 1953. This Ordinance is based largely on the findings of a commission of Europeans, Africans, and Asians, under the leadership of Professor W. J. M. Mackenzie of Victoria University, Manchester.¹ On the basis of the Mackenzie recommendations, the Tanganyika Legislative Council enacted an enabling ordinance of 168 sections, which is highly comprehensive with regard to the composition of authorities, procedures for meetings, duties and functions of authorities, the subject of bye-laws and financial authority, and other aspects of substance and procedures of local government bodies. Generally, it provided for three types of councils: county councils (composing one or more of the present districts), local councils (composing a district or part of a district), and town councils (the present townships). As mentioned previously, this Ordinance is an enabling ordinance and does not make the Native Authority Ordinance redundant until all Native Authorities have been transformed into local government bodies of one of the above types. At the writer's departure from Tanganyika, only some of the townships and the proposed South East Lake County Council seemed to be ready to take advantage of the provisions of the Ordinance. The transformation of Native Authorities into local councils would be a long time in coming, and the actual conversion will depend upon local demand and necessity, or, as the phrase coined in Nigeria had it: "cash, competence and consent."²

1. Tanganyika, Constitutional Development Commission, op. cit., passim.

2. Local Govt. Memo., No. 1, pp. 7-8, 10.

It is difficult to see where the adoption of the Ordinance leaves the chiefs. Supposedly, insofar as mono-racial councils are concerned, the chief would be retained as an executive responsible to his council. In multi-racial councils, the president of the council would not necessarily be either the chief or his nominee, but rather someone acceptable to the council as a whole.¹

Informational Services

Actually, one step in the direction of increasing the popular basis of local government preceded the adoption of the Ordinance by a number of years, and was undertaken without any alterations having to be made in the structure of the Native Authority System. We refer here to the establishment of district newspapers to keep the people informed of what their Native Authorities are doing. Word of mouth is no longer sufficient means for disseminating information in view of the expanding population. Moreover, with the 10 Year Program on Education in full swing, an expanding number of rural Africans are able to read. Taking advantage of this, district newspapers, subsidized by the Native Treasuries, have emerged in most districts. With the exception of a few districts, like Moshi, the editing of the papers is under the close supervision of a European officer who checks the contribution of the African staff prior to publication. In the Wachagga area, the Chagga Council has subsidized a weekly publication called Komkya (Chagga Dawn), and it is not only avidly read by the Wachagga, but is largely African run and supervised and is very informative regarding the affairs of local government.

1. Ibid., p. 10.

Alterations in the Native Courts

Modifications in the judicial system at the local level is the final point to be considered with regard to the alterations in the political values which have taken place in the post-war period. The divesting of the chiefs of their judicial functions has been argued not only on the grounds of essential justice, but also on the grounds that it is expedient. The growth in crime and social disorder as a result of changes in the economy and education of the Africans, as well as the increasing number of executive duties which have been placed on the chief's shoulders with regard to social service, make it necessary that the executive and judicial activities be performed separately if they are to be performed at all in an efficient manner. Of these two types of activities, it was felt that the chiefs should limit themselves to an executive role. The task of divesting the chiefs of their judicial functions has been a gradual process, however. In the first stages a deputy chief is appointed to deal with court cases along with the chief. Later the post of independent magistrate emerges and the separation between the executive and judiciary is made complete.

Not only has the personality of the courts been altered, but the whole system of local justice is becoming more specific as regards performance and procedures. The local law still applies only to Africans; but within this category of persons the application of justice is being made more on the basis of the nature of the crime rather than upon such criteria as the tribal origin of the accused, the relative clan strength of the plaintiff and defendants in "civil" suits, and the ability of the convicted person to pay his fines. The recording of customary law in some areas,

and its use as a guide both to African chiefs and to administrators in the appeal ladder, has also brought a greater amount of regularity into various systems of tribal law.¹

Furthermore, since 1951 a beginning has been made in the integration of the two independent court systems, the High Court and the Native Courts, through the appointment of a judge of the High Court to the Central Court of Appeal, the final arbiter for the Governor in cases dealing with customary law. Moreover, the tightening up and regularizing of procedures with regard to the issuing of warrants, setting bail, defining contempt of courts, requiring the speedy administration of justice, and defining rules of evidence, constitute a precursor to the eventual integration of the two systems. African customary law will have a status comparable to English common law.²

In contrast to the pre-World War II period, the present stage is much more dynamic insofar as the question of intentional change is concerned. In many instances the Administration is well in advance of the African population in the matter of anticipating demands for political and economic changes. It might be argued that the changes are compatible with African aspirations because the process of education has resulted in the stage where European notions regarding the value of sanitation, education, scientific farming, and the like are also African notions for a growing segment of the "subordinate" societies. However, in view of the fact that such ideas are far from being universally accepted as the ex-

1. The works of Hans Cory in this regard, stand out: Sukuma Law and Custom (1953); Cory and Hartnoll, Customary Law of the Haya Tribe (1945); "Rimi Law and Custom" (duplicated); and other unpublished manuscripts on Wanyamwezi Law.

R. de Z. Hall, "Nyakyusa Law from Court Records," African Studies, Vol. 2 (Sept. 1943), pp. 153-161; and a series of articles by Godfrey and Monica Hunter Wilson on the Wanyakyusa have appeared in Rhodes-Livingstone Papers, No. (1938); and No. 3 (1939).

2. Tanganyika, Local Govt. Memo. No. 2, pp. 15-56, passim; and Local Courts Ordinance, No. 14 of 1951.

pressed wishes of the rural Africans, the British Administration is exercising a benevolent form of paternalism.

Regarding the utilization of the chiefs, it is apparent that the post-war developments have added new duties to be performed by the chiefs and subordinate Native Authority personnel which frequently finds them engaged in performances which are radically different from those in which chiefs traditionally engaged. At the same time many of the traditional supports for chieftaincy authority, as well as many of the supports for such authority which were provided by the initial application of the Native Authority System, are being altered or abolished. Although it has been the stated policy of the Administration to retain the system of rule by hereditary chiefs, the modifications in the system are of such significance that it might be questioned whether the system has actually been retained at all.

For a growing number of better-educated Africans, members of cooperatives, and Christianized Africans the retention of the hereditary system of chiefs is a regressive measure. However, these groups with a few exceptions primarily urbanized Africans and extremely small in number compared to the preponderantly rural and uneducated Africans who at least passively appear to accept chieftaincy rule as a natural order. Nevertheless, as the experience in India, the Gold Coast, and other dependent areas has demonstrated, it is the small educated elite which often sets the pace for political developments. Consequently, in the subsequent case studies attention will be given to popular leadership to Sukuma and Chagga societies.

CHAPTER VII
THE DISTRICT COMMISSIONER

While the Chiefs stand out as the most significant elements on the "subordinate" side of the present situation of political dependency in Tanganyika, the attention on the "superior" side of the relationship focuses upon the District Commissioners. In certain respects the Native Authority System only becomes intelligible when we consider the interplay between these two sets of individuals. The District Commissioner, as representative of the Central Government at the District Level, is not only the most significant contact that the Chiefs have with respect to the exercise of political authority, but he also plays a part in regulating all other relationships which the Chiefs and ordinary cultivators may have with other Europeans and Asians, whether officials or non-officials.

To a very great extent, the District Commissioner personifies the "superior" component in the situation of political dependency. Even today, after almost 70 years of European Administration, there are enclaves in the Southern and Western Provinces where the only non-African to have made an appearance in the area has been an intrepid District Commissioner. Coming on foot or by canoe, he confirms in a visual manner the reports regarding the Europeans which have been brought back to the local settlement by the Africans who have returned from labor in the mines or on the estates.

In the Central Government hierarchy, the District Commissioner stands rather low on the administrative totem-pole. As far as legal authority for many actions affecting the Native Authority System is

concerned, as well as in the determination of broad policy matters, precedence is taken by the Governor, the Member for Local Government, and the eight Provincial Commissioners.¹ When it comes to deciding which powers may be exercised by the chiefs; which sources of revenue may be tapped; whether one may engage in a certain type of program; and even who may exercise the authority of a chief, the ultimate responsibility for the decision lies not with the District Commissioner but with someone further up the hierarchy. Nevertheless, there is a great deal of latitude given to the local administrative officers in solving their problems in a manner best suited to the local conditions. Even where ultimate responsibility for a decision rests with the Member for Local Government or the Provincial Commissioner, the effective decision is in many cases made at the District level.

To the ordinary African cultivator the machinery of the Central Government is remote and unintelligible. The District Commissioner, on the other hand, is flesh and blood, and can be seen merely by walking a number of miles to the District boma or by waiting until he makes his periodic rounds of the District. In a country where communications are still rather shockingly poor and the population largely illiterate, one must depend rather heavily upon face-to-face contact in bringing about the transformations in the traditional ways of life desired by the British Administration. As the District Commissioner goes about inspecting schools, checking on the progress of cultivation, or urging the people to destock their cattle, he becomes a personal guide and supervisor to the Chiefs and people alike with regard to

1. G.B. Colonial Office, Tanganyika, 1953, op. cit., pp. 12, 116.

the goals of the "superior/subordinate" relationships.

In many instances the relationship between the District Commissioner and the African population is still one of sentimental fondness. It is a relationship which would be neither appreciated nor tolerated by members of various races in other parts of the African continent. Despite the fact that the British post-war colonial policy has been referred to as "Imperialism with a bad conscience," one still senses that the British officers in Tanganyika have an attitude of "mission."

I have noticed this in some of the elder District Commissioners who have sort of a father/son relationship with the chiefs, as well as in the young cadets, who are fresh out of the Oxford Training Course and are jokingly referred to by their seniors as "Empire Builders." I would hardly classify the attitude as being a patronizing one of the Kipling ilk; rather it appears to be a genuine feeling that here is a solid "job of work to be done, and let's do it!". Although many of the urban and educated Africans are infinitely more appreciative of the work of the District Commissioner than they are of the officer himself, the rural African still, by and large, manifests at least an outward display of fondness towards his District Commissioner. The Africans of the bush take a very personal concern in the comings and goings of the District Commissioner, over the health of his wife, and over his personal characteristics. In many cases a "joking relationship" obtains between the officer and the Africans of his area, and this helps immeasurably in taking off the biting edge of the increasing demands which modern local government developments are making upon the African population. Many of the administrators have adapted well to the African milieu, and have mastered the art of patience and

the African unconcern for time. As one who has learned his lessons well stated to me;

It doesn't always matter whether you tell a person with a complaint that he's wrong or that nothing can be done at this time. Just being seen by him and letting him get the matter off his chest is usually sufficient tonic for the man with a complaint. In court, too, many an African offender will admit his guilt and take his punishment unflinchingly, but will refuse to do either until he has been heard.

In many ways this personal contact between the District Commissioner and the African population is being lost. The rotational system which finds an officer being posted to Mikandani in the southeast for one tour and posted to Geita or Bukoba in the northwest on the next, hardly gives him the opportunity to establish any sort of familiar bonds with the people of the area. In fact, rotation which takes place within a single three-year tour has prompted one officer to refer to the system as "the usual bout of musical chairs."¹ Furthermore, were the officer to take the trouble of learning the vernacular language in addition to the required Swahili, he might soon find that his knowledge has been rendered useless as a result of his being posted elsewhere. The problem of maintaining personal contact is even more seriously complicated by the growing intensity of development plans which require the attention of the District Commissioner at the District boma. As one very conscientious District Commissioner

1. In looking at the five Sukuma Districts during the period from 1946 to 1954, we find that Mwanza had nine changes of District Commissioner, Shinyanga and Maswa had six each, and Kwimba had five. Geita, which was formed as a District in 1950 has had three changes in three-and-a-half years. Mwanza, Kwimba, Maswa, Shinyanga, and Geita Districts, "Annual Reports of the D.C.", 1946 to 1953 (typewritten).

commented to me:

Getting out and seeing the people is probably the most important aspect of my work; but it is becoming increasingly more difficult to do this. It matters very little how perfect a regulation is when it is issued from the District Commissioner's office, unless there is personal contact and until constant explaining and re-explaining has resulted in the people understanding the significance of the order. It takes a lot of patience, but your reward is finally received when you hear some old fellow mumble: "That makes sense. Strange no one ever thought of that before!"

That foot-high pile of paper work you see on my desk is probably the least important aspect of local government; but that's the stuff that has to be done. If it's done, and done correctly, I'll save myself from getting any "rockers" from higher-up. However, if I ignored the most important part of local government—getting out and seeing the people—no one but myself, my District Officer, and, of course, the people of the District, would be the wiser.

Relationships with the Chiefs

At the barest minimum, the relationship between the District Commissioner and the Chiefs involves the right and duty of the former to inspect the performance of Native Authorities in the fields of finance and in the provision of public services. Even under the concept of local government envisioned in the Local Government Ordinance of 1953, the District Commissioner will still remain in his inspectorial capacity after the other duties of local administration have been rather thoroughly shifted to the local authorities. At the present stage of development, however, not even the Wachagga, the most advanced tribe in the Territory, have been accorded full responsibility for the conduct of their local administration. At the opposite end of the scale, we find areas like Buha and Ugogo where for many purposes the responsibility for local government operations is almost completely in the hands of the District Commissioner. He draws up the Estimates, suggests new forms of revenue, initiates new programs in social and

economic services, prods the chiefs into carrying out programs and seeing that enforcement measures are taken, and in a hundred other ways runs the entire show. In the transformation of the population in that area, the District Commissioner is obliged to carry the illiterate and unsympathetic Native Authorities along as so much dead weight. It is not the intention of the administrative officials that such a situation should exist, but in the absence of initiative on the part of the Africans themselves, the European Administration has felt obligated to push or pull the African along the road to material improvement malgre lui.

In the present stage the ideal role of the District Commissioner is one of a guide and supervisor of the Chiefs and people alike. To a certain extent it is desired that the Chiefs and subordinates bring to the relationship prior experience which will be of assistance in the attainment of the new goals discussed above. Thus, there has been an attempt to secure, within the limitation of hereditary succession, a cadre of chiefs who are better educated than their forebears and who have had various experience in local government or with the Agricultural, Veterinary, and other Departments of the Central Government.

By far the most important experience the chief receives, however, comes through his contact with the District Commissioner. This contact may be maintained at the District boma when the chiefs come in for meetings of the chiefs' appeals court or meetings at which District policy is formulated; or the contact may be maintained in the chiefdom officer when the addresses barazas. Only on the rarest of occasions will a District Commissioner make a tour of a chiefdom other than in the company of the local chief. This joint touring helps to make the "superior/

subordinate" relationship manifest to the local population.

In one way this close relationship constitutes a support to chieftancy authority by reminding the people that the Rules and Orders of the Native Authorities have the full support of the Central Government, and that the chiefs may rely, if necessary, on the physical force of that Government in the enforcement of the local regulations. In another way, however, it weakens the authority of both efficient and inefficient chiefs. In areas where the emergent population is increasing, the close relationship between the Commissioner and a chief who is efficient with respect to the goals of modern local government frequently results in the chief being labelled a tool of the European Administration. On the other hand, an inefficient chief may also lose support. This stems from the fact that it might be necessary for the Commissioner to deliver a reprimand on-the-spot to a chief who has been lax in the execution of his duties. Since it is difficult to avoid making this a public reprimand, the chief is subject to a loss of prestige in the eyes of his own taxpayers. His ability to execute his duties may thus be further impaired.

The success of the relationship depends upon the continuity and the intensity of the contact. The rotational system of posting mentioned above breaks that continuity. From the standpoint of the chiefs, the efficient ones suffer by the fact that their plans are passed from hand to hand and that a new District Commissioner is reluctant to approve plans he hasn't thoroughly inspected. An inefficient chief can persist in his habits without interference from the boma. The intensity of the Commissioner's contact with the chiefs is limited by the scope of the problems faced in the District and by his own incli-

nations regarding the necessity of safaris. One very enthusiastic District Commissioner was able to spend an average of 21 days a month including 9 overnight trips away from Headquarters, and in each six month period, he had been able to get into every chiefdom, sub-chiefdom and practically every village of the District. Other District Commissioners, it should be noted, are less fortunate.

The task of administration is shared by a number of District Officers operating under the jurisdiction of the District Commissioner.

Their number ranges from about one to four for a District. They may be assigned duties on either an area or a subject matter basis (for example, supervision of the local courts or finance). In general the District Officers are younger, have less experience and knowledge of the local language, and are subject to even more frequent rotation than that faced by the District Commissioners.

A post-war innovation in the administrative service is the introduction of the rank of African District Officer. The number of these officers was only seven in 1953, most of these were graduates of Makerere University at Kampala. The recruiting of Africans for administrative posts is still very much in the experimental stage. The A.D.O., after having passed his law examination and being given third class magisterial powers, is enabled to exercise jurisdiction in matters concerning all sections of the population. How this will be taken by the European settlers and commercials is still an open question. Moreover, some of the chiefs, who can take orders from a European and accept it as inevitable, seem to regard the African

1. District Commissioners are actually District Officers who are placed in charge of a District.

administrative officer as a more direct threat to their positions. Future consequences aside, the African District Officers appear to be genuinely accepted by their fellow European administrative officers with regard both to the work involved and to social contacts. Thus, we must include within the ranks of the "superior" component a number of Africans who are exercising administrative duties.

The District Team

In addition to the District Commissioner and other administrative officers, the District "team" of European officers consists of a number of persons with professional or technical training who represent the Central Government departments. Practically all districts, in view of the predominantly agricultural character of the Tanganyika economy and in view of the prevalence of cattle in most of the areas of East Africa, will have one or more Agricultural field officers and at least one livestock inspector on their District teams. The posting of additional numbers and types of personnel above this minimum depends upon circumstances. In Moshi District, for example, the forested area of Kilimanjaro presents problems of sufficient magnitude to require the permanent posting of a conservator of forests. In education, as well, an Assistant Provincial Education Officer might be assigned to supervise developments in a single district where the progress in education is going on at a rapid pace. Furthermore, if a Central Government hospital is located within the confines of the District, then it usually follows that the Medical Officer in charge will be considered a part of the district team of that area. Other problems such as tsetse bush clearance, water development, protection of game, and fisheries development will normally be handled on a supra-district or

Provincial basis, unless the intensity of the problems requires the posting of one officer to a single District.

Although we shall defer for the moment the problem of coordination of administrative efforts with those of the technical and professional officers, we should like at the outset to make clear the position of the District Commissioner with respect to the departmental personnel. Local Government Memoranda, No. 1 sets out that:

....It is the right and the duty of the District Commissioner, normally in his capacity as leader of his district team, to determine the extent and manner of dealings between Government officials and the local authorities, but once a policy has been decided, the departmental officer should have free and direct access to the local authority, for both statutory and non-statutory purposes.

Inasofar as technical and professional matters are concerned, the departmental personnel posted to the districts are still under the direction of their respective supra-district, provincial, or regional supervisors. The departmental officers make individual decisions regarding technical matters within the broad framework of the political decisions for which the District Commissioner bears primary responsibility.

Through accompanying several departmental officers on safari and observing them in their work, I was able to gather some facts and impressions which may be of use in seeing how the departmental personnel affect the operation of the Native Authority system. A few broad impressions may be noted first.

In general, the education background of the technical personnel at the District level is less than that of the administrative officers. This frequently compels the District Commissioner to carry the burden of decision-making alone. However, it should be noted that

I heard of only a few instances in which departmental personnel felt that a District Commissioner attempted to dominate affairs.

Departmental personnel frequently have less understanding and appreciation of the traditional social and political systems of the indigenous populations. That is true in the case of administrative officials. A number of livestock inspectors admitted to the writer that they had little knowledge prior to their arrival in Tanganyika of the position of cattle in the African social system, and little appreciation of the "cattle complex" after it had been explained to them. A similar lack of knowledge was displayed by the agricultural field officers with respect to local land utilization and the indigenous economic organization. A number of field officers however, were aware of the fact that this failing on their part led to a serious lack of communication between themselves and the people when a new agricultural program was being introduced. Concomitant with this, there appeared to be little appreciation for the political modifications which are currently taking place pari passu with the development of social and economic services. One very senior agricultural officer expressed the opinion to me that:

Economic development should be the primary concern of Government. Otherwise, as is true in _____, there is too much talk and too little action. Arguing and democratic procedures may be necessary to satisfy UNO (the United Nations) but in the meantime the soil is wasting away because the chiefs want to argue about whether tie-ridging should be made compulsory and whether people should be prevented from cultivating right up to the river banks.

The professional and technical personnel complain that their efforts in advising the people with regard to improved animal husbandry, better cultivation techniques, or sanitary procedures are negated by the fact that they have to be involved in police functions. It was

felt that as long as departmental personnel must be concerned with bringing violators of Native Authority Rules and Orders before the local courts, the people will fail to appreciate that the advice given them is for the benefit of the individual African and his community. Altruistic paternalism is frustrated by the Africans' suspicions about ulterior selfish interests on the part of the Europeans. I heard suspicions of this nature voiced by Africans in a meeting of leaders of cooperative societies in Mwanza. On the other hand, it should be recorded that at least one chiefdom council in Singida District expressed its thanks to Government for "forcing them to farm."¹

Ideally, the departmental officers, in his dealings with the African population, is supposed to work through the media of the Native Authority, the headmen, and the subordinate departmental personnel since the European officer himself does not have the right of entry upon which so much of his supervisory and inspectorial tasks depend. However, the nature of his work actually brings him into more numerous and more sustained contact with the African cultivators than is true of the administrative officer. Accordingly, the seriousness of the foregoing points should be evaluated in terms of this.

Inasmuch as the agricultural and veterinary staffs are common features of practically every district in the Territory, we shall devote some space to further impressions gathered with respect to these two classes of departmental personnel.

The District Agricultural Staff

The average component of agricultural staff in a district consists

1. Singida Chiefdom, "Minutes of Chiefdom Council," May, 1952 (Typewritten). Trans. from Swahili.

of two field officers, with each being given jurisdiction over separate sectors of the district. Mechanization schemes, vermin control, rice development projects, bush clearance, and resettlement programs may call for the posting of additional agricultural personnel to a district. However, since the work of these latter officers is specialized, we shall concentrate on the agricultural field officers having general duties. Until recently, the typical field officer was recruited from among the class of "farmers' sons." These are persons from the United Kingdom or other Commonwealth countries who have had considerable practical experience in farming but little advanced formal education. With the introduction of new programs in local government, this lack of higher education among field officers had been viewed with concern. The positions have now been frozen, and a two year diploma in agriculture will be a minimum requirement henceforth. Furthermore, in recognition of the interwoven character of the social, political, and economic phases of African life, efforts are being made to familiarize field officers with the rudiments of anthropological findings about the people with whom they are working. In Sukumaland, for instance, the Agricultural Officer in charge of the five districts of central Lake Province, has had distributed copies of Hans Cory's Sukuma Law and Custom.^f

The post usually appeals to young single men, who despite the low salary, are usually able to put aside quite a bit as a result of the liberal safari allowance. The safari work of the agricultural

1. Above information obtained from I. Constantinescu, Agric. Officer, Sukumaland Development, Nov., 1953.

staff is much more intense than that of the administrative officers. One New Zealander in Kwimba District spent 123 days on tour during a six month period, with 92 of these days constituting overnight safaris in isolated areas of the district. While an average of 21 days a month on safari is quite high, other field officers in Maswa, Mwanza, and Singida Districts said that they managed to get in anywhere from 15 to 19 days a month on touring. Thus, the potentialities of their contact with the African population are greater than those of the District Commissioner.

The success of the Field Officer's efforts depend upon organizational support from the Native Authority personnel. In making his tour of the district, the field officer finds it advisable to have the headman of the locality and the African agricultural instructor accompany him. It is felt that the people will more likely follow the Officer's advice (and that of the African instructor, after the Field Officer has left the area) if it is given in the presence of the headman, who is often respected leader in his community. In addition to the chiefs and headmen, there is approximately one African agricultural instructor or assistant in each village who receives his orders regarding technical matters from the Field Officer although the instructor is under the general jurisdiction of the Native Authority of the area concerned.

The technique employed by the Field Officer in getting his programs across to the people may consist of individual contact as he goes around on safari checking the status of planting, harvesting, weeding, and the like; or it may consist of group contact. Group contact can be maintained either in a general baraza or through lectures. Group contact may also come through lectures given at the Native Authority or mission schools. In these lectures he stresses the utility of early planting, crop rotation, manuring, mechanical cultivation, or planting cash crops. It is felt that contact with the younger generation is more significant inasmuch as the old people are rather set in their ways.

Other promotional activities of the Field Officer consist of encouraging people in the growth of cash crops. In Sukumaland, this even extends to the supervision of the distribution of free cotton seed. Produce markets also come under the jurisdiction of the Field Officer, and here he attempts to encourage small trade as well as seeing that Africans get fair prices for their vegetables from the Indian and Arab buyers.

In other activities the Field Officer is largely "stemming the tide." That is, he is doing his best to see that soil conservation measures are followed, that plant diseases such as striga are reported immediately and measures taken against them, and that the Africans take steps to eradicate the crop-destroying porcupine, hippo, baboon, and locusts. Against locusts, of course, the Africans are rather powerless to help themselves. The tribal turn-outs I have witnessed in connection with "locust-beatings" were rather pathetic affairs.¹

1. The information contained in the above paragraphs was received in interviews with various Field Officers (Agric.) in Sukumaland during Oct. 1953 to Feb. 1954. Richard Foreman and Vincent Allen of Kwimba District were especially helpful in letting me accompany them on safari.

Veterinary Services

In the veterinary services, as in the field of agriculture, there was concern expressed over the educational background of the European personnel at the district level. As one very senior officer stated to the writer, what was really required was at least one veterinary officer and several livestock inspectors in each district. At the present time, however, only a few districts, like Singida, had well-qualified veterinary officers in charge of the district's animal husbandry programs. Many districts had to consider themselves fortunate to have even one livestock officer appointed to their respective district teams. The senior officer mentioned above, also regretted the fact that the recruitment authorities in the United Kingdom paid so little attention to the training of veterinary personnel in at least basic Swahili and a rudimentary knowledge of anthropology. Lack of knowledge in the latter field has had severe consequences. The livestock inspector might be successful in getting the people to have their animals inoculated against rinderpest and other diseases, but unless they were able to get around the consequences of the "cattle complex," their preventive medicine only aggravated the problem of over-grazing. More positive answers to the problem of over-stocking, comes in the encouragement of creamery cooperatives; campaigns by the medical authorities and the chiefs to have the Africans increase the protein content of their diet; and the providing of consumer goods so that Africans can use the cash secured from cattle sales. In the meantime, however, it is felt that compulsory culling of herds and increased cattle rates are the only measures which can effectively halt the further depletion of the soil.

In areas where European personnel is limited both in number and in training, the senior official in charge usually recommends that the staff concentrate more on single areas within each district and on as few items as possible, with the hope that a snow-ball effect will result from improvements in these areas.

While accompanying several veterinary officers on safari, I gathered the impression that contact with the African population appeared to be more on an individual basis rather than through the medium of the chief and headmen. However, these local officials were significant points of communication when it came to having mass cattle inoculations, or to consultations about the establishment of watering points and cattle markets.

Coordination of Administrative and Departmental Officers' Efforts

It has been stated that one of the defects in local government in the United Kingdom is the lack of general oversight of the local authorities by the Central Government. Since supervision is done departmentally for individual services, it has been possible for local government to be dismembered in a piecemeal fashion.¹ In Tanganyika, the danger is obviated to a certain extent by the fact that the District Commissioner has general charge of the affairs of his district. The District Commissioner and the various district committees which he organizes serve to coordinate efforts of the various departments and to resolve conflicts.

1. A. H. Marshall, "The Adaptation of English Local Government Principles to Colonial Territories," Journal of African Administration, Vol. 4 (Oct., 1950), pp. 34-39.

Depending upon the personality of the District Commissioner and the various departmental representatives, a great deal of close cooperation can be achieved. There are instances in which the administrative officers fail to support the departmental personnel. For example, in one District the agricultural officers found that their efforts to educate the people with regard to soil conservation measures were frustrated. It happened that the worst examples in several chiefdoms were the Native Authorities themselves. The District Commissioner, however, laughed the affair off and refused to do anything more than admonish the offenders. In other Districts great strides have been made towards cooperation and the avoidance of unnecessary duplication of efforts. Much depends upon the leadership qualities of the District Commissioner. In all Districts a certain amount of coordination is done on a personal basis at the District homa; but more often than not the tenor of cooperation or conflict is established in the social milieu of the District club. The details of cooperative effort is worked out in more formalized institutions for intra-district coordination, such as the District Team meeting, and the District health and education committees.

The District Team Meeting is a fairly recent administrative innovation, and its composition and value varies from District to District. In Districts where African development is at a low level, the District Team is composed exclusively of European officials. The monthly meetings provide the officers with a forum for thrashing out points of conflict and for enabling them to present a united front in their dealings with the African population. In the Sukumaland Districts, the monthly Team meetings includes chiefs, leading African traders, school teachers, leaders of cooperative societies, and a number of non-official Asians

and Europeans resident in the District. The contribution of the African membership varies. In Shinyanga District, where the chiefs are better versed in English, the African participation is greater than it is in Maswa, where it is necessary to translate the proceedings from English into Swahili. In all Districts, however, there is a certain shyness evident on the part of the African membership to speak unless questions are specifically directed to them.

Essentially, the District Team meeting is concerned with natural resources programs. Its utility as a device for communication and planning has been stressed by every District Commissioner queried. The assistance of the departmental personnel in the framing of the Estimates and in the implementation of programs is regarded as a sine qua non. It is a useful device also in establishing program priorities, so that the African population is not asked to make all manner of modifications in their traditional customs in the space of a very short time.

Finally, the meetings serve as a forum for resolving conflicts. In Sukumaland, for example, a number of dams are being constructed by the Water Development Department and the Native Authority tribal turn-outs. The primary consideration for the Water Development personnel is that water be provided for human consumption. However, there are auxiliary uses to which the water may be put, and in one meeting I attended, the veterinary officer, rice development personnel, and the assistant conservator of forests each requested that the excess be allocated for their purposes. Not only were these officers in competition with each other for the use of the water, but the requests of the rice development and the forestry officers were actually in conflict inasmuch as the trees to be planted behind the dam wall would

serve as a roosting place for grain-eating birds. To top it off, the Medical Officer in effect cast a plague on all their houses, since the rampant construction of dams was viewed as a factor in the increasing incidence of malaria and bilharzia in Sukumaland.

The District Education Committee has been a recurrent device for bringing together the Native Authorities, the officers of the Education Department, and the representatives of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Missions. The committee considers building quotas for the District as a whole and established uniform policies with regard to school fees, entrance requirements, adult education, and the school agricultural programs. As chairman, the District Commissioner serves as an arbiter among the Native Authorities, the Protestants, and the Catholics, each of which is in competition for funds and building sites for primary and middle schools. At times the jockeying for position between the 2 mission groups requires all the ingenuity a District Commissioner can muster in settling disputes in an amicable manner. It is at times like these when the discontinuity of administrative postings is demonstrated most markedly. A district Commissioner who has only had a few months in which to familiarize himself with his District can hardly compete with the factual knowledge possessed by the missionaries, a number of whom have spent over 30 years at a single station.

In many areas of Tanganyika, African sympathies seem to be tending in favor of having the Native Authorities assume responsibility for all primary and middle school education, or at least that the curriculum be secularized. This attitude arises from the fact that parents of one faith object to having their area allocated for school purposes

to a second faith. In view of this three-way competition, some District Commissioners view with alarm the creation of Education sub-committees, operating under the jurisdiction of the Native Authorities. Since the Native Authorities are themselves a competitor in the field, it is felt that the District Commissioners should stay on as an arbiter.

District Health Committees constitute a third device for coordinating District policy with respect to social service programs. This institution only exists in Districts which do not have a permanent Medical Officer posted to the area. The Committee makes decisions regarding the siting of Native Authority and mission dispensaries, fees, and the allocation of the available quota of rural medical aids. Since a number of chiefs and rural medical aids are included in the membership, the committee meetings serve as an educative device with regard to certain aspects of preventive medicine discussed during the meetings.

In all of these meetings, the District Commissioner stands out as the most significant personality. He integrates the individual efforts of the departmental representatives and enables the British Administration to present a consistent and relatively united front to the African population. Without the District Commissioner to serve in this capacity, local government would be chaotic. A society whose members are rather well versed in modern agricultural techniques, in the basic rules of hygiene, or in the advantages of reforestation can perhaps get along without a great deal of centralization of authority with respect to the provision of public services. However, in a society whose members have not yet come to understand or appreciate the putative advantage of these services, a certain amount of coordination of propaganda is necessary to avoid providing them with more innovations than the individuals of that

society are capable of absorbing.

Within the British bureaucracy in Tanganyika, the departmental personnel have a great range of independence from the control of the administrative officers, especially in the matter of decisions made on the basis of technical rather than political and social criteria. Nevertheless, the present arrangement, which recognizes the primary responsibility of the District Commissioner for the conduct of affairs in his District, has permitted the Administration to coordinate the efforts of the "superior" component. However, there are a number of individuals and groups associated with the "superior" component who are not subject to the same degree of control in their relations with the African population. I refer here to the European and Asian non-officials, who in their capacities as merchants, educators, and settlers come into contact with Africans.

The Non-Officials under the British Administration

The non-official groupings associated with the "superior" component in the British period have differed more in number than in type from the groupings which prevailed during the German period. The missionaries, for example, still engaged in educational work and in the provision of health services, but on a vastly extended scale. The number of their African converts and trainees for the priesthood and pastöship made a manifold increase which radically effected the traditional political systems in which the chiefs depended upon their magico-religious roles in the maintenance of their authority. The most striking change in the missionary factor was the closer association of church and state. Increasingly the missions came to depend upon state aid for their schools.

In return for this financial aid, the activities of the missions were to a certain extent brought under the control of the Administration. Thus, a District Commissioner must pass on a request by a mission to establish a new church or school; the school fees charged by a mission are made uniform with the fees charged by the Native Authority schools; and in certain areas even the selection and firing of personnel in mission schools has been brought under the jurisdiction of the Native Authorities. Thus, the District Commissioner, as supervisor of the Native Authorities, is able to coordinate the efforts of the missions with the over-all purposes of the Administration.

Other European non-officials have also had their relations with the African population regulated by the British Administration. However, in most cases this regulation is done by the Central Government rather than by the local administration. Chiefs and their subordinates no longer serve as recruiting agents for owners of estates and mines. Recruitment is a task for the Central Government. Undoubtedly, the large influx of Europeans who arrived in the post-war period (population nos. from 10,000 in 1948 to 17,885 in 1952) has served to intensify the effects which European commerce and industry have had upon the traditional authority system. By and large, however, the areas in which the Europeans have settled or engaged in commercial enterprise are removed from the jurisdiction of the Native Authorities. Thus, the District Commissioner has had less control over the coordination of the efforts of these non-officials with the efforts of the Administration.

The Asian population has also made tremendous increases during the British period, rising from about 9,000 in 1913 to over 60,000 in 1952.

The appearance of Indians in practically every minor settlement in the Territory and the Indian cinema, has rather effectively brought Oriental culture into contact with the African cultures. The District Commissioner has been able to control their contact primarily through the device of requiring a shopkeeper to secure a Right of Occupancy from the District Commissioner for establishing a shop in a minor settlement. The activities of the Asian owners of ginneries has been controlled by Government's regulation of the price of cotton and its sale. Moreover, the encouragement of African cooperatives and the establishment of independent committees of weighers to circumvent dishonest practices among the Asian buyers, has brought the District Commissioner and the Native Authorities into activities which limit the previous freedom of action of the Asians.

Thus, in a number of ways the District Commissioner stands as the regulator and coordinator of the contact which the African population has with the alien populations who arrived under the protection of Pax Britannica and well as the contact the Africans have with the British bureaucracy.

CHAPTER VIII

THE POSITION OF THE CHIEFS IN MODERN SUKUMALAND

PART I

Alterations in the Chieftaincy System

The establishment of the "superior/subordinate" relationship between the Germans and the Wasukuma did not come until a few years after the pacification of the Coast and Central areas of German East Africa. The histories of chiefdoms in Mwanza, Kwimba, and Maswa Districts fail to reveal that there were any significant skirmishes between the German forces and the Wasukuma. Perhaps the reputation of the German might was sufficient to secure submission without a struggle on the part of the Wasukuma. Paul Kollmann, one of the early German administrators in the area, records that the people of the lake shore area were almost supine as far as war-like qualities were concerned; and although he records that some tribes were engaged in struggles with one another, he makes no mention of their making war upon the Germans.¹ Another possibility regarding the non-resistance of the Wasukuma was that the activities of the White Fathers Mission at Bukumbi, near Mwanza, had accustomed the Wasukuma to regard the Europeans as teachers and dispensers of medicine.

The administrative control over the Wasukuma during the German period seems not to have been overly elaborate. One District Commissioner based on the port of Mwanza had jurisdiction over what are today the Districts of Geita, Mwanza, Kwimba, Ukerewe, Maswa, Musoma, and North Mara. His staff was small; communication with the rest of German East Africa lay through the dirt road south to Tabora (through tsetse fly area); and there were few settlers in the area to assist him inasmuch as Mwanza District was not regarded as being particularly healthy for Europeans.

1. The Victoria Nyanza (1899), p. 160.

Malaria and relapsing fever were fairly prevalent. A garrison of German officered askaris was stationed at Mwanza, and the stone fortresses, which are presently used as the District Headquarters and the home of the Provincial Commissioner, stand testimony to the fact that the German cadre was taking no chances on being attacked by the Wasukuma who thus so overwhelmingly outnumbered them.

Perhaps the lack of resistance, on the part of the Sukuma chiefs, coupled with the fact that many of the Wasukuma displayed friendliness towards the "superior" components by volunteering for service in the German territorial army, led the German administration to preserve the system of hereditary chiefs in Usukuma largely without modification. Since the Germans were not committed to retaining the indigenous authorities, we may surmise that the actual retention stemmed partly from a lack of interest of German settlers and commercials in the affairs of the area and partly from a lack of available force necessary for the Germans to transform Usukuma into a system of rule based on akidas.

As far as the Usukuma were concerned, more modifications of the chieftaincy system and deposition of chiefs were carried out after the arrival of the British in 1916 than had occurred in the German period. For example, in south-east Usukuma the four chiefdoms of Nunghu, Badi, Ugarama, and Kigoku were amalgamated and placed under an akida, thereby effectively eliminating the four as single autonomous units. In Sengerema Chiefdom, the British deposed the reigning chief and put in an Msukuma from Bukumbi Chiefdom. In October, 1917, another Msukuma from Bukumbi was made the Chief of Usmao after having deposed on Mkoma s/o Kibiti, who was of the royal dynasty.¹

1. Regarding ~~Maeva~~, the information comes from interviews with the chiefs of Sengerema and Nunghu. Regarding Usmao, information obtained from Historical Section, "Kwimba District Book" (typewritten).

During the more than sixty years of European administration over Usukuma, the "superior/subordinate" relationship has been manifest in a number of ways. The process of transformation of the Sukuma societies has reached into every phase of the Sukuma way of life. Although it is with modifications in the traditional authority system that this study is primarily concerned; nevertheless, the process of education and the evangelization of the missionaries have indirectly affected the existing authority system, and it will be necessary to treat of these under the proper rubrics.

A New Level of Parochialism

One of the more obvious consequences of the establishment of the "superior/subordinate" relationship between the German and the British Administrations on the one hand and the Wasukuma societies on the other is that the operational social unit for the activities of the ordinary Maukuma has been an expanding one. With the imposition of the German and British bans on inter-tribal and intra-tribal warfare the control over the use of armed force has been monopolized by the "superior" component. Since chiefdom armies were no longer necessary to protect the ordinary Maukuma of one chiefdom from attack by neighboring Sukuma chiefdoms, the protecting role of the chief was diminished. In effect the potential operating unit of the Maukuma has become the Territory of Tanganyika or the whole of British East Africa. Actually, even before the establishment of the German administration the activities of many Wasukuma had transcended tribal boundaries. The Arab traders had induced a number of Wasukuma to journey to the Coast and serve with them as porters in their lucrative trade with the tribes of the interior. Henry Mortimer Stanley found the Wasukuma to be rather firmly entrenched-

ed in the portage trade and other European explorers had also found this to be true. This wanderlust and search for new horizons was to be capitalized upon by the Germans; for, as was noted above, the German trained askaris were in large part drawn from the Sukuma tribe.

In only a very loose sense was the Sukuma "tribe" an operational unit for the Wasukuma in the pre-European era. It is true there was a certain bond among all the chiefdoms of Usukuma based upon common language, social custom, and law. Moreover, the interweaving of kinship ties throughout the hinterland chiefdoms had been going on long before the arrival of the Germans. Of especial significance in this light were the kinship bonds which brought the royal dynasties of a number of chiefdoms together, even though there were occasional struggles for power taking place within a dynasty. Thus, the people of Nera, Usmao, and Buhungukira had an affinity based upon their rulers all being Bakwimba. A similar situation prevailed in the Basiha ruled chiefdoms of Shinyanga District and the Babinza dominated chiefdoms of Maswa District. Furthermore, a situation of Utani such as prevailed between Usmao and Usukuma Chiefdoms also bound the members of two or more areas together. Under this status, no compensation was demanded if a warrior from one chiefdom impregnated an unmarried girl of a second chiefdom.¹

The operational social units for most Wasukuma in the pre-European period were the village and the chiefdom. Each chiefdom constituted a relatively autonomous political unit, and in times of war and even in times of peace the relationships among the people of the multiple chiefdoms were regulated by their respective chiefs. There were no initiation rites into the Sukuma tribe; there were only initiation rites into the various

1. Historical Section, "Kwimbs District Book," (typewritten).

aggrade organizations based on the villages. The converse of Utani was a situation in which members from various chiefdoms could not inter-marry because of traditional hostilities between the people of the two areas. In fact, any solitary stranger from another tribe in the pre-European period (and to a certain extent today) could come and settle in Usukuma. If he were accepted by the local headmen and the Basumba Batali concerned.

Although the potential operational unit under Pax Britannica is larger than the chiefdom or tribal area, two general factors have contributed to making it otherwise. The first of these is the continued existence of certain inter-tribal hostilities. The Wasukuma who live on the periphery of Masailand annually have to defend themselves and their cattle against the attacks of the Masai moran (young warriors).¹ Indeed, in the years of initiation rites in Masailand, the extent of cattle raiding reaches such proportions that police raids have to be organized by the Tanganyika and Kenya Governments to stop the raids and recapture the cattle. To the west of the Wasukuma live the Bazinza and other tribes of Geita District, which has been included within the Sukumaland Federation. Despite this administrative amalgamation, there are evidences at the meetings of the Sukumaland Federal Council and on other occasions that the Bazinza as a group---though not as individuals---are regarded with a certain degree of disdain by the Wasukuma.

A second factor which has contributed to parochialism is the administrative organization under European rule, which has tended to diminish the importance of the chiefdoms as autonomous political units, and to accentuate the importance of the administrative units. This is evident in the case of the Sukumaland Federal Council, NG'HULU JA BUSUKUMA (Sukumaland News), Vol. 4 (Jan. 1954), p. 4.

tuates tribal similarity. By and large, the tendency on the part of the Administration in the past three decades has been in the direction of consolidation of political authority in Sukumaland. In some cases this has resulted in the elimination of a number of chiefdoms as political units. Admittedly, under the early impact of the Cameronian policy, political authority was further proliferated by the breaking up of the large chiefdoms which had been consolidated in the first few years of the British Administration. In more recent days, however, the efforts toward consolidation have been resumed. For example, the Administration took the opportunity in 1946 of eliminating the small chiefdom of Ugarama after its chief had been convicted of embezzlement and dismissed from office. The attachment of Ugarama to Mwagalla Chiefdom appears to have been accomplished without objection from the people of the former chiefdom.¹ The latest action in this respect took place in 1950 when the small and often trouble-ridden chiefdom of Beda, Nyegezi, Unyamhanda, and Iwanda (referred to as the "Balkans" by the administrative staff in Mwanza District) were amalgamated to form Bungeji Chiefdom. Here, the recent dismissal of one chief and the impending retirement of two others made the transitional acceptance of the fourth chief as the sole Native Authority for the area a relatively peaceful affair.²

Actually the British have not felt obliged to insist upon further reductions from the present number of 47 chiefdoms, for the problem of securing more efficient local units for the purposes of introducing modern services of government has been attacked in another manner. That is,

1. Maswa District, "Annual Report of the D. C.," 1946 (typewritten).
2. Mwanza District, "Annual Report of the D. C.," 1950 (typewritten).

the chiefs and the existing chiefdom units have been retained, but the chiefs have had to share their legislative and judicial authority with neighboring chiefs. Instead of Native Authority being permitted alone to make all Rules and Orders under the Ordinance of 1927 which would apply to the administration of his chiefdom, all the chiefs in a district federation or in the Sukumaland federation share in formulating single rules and orders which have applicability to the entire area included within the federation. A federation may decide that a particular Rule or Order should apply only to specified chiefdoms, but nevertheless it is the federation which makes this decision.

The federations referred to here are federations of chiefs rather than of chiefdoms although as we shall see in the subsequent discussion of the conciliar system the district federations the inclusion of popular representatives and other person on the councils is making this distinction an artificial one. Starting with the Shinyanga Federation of Chiefs in 1926, the process has been extended so that each of the five administrative districts now constitutes a separate federation. The creation of the Sukumaland Federal Council in 1947 carried the process one step further and brought all the Sukuma chiefs and the non-Sukuma chiefs of Geita District as well) into a common-legislative council. Actually, a previous effort in this direction in 1932-1933 had resulted in the establishment of the Federation of Iganiko. The experiment was dissolved two years later, so a notable Sukuma Chief informed me, "because the chiefs behaved themselves very badly. Most of them only came to Mwanza to get drunk."¹

Although most of the Rules and Orders for Sukumaland are drafted at Malya, the headquarters of the Sukumaland Federal Council, and approved

1. Chief Majeberere, Ngdudu, Feb., 1954.

by the chiefs as a whole; the district federations are probably still the more significant units for Administration. Programming of the local government services in education, health, and natural resources and drafting of Financial Estimates are still done at the district level, even though the Deputy Provincial Commissioner for Sukumaland has been able to make adjustments in the consolidated Estimates of Sukumaland as a whole.

There appears to be no great demand in Sukumaland for carrying the process of tribal amalgamation even further through the establishment of a paramount chieftaincy. The only individuals who expressed such a demand were the leaders of the Sukuma Union, a political organization which will be discussed subsequently. The chiefs in Sukumaland appreciate that the situation is running against them. Consequently, they have rejected the idea of a paramount chieftaincy in favor of having a permanent President of the Federal Council---Chief Majebera of Mwangalla---who is merely primus inter pares. They have resisted, too, the idea of the Federal Council being diminished to a more workable unit by having each of the five Districts represented by its Federation President or only two or three of its members.

While the chiefdoms have neither been eliminated as lower administrative units in Sukumaland nor been eliminated as significant areas for expressions of loyalty on the part of the majority of the Wastukuma; the effect of the Native Authority System and its application have resulted in the "enthronement" of a new level of parochialism in Sukumaland, namely that of the tribe. Some individuals, like Chief Kidaha of Usiha, (who recently resigned his chieftaincy to devote full time to his duties as Member of the Tanganyika Legislative Council), or the leaders of the Lake

Province Growers Association who find the Lake Province a convenient unit for operations, have gone beyond the confines of the tribe. These, however, are still exceptional cases.

The Problem of Recognition and Dynastic Claims

Perhaps an even greater consequence of the establishment of the "superior/subordinate" relationship than the alteration in the political unit of Sukumaland, has been the modification in the chieftaincy system itself. In the problem of "recognition" we really focus attention upon the core of the "superior/subordinate" relationship, namely whether the chieftaincy system and the incumbent chief are to be retained. We have seen that the Germans in many areas of Tanganyika abolished the systems of hereditary chiefs in favor of an akida system which presented them with certain advantages relative to the set of goals held by the German administration. The consideration to the German administrators was whether the local system employed was able to fulfill the requirements of "loyalty" to the Germans, was able to maintain peace and good order, supply the necessary labor force for the construction of public works and for work on German estates, collect the taxes, and perform whatever other tasks were locally required. The decision to retain or reject an individual local indigenous ruler was not always made on rational grounds; frequently, a local sultan or chief was retained merely because the force available to the Germans made it impossible or impractical to risk the animosities of the local population.

In the present period, with improved transport and communications and the rather effective monopoly over the use of force lying with the British Administration, there is little question, since it is simply documented, that a local chief in Sukumaland only remains a chief on the sufferance

CHIEFS OF SUKUMALAND. INFORMATION OBTAINED ON 25 CHIEFS, 1 REGENT, 16 DEPUTY CHIEFS, AND

12 SUB-CHIEFS OF MASWA, KWIMBA, SHINYANGA, MWANZA, AND GEITA DISTRICTS OF TANGANYIKA. FEBRUARY, 1954.

		CHIEFS												DEPUTIES, SUB-CHIEFS												PER CENT	PER CENT TOTAL	
		PER CENT												PER CENT												PER CENT	PER CENT TOTAL	
1. AGE		[Dots]												[Dots]														
21-25																										11.4	10.7	11.1
26-30																										11.4	25.0	12.5
31-35																										11.4	17.9	14.8
36-40																										3.9	7.1	5.6
41-45																										3.9	7.1	19.9
46-50																										23.0	7.1	12.9
51-55																										15.4	16.7	9.3
56-60																										7.7	16.7	3.7
61-65																										3.9	16.7	9.3
66-70																										0.0	3.6	
71+ OVER																										7.7	7.1	5.5
2. RELIGION		[Dots]												[Dots]														
ROMAN CATHOLIC																										50.0	53.6	51.8
PROTESTANT																										11.4	21.4	16.6
MOSLEM																										7.7	3.6	5.6
"PAGAN" (ANIM.)																										30.7	21.4	24.0
3. EDUCATION		[Dots]												[Dots]														
NO FORMAL EDUC.																										7.7	3.6	5.5
STANDARD I-IV																										23.0	53.6	39.8
" V-VIII																										46.2	28.5	57.0
" IX-XII																										15.4	19.3	14.9
MASTERS (OTHER)																										3.9		1.9
OVERSEA (U.K.)																										3.9		1.8
4. PREVIOUS TRAINING		[Dots]												[Dots]														
POLICE																												
NATURAL RESOURCES																												
TRIBAL DRESSER																												
N.A. REGENT																												
DEPUTY CHIEF																												
SUB-CHIEF																												
HEADMAN																												
COURT, TAX CLERK																												
TEACHER																												
ARTISAN																												
5. TENURE IN POST		[Dots]												[Dots]														
1-5 YEARS																										30.7	53.6	42.6
6-10 "																										7.7	32.1	20.1
11-15 "																										19.2	7.1	12.9
16-20 "																										11.4	7.1	9.3
21-25 "																										7.7		3.7
26-30 "																										15.4	7.1	7.9
31-35 "																												
36+ OVER																										7.7		5.6
6. TOTAL SERVICE: CHIEF		[Dots]												[Dots]														
OTHER N.A. POSTS		[Dots]												[Dots]														
1-5 YEARS																										23.0	35.7	24.6
6-10 "																										3.9	28.6	16.6
11-15 "																										15.4	14.3	4.8
16-20 "																										15.4	7.1	11.1
21-25 "																										11.4	3.6	7.7
26-30 "																										7.7		3.7
31-35 "																										7.7	3.6	5.6
36-40 "																										7.7	7.1	7.9
41+ OVER																										7.7		3.7
7. DESCENT		[Dots]												[Dots]														
SON, GRAND-SON, ETC.																												
PRIMO GENITURE																												
8. EMPHATIC RELATIVES		[Letters]												[Letters]														
FATHER		C H H C C C C C C C C H C C												C C C C C C C C C H H H H H H C C														
BROTHERS		C H S H C C C T H C D D H D D H B H 2 H H C H D 7 H												C C R C C C C C C C H H H H H C C														
"		S H H 2 S H 2 H H S												7 H 2 H S H H H H H														
"		H D 7 H D																										
SONS		S D D S D												H C C C C														
NEPHEWS																												
UNCLES																												
COUSIN		S D																										
9. M.T. SALARIES		[Values]												[Values]														
(SHGS. PER MONTH)		723 315 500 600 800 700 350 350 600 350 250 250 270 350 400 400 800 200 700 200 200 200 200 250												50 60 100 80 70 70 25 25 55 10 80 40 60 70 85 175 200 70 65 105 115 75 20 75														

(+) KAMPALA ENGINEERING SCHOOL
 ⊗ C = CHIEF (MTEML)
 D = DEPUTY (WAKALI)
 S = SUB-CHIEF (MIBALE)
 H = HEADMAN (MWANAMWALA)
 T = TREASURER OF DISTRICT M.T.

of the Msukuma Administration. An individual chief with a royal pedigree does not hold his post because he has a "right" to it on the basis of descent; nor does he sustain himself in the office because he is wise and fair in his court decisions; generous in his distribution of tribute; or "successful" in his magico-religious functions vis-a-vis victory in battle, the growth of crops, and in the warding off of pestilence. Under the present system, the British Administration has accepted as a basis for local rule that royal descent establishes a claim to the office, not a right. Exactly which of the many claimants succeeds in winning the post is a matter for negotiation between the people and the District Commissioner. Indeed, if none of the claimants is satisfactory from the standpoint of fulfilling the obligations of chieftainship as delineated under the Native Authority System, and its recent modification in the post-war period, then the District Commissioner can ignore the traditional system of appointment completely. Further, whether one who has been recognized as a chief continues to act in that capacity depends not upon his acceptance or rejection by the Basumba Batale, the Banang'oma, or other traditional groups, but upon whether he is fulfilling the obligations of chieftainship in a manner satisfactory to the District Commissioner.

The inter-play between the desires on the part of the royal dynasty (and apparently of the overwhelming portion of the Wasukuma of the rural areas) for the retention of the hereditary system of appointment, and the desires on the part of the Administration for a system of local government which not only has popular support but is also able to accomplish the introduction of social and economic services, has resulted in the development of a modified system of hereditary succession in Sukumaland.

One of the earliest alterations took place in the matter of matrilineal succession. As noted in the description of the traditional authority system, a number of chiefdoms along the Victoria Nyanza littoral observed patrilineal succession, but in the vast majority of Sukuma chiefdoms, the claimants to the chieftaincy consisted of all the sons of the aunts and sisters of the late chief. Despite an early wavering on this point under the Cameronian policy of resuscitating indigenous systems in a nearly pristine form, the tendency today is to demand patrilineal succession. This is evident by information obtained on 17 chiefs of Sukumaland elected since 1939. In all but one of the 17 cases the ntemi-elect was a son or grandson in the male line of a preceding chief. The one exception, an ntemi in a chiefdom of Mwanza District, was an illegitimate son of the daughter of a previous chief.¹ As one District Commissioner informed me, the reason that the Administration has relied upon patrilineal rather than matrilineal succession is that the number of claimants under the latter system was too great. Officers had to spend a great deal of their time listening to the complaints of matrilineal claimants who stated that they had been deprived of their birth-rights. A further reason for limiting the base of selection to the sons of the more senior wives of the deceased chief was that it gave the Administration a chance to concentrate on the education of a few sons. This was done in the hopes of securing a better educated class of chiefs.²

The switch to patrilineal succession has not always been met with equanimity by the claimants on the female side. For example, in Usmao

1. Interviews with 15 of the 17 chiefs; the information on the two others was supplied by their successors in office. Feb., 1954.

2. The death in 1946 of Chieftainess Nzile of Samuye brought to an end, for the present at least, the rulership of females. In the opinion of the Administration, her chiefdom was an efficiently run one indeed. Shinyanga, "Annual Report of the D.C.," 1946 (typewritten).

in 1942 the claimants in the female line attempted to produce a fait accompli by stealing the Royal Drums and installing their candidate as the new ntemi of the Chiefdom.¹ Apparently the power of the Royal Drums was looked upon by the matrilineal claimants as being more powerful than the support of the Administration! As far as the clan system of the Wasukuma is concerned, it is often rather difficult to unravel. For example, in Buhungukira Chiefdom (Kwimba District) both the reigning chief and his predecessor state that they are members of the Bakwimba ukoo (clan). Yet, the present chief is a successor in the male line, his predecessor was in the female line.

Despite the modification in the dynastic system, it is the opinion of most administrative officers queried on this point that it has been most useful for the Administration and Native Authorities to capitalize upon the indigenous Sukuma loyalties to their hereditary chiefs. As I accompanied several chiefs on safari or observed them at their barazas, it was apparent that the Wasukuma peasantry manifests at least an outward display of respect in the presence of chiefs. The usual procedure was for the commoner to clap his hands several times and await permission from the chief before speaking. In the hinterland a petitioner or a casual passer-by would drop to his knees in the presence of the chief. The chief would ask: "Who is your father?" After replying, the commoner would be permitted to rise and state his question or pass on. The only areas where I failed to find this mark of respect displayed was in a lake-shore chiefdom in which the dynastic claims of the young ntemi were questioned by many people. Another symbolic indication of the respected position of

1. Historical Section, "Kwimba District Book" (typewritten).

the chiefs lies in the fact that only chiefs are permitted to wear certain types of ornaments or to adorn their homes with hoes and pots (machungu).¹

A second alteration in the traditional system has taken place with regard to the mechanics of selection. In the case of some of the present chiefs who have long tenure, it appears that their selection was entirely in the hands of the royal courtiers. One English-speaking Chief, elected in the early 1930's stated quite frankly to the writer: "I was elected by the bang'hong'hogong'ho, (the name of the Banang'oma Shiuyanga District) but the people wanted my elder brother. So the D.C. came and arrested some of the citizens and they came to normal."² Nowadays, however, if the banang'oma are permitted to exercise any independent function in the election process, it is limited to the nomination of a candidate, who may be either accepted or rejected by the people.

It is clear that Government takes direct hand in the nominating process on occasion. If the choice is obvious (e.g., the case of the eldest son of a chief having served creditably as his father's deputy for a number of years) or the capabilities of several claimants are equally good, the amount of advice from the District Commissioner is minimal. However, in the case of claimants who have been removed from minor posts because of corruption or who have a strong penchant for pombo or moshi, (native brew) the Administration generally lets it be known that the Member for Local Government would not grant recognition to such a choice.

One District Commissioner stated that it would be unfair to label this

1. Sukumaland Federal Council, Native Law and Custom Order (1952), Secs. 3-5 (mimeographed).

2. Chief Ng'ombe of Uchungu, Feb., 1954.

meddling; for, in such cases Government and the people frequently have an identity of interests. The common people often are aware of the fact that one who is corrupt before he becomes the ntemi will almost certainly steal their wives and cattle and make illegal demands upon them when he has the added force of chieftaincy authority behind him.

In the interest of popularizing the selection of batemi in accord with the post-war political reorientation of the Native Authority System, two methods of signifying the choice of the people have evolved in recent years. Several of the chiefs (interviewed by the writer) indicated that they were elected in an open assembly, composed of the banang'oma, headmen, and as many taxpayers of the chiefdom as cared to make the journey to the baraza. In the presence of the District Commissioner, who acted as judge of the election and attempted to see that no undue pressure was exerted, the people expressed their preference by a show of hands or by crowding around the various candidates. The meeting usually ended with a display of unanimity for the leading candidate.

From the point of view of securing a better expression of local opinion throughout the chiefdom and of ease in recording the choice, a second method has been employed in more recent cases. Under this system each gunguli elects representatives who are instructed to vote for a certain candidate. Then, the District Commissioner, at a central location or as he makes his rounds of the chiefdom, receives each of the representatives under the "baraza tree," and records their choices in secret.

The Administrative Criteria of Selection

Inasmuch as both the people and the administrative officers participat-

ed in the selection of a new ntemi, there were cases in which the interests of these two groups were not always compatible. For example, I was informed by a court clerk in Sengerema Chiefdom that the ntemi of that area was chosen by the people because of his ability as a rain-maker. While this quality may have been regarded with indifference by the Administration in 1928, it was certainly not one of the major criteria employed by the District Commissioners in the present period when they survey the field of likely candidates for the post of ntemi.

Within the group of candidates whose claims are based on hereditary succession, the administrative officers attempt to narrow the range of choice to those candidates who would be qualified to perform the duties expected of a modern chief in Usukuma. Thus, previous experience in Central or Local Government affairs will weigh heavily in favor of certain claimants.¹ Age also seems to be a factor in the selection. Of the 17 chiefs elected since 1939, only four were past the age of 34 at the time of their election, and seven of these were less than 22 years of age. There is a lower limit, however, for the Administrative Officers have mixed reactions to the election of minors. Realizing that fitina (intrigue) is often rampant during a regency, minors are often passed over if it is felt that the regency might be continued for a number of years. On the other hand, a regency may be useful in postponing the succession question until calmer times; or if there is a possibility of securing a bright youth for the post in the face of an otherwise unpromising field, the District Commissioner may prefer to wait out the period of the youngster's maturity and education. While the selection of young chiefs has certain advantages as far as education and receptivity to the goals of the British. The accompanying table will reveal the extent to which incumbent chiefs has previous experience as headmen, clerks, and subordinate departmental personnel.

ish Administration in local government programs, it does have certain disadvantages as well. It often means that the new ntemi is unfamiliar with the local problems and place names of his chiefdom, since secondary school education will have taken him out of his chiefdom. Moreover, if the youth is succeeding a chief who has retired because of old age, or if his regent is retained as the deputy chief, there is a danger that the people and even administrative and technical officers will defer to the preceding Native Authority through force of habit.

Education seems to be one of the primary considerations employed by the Administration in gauging the merits of a claimant, although it is not always the major criterion used by the people as several contests between illiterate and well-educated candidates will testify.¹ Information collected on 12 chiefs appointed during the past ten years reveals that seven had attained at least Standard VIII, and only one had ~~gone~~ ^{not} further than Standard VI. This places the newly selected chiefs a number of notches above the general educational level of the Wasukuma. Moreover, in the case of a minor chief or a young man who is elected chief while he is still engaged in a course of higher education, Government will usually insist that he complete his studies prior to taking up his official duties.

A certain amount of emphasis is placed upon language as a technical skill in local government administration. The fact that the Sukumaland Federal Council meetings are conducted in Swahili and Kisukuma arises

1. In Shinyanga in 1947 the people of one chiefdom chose an illiterate candidate in preference to one who had been graduated from Makerere. Shinyanga, "Annual Report of the District Commissioner," 1947 (typewritten).

from the fact that some of the chiefs have only a rudimentary knowledge of Swahili.¹ Government correspondence, however, as well as most barazas and council meetings in Usukuma are conducted in Swahili, which is usually the only African tongue known by the administrative officers. Of the 26 chiefs and regents interviewed by this writer, all but one spoke and read some Swahili, as well as being able to speak Kisukuma. A number of them also were fluent in other vernacular languages like Kizinza, Kinyar-amba, Kikerewe, and other tongues common to inhabitants of their chiefdoms. Furthermore, eight had a good command of the English language while four more had a fair comprehension of English. The importance of this fact can be realized when it is noted that the Lake Province Council the District Team meetings, and District Education meetings as well are almost invariably conducted in English. It is argued by the administrative officers that it is impossible to conduct technical discussion about Estimates and legal problems in Swahili; and, therefore, if African chiefs are to be included on these bodies, a knowledge of English is essential.

While it is not the intention of the writer to provide the impression that the selection of a new chief is manipulated entirely by the District Commissioner, for hereditary succession and the wishes of the people are considered in the selection. Nevertheless, the final word with regard to the recognition of an ntemi-elect as the Native authority for an area rests with some person in the Administration, be it the Governor at the top or the District Commissioner at the bottom, who makes the effective decision. With the hopes of avoiding an embarrassing situation in which

1. The aged chief of Ndagalu in Kwimba (of the table on chiefs) hasn't even a rudimentary knowledge of Swahili. Nevertheless, despite his illiteracy and his advanced age, he is regarded as one of the better chiefs in Sukumaland by the Administration. When it comes to a tribal turn-out or compliance with Native Authority Rules and Orders, his record is much better than that of the more educated youngsters. The resettlement activities in his chiefdom are praised by all the administrative and technical officers in Kwimba District.

the choice of the people is completely unacceptable to Government, a certain amount of sounding out of opinion and even pressuring is performed by the District Commissioner in advance of an election.

On the reverse side of the coin, the suspension or removal of a person from the post of Native Authority, the Administration handles the problem single-handed. Since 1945 there have been nine clear-out cases of removal of chiefs in Sukumaland, affecting seven of the 51 chiefdoms in existence during all or part of this period. Urima in Mwanza and Buyombe in Geita District have the unenviable record of two removals each. The causes have been various: mismanagement of the chiefdom and failure to carry out government instructions (3); exacting extensive tribute from headmen and the people to finance the purchase of bicycles and new wives (2); "involved in an unsavoury affair" (1); theft of Native Treasury funds (2); and forgery and uttering false documents (1). In addition to this five chiefs were "near casualties." That is, they were suspended from office for a number of months, fined, or received official reprimands because of inefficiency, strong evidence of corruption, involvement in witchcraft practice, or remanding women in the lock-up and concealing the fact.¹

The reluctance of the Administration to permit the removal of chiefs to be a popular function is based on a number of reasons. As one District Commissioner pointed out to me, the people were given the opportunity of removing or retaining their chiefs, they'd throw out those who are doing a good job of enforcing destocking or soil conservation rules and keep in those Native Authorities who are lax in their duties. The

1. "Kwimba, Shinyanga, Maswa, Mwanza, and Geita Districts," "Annual Reports of the District Commissioners," 1945-1953 (typewritten), passim.

Officer queried here seemed to feel that the present system is vindicated by the number of complaints about a Native Authority which reach the District boma after a man has been removed from office. Fearing retaliation at the hands of an abusive chief, the people are often afraid to take action themselves.

The Administration has realized that the unilateral action of the District Commissioner may serve to make deposed chiefs popular with "anti-government" factions among the Wasukuma. Accordingly, they have welcomed the action of District Federations in warning, finding, or recommending removal of a Native Authority. Another helpful device from the Administration's stand-point was the establishment of a Committee of Enquiry set up in 1952 to investigate charges against one chief. This Committee, composed of three of the more elderly and most respected Chiefs of Sukumaland (Majebers of Mwangalla, Mdaturu of Ntuzu, and Lupemba of Massanza I), investigated charges against Chief Masanja of Tinde and recommended his removal.¹

The part which the British Administration plays in the selection and removal of Native Authorities requires that a Sukuma chief be accountable to forces which were not present in the traditional authority system whereas the traditional popular restraints on his authority have to a certain extent been ignored by Government in its concentration upon the chief as the Native Authority. Concomittant to this has been the alteration in the supports for chieftaincy authority traditional system to Native Authority. Concomittant to the alteration in the method of selection of chiefs in Usukuma has been the alteration in the supports for chieftaincy authority. In the traditional authority system a chief depended upon his control

1. Shinyanga District, "Annual Report of the D.C.," 1952 (typewritten).

over the use of force, his position as foremost judge in the chiefdom, the ability to distribute his wealth in time of need or on festive and ceremonial occasions, his support from various institutional groupings, and his putative ability to act as intercessor with the chiefdom ancestors in order to bring about victory in battle or to ameliorate a condition of famine. With the introduction of German and British rule, some of these supports have been withdrawn, some have been diminished, and still others have provided to replace the traditional supports for chieftaincy authority.

Control over the Use of Force

As noted previously the ban on inter-tribal and intra-tribal warfare during the German and British periods of rule have eliminated the use of physical force by the Sukuma chiefs in the regulation of extra-chiefdom affairs. During the German period at least this did not also mean that the chiefs had been deprived of the use of force in the regulation of the internal affairs of a chiefdom. Under the German system of local administration chiefs, akidas, and jumbes still had the authority to inflict corporal punishment in cases which came under their jurisdiction although they did not any longer hold the power of life and death in their hands. To have inflicted the death penalty for a crime which traditionally carried such a sentence would have involved having the chief himself charged with murder by the German Administration.¹ The chiefs' ability to continue to use coercion in the internal administration of their chiefdoms was enhanced by the fact that the Germans had abolished neither domestic slavery nor the tribute system. Thus, the client relationship which the chiefs maintained between their military-trained slaves in the

1. Thurnwald, Black and White in East Africa, op. cit., p. 41.

traditional period was continued inasmuch as the chiefs were still able to distribute cattle, produce, and even concubines to their retainers.

With the introduction of British rule, both the system of domestic slaves and the authority of local rulers to inflict corporal punishment were eliminated. The use of physical force in maintaining internal order has become for all practical purposes the prerogative of the Central Government. A chief still has his sub-chiefs, headmen, messengers, and subordinate departmental staff to aid him in the apprehension of offenders; but these subordinate officials are unarmed and have had no training in police methods. They are instructed to prevent crime according to the "best of their ability,"¹ Only when the situation proves too enormous for a Native Authority to handle on his own, is he permitted to request the support of armed askari from the nearest Central Government police post. Even though the chief is deprived of the direct control over the use of force, it is significant from another standpoint that he is the only one in the chiefdom who is authorized to request the support of armed askari. This has had significance as far as the power position of the modern Sukuma chief in relation to the banang'oma and other traditional restraining influences on chieftaincy authority is concerned. In any contest between a chief and his people, the initial tendency of both the German and the British Administrations has been to support the chief.

The Magico-religious Performances of the Modern Sukuma Chiefs

How heavily the present chiefs of Sukumaland rely upon their traditional magico-religious performances in securing the loyalty of their follow-
1. Native Authority Ordinance (1927), Sec. 6.

ers is a difficult question to answer. Despite the fact that the chief of Sengerema was elected ntemi two and one half decades ago because of his reputation as a rain-maker, I found no inkling of evidence that other chiefs were elected on the basis of such qualifications. Indeed much of the ability of the chiefs to utilize their putative magico-religious powers has been lost through either the complete lapse in the performance of certain of the rites (for example, the rites connected with warfare and the birth of twins) or because they are performed only sporadically.

In addition to the enthronement ceremony, which was almost universally observed by the chiefs interviewed (only two said that they had not been installed in the traditional manner), the rites performed in connection with the agricultural cycle were the only ones still observed with any degree of regularity in Sukumaland in 1954. Information obtained from 25 of the batemi indicates that 13 of them regularly observe both the planting and the harvesting ceremonies or intended to observe them in the coming year.¹ Three chiefs observe these rites "on occasion." Nine batemi indicated that they never have observed the ceremonies or that they did in the past but do not intend to do so in the future. Thus, 36 per cent of the chiefs took a position of opposition to the observance of the rites.

As to why the rites are no longer universally observed, I explored several possibilities. It may be that the religion of the chiefs themselves is a factor. On the accompanying Table of Career Histories of Sukuma Chiefs it is recorded that 13 of the chiefs interviewed were Roman Catholic, 2 were Moslems, 3 were Protestant (African Inland Missions, Church Missionary Society, and Moravian) and 7 replied that they were "pagan" or had no religion. Of the nine chiefs who said that they did not observe

1. Two had only been invested during 1953 and had not yet had a chance to observe the ceremony.

the planting rites, 7 were Roman Catholics and 2 were Protestants. On the other hand, those who do observe it regularly or intend to do so number 6 Roman Catholics, 1 Protestant, and 2 "pagans." The only correlation seems to be that "pagan" chiefs do observe the rites; the Christian groups are about equally divided. However, of the 9 Christians who did not observe the ceremonies, 6 of them stated that they objected to the rites on religious grounds. On the other hand, of those Christian batemi who do observe the rites, several stated that they doubted whether the people placed any great significance in the planting and harvesting ceremonies. The chiefs performed the ceremony because it was expected of them, and it gave the people one last chance to enjoy themselves with drinking and an ngoma (a dance; literally, a drum) before the planting time.

Another interesting commentary of the observance of these rites is revealed in analysis of observance in respect to the educational qualifications of the chiefs. Observance was highest among the chiefs having attained the highest levels of education and those having the least education; whereas those in the intermediate stage were split.¹ Perhaps the less educated chiefs depended upon the magico-religious rites to support themselves in office while the more highly educated chiefs recognized it as a useful social activity as well as one which still had some meaning to the less educated "pagans" of Sukumaland. Indeed the annual visits paid to the graves of chiefs, the widespread practices of witchcrafts, as well as certain opinions held about the sacred character of albinos and mentally-defectives lead one to believe that the traditional beliefs about the spirits of ancestors and the efficacy of magio is far from dead in Sukumaland. It is true, however, that secular education regarding the

1. Observance as opposed to non-observance in the group Illiterate to St. IV was 6 to 2; St. V through VIII was 6 to 5; and St. IX or better was split 5 to 1.

natural rather than super-natural character of rainfall, disease, and pestilence has made a serious dent in the belief system regarding the position of the chief and medicine men in the agricultural cycle and in the warding off of calamities. The teachings of the Christian missionaries and the Moslem readers has also undermined the practice of making sacrifices to the ancestors.

The new religions, however, have posed different problems regarding the loyalties of the ordinary Wasukuma with respect to their chiefs. Although no figures are available on the extent of the spread of Christianity and Islam, each chief interviewed was asked whether the people of his chiefdom were mostly Christian, Moslem, or "pagan". In all cases the answer was that most of the people were "pagans." Thus, (referring again to the tables on Sukuma Chiefs) in all but seven cases the chiefs were of a different religion than that observed by the majority of their subjects. Furthermore, in the case of the Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Moslems, 9 of the 18 indicated that their religious affiliations were at variance even with the largest non-"pagan" religious group in their respective chiefdoms. This variance between the religion of the chiefs and that of the people has had some repercussions. For example, in Mwanza Chiefdom in 1952, the Native Authority had to be checked in his religious enthusiasm which had led him to issue orders compelling his subjects to help build Roman Catholic schools in his chiefdom. Another Roman Catholic, the Regent of Bukumbi, had introduced an appeal for subscriptions to rebuild a church which had been destroyed by fire. On the face of it there was nothing drastically wrong with this appeal except that it was introduced during a meeting of the chiefdom council, and it was resented by the Africa Inland Missions adherents in the chiefdom.¹

1. Mwanza District, "Annual Report of the D.C.," 1952 (typewritten).

Indeed, the interest of the Roman Catholic Orders in the political affairs is rather intense in certain areas, and their early efforts in winning over the chiefs has brought them dividends in securing converts among the common people. It may be significant in this respect that in the same year when Chief William Nghumbubanhū s/o Kabuta of Munghu was being awarded the King's Certificate of Honor and Badge, he also received a Papal Medal in reward for his services to the Roman Catholic Church.¹

Lest we assume that only the Roman Catholic adherents engage in political activity, it should be noted that followers of the Seven Day Adventists and to a lesser extent---the African Inland Missions are regarded as being in the vanguard of the anti-chief movement. They are especially active, so several Europeans have informed me, in the areas which my investigations reveal are ruled by Roman Catholic chiefs. Indeed in one case, it is alleged that a local African parish priest of one of the Protestant missions volunteered the mission's lorry for use by Africans who were going to a political protest meeting.

Before leaving the subject of ceremonial performance of the chiefs, we might suggest that the planting and harvesting rites and other traditional performances are giving way to ceremonial activities of chiefs with regard to the new secular holidays such as Empire Day, Coronation Day, and the like.

The Economic Position of the Chief

In addition to the chief's role in the control over the use of force and in the performance of magico-religious rites, a further traditional support lay in the role of the chief as an economic leader who was able to distribute grain and other food-stuffs from his tribute stores in time

1. Maswa District, "Annual Report of the D.C.," 1949 (typewritten).

of need or when ceremonial and festive occasions demanded. The chieftaincy tribute, which both the German Administration and the British Administration in its early years permitted to continue, has now been personalized. It is true that there are some traditional plots in each Sukuma village which are cultivated for the chief, but by and large the tribute exactions are to the chiefdom, not to the chief. Food is still distributed during the time of famine, and for the most part this food was gathered and collected in stores as was the tribute exactions of old. But now, the stores are the property of the Native Treasury rather than of the chief. A similar depersonalization has taken place in the communal labor projects, whereby each male is expected to give 10 to 20 days service to the chiefdom.¹

This subtlety is not always appreciated by the uneducated rural Msukuma. The cow which is given to communal laborers after the completion of their work is referred to as a "gift from the chief." Actually, it was purchased with Native Treasury funds. Moreover, when the chiefs in Maswa give the signal that the grain stores may be opened for famine relief purposes, the people refer to the fact that "the ntemi is distributing his grain to the people." Indeed, in some cases there is little reason why the subtle distinction should be appreciated by the Wasukuma, for there are cases turning up even today in which chiefs have been exacting tribute from their subjects in the traditional fashion.

The Cameronians felt obliged to abolish the tribute system because it had gotten considerably out of hand; the chiefs were able to put aside

1. Cory, Sukuma Law and Custom (1953), p. 126; Buell, The Native Problem in Africa, op. cit., pp. 458-461. Famine food Orders in Sukumaland are contained in Sukumaland Federal Council, Native Law and Custom Order (1952), para 2; Essential Food Crops Order (1952), paras. 2-6.

a considerable fortune in merchandise for their personal use. Since their retention in office depended not so much upon the pleasure of their subjects but upon the pleasure of the European Administration, many chiefs felt no obligation to employ their tribute as a means of alleviating the low status of their subjects. Since 1924, the chiefs have been placed on a salaried basis. Here again a subtlety is introduced. In order to disavow any intentions of making the chiefs direct mouth-pieces of Government, the Cameronians insisted that the chiefs should not be the salaried agent of the Central Government, but should receive his salary from his own Native Treasury. And where did the Native Treasury get its revenue? Until very recently, almost 90 per cent of the revenue came from a rebate from the Central Government Native House and Poll Tax. It is small wonder that even the more educated Wasukuma I interviewed could not make any distinction between the activities of the Central Government and that of the Native Authorities.

Thus, an individual chief is no longer able to raise himself economically in proportion to the force of his personality and the wealth of his chiefdom; Government has produced a rather impersonal formula based largely on the number of taxpayers under a chief's control, with additional increments being given to chiefs who serve as Presidents of District Federations or who have performed ¹ ~~meritoriously~~. This does not prevent a chief from supplementing his salary from legitimate agricultural or business enterprise, however. At least 20 of the chiefs interviewed in Sukumaland supplement their Native Treasury salaries with the sale of cattle, groundnuts, cotton, and sunflower seeds; or through the rental of houses, shops, or fishing canoes. Over half of the chiefs queried estimated. Tanganyika, Local Government Memoranda, No. 3 (1950), pp. 6-7.

mated that they made between £100 and £500 annually from private sources; and only seven reported that they made less than £40 in an average year.

This places them a considerable peg above the ordinary Sukuma cultivator, who in the wealthiest of the Sukuma districts made an estimated average of Shs. 250 (or £12/10/-) a year.¹ In answer to the charge that the chiefs are not modern, it might be noted that 12 out of 25 chiefs owned either a car, a lorry, or a motorcycle (4 of these stated they owned both cars and lorries); 4 were using their own Ferguson tractors to cultivate their cotton fields; 11 had ploughs; 3 owned cream separators; and only 2 stated that they could not even afford a bicycle---the most obvious symbol of progress among the Wasukuma.

Actually, in the post-war period the development plans for local government require a considerable outlay of funds; and it has been Government's intentions that the funds should come from local government sources. Since it would be the chief as administrator of the Native Treasury expenditures that would bring the programs to the people, it has been hoped that the Native Authority system could be bolstered by the post-war financial arrangements. In view of the lack of distinction on the part of the ordinary Maukuma (and the educated ones as well) between the taxes of Central Government and the local rates of the Native Authorities and between the services provided by these two branches of government, it is doubtful whether the expenditure of funds in the post-war period had had any appreciable effect in bolstering the Native Authorities. Indeed, as we shall see in our subsequent examination of the new popular leadership of Usukuma, the reverse may actually be closer to the truth.

1. Mwanza District, "Annual Report of the D.C.," 1953 (typewritten).

The Judicial Authority of the Modern Sukuma Chiefs

In the early stages of the Native Authority System in Tanganyika, the role of the chief as the administrator of justice was regarded by the Administration as the mainstay of chieftaincy authority.¹ The recognition of the native courts in the early years of the 1920's, however, did not result in the re-establishment of the courts of the batemi and wanangwa of Usukuma in their pristine form. Traditionally, the type of law which was heard in the courts of the chiefs dealt primarily with criminal law; cases of theft, murder, treason, or sexual offenses. Only in the case of civil matters involving a kinsman of the chief was the court of the ntemi involved in the hearing of cases of marriage, divorce, inheritance, and the like.² Despite this jurisdictional distinction, however, the manner in which cases were viewed by the Wasukuma does not justify treating law under the rigid rubrics of criminal and civil law. Compensation was sought by the aggrieved parties in murder as well as in divorce.

Under the native court system which the Germans suffered to exist (partly by ignoring them almost entirely), and the native court system as revitalized by the British Administration, the law heard by the chiefs was considerably modified. Cases of treason, murder, and theft involving a considerable sum of money has been removed from the purview of the native courts and placed within the jurisdiction of the European High Court System. Furthermore, although compensation may be afforded to the victim in certain cases of criminal offenses, by and large the commission of a criminal act was looked upon as being an act against the Native

1. Local Government Memoranda, No. 1, Part 1, op. cit., p. 5.

2. Cory, Sukuma Law and Custom, op. cit., p. 9.

Authority rather than one in which compensation was due an individual or a clan. Under the British period this stems from the fact that many of the criminal acts involved violations of rules and orders of the Native Authorities. In Maswa District in 1953, over 60 per cent of all criminal cases heard in native courts were for infractions of the Sukumaland Rules and Orders---primarily those dealing with agricultural and soil conservation measures. In Mwanza District the per centage in 1953 stood at 68.¹

Furthermore, in Sukumaland, the native courts have taken over the hearing of civil cases as well, thereby, effectively taking under their jurisdiction practically the whole of customary law. Furthermore, the local variations in Sukuma law which had obtained between Nassa Chiefdom in the northeast, for example, and Lohumbo in the south-west are being eliminated through the codification of Sukuma Law. Although the suggestion in this line originated with the Sukuma Chiefs themselves, it remained for Hans Cory, a Government Sociologist to undertake a drafting of a model code in consultation with some of the leading chiefs and elders of Usukuma.² The publication of this work in Swahili still remains to be accomplished, but presumably it will serve as a guide to the Native Courts and give consistency to the judgments.

Actually, the hearing cases in Usukuma is an educative process as well as one which results in the performance of justice. The chiefs' barazas are in most cases concrete structures which are open on three sides. There are benches within the pavilion for the required number of elders and the chief and his deputy sit at a table on a dias on the fourth side of the building. All along the concrete siding of the building one can see young

1. Maswa, Mwanza Districts, "Annual Reports of the D.C.," 1953 (typewritten).
2. Sukuma Law and Custom, op. cit., pp. xiii-xv.

and old alike listening to the court proceedings. Thus, the points of law are early impressed upon the Msukuma youth and the position of the ntemi as dispenser of justice is manifest.

Despite the early dependence of the Native Authority System upon the judicial role of the chief, one of the results of the post-war modifications in political structure of Usukuma has been the divesting of the chiefs of the judicial functions. The move in this direction has been based partly on the grounds of inherent justice, that is, that a chief should not be a judge in a case involving a law which he helped pass and which he himself enforces; and partly on the grounds that the increasing burden of administrative duties makes it necessary that he be freed from his judicial duties to devote more time to promotional activities dealing with education, health, and agriculture. The process of divesting the Sukuma chiefs of their judicial role is being achieved gradually through the allocation of a share of the burden of court cases the chief's deputies, or wakili. The over-all impression is that the chiefs in all chiefdoms still hear the more important cases, and in the smaller chiefdoms the chiefs still bear the major burden of court-work.

Sukuma Chiefs as Administrators

In the post-war re-evaluation of the Native Authority System in Sukumaland, the British Administration has tended to concentrate its attention upon the administrative role of the modern chief. While still hoping to capitalize upon the traditional respect for hereditary chieftainship in Sukumaland, the District Commissioners and their staffs have attempted to transform the chiefs into efficient administrators charged with the management of rather large-scale programs in education, health, agricul-

ture, animal husbandry, and other social and economic services. The expectations of the Administration in connection with the performance of some of these activities by the chiefs are rather rudimentary. The duties of the chiefs with regard to education, for example, are largely inspectorial: seeing that parents pay their school fees and keep the school attendance of the children regular; making sure that the school buildings are kept in a state of repair; and ensuring that the school shamba (fields) are being properly cultivated. In other fields, however, the chiefs are required to be educators of their people---giving lectures on the need for cattle destocking, the advisability of constructing pit latrines, and the advantages to be gained from improved methods of agriculture. In this respect, the expectations of the Administrative officers is that the chiefs will themselves lead the people through setting good examples.

The new administrative duties being placed upon the shoulders of the chiefs has raised some serious questions regarding the capabilities of the existing crop of Sukuma chiefs. It has been charged by many Europeans officials and non-officials as well as by the leaders of popular African economic and political organizations that the chiefs are "old, uneducated, and out of sympathy with the progressive ideas in education and agriculture." It is my over-all impression that this is an overstatement of the case. The material presented on the tables accompanying this chapter reveal the extent to which the incumbent chiefs have received prior education and local government experience. They stand well above the Sukuma average. Furthermore, the Administration has attempted to provide the chiefs with in-service training by way of short trips to the agricultural experimental station at Ukiriguru,

where the chiefs are shown the latest techniques in improved methods of cultivation. On other occasions chiefs have been transported to neighboring districts in the territory to observe the implementation of a new veterinary program or the development of a ghee cooperative scheme.

There has been a realization for some time that a more concerted effort should be made to train chiefs and other local government personnel regarding the underlying principles as well as the details of administration. Accordingly, in February, 1954, the first of a series of three-month local government courses was launched at Malya, the Sukumaland Headquarters. The initial class of twenty students included a smattering of chiefs, deputies, and sub-chiefs, as well as several headmen, and court clerks. The program is a rather compact and comprehensive course of instruction in agriculture, veterinary service, and forestry, as well as in accounting and the basic principles of English local government. The success of this venture has still to be observed.¹

To assist the chiefs in their administrative roles several layers of administrative subordinates have been provided. Some, like the headmen, are traditional village authorities; others, like the deputies and sub-chiefs are European creations. Nevertheless, the whole system of appointment of subordinate administrative personnel has been placed on a dynastic basis. The table on chiefs of Sukumaland accompanying this chapter reveals the extent to which the deputies and sub-chiefs are drawn

1. I attended several sessions of the course in February, 1954. The European instructor in charge of the program was himself a factor in the potential success or failure of the course. He had previous experience in Uganda (where in most cases the subordinate chiefs are selected on a civil service basis), and it was felt that he was trying to convince this group---all but 3 of whom were in their present posts because of the hereditary system---that the present system of selection of chiefs in Sukumaland was iniquitous!

from the royal clans of their respective chiefdoms. Their general educational level is somewhat inferior to that of the chiefs; however, the general range of prior local government experience is rather high.

The appointment of these officials is usually in the hands of the District Commissioner, although the wishes of the batemi are usually respected unless the nominee is of a manifestly bad character. The general level of performance of the subordinates (and the sub-chiefs in particular), is not very highly regarded by the District Commissioners. Since 1945, sixteen sub-chiefs have fallen by the wayside as a result of theft, accepting bribes, issuing used Hut and Poll Tax receipts, or rape. In addition, ten sub-chiefs were suspended from office, fined, or received official reprimands because of inefficiency in office or suspicion of corruption.¹

Actually, much of the success of the new programs of local government depend upon their getting down to the grass roots. When it comes to the actual enforcement of a soil conservation order, in seeing that destocking orders are carried out, or that a new dam is constructed by communal labor, the Chief depends rather heavily upon his lowest echelon of administrative assistants, the headmen. The pivotal position of the 820 wanangwa of Sukumaland has prompted one District Commissioner to comment:²

In the chain of responsibility for Native Administration, the headmen is the most important link. For he is the chief executive of all orders. This link is, in general, very weak. The rank, though in many instances hereditary and sought after as a matter of prestige, involves much work and small pay. As little as possible of the former, therefore is done.

In a sample of 14 chiefdoms and 7 subchiefdoms, involving 265 headmen, I was informed that 147 of this group were completely illiterate, 101 had

1. Mwanza, Shinyana, Kwimba, Maswa, Getia Districts, "Annual Reports of the D.C.," 1945-1953, passim (typewritten).

2. Mwanza District, "Annual Report of the D.C.," 1952 (typewritten).

attained a Standard I or II education, and only 27 had attained Standard III or better. The hereditary character of the post is revealed by the fact that in the chiefdoms of Maswa, Kwimba, and Shinyanga Districts, upwards of 90 per cent of the headmen are drawn from the same clan as that of their respective chiefs. Only in Geita, where tribal membership is mixed, and in Mwanza, where the Sukuma clans are rather thoroughly inter-mixed, are the headmen chosen from clans other than those of their chiefs. The post has a second element of hereditary succession involved in that it is frequently passed on from father to son.¹

The possibility of success of local government programs is thus frustrated by the lack of educated personnel at the grass-roots level. The fault lies not wholly in the hereditary system of appointment; for the headmen, with all of their shortcomings in education and training are really not lower than the average level of education attained among Sukuma adults. The improvement would come as more of the younger educated Wasukuma are absorbed into the Native Authority System. However, in Sukumaland, this suggestion runs counter to the present acceptance by the people themselves of their own traditional leadership, no matter what the level of education.

In narrowing the range of activities of the modern Sukuma chief to that of an administrator of programs in social and economic services, the Administration has almost completely removed the chief from his traditional context. Gone are the magico-religious, the economic, and the military supports for chieftaincy authority; and the judicial functions of the chief are being divested in the present period. All that is left of the traditional supports is the respect which the Sukuma have for hereditary. Only a third of the chiefs or sub-chiefs questioned said that the post was not hereditary in their areas. In the other areas, the extent of observance ranged from 20 per cent to unanimity. One chief who stated that the post very definitely went from father to son, went on to reveal that 9 of the 12 headmen in his chiefdom were his brothers!

tary chieftainship. Even here, the newly educated classes and the emergent economic leadership does not share this respect for the hereditary character of chieftainship; nor is it a sure thing that the rural and illiterate Wasukuma will continue to respect the hereditary chiefs in the light of the way in which the succession can be manipulated to suit the needs of the Administration and in the light of the things which the modern chief is expected to do.

The Sukuma chiefs, some of them ill-equipped for the task, are expected to walk a very shaky tight-rope, between the expectations of the Administration regarding modern local government and the expectations of his people. The expectations of the people are not homogeneous by any means. In some cases they consist of a desire that there be no disturbance in the traditional methods of agriculture, animal husbandry, and home life. In other cases the expectations consist of a desire for a much more extensive alteration in the political and economic order of Sukumaland than the Administration or the chiefs are ready to entertain at the present time.

PART II

Popular Control over Chieftaincy Authority

It was appreciated by the Administration during the Second World War that the autocratic position of the Sukuma chiefs with respect to their people had in many cases gotten out of hand. With the limited staff available to the Administration and the necessity for "getting the job done," the tendency was for the Administration to concentrate more and more upon the chiefs. The Banang'oma had all but disappeared in many areas of Sukumaland; in other areas, where it still existed, its role had become primarily one of educating a new chief with regard to his ceremonial duties. Not one of the twenty-five interviewed by this writer could think of a single way in which the Banang'oma participated in local government affairs. The advisers of the chief---if indeed one could call them advisers---were his deputy, sub-chiefs, and headmen. However, the chief is not obligated to follow the advice of his administrative subordinates in the manner in which the traditional chief was obligated to follow the word of the Banang'oma. The latter grouping, as representatives of the royal dynasty, had a proprietary interest in seeing that the chief administered his chiefdom in a just manner. Even the role of the Banang'oma in the election of a new ntemi has been diminished as the Administration has attempted to base the selection of chiefs on the scope of education, experience in government, "respectability," and sympathy with the goals of the Administration insofar as improvement in education, health, and natural resources programs were concerned. To an extent, the Administration has been permitting the people (in various small barazas throughout a chiefdom) to indicate their choice for a new ntemi; however, this form

of popular control can seldom be as effective as control exercised through an institutional grouping such as the Banang'oma. Moreover, the "people" who elected a chief in the modern period were not permitted the corollary right of deposing one who had proved to be incompetent or unjust; this has been the prerogative of the European Administration.

The economic age-grade, and the elika in particular, are still in existence in most areas of Sukumaland. In Maswa and Shinyanga Districts, for example, the leaders of the elika---the Basumba Batale---play an instrumental role in connection with the collection and distribution of the grain which is stored in village granaries for use during famine periods.¹ In Maswa District, so I have been informed by several Chiefs, the Basumba Batale also play a very important part in helping the headmen in the allocation of land to new arrivals, and in some instances the Basumba Batale make this allocation on their own accord. Many of the other traditional functions of the elika societies regarding collective labor and aid to the indigent and distressed are also performed today. However, were the Basumba Batale to parade before the home of a Sukuma Chief and shout that he abdicate because of his abusive ways; they would be prosecuted in the High Court!

The effectiveness of the clan organization as a restraining influence on corrupt or abusive chiefs has also diminished. With increased population and the intensified use of land in some areas, it is no longer a simple matter for a dissatisfied cultivator or the members of a clan to pick up their belongings and take themselves to another chiefdom. In fact Governmental restrictions on human movements during times of famine and of cattle during quarantine periods makes such an escape impossible at certain times. Moreover, the planned settlement which is going on

1. Orders of the Maswa and Shinyanga District Federations of Chiefs.

during the present period required that for certain areas a cultivator needs permission from the headmen or the chief both to move in and to move out.

A modern Sukuma chief does not have to depend for his economic survival on tribute payments from his people; he receives a regular salary, financed for the most part from the rebate on the Central Government House and Poll Tax. Unlike tribute, which in many cases had to be returned in great measure to the people in times of famine, on festive occasions, or when the people visited the court; the salary of the chief is his own to dispose of in the manner which suits him best.

In the face of these developments, and realizing that the new social and economic programs which Government was planning for the post-war period would require not only popular participation but also active popular support if they were to be accepted as permanent features of the Sukuma way of life; the Administration felt that it had to take the lead in introducing political reforms which would keep pace with the developments taking place in the economic and social sphere. As subsequent events proved, however, leadership by the European administrators could only be provided up to a certain point. The process of education, the introduction of a large cash crop economy, as well as the return of ex-askaris had generated the development of new popular economic and political organizations which were not always subject to the guiding hand of the District Commission or the chief. In fact, the elan vital of several of these popular organizations seemed to consist primarily in being anti-Administration and anti-chief.

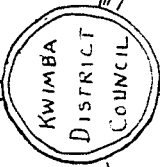
The Counciliar System in Sukumaland

The direction towards the popularization of the Native Authority System

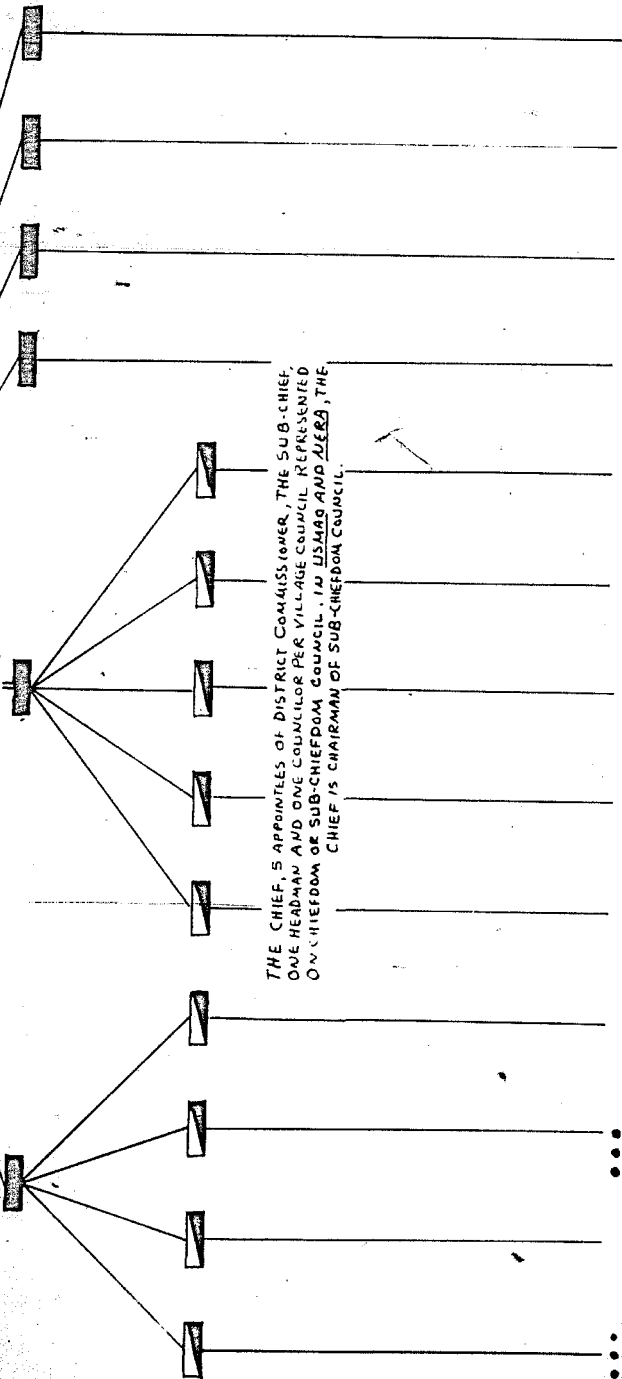


LOCAL GOVERNMENT COUNCILS
IN KWIMBA DISTRICT.

3 CHIEFS,
3 COUNCILORS
ELECTED BY DISTRICT
COUNCIL



6 CHIEFS, 9 SUB-CHIEFS, 13 VILLAGE
HEADMEN, 26 COUNCILORS, 5 DISTRICT
DEPARTMENTAL STAFF, 5 APPOINTED BY A.C.



THE CHIEF, 5 APPOINTEES OF DISTRICT COMMISSIONER, THE SUB-CHIEF,
ONE HEADMAN AND ONE COUNCILOR PER VILLAGE COUNCIL REPRESENTED
ON CHIEFDOM OR SUB-CHIEFDOM COUNCIL. IN USMAO AND NERA, THE
CHIEF IS CHAIRMAN OF SUB-CHIEFDOM COUNCIL.

ISINDO 3887 (TAYAKREES)	KOBOMITE 3988	ISHANGISHA 6773	MOJODO 3628	INDOKELWA 5177	BUYODO 3475	KIKUBIJI 2899	AYAKILANA 6393	KAKORA 5216	MIBAGU 3142	ADABALLI 3217	SIAMA 3720	BUKUBUKIRA 6238
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COMPOSITION OF VILLAGE COUNCILS - ALL
HEADMEN, ONE ELECTED COUNCILOR PER
VILLAGE. TOTAL COUNCILS : 758.

which the Administration desired to provide consisted of the introduction of a conciliar system throughout Sukumaland. We noted in the previous section that the legislative authority of a Sukuma chief was now being shared with other Sukuma chiefs meeting in District Federations and in the Sukumaland Federal Council. Since the end of the Second World War, the chiefs are also being asked to share their legislative authority with the leaders of new economic groupings, teachers, subordinate departmental personnel, and other notable Wasukuma. In the direction of affairs of an individual chiefdom, the character of the Native Authority is being transformed from rule by a chief to administration by a chief-in-council. At the levels subordinate to that of the chiefdom---the villages and sub-chiefdoms---the administrative heads of these units are also being asked to act in consultation with popular elements. The constitutional arrangement of a hierarchy of councils ranging from the village, or gunguli, level and on up to the Sukumaland Federal Council, in many respects reflects the thinking and the labor of Mr. Hans Cory, a Government Sociologist, who has been working in Sukumaland for more than a decade.

As yet the ordinary Msukuma seems to be oblivious of the political manipulations which are taking place around him. This was clearly evidenced by some of the remarks of councillors at the various village, sub-chiefdom, and chiefdom council meetings I attended in Kwimba and Mwanza Districts. Even the more politically sophisticated members of the popular economic and political organizations seemed rather unsure of the nature of the new constitutional arrangements in Sukumaland. Actually, at the present stage, the village councils, which get closest to the grass-roots,

are often the least understood.¹ The purposes of these village councils in Sukumaland is three-fold:

- (1) To assist the headmen in deciding disputes and other questions which would not normally go to the court;
- (2) to discuss and give opinion on matters of policy as required by the sub-chiefs or chief; and
- (3) to discuss the needs of the village and forward requests for assistance to the next highest level.

Actually, village or gunguli councils are not in all cases the creation of the European administration. In Kwimba District, for example, councils, consisting of groups of elders who were accustomed to settling minor cases of disputes, have been in existence for a long time. The disputes they settled frequently concerned boundaries of fields, the question of which parent should receive the children in a divorce case, and controversies over grazing rights. In some instances these indigenous councils were very active and in the modern period they have frequently taken the initiative as far as local government services are concerned. Some of the parishes in Nera Chiefdom, for example, have constructed communal school buildings of a rather sturdy character, thereby forcing the hands of the District Commissioner the Provincial Education Officer in

1. In some areas of Kwimba and Maswa Districts, Land Usage Area Councils were started in order to include all the individuals living within a traditionally delineated area (with respect to arable land, human population, cattle, and other factors) into a common local organization. Since these cut across traditional parish lines or included several parishes within a single council, the idea was opposed and has now been rejected in favor of the councils based on traditional gunguli (village) boundaries. Remarks of D. C., Kwimba District, No. 1954.

the matter of allocating teachers to the District. In the areas where the councils are being created at the insistence of the European Administration, the administrative officers, chiefs, and headmen will now have forums when they can put across the ideas behind a local government program in the hopes of winning the Wasukuma understanding as well as their compliance. Some indication of their potentialities was revealed in Nyamilama Sub-chiefdom when the newly created parish councils were of assistance in launching a pilot mechanization scheme in that area. The councils served as a vehicle for propagandizing the merits of the scheme and in getting subscribers. Unfortunately, from the Administration's viewpoint, they were not as helpful to seeing that the subscribers paid their debts. The District Commissioner of Kwimba, who supervised the launching of over three-fourths of the 150 parish councils in his district, felt that the performance of the councils had justified his efforts and he was especially pleased by the fact that his contact with the African population need no longer be limited to "the same old faces."¹

Other District Commissioners were not equally pleased with the performance of parish councils in their districts. The chiefs and headmen were in some cases more than displeased; they were alarmed by the turn of events. For example, the members of parish councils in Shinyanga and Mwanza Districts were not content to limiting their aid to the headmen to the matters of tax collection, distributing famine food, and helping out with the distribution of information from the Agricultural officers. Many of the members of parish councils insisted that they also take over the hearing of cases in the headmen's courts, allocating land to new immigrants, issuing permits for cattle movements, and checking the locat rate and de-
1. Ibid.

stockment assessments. This encroachment of the councils upon the executive and judicial roles of the headmen was not only resented by these subordinate officials, but in many cases the administration felt that the councils were getting far ahead of themselves in the matter of popular control over local government affairs.¹

It was the opinion of the administrative officers that the parish councils would have to be supervised rather closely in the initial stages to see that their actions were kept in accord with the over-all purpose of local government in Sukumaland. In some instances, Native Authorities like Chief Charles of Nera, Majebera of Mwangalla, and the Regent of Bukumbi, were regarded as doing a creditable job of supervising these councils without interference or advice from the administrative officers. In other areas, however, the District Commissioner or his Officers have had to keep a fairly constant watch of the parish councils. In Kwimba, the Native Treasury was paying the salaries of supervisors, who inspected the councils and reported back to the chief and the District Commissioners on the type of materials discussed. The lack of talented personnel, however, doomed this device to an early failure.

While in Kwimba District, I accompanied the District Commissioner or his First District Officer on safaris and sat in on the meetings of several parish councils. The meetings were usually held under a tree in the middle of some farmer's field. Attendance was very good, and in some instances, constituted over three-fourths of the registered taxpayers of the village. The council itself, however, consisted only of one representative from each of the kibanda, (village subdivisions). In several instances the administrative officer queried the councillors about the subjects that had been discussed in the previous council meeting and whether

1. Mwanza District, "Annual Report of the D.C.," 1953; Shinyanga District, "Annual Report of the D.C.," 1952, 1953 (typewritten).

they knew the purpose of the parish councils. The answers were sad commentaries on the system. The members could seldom remember the items discussed at the previous sessions. Moreover, the answer regarding the purpose of the councils was equally unpromising. Typical, was the straight forward comment of one man to the effect that: "I don't know. I was elected by the headman and that was the end of the matter."¹

Depending upon the organization of the chiefdom, the next level of councils above that of the parishes is either the sub-chiefdom or chiefdom council. The chiefdom councils in each case includes the chief of the area, 5 persons appointed by the District Commissioner, sub-chiefs (if any), and one headman and one popular member from each of the parish councils in the chiefdom. Where sub-chiefdom councils intervene between the chiefdom and parish levels, the chief acts as chairman of all of the sub-chiefdom councils as well as the chiefdom council. The chiefdom and sub-chiefdom councils were used to get across items of more general interest than those discussed at the parish level. Moreover, in the future,

1. Some amusing difficulties are encountered in the selection of councilors. In one parish in Nera Chiefdom, the District Commissioner of Kwimba and the Chief were inaugurating a council, and the stage was reached at which the members of the council were to be elected. As is customary, the Chief told the people to go off a little way and select their bagunani. When 20 minutes had elapsed, the people had not returned. In most cases the transaction takes place in a few minutes. When the headman came back, he said that they were unable to reach a decision. Annoyed by this, the D.C. and the Chief told the group to hurry up, that they had other councils to open that day. The group went off again, and about 10 minutes later they pushed an old man in front of the chief and said that this was their choice. The District Commissioner wanted to know why they chose this doddering old man. The headman replied: "Well, a while back we chose a man to go and greet the Governor on behalf of our village, and the man died several days later. And last year, when we elected a member for our local school committee, the member died the very next day. Well, this old man here doesn't have much longer to live anyway."

lack of time will prevent the District Commissioner from getting around to all the parish councils and the chiefdom and sub-chiefdom councils will serve as convenient clearing houses for the two-way communication of information.

General impressions gathered from attendance at six chiefdom and sub-chiefdom council meetings in Usmao, Nera, and Sima Chiefdoms was that the members of these councils were much better informed as to their duties, and the discussions were quite lively---even though not always to the point. Comments of some District Commissioners were that the councils were often useful in bolstering up weak Native Authorities. In Bunegeji, for example, the existence of a council composed of people from all the chiefdoms was very useful in getting the people of Bunegeji to accept a new ntemi. Bunegeji is an amalgamated chiefdom, and at the time of its amalgamation one of the chiefs of the four integrated units was made the Native Authority for the whole area. As a condition for the peaceful amalgamation one of the former chiefs required that his son be made the deputy chief. The deputy proved to be corrupt, and rather than bearing alone the responsibility and odium for removing the deputy, the chief asked the council to give its approval. This it did.¹

District Councils constituted the next highest level of councils. In Kwimba District, for example, the District Council consisted of all the chiefs and sub-chiefs of the district, 13 parish headmen, 26 popular representatives, 5 district departmental staff, and 5 other persons appointed by the District Commissioner to represent various popular groups in the district. In Mwanza District, the district council was made multi-racial inasmuch as an Indian, Arab, and European were appointed to represent the viewpoints of their respective communities. Inasmuch as these councils

1. Mwanza, "Annual Report of the D.C.," 1952 (typewritten).

were just being introduced in Sukumaland at the time of my departure from the area, no comments were available on the success of the various enterprises.


The apex of the present Sukuma conciliar system insofar as the Native Authorities are concerned is the Sukumaland Federal Council, which was initiated in 1947.¹ Although recent efforts have been in the direction of limiting the membership to one chief and a number of representatives from each of the five district councils, this move has been resisted by the chiefs who prefer the system of having all the chiefs represented on the council. To advise the chiefs (but not to vote on measures) popular representatives (bagunani) from each of the chiefdoms and sub-chiefdoms in Sukumaland accompany the chiefs to the meetings at Malya. These councillors have been of uncertain value. Some of the councillors---especially those from Shinyanga and Mwanza Districts, where the process of education had reached the levels below that of the chiefs and the royal clans---were vigorous in opposing the chiefs on various points. Those councillors from Maswa, however, were reluctant to oppose their chiefs, who in many cases rule their areas with firm hands. It is often charged by popular economic and political leaders that the bagunani, being appointed by the chiefs, are nothing more than the "house-boys" and cooks of the chiefs. The new elements claim (with much justification) that the popular councillors fail to carry information from the council sessions back to the people. However, in view of the fact that the bagunani are not paid for this additional service, it is not very unreasonable for them to pay more heed to tending to the cultivation of their own fields than to informing their fellow tribesmen about the affairs of the Sukumaland

1. I attended the session of the Sukumaland Federal Council which took place in October, 1953 at Malya. The material here presented was collected there.

Council.

At all levels of the conciliar system in Sukumaland below that of the Federal Council it is apparent that, at this stage at least, the reins of local government are still rather firmly in the hands of the chiefs, sub-chiefs, and headmen. The level of education in Sukumaland has not gone sufficiently far to equip the ordinary Sukuma cultivator with the knowledge necessary to discuss the affairs of local government in an intelligent fashion. For information, the ordinary cultivator is still at the hands of his local officials. The literate Wasukuma are still mostly in schools; while those who have completed their courses of education have gone on to the townships to search for a "white-collar" position with a commercial firm or have taken jobs with Government. The latter have thus been removed from the chiefdom context. As we shall see subsequently, there are rural Wasukuma who are not afraid to criticize their chiefs (whether such criticism is always justified in particular cases is another matter), but by and large the fear of retaliation by those who hold power keeps many of the discontented Wasukuma quiet. Finally, it must be acknowledged that there is a vast portion of the Sukuma population who couldn't care less about the new developments in either the economic or the political spheres. These people lend their support to the chiefs almost out of force of habit or out of respect for tradition.

At this stage of development in Sukumaland the councils seem to be of little obvious effect in keeping the chiefs responsible to the wishes and welfare of their people. In some instances chiefs appear to act in a responsible manner because of their own inclination or training in that direction. Subsequent material in this chapter will perhaps make this point more clear. By and large, however, chiefs are kept responsible



because of pressures exerted on them by the District Commissioners. These pressures are manifest in the insistence of the Administration on honesty with respect to the handling of public funds by chiefs and headmen; the quick action by the District Commissioners in reprimanding, suspending or ~~deposing~~ chiefs who are suspected, or proved guilty, of abusing their people by way of exacting tribute or other unauthorized practices; and recently, the attempts by the Administration to popularize and improve the efficiency of local administration by hiring clerks who are not necessarily related to the chief. In other ways the insistence by the administration via responsible action on the part of the chiefs has a more objective---or even paternalistic---quality about it. I refer here to the fact that programs such as destocking of cattle and other soil conservation measures in Sukumaland can be viewed objectively as being in the long-run interest of the Wasukuma. Nevertheless, this long-run interest is apparently not appreciated or realized by the vast majority of the Wasukuma; and this includes the chiefs as well. The proposals for destocking of cattle was discussed between the chiefs and the District Commissioners on and off for about five years before the chiefs were convinced of the advisability of the measure. This five year period of education included several supervised trips in which chiefs visited Mbulu, Nzega, and other districts to see how cattle destocking was being conducted in those areas. Thus, in the struggle between the chiefs (who desire to keep things as they are) and the District Commissioners (who want certain changes in the economic, social, and political order), the Administration appears for the most part to be effectuating change through a process of education.

In one recent instance in Sukumaland, where the Administration seemed to hurry the chiefs along too rapidly, we begin to see the emergence of other forces internal to Sukuma society as restraints upon chieftaincy authority. We refer here to the introduction in 1952 of a two cent cess on every pound of raw cotton ginned in Sukumaland. This measure was introduced by the Administration because it was felt that the increased cotton production presented the Native Treasuries with a new source of taxable wealth which could be of assistance in the development projects presently being undertaken in Sukumaland. These projects, especially those in education and health appear to have the support of most elements in Usukuma. At the initial suggestion of a cotton cess as a new source of revenue, the chiefs were enthusiastic about the idea. This meant that for the time being the pressure would be off raising the 50 cent rate on cattle, which was a universally unpopular measure in Usukuma and one which was especially unpopular to the cattle-owning chiefs of Maswa District. However, in the face of opposition from the cotton growers to the cotton cess, a number of the chiefs began to reverse themselves and withdraw their support for the cess. The Administration acted quickly, and---in the opinion of a number of administrative officers---practically presented the chiefs with a "sign or else" situation. The hostility which this action engendered among the cotton growers made it plain to the administrative officers and chiefs alike that new political forces had arrived on the Sukuma scene.

Perhaps it was impotency of the elika and other economic age-grade organizations under the Native Authority system, combined with the changing character of the Sukuma political and economic organization in the post-war period which brought about the eclipse of the Basumba Batale as ef-

fective popular leaders. Whatever the reasons, the fact remains that new popular economic and political organizations have emerged in the recent post-war period. Although the organizations which are labelled "economic" are superior in membership to those labelled "political," there is often a very thin line dividing the attitudes, if not the activities, of the membership of the two types of organizations. Moreover, the enthusiasm of the Wasukuma for joining any chama (association) often results in an inter-locking of the membership and leadership of the various political and economic societies.

Several of the new economic societies are very conservative in their outlook. They were established on the suggestion of the Administration and have remained largely in sympathy with the Native Authority of the area concerned even when they were not directly controlled by the chief. For example, we may cite the Usmao Ghee Association which was formed in central Kwimba District in 1945 to assist the Africans in the more efficient marketing and processing of cream. The cream in the past was usually purchased by itinerant Jalu and Indian traders, who collected the cream in tins (the multi-purpose kerosene debbe) and carried it to an Indian-owned cream separator. The Indian processed the cream and converted it to clarified butter, or ghee, which is regarded as a sine qua non of the Asian diet. The system of collection was not only inefficient, but there was also a considerable amount of profit taken by the several layers of middlemen which intervened between the udder and the duka shelves.

With only a little prompting from the Administration and the Agricultural Department, the Regent of Usmao and several sub-chiefs formed an Association, the purpose of which was to encourage group purchasing

of cream separators and to eliminate several layers of middlemen from the industry. The Usmao Ghee Association not only aided its members in organizing group sale of the ghee and in the purchasing of separators, but it also induced the Veterinary Department to establish a school at Ibindo in Usmao, where individuals could be training in the processing of ghee. Since the use of the land does not involve an expenditure of money, and since the Africans would have their cows in any case, the overhead for the industry is surprisingly low; and the Africans of Usmao Chiefdom are realizing a considerable income from the industry. From the very beginning the Association has been under the control of the Native Authorities, and discussions of a political character are avoided in meetings of the cooperative.¹

Lake Province Growers Association

It is in the cotton industry in Usukuma that the mixture of economics and politics in the activities and attitudes of members of cooperative societies is most apparent. It was acknowledged to the writer by several European administrative officers that the failure of Government to appreciate the African needs and requests for cooperative organizations was in part responsible for the political character of the various societies. Until very recently the cotton industry was controlled by Indians from the stage that the cotton left the cultivators' fields until the stage (in some instances) where it came back to him as bolts of cloth and cheap shirts in the Indian dukas. Although the Wasukuma are now even thinking of purchasing their own ginneries, in the years immediately after the Second World War they concentrated on attacking the monopolistic and dishonest practices of the Asian buyers and cotton weighers.

1. Interviews with the Secretary of the Association, the ghee instructor, and the agricultural field officer, Ibindo, Nov., 1953.

The focal points for Wasukuma discontent were in Geita District and in the Nassa area of Mwanza District. The farmers approached the Provincial administrators in 1949 for assistance in opposing the buyers, but the urgency of their need was not realized. They then appealed to the Mwanza branch of the Tanganyika African Association (discussed below), and their cause was taken up by a Mr. Paulo Bomani. Mr. Bomani and his associates urged that local societies be formed in as many chiefdoms as possible and a parent body, the Lake Province Growers Association, was formed in 1950 to handle the over-all problems of the cotton cooperatives and other African enterprises in the five Sukuma districts, Ukerewe, and Musoma. Racial animosities and political discontent with the existing Native Authority system were capitalized upon in increasing membership in the local societies and in giving the Growers Association a more effective rallying cry.

As pressure by the Association upon Government increased, the need for the extension of the Tanganyika Cooperative Department's activities to Mwanza was recognized. In 1952 an Officer from the Provincial Administration was seconded for the purposes of registering the societies and organizing them along recognized cooperative lines. The Cooperative Officer assisted the local societies in drafting model bye-laws, training clerks and committeemen of the societies, arranging with the Indian ginners for the orderly entry of the societies into the marketing system, and securing loans on commercial terms for the purchase of capital equipment. The Lint and Seed Marketing Board, through its local agent---the Lake Province Cotton Committee, was helpful in providing the commercial loans (out of the funds which many growers insist is rightfully theirs in the first place; although this attitude overlooks the fact that the funds of the Board are

used in the improvement of strains of cotton, construction and maintenance of "cotton" roads, the training and salaries of agricultural instructors, and other programs which aid the African cotton producer).

Certain irregularities in financial practices in the societies are revealed from time to time, although the accounts are remarkably well kept. Conflict between the Indian ginners and weighers and the African societies is a recurrent phenomenon. Furthermore, the members do not always appreciate the subtleties of established cooperative practices and principles. Despite these difficulties, however, the Lake Province Growers Association is a flourishing organization. At the end of 1953 its combined membership in local societies in Sukumaland numbered 39,247, distributed among the districts as follows:¹

Maswa	13,509
Kwimba	11,648
Mwanza	11,242
Geita	2,134
Shinyanga	713

The societies provide a number of economic services directly concerned with the cotton industry. These include the grading and storing of cotton to maintain its high quality, collecting the raw cotton in lorries

1. These figures include registered as well as unregistered societies. They were supplied to me by the Secretary of LPGA, Mr. Francis Bujima. The figures for registered societies' membership at the end of 1953 was 23,844 for the whole Province. Lake Province, "Annual Report of the Cooperative Officer," 1953 (typewritten). The information in the foregoing paragraphs was provided me by officers of the Lake Province Growers Association, the Lake Province Cotton Committee, and the Lake Province Cooperative Department. On request, the specific strands of information relative to their sources are not made explicit.

owned by the societies, making bulk sales to the ginneries, and independently weighing the cotton and checking the payments made by the ginners to the more illiterate members of the societies. Experience appears to have convinced the Administration that the societies can collect the cotton more efficiently than did the ginners before them, and, moreover, they are able to distribute rather sizeable dividends to their members. In some instances the societies were able to use their surplus to provide social services for their members. For example, some of the societies constructed "chama" (meeting) halls, which are being used as social centers. In Mwanza District in 1953, the cooperatives aided in the distribution of cassava, maize, and fish during the period of a food shortage.¹ In other areas the cooperatives make bulk purchases of bicycles, foodstuffs, and agricultural implements, thus serving as consumers' cooperatives as well as producers' cooperatives.

The Lake Province Growers Association, however, has not limited itself to economic enterprises and the performance of social services for its members. In many ways its leaders have seen fit (or compelled) to come into conflict with the British Administration and with the Native Authorities. It acts as a protest group for practically all dissatisfied elements of Sukumaland. Some of its protests are over actions of the Central or local governments which directly affect cotton growers or other producers, and in this regard the cooperatives are acting in a manner similar to that of economic groups in America and Europe. Into this category we can place their protests over the 2 cents per pound cess on raw cotton, the introduction of fishing licenses, and the collection of certain market and forest fees. Some of their activities, however, bring

1. "Annual Report of District Commissioner," 1953 (typewritten).

them into direct opposition to the efforts of the Native Authorities. In this category we must place their opposition to cattle destocking, their encouragement of African cultivators to refuse to work on communal labor projects, and their criticisms of the manner in which the chiefs perform with regard to educational programs in Usukuma. With regard to the last item, I was informed by the Vice-President of the Growers Association that the organization is sponsoring scholarships to send children of members to primary and middle schools in Uganda. It was stated that the facilities in Sukumaland were inadequate to accommodate all the children who wanted education. Surprisingly enough, many of the children being sent to Uganda were from Maswa District; and only the week previous to my interview with the officer I was in attendance at a meeting of the Maswa District Education Committee. At this meeting the Provincial Education Officer was complaining to the Native Authorities about the fact that in some primary schools in Maswa, 40 per cent of the openings in Standard I were not being utilized.

Some picture of the political character of the Association may be obtained from notes made by myself and my interpreter-clerk while in attendance at a meeting of over 120 chairmen and other officers of primary societies of the Lake Province Growers Association. At this meeting, which was held in Mwanza Township on 2 March 1954, the Acting President permitted me to have more than an hour's time in receiving the comments of the people assembled. After explaining my position and the nature of my research, I asked them to state, without any further comments on my part, what was uppermost in their minds regarding the development in Sukumaland. It was stated that both favorable and unfavorable opinions regarding present developments would be appreciated. The statements, as they were re-

corded in my notes, are presented below. The only changes here are that duplicate remarks have been omitted, and the questions are arranged according to general headings.

Economic Activities

1. There should be more freedom as far as trade is concerned. People should be allowed to sell their cattle, ghee, and other products wherever the prices are highest. We are prohibited from selling our ghee in Uganda or our cattle in Bukoba, and this is causing great poverty in Sukumaland.
2. People in my area have to pay Shs.-/50 for the local rate, no matter what the age of their cows.
3. Why should we cultivators be forced to work on dam construction without pay? I understand there is money in the Native Treasury for such work, and the people should be paid.
4. Government has imposed a system whereby people have to buy land from the headmen in order to settle in Geita. This is unjust.¹

Education

5. Why has Government changed the middle school curriculum in favor of having our sons and daughters work all day long on the school shambas (fields)? We want our children to go on to higher education; they can't do that if they spend so much time on agriculture.
6. Government should build more secondary schools. It harms our children if they are not permitted to go beyond Standard IV or Standard VIII. They are only slightly educated when they get that far and they cannot find good job.

Medicine

7. The hospitals are very low standard when it comes to treating African patients. The food is bad, there are no mosquito nets, they are short of drugs, and they practice discrimination. If an African can pay, why shouldn't he have a private room just like the Europeans?

Political

8. Efforts should be made to have people other than chiefs on the Legislative Council so that cotton growers and the ordinary people may be heard.
1. An executive officer of the Tanganyika African Association interrupted at this point to state that this was untrue. He had investigated the charge and found individual corruption, not Government policy, to be responsible.

9. Why aren't members of the cooperative societies represented on the chiefdom and parish councils? These councils are of no use to the people since only the chiefs and their house-boys sit there. (Four statements were made to this effect.)
10. Swahili should be used on all councils in Tanganyika so that the ordinary people can understand what is happening and so that they can express their views.
11. The deposition of chiefs is all wrong. Government asks the people to elect their chiefs, but they nothing to say about whether they should be deposed. This should be done by the courts or by the people; but not by the D. C. alone.
12. The British Government is much more of a dictatorship than a democracy. This we know because UNO (United Nations) said that the Wameru had been cheated out of their land, but the Tanganyika Government ignored the fact that UNO judged against it.¹
13. Cattle destocking was forced upon the people without discussing it with them before-hand. (Three comments were made along similar lines.)
14. Government doesn't give the chiefs a chance to consult their people. The chiefs do not know what the agenda of the Sukumaland Federal Council will be until they reach Malya. There they are forced to sign agreements without being able to consult the people.
15. Why should we have multi-racial councils in Tanganyika? The Africans are in the majority in this country, but a minority on the councils. Our people cannot keep up with the Europeans and Asians in debate. (Two comments along this line.)

The preponderance of remarks of a political character made by these leaders of primary producers societies is obvious. Even the remarks placed under the rubrics of education, medicine, and economic activities indicated a general attitude of hostility to the activities of Central Government and of the Native Authorities. It may well have been the pressure of opinion within the meeting which prevented any of the speakers from making favorable comments about the actions of the Administration.

1. Actually, only the Fourth Committee of the Assembly indicated that the Administering Authority was at fault. No critical resolution was ever passed by the General Assembly as a whole.

The political attitudes expressed in this meeting have frequently been the source of conflict between the cooperatives and the chiefs. The relationships, however, are not uniform in character. In Nassa and other chiefdoms of the Victoria Nyanza littoral, where membership in cooperatives is very high, the chiefs and the cooperatives are antagonistic towards each other. In Maswa, on the other hand, the large societies and the Native Authorities have established a cordial relationship. In Geita the Native Authorities are indifferent to the whole movement.¹ At the meeting just mentioned I asked the following question: "Which chiefs in Sukumaland are, in your opinion, doing a good job?" There were immediately cries of "None!" "None!" The chairman, who was nudged by his secretary, was apparently made aware of the fact that at least one sub-chief and a headman were represented at the meeting, and he suggested that that sub-chief as well as the Chiefs of Nunghu and Ntuzu were the only ones who were doing good jobs. Doing good jobs apparently meant cooperating with the cooperatives.

In one respect at least there is an ambivalence in the political outlook of the members of the cooperative societies. Some of the members (mostly the leaders of the Association) are more cosmopolitan in their outlook. To them, Sukumaland as a whole, and even Lake Province or Tanganyika, constitutes convenient arenas for political activities. Being urbanized and better educated, their chiefdom (but not necessarily tribal) loyalties have diminished. The membership of the primary societies, however, is still rather firmly based upon the villages and the chiefdoms despite the opposition of the cooperatives to the Native Authority system.

1. In Geita, the Mweli Farmers Union has a larger membership than the societies affiliated with the LPGA.

This was demonstrated in 1953 when the Cooperative Department urged that the large chieftom-based cooperative societies be broken down into more efficient units based around the established cotton buying posts. It was alleged that this action was another step in the British Government's policy of "Divide and Rule."¹ The Department, it should be added, did succeed in its efforts.

The Sukuma Union

The lack of sharp lines between political and economic organizations in Sukumaland is further evidenced in the aims and activities of an organization which is described by its leadership as being "political." The Sukuma Union was founded in 1950 by a trader, a carpenter, and a secondary school teacher who were working in Mwanza Township.² Its primary political purposes have been to unite all the Wasukuma and Wanyamwezi into a common political unit, and to fight for increased educational facilities so that the common people would be able "to fight against oppression at 1. Lake Province, "Annual Report of the Cooperative Officer," 1953 (typewritten), p. 3.

2. Although these individuals no longer resided in Mwanza and were thus not available for interview, I was provided with information about the school-teacher, Mr. Henry Chakula (Chagula), quite by accident. In the first place, it is recorded in the Shinyanga District, "Annual Report of the District Commissioner," 1947 (typewritten) that Mr. Chakula, a Makerere University graduate employed in the Education Department, was a competitor for the chieftaincy of Mondo in 1947. In choosing between Mr. Chakula and an almost illiterate uncle of Mr. Chakula, the people demonstrated clearly in favor of the uncle. After about six months in office, the uncle had to be suspended on account of authorizing witchcraft practices resulting in the banishment and beating of two old women.

A second bit of accidental information about Mr. Chakula was provided me at Northwestern University by a Makerere graduate. He stated that it was popularly held that Mr. Chakula was one of the most brilliant students Makerere University had had.

the hands of the Authorities or the traditional rulers."¹ Its membership in Sukumaland proper is small compared to the enrollment of the cooperative societies, and almost one-fourth of its membership consists of Wasukuma residing on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. Membership figures are as follows:

Mwanza District	1,800
Maswa District	1,121
Kwimba District	1,060
Geita District	800
Shinyanga District	50
Western Province	1,054
Tanga, Dar es Salaam	181
Zanzibar, Pemba	<u>2,000</u>
Total	8,066

Among its manifestly political activities in "aiding the people against oppression by the chiefs," the Sukuma union takes up the complaints of people who feel that they have been abused by the chiefs. During December, 1953, the Union had submitted a petition of complaint to the Provincial Commissioner of Lake Province regarding twelve cases in which it was charged the chiefs had taken cattle from the people or had compelled people to give their labor on chiefdom projects without any payment of money or food being made to the laborers. The leaders I interviewed alleged that "all the chiefs" do these things, and the people are afraid to protest because the chiefs and headmen would make their lives unbearable.

The Union is not limited, however, to activities of a strictly political character. Some idea of the general character of its aim may be

1. Information on the Sukuma Union was, except where noted otherwise, provided four of the leading officers of the Union in Mwanza, January 1954.

discerned from a reading of the Bye-Laws of the Sukuma Union:¹

Aims of the Sukuma Union: It is high time that the Wasukuma united so that they can contribute towards the well-being of their country by improving such things as education, health, agriculture, veterinary services, and forestry. Government alone is not going to do everything.

(a) Education. The Union shall open schools for children who cannot be provided for in Government or mission schools and shall encourage regular attendance of school children.

(b) Health. The Union shall undertake to enforce hygienic ways of living among its members. It shall also cooperate with Government in helping to stop the spread of such diseases as V.D.

(c) Agriculture. The Union shall encourage better methods of cultivation and shall take a particular interest in seeing that exploitation is cut to the lowest possible minimum.

(d) Veterinary Services. It shall persuade people to stick to modern ways of husbandry and better methods of skin drying.

(e) Forestry. The union shall encourage the planting of trees in cooperation with the Forestry Department.

The Union recruits membership in the districts through the holding of public meetings in the hinterland chiefdoms and through the appointment of some members as "organizers." The entrance fee is Shs. 5/- and the annual subscription is Shs. 10/-. Plans were being made in 1954 to have a Sukuma Union newspaper published. Moreover, Mr. Lamiki s/o Bogohe, the Secretary of the Union informed me that he and two other officers were planning to buy a motion picture camera and projector so that they could make films and show them in the districts as a means of familiarizing the people with their aims. One of the proposed films would begin with a few pictures of chiefs, dressed in their traditional robes, taking part in the traditional head-shaving ceremony at the commencement of the planting season. The scene would then shift to the Mwanza welfare center,

1. "Bye-laws of the Sukuma Union" (mimeographed in Swahili). Translated by Mark Bomani.

where one could see the members of the Sukuma Union, dressed in European-type clothing, gathered together to discuss the problems of improving education and natural resources facilities. Thus, "the Old Order changeth....."

According to the leaders interviewed, the members of the Sukuma Union attempt to voice their grievances at the village and chiefdom council meetings, but they are usually not permitted to speak. Admittedly the Native Authorities are not favorably inclined towards the Sukuma Union. There were several prosecutions in 1953 by the Native Authorities in Mwangalla, Itilima, Kanadi, and Ntuzu of members of the Sukuma Union. On the advice of the Union leadership, Africans in these chiefdoms had refused to carry out the traditional communal labor of dam digging and road construction.¹ Nevertheless, when a District Commissioner is in attendance at parish and chiefdom council meetings, the members of the Union are permitted to speak. Government officers are very much aware of the existence of the Union, and, so I was informed on several occasions, they prefer to keep it working above-grounding and to refute their charges whenever possible. For example, I was informed by the District Commissioner of Maswa that members of the Union in Kanadi, Ntuzu, and Itilima could be seen milling about in the crowds while elections were being held for the chiefdom councils. Although they were attempting to influence the election in favor of their candidates, none of their members were elected. When the District Commissioner pointed out to the people that their local rate on cattle and the Hut and Poll Tax had been used in providing them with hospital and schools, the people cheered. When he asked them what

1. Maswa District, "Annual Report of the District Commissioner," 1953.

they were getting for their Shs. 10/- membership in the Sukuma Union, they merely grinned or laughed.¹

Tanganyika African National Union

The membership of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in Sukumaland is roughly the same as that of the Sukuma Union, but its membership is largely restricted to the "karani" (clerk) class in Mwanza, Shinyanga, and Geita townships. It is much more cosmopolitan in its outlook and indeed much of the leadership in the Mwanza branch of TANU is drawn from the Bakuria, Jaluo, and other non-Sukuma elements of the townships. Its representations before the United Nations Visiting Mission in 1954 reveal that it is much more concerned about East African and Tanganyika problems as a whole than it is about the parochial problems of Usukuma. True, the leaders of the TANU in Mwanza complained about the lack of African hospitals and lower educational facilities in Usukuma, the size of the school fees, the cattle cess and the compulsory cattle destocking program (which they characterized as a scheme "to enrich the commercial interests represented in the packing company"). By and large, however, they were concerned with opposing East African federation of Tanganyika, Uganda, and Kenya; the failure of the Administering Authority to set a time-table for Tanganyika independence; the presence of Europeans and Asian majorities on the Legislative Council or the proposed town and county councils; the Meru land dispute; and the general situation of "colour distinction" which are detrimental to the Africans in the fields of education and medicine, in employment, and in securing loans from commercial banks. They were also concerned about the general ban on members of the junior and senior civil service joining political organizations. Since a large pro-1. Maswa, February, 1954.

portion of the educated Africans in Tanganyika are civil servants, this meant that the TANU and other political groups were deprived of drawing their membership from the most educated persons in the Territory.¹

The wider horizons of the Tanganyika African National Union is demonstrated in the fact that they usually send one copy of their petitions of protest to the United Kingdom Colonial Office. As in the case of the Sukuma Union, the Administration attempts to keep abreast of the activities and protests of the TANU. In Geita District, for example, the District Commissioner or a District Officer regularly is in attendance at the Union's meetings and attempts to refute with facts, figures, and explanations, the charges of the Union regarding destocking and other Native Authority programs. This practice has now been copied by the District Commissioners in other Sukumaland districts. In Shinyanga, to meet the complaint about civil servants being banned from membership in political organizations, the District Commissioner in 1953 decided to hold monthly public meetings in which all of the people of Shinyanga township were permitted to attend and voice their complaints.

Career History Material on 14 Popular Leaders

In order to secure a rough picture of the types of persons who were leading the various popular economic and political organizations and what their views were on a number of subjects affecting local government in Sukumaland, abbreviated career history and attitudes studies were made on 14 leaders. There is no intention to regard this as a statistical sample; rather, it constitutes a very selective study of executive officers and secretaries of the Lake Province Growers Association (6), the 1. U.N., Trusteeship Council, Report on the U.N. Visiting Mission to Trust Territories in East Africa, 1954, on Tanganyika. U.N.Doc. T/1142, 23 Dec. 1954.

Sukuma Union (5), Tanganyika African National Union (2), and the Usmao Ghee Association (1).¹ It is recognized that the opinions of the officers do not necessarily reflect those held by the rank and file membership.

The 14 leaders interviewed included one woman who is active in political affairs in Sukumaland. The urban character of the leadership is partially revealed in the fact that seven of the group are shop-keepers. Of the others, two had been primary school teachers, one was an ex-constable, two had had employment with the Agricultural Department, another was in the employ of the Veterinary Department, and the woman had been an ayah (nurse's aide) at a mission hospital. As far as educational background was concerned, they stood rather above the Sukuma average; all were literate, only three had gone no further than Standard IV, eight had attended middle school, and three had attended at least one year at a secondary school (Standards IX to XII). Economically, they were almost on a par with the Sukuma chiefs. One of the group owned a Ferguson tractor and a lorry; eight owned shops, hotels, or rooming houses; and another made over £500 annually from the sale of cotton and other produce.

I heard the statement expressed on a number of occasions by administrative officers to the effect that most of the political leaders (less flattering titles were usually employed!) had been educated in mission,

1. This information was gathered directly by the writer in some cases, but most of it was gathered by Mr. Mark Bomani, a Makerere student whose brother is the President of the Lake Province Growers Association. Although these leaders are not shy about speaking their minds, it was felt that they would be more straight-forward in stating their opinions to Mr. Bomani than they would be to the writer. Material gathered in February, 1954. A questionnaire, containing 30 items dealing with vita, economic and political opinions, was prepared in the hopes of getting uniformity in the type of material collected.

rather than government, schools; and that most of these leaders were Protestants. While the sample of 14 presented here is hardly sufficient to verify or disprove these contentions, nevertheless the impression is that there is an element of truth in the contentions. Nine of the 14 leaders in this sample were mission educated. The religious affiliations are Roman Catholic (2), Moslem (2), Seven Day Adventists (5), and Africa Inland Missions (5). Thus, 10 of the 12 are Protestants.

As to reasons for the individuals joining the popular organizations, the answers fell roughly into two groups. Those in the Lake Province Growers Association and the Usmao Ghee Association stated that they joined these organizations so that they could challenge the exploitation by the Indians or the Jaluo, and play a greater part in the marketing of their crops. The members of the two political unions stated they wanted to have a united voice in opposing the abuses of the people at the hands of the chiefs and so that they could have a greater voice in running their own affairs.

So that I would get some sort of a balanced picture, they were asked: "What activities of Government (Central or Local) are best appreciated by you?" and "What do you dislike about Government?" On the credit side of Government's ledger, primary and middle school education was mentioned 11 times; dispensaries and hospitals were praised by 10 of the leaders; 4 mentioned transportation; one mentioned dams; and another person said that he appreciated the introduction of merchandize and labor-saving devices. Only one of the 14 made a remark to the effect that: "strictly speaking there is nothing that deserves to be called 'best.'" Among the things which were disliked about Government, 10 said that they resented the colour-bar in government employment and in government hospitals; 3

mentioned the compulsory destocking of cattle; restrictions on African trade or giving preference to Indian traders was condemned by 3 of the leaders; and 2 complained about the new middle school curriculum and the inadequate primary school facilities.

Some interesting comments were provided in answer to a query concerning their attitude towards the Europeans and the Asians of the Territory. Each one of the leaders replied that he felt the Europeans were necessary for the present---that the Europeans were the "teachers" of the Africans. All but two, however, qualified their remarks with but "they could be doing much more," "it will be better when Africans have been trained to take over their jobs and they can leave," or "why must they be colour conscious?" With regard to the Asians, only 8 of the leaders expressed appreciation for the fact that the Indians were also the teachers of Africans or for the Indians bringing consumer goods to Tanganyika and contributing in some cases to the repair of dispensaries. However, all of these persons qualified their remarks with the statement that: "The Indians take much more out of Tanganyika than they put in." Of the 6 who were unequivocally opposed to the Asians, the remarks of one leader are rather interesting:

The Indian? He is a clever one. He always our money. We can thank Government and the Europeans for bringing us progress, but the Indians are only traders and want to build big houses or go back to India and live in palaces. They have nothing for us. We love them and they push us away. They refuse to help us. And the Indian is a part of every subject; he is a great meddler.

In view of the generally-held opinion among Europeans that the popular leaders are "anti-chief," several questions dealing with the Native Authority System were asked. Surprisingly enough, the first question ("Do you have any eminent kinsmen?") revealed that 9 of the 12 leaders were related to Sukuma chiefs. In several instances the relationship was not at

all close; nevertheless, in one instance it was sufficiently close for the economic leader to have been one of the leading candidates for the chieftaincy of his own area two decades ago. Six others had brothers or fathers who were headmen.

When the leaders were asked their opinion regarding which chiefs were doing a good job in Sukumaland, the answers of the 14 differed not markedly from the answers received in the meeting of the Lake Province Growers Association which I attended. The Chief of Ntuzu was mentioned seven times; four suggested Chief Nghumbu of Nunghu; three thought Chief Shoka of Uduhe, was performing his job with merit; and Chiefs Kidaha of Usiha, Charles of Nera, and Kapongo of Nassa each received at least one mention. Of the 14 leaders only 3 stated that they could not spot a single chief who was doing a good job.

Some interesting attitudes emerged in response to questions about the system of councils which had been introduced in the post-war period. All 14 economic and political leaders were unanimous in their commentaries on councils at the village level. They felt that the idea of village councils was a good one, but that at the present time: (1) the members don't know what they're supposed to do; (2) all the members are hench-men and servants of the headmen; and (3) they never talk about the things the Wasukuma people really need, but rather about what Government wants or about frivolous things like where pombe (beer) can be obtained. Opinions on chieftdom and district councils was about evenly divided. All felt that the formation of these councils was a step in the right direction, but there was a difference of opinion about the composition of these councils. Seven said that they thought Government was doing the right thing in permitting part of the membership to be elected; seven said they still thought the councils

were composed of the friends and servants of the chiefs and headmen. There were also complaints about the fact that councillors never reported to the people about what had transpired at the meetings.

With regard to Sukumaland Federal Council, several stated that they thought this council was the worst of all. The objections ranged from the fact that the meetings were held in "secret" and that the people were neither consulted as to their opinions before-hand nor informed of the transactions afterwards, to a vigorous defense of the chiefs. In the latter vein, it was contended that the Federal Council was a device for making the chiefs the scape-goats for some of the "injustices" committed by the Central Government officials.

With regard to two other councils, the sampling of leaders held to two contradictory notions. When asked about the proposed multi-racial county council, those having information and an opinion were unanimously opposed to the idea on the grounds that the Africans were ill-prepared to compete with Europeans and Asians in debate. On the other hand, these same persons when queried as to their opinion of the Lake Province Council, another multi-racial body, were unanimously in favor of it! They said that it was representative of all the people, it had been very useful, and that its powers should be increased. I think no small factor in this reversal of opinion regarding multi-racial councils is that Mr. Paul Bomani, the President of the Lake Province Growers Association, has been a member of the Provincial Council.¹

Inasmuch as their attitudes toward the existing Native Authority System seemed to be antagonistic, each of the persons interviewed was asked his
1. Moreover, they might have been swayed by the fact that Mark Bomani, Paul's brother, was the gentleman who was securing this information for me.

opinion of the present system of chiefs. Here I received a range of opinion. Only four of the 14 wanted the chieftaincy system to remain as it was even though individual chiefs could be better educated and could be doing a better job of consulting the people and presenting the people's views to the Central Government. Another four of the leaders wanted to see the chiefs reduced to figure-heads in which they remained as symbols of Sukuma unity and tradition. Some would permit the chiefs to deal with taxes, but as far as administration and practical politics was concerned, the chiefs were to be excluded entirely.

The remaining six leaders questioned wanted the present system abolished entirely. They were not unanimous, however, in what was to be done after this. Three individuals (from the Sukuma Union) wanted a paramount chief, elected annually by the people from the ranks of the present chiefs, to unite the Wasukuma and Wanyamwezi into a common political unit. The remaining three wanted all hereditary posts abolished, with each of the elected chiefdom "political agents" being responsible to a sort of superior Senior Deputy Commissioner (an African) for all of Sukumaland.

One final point can be made about the chiefdom and tribal loyalties of the 14 leaders. Although many of the 14 were bitter in their criticisms of the chieftaincy arrangements, all but one had still retained their feeling of tribal solidarity. When asked: "How would you like to see Sukumaland governed with respect to Tanganyika as a whole?" 12 stated they wanted to see Sukumaland governed as a "unitary state" or at least as an autonomous sector of an independent Tanganyika. Most of them were of the opinion that, "We must know ourselves first and preserve what is good in Sukuma culture before we can begin to think about the rest of Tanganyika."

Thus, there are several types of pressures being exerted on the chiefs

of Sukumaland to bring about a popularization of the Native Authority System. Some of these pressures arise within the ranks of the chieftaincy class itself as education and sympathy with the political and economic goals of the British Administration bring about an alteration in the individual conduct of chiefs. Thus, the actions of the Chiefs of Ntuzu and Nunghu in Maswa in consulting their people regarding new programs before the programs are to be introduced have repercussions in areas where the chiefs are inclined to act on their own.

The second pressure comes from the above, that is by the insistence of the "superior" component that the chiefs consult with their newly created councils, that they appoint commoners to the post of court and tax clerks, and that they themselves present a good example as far as the observance of soil conservation measures and other local government programs are concerned. To a certain extent this form of popular control is being planned, and there seems to be a reluctance at this stage for either the Administration or the chiefs to let the conciliar system go its own way.

The third pressure, however, was neither solicited by the Administration nor completely subject to its control. The economic and political organizations which have emerged in Sukumaland very definitely want to exert control over the chiefs; and where control cannot be exerted they would prefer to see the system of hereditary chiefs abolished. It is from this sector of the Sukuma society that the most significant political developments of the future will emerge.

PART III

Sketch of a Modern Sukuma Chief

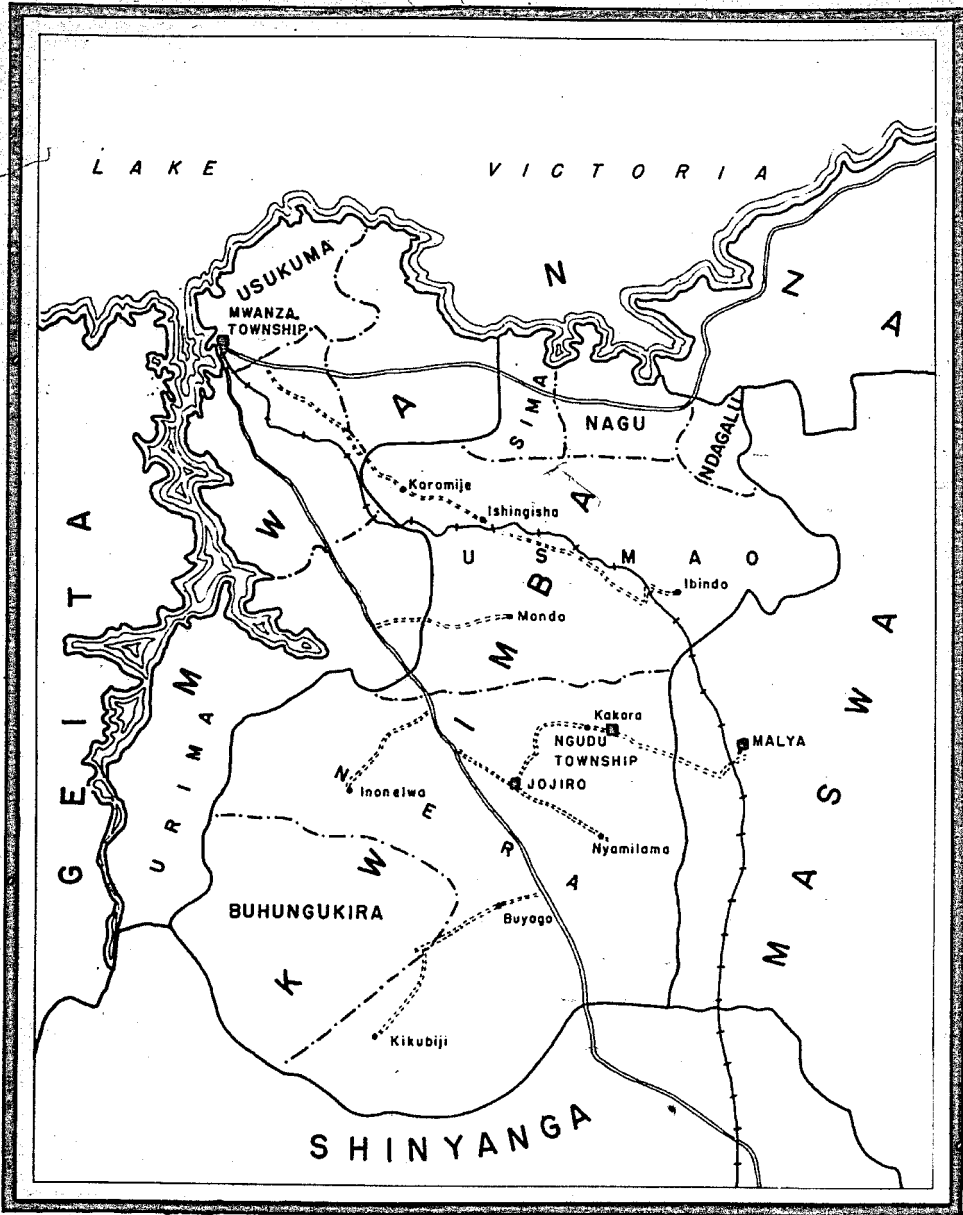
In Charles Mange s/o Masanja, Chief of Nera Chiefdom, administrative officers in Kwimba District have what they regard as an "ideal" chief insofar as the present day goals of local government in Tanganyika are concerned. He combines in his person the traditional heritage of Sukuma chieftainship with advanced education and an enlightened outlook on the problems of health, education, and natural resources development.

Nera Chiefdom, which Charles had administered during the past few years, has a long history of chieftaincy rule. Charles is the fifteenth in a line of chiefs which goes back an estimated 260 years. Until the election of Charles' elder full brother, Balele s/o Masanja, in 1942, succession in Nera Chiefdom had been matrilineal. It was Masanja's wish that he should be succeeded by the eldest son of his senior wife, and indeed by carefully planning the education of Balele and then appointing him as his deputy chief, the issue of succession was determined years before his death. Nevertheless, the banang'oma, the wanangwa, and the walamji ratified Masanja's choice two days after the aged chief had died. The ~~Waste~~ appears not to have been necessary, however, for the personality of Masanja during his 40 years of rule was known and respected throughout Sukumaland. Apparently the only opposition to the switch to patrilineal succession came from a sub-chief of Nyamilama, whose claim to the chieftaincy was the strongest on the matrilineal side.¹

When Balele died in 1950, it was generally accepted by the people and

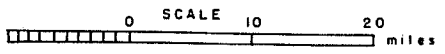
1. Historical Section, "Kwimba District Book," recorded 23 April 1930 (typewritten). The sub-chief of Nyamilama was removed by Balele in 1949 on the grounds of incompetence. Kwimba District, "Annual Report of the D.C.," 1949 (typewritten).

KWIMBA DISTRICT



KEY

- District Boundaries ————
- Chiefdom Boundaries - - - - -
- Main Roads ————
- Other Roads - - - - -
- Railroads ————



the Administration alike that the succession was to follow patrilineal lines; that is, the selection was to be limited to the sons or brothers of the late chief. The District Commissioner at that time was reluctant to let the matter be settled in haste for fear that it might give rise to future discontent. Accordingly, he let things "jell" for a week or so, during which time he canvassed all the sub-chiefs, headmen, and other persons of esteem in Nera Chiefdom.¹ It soon became evident to the District Commissioner that the choice had been narrowed to the young son of Balele's second wife (the sons of the first wife were eliminated inasmuch as they were all albinos); William, the full brother of Balele and at one time the sub-chief of Nyamilama; and a second brother, Charles Mange. The favorite choice of the Administration and the ultimate choice of the people appears to have coincided although the District Commissioner stated that he did not make known the opinions of Government before polling the various parishes. There were objections to the young son of Balele on the grounds that the election of a minor would entail a regency---which often subjects the chiefdom to political bickering and inter-clan strife, and frequently results in the regent "packing" the subordinate Native Administration posts with his relatives and friends. The second choice, William, was manifestly objectionable to the Administration inasmuch as he had been removed from his post as sub-chief for misappropriation of funds and had been given an 18 months' jail sentence. Upon his release from prison he had been given a job as health inspector in Nera chiefdom but his addiction to pombe (beer) made him persona non grata to the District Commissioner. Since the latter official was reasonably sure that the people would reject William on their own accord,

1. Interview with A. G. Stephen, Ngudu, Nov. 1953.

he didn't exert undue pressure in this regard. The third candidate, Charles Mange, was ideal from the standpoint of the Administration. At the time of the election he was in his third year at the Kampala Engineering School, which is the equivalent of Makerere insofar as technical education is concerned, and Charles stood first in his class. He was twenty-five years of age; his reputation was unblemished; and he was serious, well-mannered, and had demonstrated a capacity to adapt himself to modern ways of life.

The actual election was conducted by the District Commissioner, who held six barazas in various parts of the chiefdom and heard from eight representatives of each of the 50 magunguli (villages) in the chiefdom. The District Commissioner stood apart from the crowd and heard each representative in secret that he might render ineffective coercion and bribery. The 400 votes were practically unanimous in favor of Charles Mange, and the chief was inducted as chief a few days later. He did not, however, take up his duties as chief immediately. For, it was the desire of Charles, his advisers, and the Administration that he return to Kampala and complete the final two years of his schooling. Accordingly, he left for Kampala, leaving his deputy in charge of the chiefdom during the interim. In 1952 he received his diploma in civil engineering and returned to his home at Jojiro in Nera, where he took over the administration of his chiefdom.¹

That Charles' dynastic heritage is respected by the common people of Nera is evidenced outwardly at least by the manner in which they greet him while he is on safari in the bush or when the people meet him at court. His ties with the traditional concept of chieftainship in Sukuma

1. Information from District Commissioner and Chief Charles, Nov. 1953.

is evidenced in his observance of both the planting and the harvest rites, described previously. Chief Charles, who is himself a Roman Catholic, stated that he doubted whether any but the old people put much credence in the religious aspects of these ceremonies. From this point of view he was doing what was expected of him, and it did, as he pointed out, provide the people with one final display of levity before the planting season began in earnest. That one should not place very much significance on the observance of the rites in Nera is suggested by the fact that the Chief did not get around to observing the ceremony for the 1952-1953 growing season until January, 1953; and even the ceremony I witnessed in November, 1954, took place almost a month after the planting had begun. The same lapse occurred in the observance of the "first fruits" ceremony in 1953. On the other hand, my interpreter-clerk informed me that some of the elder people marvelled at the fact that not 20 minutes after Chief Charles had blessed the grain in Nov. 1954 by spitting it out over the assembled crowd, rain fell rather heavily at Jojiro!

The regal robes, adorned with lion mane and ostrich plumes, and which Chief Charles wore on the occasion of the planting rites, is not his usual attire. He is almost invariably meticulously dressed in a brown business suit, white shirt, and a conservative tie. While engaged in safari work, he frequently dons a white topi, (or topee,) to protect himself from the glaring sun. His home is very modern by African standards. There are several small sleeping quarters and one extremely large living room, with a high ceiling which keeps the room cool. The walls of the living room, like the exterior of the building, are made of brick, covered with mortar and white washed. The furniture is a collection of odds and ends, cast-offs undoubtedly from the Public Works Department. A carved throne, marked

with a plaque commemorating Chief Masanja's loyalty to King George V, stands off to one side. The wall ornamentation consists largely of a collection of photographs, of George VI and Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother, of previous Governors of Tanganyika, and of graduating classes from mission schools. Unlike the home of another chief, the walls of Charles Mange's home were not adorned with Cocoa-cola ads!

Modern too, is Charles in his approach to his duties as chief. He stated that he felt that his main strength in getting the people to accept the ideas of modern local government lay in his close contact with the people. In examining Chief Charles' diary, covering the calendar year 1953, I found that he had spent a total of 120 days on safari in his chiefdom, with over half of these safaris consisting of overnight journeys to Kikubiji, Buyogo, and other less accessible sub-chiefdoms of his area.¹ In some instances he travelled on foot; on other occasions he went by lorry or by motorcycle. When he is accompanied on safari by the District Commissioner or any other European officer, he is usually able to get a ride into the bush areas.

While on safari he usually deals directly with the five sub-chiefs and the fifty headmen, rather than the individual cultivators. However, the creation of parish and sub-chiefdom councils in Nera now affords Chief Charles with a convenient forum for putting across his programs. An analysis of the type of things he dealt with while on safari reveals that the agricultural cycle and related items concerning soil conservation constituted the major burden of his efforts both in barazas in individual

1. The material in this section was gathered during several hours of interviews with Chief Charles on a number of days; through an examination of his diary which he and his deputy translated for me (much of it was in English); and through observing Chief Charles while accompanying him on safari or during district meetings.

contact with the Wasukuma cultivators. Other natural resources activities also engaged him, such as urging the people to plant more trees, to see that their cattle were inoculated, and that forest and grazing reserves were established. At least twice during the year he devoted attention to reporting to the people of his chiefdom the transactions of the Sukumaland Federal Council. The impending famine, which is almost a recurrent phenomenon in Sukumaland, also took much of Chief Charles' time as he went about the chiefdom checking on the amount of food people had stored away in their granaries and seeing how much was available at the local Indian or Arab shops. Finally, he performed a great deal of work of an inspectorial character. For instance, he stopped in at the primary school at Buyogo in May to see how repairs were progressing on the new kitchen. At Isomero in December he checked the African veterinary instructor's register to see how many people were attending the lectures on animal husbandry and to check whether there had been any further reports on rinderpest which should be brought to the attention of the European livestock officer. In the previous month he had been inspecting the progress of the agricultural mechanization scheme in Kakora sub-chiefdom near his own court. After the short rains had fallen in October he checked some of the new dams in Nyamilama to see how much they had filled. On another occasion, during the cotton buying season, he accompanied Mr. C. K. Patel, the Asian President of the Lake Province Ginners Association, on a tour of all the buying posts to see that the weighing was being conducted fairly.

Chief Charles also stated that he profited by maintaining a rather close liaison with the District Administration. He felt that this was essential for keeping informed of Government policy and to clear his new

projects with the District Commissioner. Between Mr. Stephen, the District Commissioner, and Chief Charles a most cordial working relationship had developed. During the 12 month period analyzed, either the District Commissioner or the District Officer accompanied Chief Charles on his safaris through Nera chiefdom on 34 days. On 10 other days he was accompanied by the agricultural field officers, a water development officer, or a veterinary officer. The purpose of the officers in accompanying the Chief were various: the water development officer was siting a new dam and he wanted the Chief's technical advice as well as his assurance that the construction of the dam would not interfere with too many land and grazing rights; the veterinary officer wanted to find the most convenient spot for locating a permanent cattle market; and the District Commissioner was accompanying the chief to help him in opening a new parish council and in suggesting that the local rate on cattle would have to be raised in the coming year.

Chief Charles' European contact was also maintained during his journeys to the District Headquarters at Ngudu. Trips dealing with Kwimba District as a whole took place on 42 days during 1953. The occasions of the trip were: District Appeals Court of Chiefs of Kwimba (23 days); the District Team meeting (2 days); District Education Committee (2 days); District Health Committee (1 day); Ngudu Minor Settlement Health Committee (2 days); Committee to select the independent cotton weighers (3 days); and meetings with the District Commissioner to discuss the District Financial Estimates and the Sukumaland Federal Council Meeting (3 days). Moreover, there were some ad hoc meetings having to do with Coronation Day Preparations Committee (3 days); the preparations for the 1954 Sukumaland Show (2 days), and a committee meeting to site the new district hospital (1 day).

In addition to this, Charles had a number of commitments outside the chiefdom and the District. For example, his trips to Malya for the Sukumaland Federal Council meetings consumed 11 days, and his membership on the Lake Province Cotton Committee took up an additional 3. Inspection tours of the Ukuriguru Agricultural School outside Mwanza took up five days during the year. Other days on which he greeted the members of the Royal Commission on East Africa (1) and joined in discussions at Mwanza with regard to the 1954 Sukumaland Show (2 days) also brought him into contact with Europeans. Finally, during five days he acted in the capacity of instructor to a number of European natural resources officers gathered at Malya. Inasmuch as his civil engineering diploma made him well qualified to discuss the problems of dam construction, he was invited to Malya to give a short course in this subject.

If we add to these figures, the one day that Chief Charles accompanied on safari Mr. Marsh, an American missionary from the Africa Inland Mission, we find that he was in contact with Europeans during 132 days during 1953. On all but 27 of these days, contact was made in the confines of Nera Chiefdom. Thus, if a chief had to depend upon the association in people's minds between the authority of a chief and the superior power of the European Administration such an association would have been rather easily arrived at in the case of Nera chiefdom. But the Chief rather regards this as part of his performance in respect to efficient administration.

The fact that Chief Charles has been appointed to a number of administrative committees at the District and Provincial levels attests to the high regard in which he is held by the European officers. The Chief regards this honor as being of considerable value to him in the administration of his chiefdom. However, despite his good command of the English language and

of his ability to understand and appreciate the problems of local government, Chief Charles manifests the same reluctance towards voicing his opinions in multi-racial councils and committees that I have noticed with regard to other less-educated Africans. The Wasukuma at least, have not yet accustomed themselves to the fact that they may debate subjects with the Provincial Commissioner. The many years of the "superior/subordinate" relationship in which such conduct was not permissible, appears to prevent them from being at ease in multi-racial councils and committees today. Furthermore, the fact that the Administration has to reach down for a few chiefs like Chief Charles each time they create a new multi-racial body, points up what administrative officers regard as a shocking paucity of Sukuma talent.

The court work of Chief Charles has been considerably less than that of the average Sukuma chief. This stems from the fact that Nera is not only one of the larger chiefdoms in Sukumaland with respect to area, but its population of 88,962 also makes it the second largest of the 47 chiefdoms. Since the administrative involved in handling a chiefdom of this size is rather great, it has been easy for Chief Charles to appreciate and accept the present goal of the Administration in separating administrative and judicial labors. The divorce has not been complete, however, for on occasion the ntemi and the wakili share the burden of hearing cases at the Chief's baraza at Jojiro. Moreover, while on safari in the bush, the ntemi will hear cases on the spot rather than requiring the people to leave their cultivation and walk the 15 or more miles to the chief's court. Finally, as noted above, the custom in Kwimba is for the chiefs themselves, rather than their wakilis, to hear cases on appeal.

Regarding the subordinate Native Authority personnel in Nera Chiefdom,

Chief Charles has, in the opinion of one administrative officer, a "mixed bag." One of his sub-chiefs is old and scarcely literate, but he has served long and faithfully in his post; two others are young, educated and enthusiastic about their work; and one is young and very unsure of himself; and the fifth is a chronic alcoholic. Four of the sub-chiefs are of the same clan as the chief (Bakwimba), but are only distantly related. The fifth is a brother-in-law of Charles. The same clan affinities prevail in the selection of headmen in Nera. All four of the 50 wanangwa are of the Bakwimba clan. Although the post of mwanangwa is in many cases hereditary and often follows the rule of primogeniture, Charles has taken ^{an} active interest in seeing that reputable persons are appointed to fill vacancies in the ranks of the headmen. Incidentally, one of the wanangwa is a woman. The widow of Chief Balele has apparently been a power in her own right.

Judging from the remarks of a number of Africans of Nera Chiefdom, Chief Charles appears to be held in high regard by the people of his area. They have praised the fact that he consults the people as to their needs; that he is well educated; and that he is honest in his work and fair in his court judgments. Despite these qualities, however, he is not universally held in high regard by all Wasukuma. Several of the leaders of cooperative societies interviewed in Mwanza commented on the fact that their progress in organizing membership in Nera Chiefdom was meeting with resistance. Although Nera was the second largest chiefdom in Sukumaland, the membership of the primary society of the Lake Province Growers Association was only 703 at the end of 1953. This constituted less than four per cent

of the tax-paying population; in Nassa Chiefdom in Mwanza District the Growers Association membership exceeded 70 per cent.¹ Apparently Chief Charles is far from ready to surrender the heritage of his ancestors to the emergent economic and political leaders.

1. Figures supplied by the Secretary of the Lake Province Growers Association in Mwanza, Jan., 1954.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN UCHAGGA

Part I

General Alteration in the Political Order

On 10 November 1951, after the unique phenomenon for Tanganyika of an electoral campaign, the Wachagga of Kilimanjaro went to the polls and elected a Mangi Mkuu, or Paramount Chief. So significant has that day been regarded in Moshi District that in the three ensuing years, 10 November has been celebrated as Chagga Day. Indeed, the festivities occurring on Chagga Day are probably more revealing of the character of the Wachagga in the modern period than any other single event could be.

The day begins with prayers in all the Roman Catholic and Lutheran churches on Kilimanjaro, and since a majority of the quarter of a million Wachagga are Christians, the churches are usually filled. Later, at Chagga Council Headquarters outside Moshi, the Mangi Mkuu appears, regaled in royal robes and head-dress, made from the skins of leopards, lions, and the colobus monkey (the day before he could be seen immaculately dressed in a European business suit). In the company of the District Commissioner he begins an inspection of the African and Asian Scouts and Guides. He is followed in this inspection by a retinue of young "warriors" who are decked out in ostrich plumes and war-paint, and carry spears and shields, such as have seldom seen service in Uchagga during this century at least.

Following the inspection, the Chief returns to the Council Building and makes a Speech in Swahili in which he sets forth the main items of expenditure which his administration has devoted

to social services during the preceding year. At this time, too, he may single out those chiefs who have done meretorious service in putting across programs in health and agriculture, and make presentations of the traditional Chagga Bracelet of Honor to individuals of all races who have devoted themselves to the service of the Wachagga. Next his "Royal Regiment" engages in a traditional dance in honor of the Mangi Mkuu and sings the Chagga national anthem. The people then repair to various places in the town for their nogoma (dances) and for some there begins an all day session of beer-drinking.

In the afternoon, there is a motor cycle contest, and after the judgings by the Mangi Mkuu have been completed, the motor cycles speed through Moshi Township followed by the Mangi Mkuu in an open car. Later, a football match at the George VI Memorial Playing Field pits the European District Officials against the boys from the Moshi Secondary School (the latter won). At dusk, the activities become more solemn as the Mangi Mkuu, the District Commissioner, and other Europeans and Wachagga joined the Aga Khan Ismailia community in a Chagga Day Thanksgiving service at the Mosque.

The service over, the party does a quick change and proceeds to the new headquarters of the Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union, a very modern building, which houses offices, a dozen or more stores, a bar, a restaurant, and an inter-racial hostel--all built with earnings from the Chagga coffee industry. At the KNCU Headquarters, an inter-racial "sundowner" (a British institution primarily devoted to the consumption of alcohol) is held on the roof garden, and the District Commissioner and the Mangi Mkuu bring the day to a close with speeches in English of Loyalty to the Queen and hopes

for the continued prosperity for Chaggaland.

In so many ways, the events which have been taking place on Chagga Day draw together the various threads which run through the present day fabric of Chagga society. The inter-mingling of Christian, Moslem, and traditional religions; the contrast of the modern with the traditional; the use of three languages; the blending of African and European forms of recreation; and the inter-mixture of the three races, are all very strangely brought together. The day helps to summarize in a very definite manner the transformations which have taken place in Uchagga as a result of over 70 years of a "superior/subordinate" relationship having obtained between the Europeans and the Wachagga. However, the thing which really stands out in the festivities of Chagga Day is the manner in which all the activities seem to focus on the person of the Mangi Mkuu. Chagga Day is very much Marealle II's day, and the blendings and even the contradictions which take place in modern Uchagga are rather effectively revealed in the personality of this dynamic leader. This is a period when traditional monarchy appears to be on the losing side in the political transformations taking place in Tanganyika; nevertheless, in Uchagga--the most advanced area of Tanganyika--rule by a leader who emphasizes his traditional authority is actually in the ascendancy. Accordingly, we shall take as a point of departure for this study of modern Uchagga the manner in which the blendings and contradictions of Chagga political affairs are reflected in the personality of Marealle II. However, before that can be undertaken, certain general trends which have been characteristic of Uchagga under European administration must be set forth.

Establishment of the "Superior/Subordinate" Relationship

Uchagga was among the earliest areas of Tanganyika to attract the attention of the Germans. On the initial treaty-gathering expedition of Dr. Karl Peters in 1885, one of his party journeyed to Kilimanjaro and established a German Protectorate over the area. However, unlike the situation in Usukuma where little or no resistance was offered to the European Administration, the Germans encountered considerable difficulty with the Wachagga, and the area was not effectively pacified until 1893. Actually, it was the divided character of political authority in Uchagga which aided in the establishment of the "superior/subordinate" relationship on the mountain. At the time of the German arrival a struggle for supremacy was going on among various chiefs; Rindi (Mandara) of Moshi, Sina of Kibosho, and Marealle of Marangu. The Germans were able to exploit these rivalries by aiding first one chief and the next. Actually, the rival chiefs "used" the Germans in their own private struggle for power as much as the Germans "used" the chiefs. Depending upon which chiefdom was in alliance with the Germans at a particular time, the chief of that area hoped that his friendship would culminate in his being named the Paramount Chief of Uchagga. This honor was never really accorded to any of them, although Marealle came closest to achieving this. He had been named the Paramount Chief of Rombo and Vunjo divisions, and after the Germans had hanged several chiefs in Hai, Marealle's supremacy over the chiefdoms in the latter area virtually made him the Paramount for Kilimanjaro.¹

1. Sir Charles Dundas, *Kilimanjaro and Its People* (1924), pp. 103-104.

Despite the fact that the Wachagga after 1893 had settled down to being one of the more cooperative tribes of the Territory, the Germans appear never to have been quite sure of the acceptance by the chiefs of the situation of political dependency. A number of the chiefs were hanged, and even Marealle in 1905 had to flee to Kenya to escape execution at the hands of a retired German officer. Although he has reinstated in the following year, his authority was not always respected by the Germans. Rombo in 1907 was permitted to "hive-off", with Senguo Limo being made Paramount of that division.

In the skirmishes between the Germans and the British during World War I, the Chagga Chiefs and people maintained an attitude of neutrality or submission, depending upon which side was strongest at the moment. Although ten of the chiefs were removed because of certain troubles arising during the war, they were reinstated as soon as the British administration was put on a permanent basis. The primary alteration which the British made in the German system of rule was the elimination of the paramount chieftaincy. Marealle I had passed on in 1916 and was succeeded by his son Mlanga; however, after a few years he was dismissed as "incompetent", and the subordinate chiefs took this as a signal to reassert their claims to political autonomy.

The Move towards Unity

Apparently the almost twenty years under which divisions or the whole of Uchagga was consolidated under one or two Paramount Chiefs had a greater effect upon the Wachagga than the devotees of "Indirect-Rule" were willing to acknowledge. The common people below the level of the Area Chiefs had prospered during the temporary period of unity.

Although thirty years were to elapse before the British Administration assented to the reinstatement of a Paramount Chieftaincy, the movement towards unification of Uchagga had been going on steadily (but not always quietly) during this entire period. On two occasions, in 1934 and again in 1944, the Administrative officers in Moshi went so far as to take the matter under advisement, but later rejected the suggestions. In 1934, the Area Chiefs had even proposed that one of their number, Petro Itosi Marealle--the son of Marealle I and uncle of Marealle II--should be named the Paramount.¹ From the standpoint of the Administration, the naming of a Paramount Chief was regarded as a retrogressive act, which emphasized autocracy rather than indigenous democracy. From the standpoint of efficiency in local administration the British officials followed the practice here, as they did in Usukuma, of consolidating some of the petty chiefdoms. They were able to reduce the 31 chiefdoms officially recognized by the Germans and 16 in the present period. Furthermore, the chiefs of Uchagga were brought together into a common council for the purpose of formulating uniform Rules and Orders and for financial arrangements. The presidency of the council rotated annually, and thus on a number of occasions old and illiterate chiefs were called upon to preside over discussions with which they had neither understanding nor sympathy. A concession to traditional Divisional unity within Uchagga was made in the period after world war II when Divisional Chiefs (Wamangi Waitori) were created for Vunjo, Hai, and Rombo.

1. Moshi District, "Annual Reports of D.C.," 1934, 1935, 1944

This step by the Administration was based upon efficiency of administration rather than a desire to cultivate an intermediate level of Chagga tribalism.

The drive towards unity was stimulated by the exasperation on the part of individual Wachagga with many of the Area Chiefs. The period of the paramountcies under German rule had allowed the Mchagga cultivator to engage in activities which ignored the local chiefdom boundaries. With the abolition of the paramountcy, the Area Chiefs worked rapidly in some cases to re-establish their families as powers in their respective chiefdoms. Chiefs were constantly engaged in boundary and other disputes, and the taxpayers living in the disputed areas were having a very trying time.¹

The KNCU and the KCCU

The most significant factors in the eventual unity of Uchagga were the efforts of two popular Chagga organizations: the Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union (KNCU) and the Kilimanjaro Chagga Citizens Union (KCCU). These organizations are rather strikingly different in the goals they attempt to seek and in the methods which they employ in attaining their objectives. Unlike the situation in Usukuma where there is only a thin line dividing the activities and attitudes of leaders of economic organizations from those of leaders of political groups, in Uchagga there is a rather sharp distinction. To paraphrase a remark, "The Wachagga go to school with the KNCU and to church with the KCCU."

1. Moshi District, "Annual Report of the D.C.," 1934

The KNCU is the older of these two organizations, and its origin dates from the increased interest which the Wachagga had in the coffee industry in the period after world war I. The efforts on the part of European growers in Kenya and Tanganyika to prevent Africans from growing arabica (high grade) coffee, stimulated the Wachagga growers in 1925 to organize an association for the marketing of their crop. By order of the Native Authority of Moshi District all the African growers in the District were made de facto members of the association. The association was reorganized in 1932 as the KNCU, and since that time the Africans themselves have been entrusted with the management of the cooperatives and the marketing of the crop.¹ Europeans serve strictly in the capacity of advisers. By 1953 the membership in the KNCU had risen to 35,280 Wachagga--roughly 60 per cent of the tax-paying population.² Although the KNCU is primarily devoted to the coffee industry, other cooperatives have been formed for butchers, transport, and general produce. The activities of the KNCU are many and varied: granting scholarships for higher education; running a printing press; renting shops to European, Africans, and Asians; running an inter-racial hostel; and a number of other enterprises. Their latest endeavor consists in the construction of a commercial school at Moshi.

The large membership of the Union, plus the wide range of services it performs have made it indeed a power on Kilimanjaro.

1. Swynnerton and Bennett, All about "KNCU" Coffee, op. cit., p. 11.
2. KNCU, Twenty-First Annual Report, 1952-1953, op. cit., p. 22.

However, with the exception of some disturbances in 1935, the leaders of the KNCU have fastidiously avoided interfering with the political affairs of Uchagga. Nevertheless, the KNCU has had a profound effect in altering the political system of the country. In the first place, the Union provided an organization or framework within which the members of the various chiefdoms could come together for a common purpose. As the principles of economic cooperation began to take hold, long-standing rivalries based on political parochialism began to diminish. The KNCU affected the political structure in another manner in that its membership included both chiefs and commoners. Thus, the rulers and the ruled were put on an equal footing when it came to making decisions about the operation of one of the chiefdom-based primary societies. Thirdly, it provided a training ground for chiefs and ordinary cultivators alike. Its members were handling large sums of money, voting on matters of policy, and in other ways being absorbed into European, and indeed into world, economic scene. Finally, the prosperity which the coffee industry has brought to Uchagga has provided the wherewithal for enabling the Chagga Council to raise and spend money in connection with education, health, and natural resources programs.

The Kilimanjaro Chagga Citizens Union (formerly the Kilimanjaro Union) is of much more recent vintage as a popular organization in Uchagga. It is a strange collection of individuals, many of whom belong to the KNCU and are privately wealthy. It appeals to old and young alike, to the illiterate and the well educated, and to the rural as well as the urban population of Uchagga. It is thus,

much more representative organization than any of the nascent political groups in Usukuma. The Union was started in 1949 and derived its appeal from the temporary delay in the distribution of the confiscated German estates, the lack of Native Treasury funds for expansion in social development programs, and the high cost of financing the new system of Divisional Chiefs.¹ The KCCU is led by Mr. Petro Njau, who is regarded as a demagogue by many of the Wachagga and Europeans alike. Nevertheless, he has a very good sense for organization and has a flowery manner of oratory which appeals to the Wachagga.

The KCCU developed a program consisting of a demand for universal adult suffrage for local government councils, the appointment of independent magistrates at the Area level, increased education, the unification of Uuhagga, the elimination of the Uitori system, and the election of a paramount chief. With regard to the judicial measures, the increase of educational facilities, and the popular election of councilors, Government was in accord. Indeed, the administrative officers appreciated the fact that these demands arose from the ranks of the Wachagga themselves. However, on the other points, the members of the Administration were adamant in refusing to go along with the KCCU requests. The opposition of Government to the idea of a paramount chieftaincy was taken as the rallying point for the KCCU; and for two years they carried on rather intensive agitation on this subject. Their eventual success in getting the idea accepted and their candidate elected, served to increase their enrollment. Their relationship with the Mangi MKuu is a curious one as we shall point

1. Moshi District, "Annual Report of the D.C.," 1949

out in the next section of this chapter. It will suffice here to say that the emergence of a nascent political party, which monopolizes the vote through its anti-Government attitude, is not a unique phenomenon in colonial areas. A second party, the Chagga Congress, has made its appearance; but it has found difficulty in making in-roads in Uchagga.

Position of the Area Chiefs in Uchagga

Under the almost 70 years of European rule in Moshi District, the system of chiefs at the Area level has undergone considerable modification. With the encouragement given to Marealle I by the Germans and in the recognition of Marealle II as Paramount Chief in 1951, the Area Chiefs have found themselves two stages removed from their former position of relative independence in managing the external and internal affairs of their chiefdoms. For not only was the European situation of political dependency superimposed over the traditional authority systems, but a new layer of political authority was added as well. In other respects the developments in Uchagga parallel those of Usukuma with regard to the manner in which the authority of the Area chiefs has been circumscribed as a consequence of the "superior/subordinate" relationship. Accordingly, we shall only point out the areas in which Chagga development diverges from the previous pattern.

Despite the fact that the Germans hanged a number of the Chagga Chiefs and the British temporarily deposed ten of their number during World War I, the over-all practice during both Administrations has favored the retention of the hereditary system of succession. In most cases chieftaincy was left in the hands of the traditional ruling families if not of the reigning chief himself. Information

NATIVE AUTHORITIES OF UCHAGGA, 1954

(MOSHI DISTRICT, TANGANYIKA)

	PARAMOUNT	HAI DIVISION	ROMBO "	YUNJO "	KIBONGOTO	MASAMA	MACHAME	KIBOSHO	URU	OLD MOSHI	MUKU	MASHATI	USSERI	KENT-M-M	KIRUA-YUNJO	KILEMA	MARANGU	MAMBA	MWIKI	KAHU	ARUSHA-CHINI	PER CENT	
1. AGE																							
21-25																							0
26-30																							19
31-35																							24
36-40																							9
41-45																							29
46-50																							9
51-55																							9
56+OVER																							0
2. RELIGION																							
LUTHERAN																							52
ROMAN CATHOLIC																							38
MOSLEM																							5
"PAGAN"																							5
3. EDUCATION																							
NONE																							5
STANDARD I-IV																							9
" V-VII																							48
" IX-XII																							19
MAKERERE																							5
OVERSEA																							14
4. TRAVEL ABROAD (EUROPE)																							24
5. LANGUAGE																							
SWAHILI ONLY																							38
ENGLISH, SWAH.																							62
6. PREVIOUS TRAINING																							
M.A., GOVT. CLERK																							
DEPUTY CHIEF																							
K.N.C.U., RESEARCH																							
MEDICAL DEPT.																							
TEACHER																							
COMMERCIAL CLERK																							
SOCIAL WELFARE																							
MASON																							
7. TOTAL SERVICE AS CHIEF (DIVISIONAL, PARAMOUNT, AREA)																							
1-5 YEARS																							38
6-10 "																							45
11-15 "																							5
16-20 "																							0
21-25 "																							9
26+OVER																							5
8. HEREDITARY POST?																							
SON OF CHIEF																							90
PRIMO GENITURE																							
9. RELATIVES WHO ARE CHIEFS (4)																							
"	U	S	N	B	F																		
"	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	
MAGISTRATES																							
GOVT. SERVANTS																							
10. N.I. SALARIES SHGS. PER MONTH	2000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	
"																							
11. TAXPAYERS IN AREA UNDER JURISDICTION																							
"																							
12. OWNER OF MOTORCAR																							
"																							66.6

① B=BROTHER, F=FATHER, N=NEPHEW, S=SON, U=UNCLE ② KAHU IS MIXED CHAGGA, PARE, MASAI ③ JUMBE OF ARUSHA-CHINI

obtained on the present chiefs of Uchagga reveals that patrilineal succession was followed in all but a few cases. The only areas where succession was irregular was in the consolidated chiefdoms of Rombo Division, where each occasion for the appointment of a new chief reopened all the controversies among the various royal clans within the consolidated chiefdom. The selection of new chiefs has in recent years been submitted to the people for ratification, however, in most areas the elders in the royal clan usually "caucus" prior to the election and agree on a single candidate.¹

The accompanying table will reveal the extent to which the educational qualifications of the Chagga chiefs are superior to those of the Wasukuma. This is more than a reflection of Government's insistence on the election of educated chiefs to carry out the programs of local government. It also reflects the general enthusiasm of the Wachagga for education as well as the fact that the families of the chief were, in the past, among the few who could afford to have their children educated. As far as previous experience in local government was concerned, the Chagga Chiefs compare very favorably with the record of the Sukuma chiefs. I was impressed by the fact that over half of the Area Chiefs had served as clerks with the KNCU or other cooperative societies. Perhaps the association of the chiefs with the KNCU has been a factor in the Union's avoidance of overt political activity.

1. Information from Mangi Mwitiro Abdial Shangali, July, 1954.

The factor of Christianity and the Moslem influence in Uchagga has not seriously altered the respect for chieftaincy authority. The religious rites of the Chagga chiefs were never as elaborate as those of the Wasukuma. The chiefs themselves have been as receptive as their subjects to the new religions, and especially to the educational advantages which the mission stations provided. Information on 16 of the present chiefs reveals that 12 of their number were mission educated. There has existed some friction between the Roman Catholics and the Lutherans on the mountain, but the policy of the Germans in allocating "spheres of influence" to the various mission groups has largely obviated situations in which the religion of the chief is at variance with the predominant religion of his people.

One of the most striking differences between the role of the Area Chiefs in Uchagga and that of the Chiefs in Sukumaland is the fact that in all but two of the Chagga Chiefdoms the administration of justice has been vested in independent magistrates. This separation of the judiciary from the executive appears to have been accepted in good faith by the majority of the Chiefs, however, the ordinary cultivators cannot accommodate themselves to the fact that the chief cannot intervene in a case involving one of his close friends. The magistrates are in most instances well educated, young, and have a wide range of prior experience in local government posts. The "independence" of the magistrates, however, may be open to question when it is realized that in half of the cases the Area Magistrates are very close relatives of their respective Area Chiefs. As in Sukumaland, the system of customary law in Uchagga is being codified.

The conciliar system at the Area Chiefdom level in Uchagga represents a much more vital system than that obtaining in Usukuma. In Uchagga the membership is a mixture of "official" (the Chief, and the village headman), elected non-official, and co-opted members. The elected members display an independence of mind in their relationship with the official membership which is quite unknown as yet in Usukuma, where the elections are largely controlled by the Chiefs. The KCCU wins most of the elected seats. In a number of instances the KCCU adherents assume that their election gives them the right to exercise the duties normally performed by the chiefs and headmen. The pyramidal system of councils in Uchagga follows the pattern of Sukumaland. That is, the councils at the Divisional level are composed of the chiefs, and a number of headmen and councilors elected from the Area Councils. The membership at the Chagga Council level is a mixture of councilors brought up from the Divisional Councils, those elected directly to the Chagga Council, and a number of co-opted members.

It is apparent that the position of the Area Chiefs in Uchagga is a tenuous one. Undoubtedly there still exists a great amount of parochial attachment on the part of Wachagga to their chiefdoms and to their local royal dynasties. Nevertheless, the development of Chagga unity (in many cases over the opposition of the Area Chiefs) has tended to diminish the importance of the local Chiefs in Uchagga. Stripped of their military authority in the early period of German rule, and gradually curbed in their roles as economic leaders, magistrates, and legislators during the recent decades of British rule, the Area Chiefs are finding that they are becoming relatively powerless to control their "subjects".

In contrast to the autocratic position which the chiefs were tending to occupy in the pre-European period and in the two decades of German rule, the Area Chiefs are very much restricted in their authority. Twenty years ago a District Commissioner recorded that he felt the Wachagga were very outspoken in their relationships with the Chiefs and headmen.¹ More recent estimates of the conduct of elected councilors in Uchagga would go much further than this: the ordinary Mchagga can almost afford to be rude with impunity.

PART II:

The Mangi Mkuu

The candidate backed by the KCCU in the election for Paramount Chief of Uchagga was in many respects a "natural." Thomas Lenana Mlanga Marealle had the advanced education and modern outlook which the emergent African groups on Kilimanjaro seem to demand of their leadership. Moreover, his royal credentials were all-in order: he was the eldest son of the eldest son of the famous Marealle of Marangu, who had been the virtual Paramount Chief of all of Uchagga during the German period. Thomas Marealle's family had been rulers in Marangu chiefdom for over 13 generations. Indeed, had Thomas been older at the time of his father's deposition by the British, he might today be the Mangi of Marangu (a post now held by Marealle's brother, Augustine). However, had he been the Mangi of Marangu in 1951, it would have been most likely that he would have been the candidate of the KCCU. For, it was his very detachment from the local situation which added to his attractiveness as a candidate. Much of the local political agitation had been directed against the Area and Divisional Chief, who, in many instances because they were doing their jobs well, were viewed as tools of Government. Although Marealle had been out of the District during most of his 18 years of Government service, he had many friends from his youth as well as friendships which he had fashioned during the brief period in which he had served as a clerk in the Moshi and Arusha bomas (headquarters). Moreover, as a social welfare officer and radio program manager in Dar es Salaam, he was performing work for Government which was promotional rather than regulatory, and thus he couldn't be

accused of being linked with the coercive arm of Government.

His education was of the type which appealed to the Wachagga in view of their current opposition to mission schools, Although a Lutheran himself, he was educated in the government schools at Moshi and Tabora. Furthermore, being sent to Oxford and the London School of African and Oriental Languages for 2 years gave him the other-worldly attitude which the Wachagga admire in their leaders.

He can don a leopard skin robe as easily as he can a modern business suit. He makes the appearance of being as much at home in the simple rude hut of the rural Mchagga as he is in the stately home which the Chagga council provided at a cost of £29,000.¹ Further, he can be as at ease in a tribal ngoma drinking banana beer as he can at a rather reserved inter-racial drinks-party. He has the ability to be composed in most situations, has a natural charm about him, and is a rather gifted speaker. Inasmuch as he can leave the day to day tasks of administration to his subordinate Area and Divisional chiefs, the Mangi Mkuu is able to concentrate on more generalized themes under the rubric of "progress." He speaks and writes in proverbs and borrowed metaphors, which often have an ironic twist. For example, he wrote in one of his reports that as far as the Area Chiefs were concerned, there were one or two white sheep among them, but the rest were a healthy black.² Or again, he wrote, "You can silence a few people a few times, but not all the people all the time."

1. Officially entitled "Paramountcy Lodge," but locally referred to as "Buckingham Palace."

2. "Annual Report of the Mangi Mkuu," 1952, pp. 1, 25.

Although Thomas Marealle won the election by almost a two to one margin, he was to find that success in office was to be a much more difficult task than winning an election. The post of paramount chief in modern Uchagga was so novel that the precedents of the reign of Marealle I would have been of no value to him, even if office files had been kept in the old days. There were no problems of land, education, water, health, and soil conservation facing Marealle I; and today there are no rebellious vassal chiefs to be kept in line or herds of oxen to be slaughtered to feed the tribal laborers of the chief.

Apparently all that Marealle II has had to guide him have been rather vague statements about the duties of the office. Indeed in the initial discussions about the paramountcy, the European officials were primarily concerned in having a post which "should serve and benefit the Chagga people as a whole without undue cost."¹ On the other hand, the KCCU during the election campaign, apparently wanted the chief to provide the Wachagga with a millenium, free from communal labor and taxes! A Chagga Constitution was rather hastily drafted between the election and the installation of Thomas Marealle as Marealle II. It established a number of relationships for the office of Mangi Mkuu. Some of his duties were symbolic. For example: "He is the keystone of the Chagga political system and is the symbol of the unity of the Chagga tribe." It provided further that he was to act in conjunction with the Chagga Council, whose chairman he was (as well as chairman of all but one of its sub-committees,) and he was to be the "mouth

1. Moshi District, D. C., Letter to the Chagga People, 1 May 1951.

piece" (sic) of the Chagga Tribe and their liaison with Government. Further duties referred to his supervision of the financial and clerical work of the council and his supervision of the Divisional and Area Chiefs and Councils.

As the Mangi Mkuu himself realized, he was elevated from a relatively secure government post in Dar es Salaam to a position where he could be caught in a cross-fire from a great variety of conflicting sources. He was subject to pressures from the District Commissioner and Government in general; from the Chagga Council; from the KCCU, which elected him; from the people as a whole (including those who voted against him); from the Wamangi Waitori (who had themselves been candidates in the election, but were now expected to work under his administration); and from a number of unofficial sources such as the Missions, the Asian commercials, and others. Although it has been a difficult task, it is one which he seems thoroughly to enjoy.

Relations with the Administration

As is true of other areas of Tanganyika, a chief only becomes a chief in Uchagga because he has been so recognized by Government; and he only remains a chief as long as that recognition is not withdrawn. Consequently, although one draft of the Chagga Constitution contains the statement that the Mangi Mkuu is elected for life, the governing document regarding the tenure is not the Chagga Constitution but the African Chiefs Ordinance.¹ While this is the legal point, administrative officials in Moshi District are well aware of the ability of the Wachagga to "stir up trouble;" and the removal of a Mangi Mkuu

1. No. 27 of 1953.

would only be undertaken for manifestly serious breaches of conduct or corruption in office. As the Mangi Mkuu himself stated after his election, the Wachagga were as ripe as the Kikuya as far as political discontent was concerned; and there was no telling the direction their frustrations would have taken had they been thwarted in their desire to have their own paramount chief.¹

Apparently, in appreciation of the fact that once a paramount chief was elected it would be difficult to oust him were he to become a thorn in the side of the District Commissioner, Government withstood the pressure of the Wachagga on this question, as long as it was able. Various meetings were held during 1951 among the Administration, the Chagga chiefs, and popular leaders to see whether some other political reforms, such as a more efficient judiciary and a more representative conciliar system, might serve as palliatives. After several of these meetings had been held, the non-committal administrative position was that "the door is not closed to the idea of a Paramount Chief."² Nevertheless, after several months of maneuvering, the Governor acquiesced to the Chagga wishes, and an election was scheduled for November, 1951.

When the campaign got into full swing, many members of the Administration were convinced that they had been right in resisting the idea of a paramount chieftaincy. The Kilimanjaro Union's campaign was a vigorous one. The loyalties of the two other avowed candidates,

1. "Annual Report of the Mangi Mkuu," 1952, p. 1
2. Moshi District, "Letter to the Chagga People, op. cit., p. 3

Wamangi Waitori John Maruma and Abdiel Shangali, were impugned, and it was an easy matter to capitalize on the fact that the two divisional chiefs had been responsible for the tax measures, which incidentally had provided the Wachagga with schools and dispensaries. Moreover, many rash promises were made by the enthusiastic supporters of Thomas Marealle. There was no evidence however, to substantiate charges that he himself made these claims. Intimidation at the "polls" was not entirely absent. The actual vote was a landslide for Marealle: 15, 661 as opposed to 8, 341 for the three other candidates (which included a "write-in" vote for Thomas' uncle, Mangi Mwaitori Petro Marealle).¹

Thus, the Administration viewed the new leader with much suspicion. It was obvious that they would have preferred one of the more tried and trusted Wamangi to an outsider. Moreover, some of the very things which made Marealle appealing to the KCCU, made him suspect to the administrative officers. It was well remembered that other Africans from East and West Africa had gone to England to study at the London School of African and Oriental Languages and upon their return had been--to say the least--rather "difficult to handle." Moreover, since the KCCU had been manifestly anti-chief and anti-Government, what manner of man must their champion be? Thus, at the installation of the Mangi Mkuu, the Governor himself made an appearance and laid down rather precise duties and powers for the new chief. He also took pains to stress that the new appointment did not mean any relaxation of the existing Native Authority Rules and Orders.

1. "Annual Report of the Mangi Mkuu," 1952, p. 2; and Moshi District, "Annual Report of the D.C.," 1951.

Thomas Marealle was well aware in taking over his new post that his presence was not exactly looked forward to with joy by the Administration. He referred to the fact that his being known only by name at the Boma was "a historic blunder brought about by blind prejudice mainly influenced by unfounded reports of bitter political rivals." It was his impression that during his first few months in office "a cold atmosphere prevailed."¹ He felt that had there been one small excuse for rejecting the choice of the people, Government would have attempted to do so.

Nevertheless, despite the mistrust on both sides of the relationship, a genuine attempt has been made by both the Mangi Mkuu and the administrative officers concerned to attain a very friendly modus vivendi. For example, Marealle II and the District Commissioner arranged for a weekly exchange of their "flimsy" files.² The Mangi Mkuu came to establish what is now known as the Chagga Council's Administrative Conference--a place where the Chiefs and District Commissioner are invited to an open forum where questions about local government are raised by members of the public. This places the administration and the Native Authority on the same platform, and since they jointly share in the answering of questions, a visual bond is created between the personalities of the Mangi Mkuu and the District Commissioner. The District Commissioner gradually came to appreciate that it was to his advantage to have one authoritative person with whom to discuss questions and policy, and that it was not altogether to Government's disadvantage to have a chief who

1. "Annual Report of Manii Mkuu," 1952, pp. 2-4
2. Carbon copies of correspondence and directives, written on "flimsy" paper.

was manifestly popular with his people.

The Mangi Mkuu today regards the relationship between the Administration and himself as being increasingly cordial. In the Annual Reports which the Mangi Mkuu has been drafting (to parallel those which the District Commissioner does for Moshi District) frequent references are made to the helpful advice and guidance which the various District Commissioners and District Officers have proffered to the Mangi Mkuu since his installation. Wisely, Government has attempted to avoid the subjecting the district to frequent rotations of personnel and has posted the officers to the Moshi for long term periods. In the first year of the Mangi Mkuu's reign there was apparently some difficulty with the agricultural officers, who were attempting to issue orders in the familiar fashion, much to the irritation of the Mangi Mkuu and the lesser chiefs. Nevertheless, the report for 1953 indicated that there was a great deal of genuine cooperation between the local government administration and the technical departments.¹

From the standpoint of the Administration, the relationship is also viewed as being one of cooperation. Conversations with various officers indicates that the bombastic claims which were made in Marealle's name during the election campaign have not been put forth by Marealle himself during his two or more years in office. It is felt that he is using common sense and good humor in his arguments, and that he is doing a remarkably good job of keeping all the dissident elements contented and even cooperative. Both in his public

1. "Annual Report of the Mangi Mkuu," 1953, p. 23.

appearances and in his more private conferences, he displays himself as a man of moderation. Moderation, however, does not mean that he is subject to manipulation by the Administration; for he is a man who is capable of having very definite opinions on many subjects directly affecting himself and the Chagga people, and he has the ability, moreover, to formulate his arguments in a very logical manner.

He is quite willing to go along with the support of the British monarchy. This is evidenced in a number of public speeches which he has made in various places on Kilimanjaro. Perhaps the fact that he was asked to represent Tanganyika at the Coronation in 1953 accounts in part for his numerous references to "our gracious queen." It must be recognized, however, that the encouragement of respect for royalty in general enhances his own position as a regal executive.

While acknowledging the superior political position of the British Crown, it is obvious that Maresalle II does not accept many of the manifestations which have often gone along with the existence of a "superior/subordinate" relationship. There is in the outlook of the Mangi Mkuu and the Wachagga a great deal of what we may refer to as "face." They are a rather proud people, and have a sense of their historical importance, as well as opinions regarding their advanced position with respect to the other tribes of Tanganyika. Although an ordinary Mchagga might carry on an argument with his Area chief in Baraza or even engage in public ridicule such conduct from a European or Asian is unforgiveable. The Wachagga reject the "father/son" relationship

1. Of. Speech to the KNCU, in Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union, Twenty-First Annual Report, 1952-1953, pp. 12-13

which is often associated with colonial rule. Sometimes it crops up in small ways. For example one item in the Chief's "flimsy" file consisted of a very polite but succinct note from one of the Mangi Mkuu's secretaries to an officer of one of the technical departments. The note began:

For your information please, the Mangi Mkuu's personal address is not Mr. Thomas Marealle but Chief Marealle II, or as the Chagga people insist, "Mshumbue" (the anointed) Marealle II, the traditional title given Him by the tribe on his installation by the Governor as Mangi Mkuu of the Wachagga.

On another occasion the District Commissioner was politely informed that in the future it would be "adviseable" if he were to clear appointments to minor local government posts through the respective Area chiefs.

The Mangi Mkuu and the Chagga Council are most insistent on their mature status, however, when it comes to the problem of local government finance. In the present stage of development, the Native Treasuries of most Districts are rather effectively under the control of the District Commissioners. It has been the practice when a local government project is established by the Central Government and is to be used for the benefit of local government bodies in Tanganyika bodies as a whole, Government requires the Native Authorities to make contributions from their treasuries. This is usually a pro forma matter. However, in Uchagga, there is a very strong resentment about having local funds allocated for territorial purposes when the local bodies have not themselves made the grant. In one letter to a very high administrative official regarding this point the Mangi Mkuu wrote as follows:

I feel, with all due respect, that if we, the parts of the body corporate of the Tanganika local government, are not to be treated as growing (if immature) partners with a

definite say regarding our financial and other commitments, an important and very necessary ingredient will have been missing from the legitimate aims and aspirations which the Central Government has so very rightly and faithfully encouraged in us.

There is little doubt that many of the European non-officials with whom I have spoken regard the Mangi Mkuu as an "up-start" who should be brought under control now in order to avoid serious trouble in Uchagga in the future. Administrative officers, however, do not share this view despite the fact that the Mangi Mkuu sometimes "ruffles the fur" of a few of the old time departmental personnel. He is playing his role of mediator between the Administration and the Chagga people in a manner which is highly pleasing to the latter while still being able to cooperate with the over-all goals of the Administration.

Mangi Mkuu as Chief of State

One of the primary roles of the Mangi Mkuu, as Marealle II views the office, consists in his acting as a sort of chief of state, elected for life, and serving the whole of Uchagga. He realized that this task was made difficult by the manner in which he was elected. In the traditional manner of choosing a chief, only the "ayes" showed up, but really neither they nor the "nays" were counted in the open. The outcome was usually determined in advance of the selection. Marealle realized that it was necessary to reconcile the people to the fact his election was merely an indicator of opinion, and not a means of dividing opinion. In his own words, "the new shepherd had to leave behind the 99 sheep to go and rescue the lost one at the great risk of being grossly misinterpreted."¹

1. "Annual Report of the Mangi Mkuu," 1952, p. 2

Actually, the role of the Good Shepherd has been a difficult one to play at all times, inasmuch as the KCCU, which had elected him, feels that it has a proprietary interest in the paramount chieftaincy. Nevertheless, Marealle II is doing his best to play the role of protector of all the people of the District. Thus, he acts as patron for the KNCU and is a member of the Red Cross Society, the Mountain Club, and the George VI Memorial Committee. He pays ceremonial and "state" visits to leper colonies and tuberculosis sanatoria; he makes his appearance at Greek, Hindu, Somali, and Chagga weddings; he attends consecration services at the Lutheran Church in the morning and at the Moslem mosque in the evening; he judges arts and crafts and other forms of competitive activity; and he is present at the dedication of new buildings in Moshi Township. In 1952, he estimated he covered 13,000 miles on safari in the District, partly in connection with administrative work, but a great deal of it being "state" visits. He is sought eagerly by members of all races in Moshi District for all types of festive occasions.

His position as "chief of state" of a very important tribe also rather effectively fills his calendar. On one day he may receive a delegation of English students; on the next day he plays host to a party of Chiefs and European Officers from Basutoland or Uganda. He estimated that in 1952, he had visits from 130 non-official Europeans, 150 Asians, and over 200 Wachagga. In addition to the more formalized visits, he has on occasion had visits from 2 madmen who sought an audience with their "fellow chief," or from a man who is distressed over the fact that his wife gave birth to twins. He is looked upon as the Father Protector of his people in all types of emergencies.

Actually, Marealle II has been able to carry off remarkably well his role as the integrater of all divergent viewpoints on the mountain. In part this stems from the fact that he firmly believes he is a man of destiny. Although he realizes that the KCCU was very instrumental in getting him elected to office, he has been able to resist their demands to control him by making it appear that the KCCU was, after all, merely an instrument. Was not he the direct male heir of the famous Marealle I? His constant references to Marealle II--as well as the fact that he assumed for himself the title of Marealle II--serves to emphasize that his birth-right has finally been recognized.¹

He is often quite outspoken about his belief in his own destiny. For example, he has referred to 10 November 1951, the day on which he was elected, as being one of the most important days in Chagga History. "It is the day on which the die was cast. It was the day on which the Chagga people were to gain or lose by the choice they made." Moreover, the signs of his destiny have been manifest in other ways. His Coronation Day, 17 January, was dry and hot after the District had been several weeks without rain. Yet not two hours after the installation ceremony the area was visited with a shower. He reports also that it rained rather heavily after the election, and that it brought forth one of the largest banana crops in a score of years.²

1. A street near the Chagga Council bears the name "Marealle I." Actually, early European accounts of Marealle do not always agree with the picture which his descendant attempts to present. Eva Stuart-Watt notes that he was a very wise and courageous individual, but she also notes that he helped introduce the Arab slave trade to the mountain, of Africa's Dome of Mystery, op. cit., p. 64-70. An early account by Johnston is far from flattering. He refers to the young Marealle as "a dissipated youth, who was more concerned about the parasites that infested his person than about the advantages to be derived from the white man's friendship..." Cf. The Kilima-njaro Expedition, op. cit., p. 255 ff.

2. "Annual Report of the Mangi Mkuu," 1952, p. 1, 3.

The Mangi Mkuu as Administrator

The symbolic role of the Mangi Mkuu as the integrator of the Chagga people is not only one which he has to perform. For the Mangi Mkuu is King, Prime Minister, Speaker of the House of Parliament--and even "Leader of the opposition". His administrative duties are not unlike those described for Charles of Nera in the preceding chapter. However, inasmuch as complexity of problems and the number of people in Moshi District exceeds by far that of Nera Chiefdom, the Mangi Mkuu is by necessity an administrators' administrator. He is more concerned with over-all policy. He still does not fully appreciate that it is often wiser administratively to leave the details to subordinates, and the Divisional Chiefs--who opposed him in the election appear to resent his interference. There is a tendency for the KCCU adherents to assume that the line of communication for them lies directly to the Mangi Mkuu, and the Area and Divisional Chiefs are ignored. In a number of instances the complaints by the members of KCCU are justified, but this refusal to recognize established administrative hierarchies leads to increased friction between the Paramount and his subordinate Chiefs. With regard to the Divisional Chief of Vunjo, Petro Itosi Marealle, conflict stems not so much from the election campaign as from a family relationship. Here, we note the persistence of the clan as a factor in Chagga politics. When Petro was named the Chief of Marangu after the deposition of his brother Mlanga, he acquired at the same time the position as head of the lineage. Although Thomas L. M. Marealle has returned to Kilimanjaro and now occupies a political position superior to that of his uncle Petro, the familial leadership still rests with the latter individual. When it comes to the disposition of clan property or the

performance of other clan functions, it is Petro rather than Thomas who is in charge.

Gradually, the opposition between the Divisional Chiefs and the Mangi Mkuu has lessened. All three Divisional Chiefs are well educated men, all of whom have made the journey to the United Kingdom for one purpose or another. They appreciate that more can be accomplished through cooperation than through conflict. The Mangi Mkuu also appears to be cognizant of the fact that he must rely rather heavily upon the Waitori for success in administration. His analysis of the Uitori system changed from faint praise in 1952 to very warm praise in 1953. Moreover, he himself has attempted to decrease the conflict between the Waitori and the members of the KCCU by requiring anyone who comes to him with fitina (trouble), shall be made to account for his story openly before whomever it involves.¹ Moreover, on a number of public occasions he has taken the pains to be recorded as favoring the Uitori system--much to the displeasure of the members of the KCCU.

The relationship between the Mangi Mkuu and the Area Chiefs is not only less direct than is true of his contact with the Waitori but also less cordial. Apparently during the election campaign a number of chiefs did their best to frustrate the KCCU in its activities, and after the election, there were instances in which the opponents of the Chiefs were apparently made to regret their independent spirit. Although the Mangi Mkuu states that he was aware that some of the Area Chiefs were making loose remarks to the effect that the coffee cess was levied in order to pay the salary of the Mangi Mkuu, he was attempting to overlook these barbs in his relations with them. To encourage good work,

1. "Annual Report of the Mangi Mkuu," 1952, p. 11; 1953, p. 21.

he singled out chiefs for special mention on Chagga Day and provided them with special bonuses.

The role of the Mangi Mkuu as prime administrator in Uchagga is to a certain extent frustrated by the fact that his subordinate Chiefs have as legitimate hereditary claims to their offices as he feels that he does to the paramount chieftaincy. Government, it is true, attempts to combine hereditary qualifications with education and experience in the recruitment of Chiefs; however, the manner of selection does not obviate the possibilities of deep-seated personality conflicts arising between the Mangi Mkuu and a Divisional or Area Chief. The selection and recognition of subordinate chiefs is largely a matter for adjustment between the wishes of the local inhabitants and the range of acceptability on the part of Government. Undoubtedly, in view of the cordial relations presently obtaining between the Mangi Mkuu and the District Administration, the Mangi Mkuu's wishes will be respected insofar as a veto on a particular nominee is concerned. Nevertheless, once appointed, the hereditary position of the Area Chiefs gives them a degree of independence in their actions.

The lowest level of the administrative hierarchy, the wachili, or headmen, has not escaped the attention of the Mangi Mkuu. He is well aware of the fact that local government programs usually succeed or fail on the manner in which education takes place at the grass-roots. The grass in Uchagga has only slim roots. Information received regarding the headmen of 10 chiefdoms reveals that they average no more than Standard III education. In most cases the post is hereditary even though the local population is afforded the opportunity of ratifying or rejecting the particular choice. The Paramount Chief has

attempted to breathe life into the village administration by providing the headmen with better pay, having competition among the villages for the title of Model Village, and by having himself and European officers drop in on village councils on occasion in order to answer any questions the local inhabitants might have.

The Mangi Mkuu and the Chagga Council

It is in the sessions of the Chagga Council and its sub-committees on Finance, Education, Health, Land, and Editorial Policy, that the Mangi Mkuu makes his most effective imprint on the character of local government operations in Uchagga. The Chagga Council is an arena where a number of the conflicting pressures which are being exerted upon the Mangi Mkuu come into play. The Chagga Constitution provides that the Mangi Mkuu serve as chairman of the Council and all of its sub-committees, with the exception of the Judiciary Sub-committee. In this capacity he can fairly effectively guide the course of action and recommendations of the various bodies. This is especially important with respect to the problem of finance. In Usukuma and other Districts of Tanganyika the problem of drafting estimates is assumed primarily by the District Commissioner who may consult the local chiefs on specific items of expenditure. In Uchagga, although the District Commissioner still bears primary responsibility for submitting the Estimates to Government, the task of drafting the items of expenditure has been rather effectively delegated to the Finance Sub-committee of the Chagga Council. A District Officer assists the Sub-Committee in its deliberations and on some subjects members of the sub-committee and the Council at large have to be kept in line. For example, if some of the councilors had

their way almost 90 per cent of the budget would be allocated to education and health, while the natural resources services would in some cases be almost eliminated. Nevertheless, despite this curb on their actions, they have a wide latitude for introducing programs which would benefit their country and which could secure a wide measure of popular support.

The pressures which come into play during sessions of the Chagga Council are several. In the first place, the District Commissioner and District Officers usually attempt to have the terms of reference of the Council and the agenda of the meeting cleared with them in advance. The rationale for this is that if the recommendations of the Council, however wild, are rejected, the discontented elements on the mountain will have further fuel for their anti-government campaign. Thus, there was the insistence that the Mangi Mkuu, as chairman of the Council, keep the deliberations within reasonable bounds. It has not been possible to arrive at a level of perfection in parliamentary procedures, for the traditional baraza was a rather informal affair and a speaker was not obligated to keep to the point. Insistence on the part of a chairman that a speaker adhere to the agenda has often been regarded as an attempt to "throttle" the speaker. Nevertheless, the European administrators are of the opinion that Marealle II handles the meetings of the Council and the sub-committees with tact and patience, without sacrificing efficiency.

In addition to this advice from administrative officials the Mangi Mkuu is required to balance conflicting interests among the members of the Council itself. I refer here to the conflict between the elected members of the Council (mostly members of the KCCU) and

the Area and Divisional Chiefs. In many instances the traditional awe in which the Wachagga held their chiefs has considerably deteriorated. The speeches of some of the elected members amount to ridicule of the chiefs and are often a continuation of feuds which have been going on at the local level. The Divisional Chiefs in the Council meetings also have difficulty. It is a recurrent theme of the KCCU that the Waitori system must be eliminated. Invariably, under "other matters arising," the subject of the Waitori is introduced. The Mangi Mkuu is compelled to support his subordinate administrators against the charges proffered by the people who were so instrumental in putting him office. The Mangi Mkuu has, on a number of occasions, been distressed by the attitude of the KCCU members, who feel that the Chagga must accept any ideas sponsored by the KCCU, no matter how unbalanced or unsuitable the ideas may be. The concept of "the good councilor" to the KCCU seems to consist in being always "at war" with the official side; and with frequency they regard the threat of resignation as a legitimate parliamentary device for securing the passage of a motion.¹

Under the cosmopolitan leadership of the Mangi Mkuu, the Chagga Council is on its way to becoming one of the more advanced parliamentary bodies in Tanganyika. In imitation of the Royal Commission system of investigating particular problems, the Mangi Mkuu has appointed various commissions to investigate such problems as the alleged misallocation of land by the Kibosho Chiefdom Land Board the problem of middle school education in Moshi District. The new Chagga Council

1. "Annual Report of the Mangi Mkuu," 1953, p. 18.

Building, which has few rivals in the whole of East Africa, adds to the feeling that the deliberations are of a much more sophisticated character than the barazas held under a tree. There is a visitors gallery above the Council chamber, but I feel that one is losing something by enclosing a deliberative body within a four-walled building. The pavillion type baraza was open to all, and the deliberations in the baraza constituted a form of education for young and old alike.

The Mangi Mkuu and Popular Political Associations

Of all the conflicting pressures and pulls on the Mangi Mkuu, perhaps the most difficult for him to accommodate are the demands and the actions of the Kilimanjaro Chagga Citizens Union. He is torn among several alternatives; a position of complete neutrality towards all political associations; a position of support for the KCCU in gratitude for help in getting him elected and in recognition of the influence it has with a large sector of the Chagga population; and a position of opposition based on the fact that KCCU actions are often embarrassing to his Administration.

The position of neutrality is based on the Mangi Mkuu's role as Chief of State. He was elected with the support of the KCCU, but after that he has attempted to depend upon his own traditional claim to chieftaincy and the force of his own personality to give him an independence from the local political fray. He has taken numerous opportunities in addresses before the KCCU or in public meetings elsewhere to stress the fact that he must insist upon being "a neutral observer of the games they play" he is, however, prepared to

have an open mind with regard to their suggestions and to their complaints.¹

The only action of the Mangi Mkuu's which could be construed as being one of open support for the KCCU is contained in his opposition to the Chagga Congress, a very weak rival of the KCCU. He appears to go out of his way in letters to the District Commissioner and in public speeches to refute the claims of the Chagga Congress regarding their membership and their program. At times his comments about Joseph Kimalando, one of the leaders of the Chagga Congress, amount to ridicule. The Mangi Mkuu stated almost parenthetically that but one of the leaders of the Chagga Congress were on "the other" side during the 1951 election.

More frequently the Mangi Mkuu has had to take a stand of opposition to the KCCU. As he has stated in one of his annual reports, the Union finds it difficult to appreciate that it is not itself a Government or to realize "that it can still exist by sticking to constructive criticism rather than to an aggressive and purely destructive policy influenced mainly by the whimsies and fancies of its supporters."² It becomes extremely embarrassing to his administration when the KCCU takes upon itself the power to "depose" a local headman without consulting the Area Chief, the Mangi Mkuu, or anyone else. Apparently the "crime" of the headmen concerned consisted in their refusal to adhere on all points to the program of the local KCCU.

1. "Annual Report of the Mangi Mkuu," 1953, p. 1.

2. Ibid.

Moreover, the persistence of the KCCU in its efforts to eliminate the system of Waitori has been a point of imitation to the Mangi Mkuu. At times the action of over-enthusiastic members of the KCCU actually leads them to usurp the powers of Government. On one occasion, they "arrested" several leaders of the Chagga Congress and detained them at the Union headquarters. The members were fined for this action,¹ but there is still evidence that they continue to exercise "police" powers. Finally the attitude of the leadership of the KCCU in labelling as "traitors" all those who do not adhere rigidly to their own policies may some day be turned against the Mangi Mkuu himself when he finds it necessary to support the action of Government or of his subordinate Chiefs on a specific policy or program.

Despite the difficulties of maintaining cooperation between the Mangi Mkuu's Administration and the KCCU, there is also the element that the Mangi Mkuu can profit by the antagonistic attitude of the KCCU in convincing Government that it is necessary for him to take a particular action with respect to a local government program. Consequently, he has by no means attempted to eliminate their support even though he would prefer to keep their enthusiasm within limits.

"Sisi Wachagga au Sisi Watanganyika"²

If there is any part of the present developments in Uchagga or any phase of the Mangi Mkuu's personality which upsets European administrators, it seems to consist in the trend toward Chagga nationalism

1. Chagga Native Authority, Komkya (Chagga Dawn), Vol. 1 (1 May), p.1.
2. We Wachagga or we, the citizens of Tanganyika.

which has been developing rather rapidly during the three years following the election of the Paramount Chief. Actually, the Wachagga have been torn between two alternatives: to develop an autonomous Chagga nation within the Territory of Tanganyika, or to become the leaders of a Tanganyika nation. Even within the space of one meeting of the Chagga Council the Mangi Mkuu or the Chagga Councilors may give indications that they are attempting to accomplish both of these goals.

Many Wachagga are extremely cosmopolitan in their outlook. Beginning with the Mangi Mkuu himself and the three Waitori, we find that a considerable number of Wachagga have made the journey to England, the European Continent, and other areas of Africa. They mix socially with members of all races. One of them, Divisional Chief Petro Marealle, has indulged in the rather un-African enterprise of writing a book and contributing a few articles to the periodical, Man. Another Divisional Chief, John Maruma, has made several trips to England in connection with his membership on the Committee for African Education. Each of the Divisional Chiefs has, during some part of his career, been a member of a Tanganyika territorial body. Divisional Chief Abdiel Shangali has not only served as a member of the Tanganyika Legislative Council, but from 1946 to 1951 he was a Member of the Central Legislative Assembly for East Africa. Thus, many of the chiefs have not regarded the District Boundaries of Moshi as constituting any restrictions upon their political activities. The same applies to the members of the Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union who have been making trips to Bukoba, Tukuyu, and other areas of Tanganyika to advise their fellow Africans on how to organize their cooperatives. The ordinary Chagga, too, has ventured out of

the confines of Moshi District for experiences elsewhere. In many instances these experiences are ones of leadership. For example, I was impressed by the number of Wachagga school teachers I met in the other Districts of Tanganyika.

The Wachagga regard some of the surrounding tribes, like the Wapare and Wameru, as their "little brothers," and are most pleased when these tribes tend to emulate the actions of the Wachagga. This the Wapare and Wameru did in the past two years when each of them elected paramount chiefs for their areas. Even more distant tribes, are the object of concern to the Wachagga. For example, on two separate occasions private subscriptions have been raised to assist tribes of other areas. Thus, £100 was applied to the Lindi Relief Fund, and another £500 was raised to help the Wagogo during a severe famine in 1954.

The reverse side of this coin, however, reveals a very distinct trend towards Chagga parochialism. This is manifest in two forms: antagonism towards other African tribes, and a tendency to revive ancient customs. On occasion the antagonism towards other tribes is obvious, as in the case of armed clashes with the Masai moran, or in the framing of a Local Rate Order on cattle so that it will affect the Masai, Wakamba, and other "foreigners" who have been grazing their cattle on public lands in the lowland areas around Kilimanjaro. In a recent meeting of the Native Authority Central Land Board, a resolution was passed to the effect that each headman should keep a check on all alien Africans in his area and that consideration should be given to Wachagga over alien Africans in the allocation of any land on the mountain. Less easily documented is the disdain which many Chagga hold towards the "unwashed and illiterate" Africans of other

tribes. I am informed that Wachagga often resent having to share the African wards in the Moshi Hospital with non-Chagga. The Mangi Mkuu himself is not above regarding some of his Wasukuma and Wairamba guests at Paramountcy lodge as being distinctly "feudal" in their customs.

The revival of Chagga customs came into full swing with the installation of the Mangi Mkuu, when leopard skin robes and ostrich plumed head-dresses made their appearance. Indeed, so long had such tribal war gear been defunct in Uchagga, that it was necessary for the court-dancers to borrow their equipment from the Waarusha.¹ Under the encouragement of the Mangi Mkuu arts and crafts, Kichagga songs, and traditional dances are being revived. Marealle II began to compete with the Queen in bestowing honors on his subjects and friends of the Wachagga. For example, a Chagga mdeal, "the Irikoso" was being awarded to people who performed deeds of unusual bravery. To Mr. A. L. B. Bennett, the Wachagga extended the title of Mbuya ya Wachagga (Friend of the Wachagga) in honor of his long years of service to the KNCU. To the mother of Mr. Bennett, the Chagga bracelet of honor was given by the Mangi Mkuu. Belatedly, some one remembered that a cow traditionally went with the bracelet. Unfortunately, the very gracious Mrs. Bennett passed on before the cow could be offered, so the Mangi Mkuu had one of the avenues in the Chagga Council area names in her honor.²

1. "Annual Report of the Mangi Mkuu," 1952, p. G-7; and 1953. p. 3.
2. Other avenues are named after men famous in Chagga history, like Horombo, Marealle I, and Sir Charles Dundas.

Probably one of the most obvious manifestations of Chagga nationalism, however, lies in the adoption of a Chagga flag, which is flown in front of every baraza on the mountain. The flag consists of a composite design of Kibo (the higher peak of Kilimanjaro), a draceana leaf (traditional emblem of peace or pardon), a leopard (the symbol of traditional authority), and bananas and coffee trees (the principal subsistence and cash crops of Uchagga). The Mangi Mkuu regards neither the flag nor the revival of Chagga customs as gestures of nationalism. He insists they merely provide the people with something on which to base their self-respect. He has stated:¹

It is quite true to say that there is no room for hollow nationalism in the present N. A. policy. The order of things is stressed at every turn: God, Central Government and the Local Administration. On this point there is absolutely no wavering and no half heartedness about it.

These comments, however, do not quite jibe with some of his other statements. For example, he noted to the writer that the population of Uchagga was almost double that of Zanzibar, and its area was three times that of the Island Protectorate. "Yet Zanzibar," the Mangi Mkuu stated, "has its own Resident--a direct representative of the Crown."²

One further manifestation of the local nationalism which is disturbing to administrators and educators alike is the suggestion that Kichagga should be revived and made the language of instruction in all of the schools on the mountain. This would be a difficult task in the

1. "Annual Report of the Mangi Mkuu," 1953, p. 6

2. I as informed by another American research student that the analogy formerly used was that of Buganda. Since the deposition of the Kabaka, such a comparison would be unfortunate.

first place, since Kichagga has a variety of dialects. More important than this, however, the Wachagga would surrender their potential position of leadership and become an enclave of Kichagga-speaking Africans in the midst of a vast area where Swahili is fast replacing the vernacular languages.

The emphasis on traditional customs, without rejecting the education, dress, transportation, and other material aspects of Western cultures, strengthens the hand of the Mangi Mkuu for he is both modern in his outlook and one who bases his chieftaincy authority on hereditary claims which run back 13 to 17 generations. In emphasizing these customs as being Chagga customs, rather than the customs of the Wamarangu or Wakiwoshu, he is strengthening his position with respect to the subordinate Area and Divisional Chiefs. Furthermore, since he is in effect stating to the Europeans that the Wachagga will accept European civilization only in terms acceptable to them, he bolsters his position with the Wachagga in relation to the British Administration.

For the Territorial Administration, Chagga nationalism sets up some distinct problems. For the goals of government, however, the manner in which the revivalism has been tied with an increased emphasis on "progress" in the fields of health, education, and natural resources program, has aided the Wachagga in making rapid advancement. In contrast to Usukuma, where the energies of the leaders of the Sukuma Union and the Growers Association are directed towards undermining the traditional respect for chieftaincy authority and discarding "heathen" customs, in Uchagga there has been a very effective fusion of traditional loyalties with modernism.

Inter-Racial Relations in Uchagga

The ambivalence of parochialism and cosmopolitanism which we noticed in the personality of the Mangi Mkuu and the Wachagga as a whole also is manifest in the field of inter-racial relations. Moshi District is considered one of the multi-racial Districts of Tanganyika, and it was the suggestion of the Constitutional Development Committee and of the Provincial Commissioner of Northern Province that the District should be organized as a multi-racial County. This suggestion has been resisted very strongly by the Wachagga. They argue that the recent election of a Mangi Mkuu and the broadened base of representation in the Chagga Council provides them with all the constitutional reform they presently deserve or require. From their point of view Moshi District is an African District, with the three to five thousand Europeans and Asians constituting a relatively insignificant proportion of the quarter of a million inhabitants of the area. Several of my informants argue that it is quite right for Africans in other Districts to want to include Europeans and Asians on their County Councils so that the latter can serve as teachers; but the Wachagga, my informants continue, are beyond the state where they require tutors, especially when the cost of this "education" involves having to share political power with a minority! Indeed, if we argue the case of advancement in terms of economic development many of the Wachagga are vastly more advanced than many of the Asian and Afrikaan (South African Boers) residents of the District.

The race relations in the District are remarkably cordial. It is true that the European colour bar in hotels, bars, and in employment is

resented. Moreover, the alleged religious discrimination on the part of the missions in the treatment of patients or in the training of Native Authority personnel is often given a racial twist. The anti-missionary attitude also makes its appearance in the Chagga demands that primary and middle school education be secularized.

To a certain extent the Asians are even more resented than the Europeans since the African contact with the Indian shopkeeper in the township is more intense and is a frequent source of ill-feeling. Indians have been almost completely eliminated from the ownership and operation of lukas on Kilimanjaro--a unique phenomenon for East Africa. The efforts of the Indian Government to "seduce" the Wachagga through flooding the District with propaganda from the India Office in Nairobi and by offering scholarships for study in India, are politely brushed aside as constituting purely political moves to enhance the status of the local Indian population.

Instances of strained relations, however, are slight in contrast to the efforts on the part of members of the three races to achieve harmonious relations. The surprising thing is that the initiative has often been taken by the Wachagga themselves. I gather that this has been especially true since the re-appearance of Thomas Marsalle on the Chagga scene although the KNCU has been working in that direction for a number of years. The establishment of an inter-racial hostel at the KNCU headquarters; the contribution of the Chagga Council to an inter-racial hospital at Arusha; the increasing number of inter-racial football matches and "sundowners"; and the formation of an inter-racial social club are all instances in which the improvement of race relations originates with the Wachagga.

Of all the extra-African influences which seem to be gaining in Moshi District, the Moslem religion and its adherents seem to be leading the rest. Largely, the Moslem community has made religion and education their main fields of interest. However, it is the opinion of the Mangi Mkuu that the "strong feeling of the 'oneness' of all Muslim brethren, irrespective of race, could, one feels, be used for political ends, should the need arise."¹ The Paramount Chief himself seems very favorably inclined to the Aga Khan or Ismailia community and was thinking of sending his young son, Temi, to their school.

1. "Annual Report of the Mangi Mkuu," 1953, p. 4.

A new type of leadership has emerged in Moshi District during the 70 year period of the "superior/subordinate" relationship obtaining between the European Administrations and the Wachagga. Gone are the traditional supports for chieftaincy authority which were based on the role of the Chagga chief as military leader, prime magistrate, controller and distributor of wealth, and the performer of certain religious rites in behalf of his chiefdom. Only the dynastic position of the chief remains as a significant carry-over from the past. The goals of the British Administration with respect to the provision of social and economic services and the introduction of new political values has resulted in a radical transformation of the authority system of Uchagga. Where the traditional roles and supports for chieftaincy authority have been whittled away, new ones have been provided.

In part the emergence of the chiefs as strong executive-administrators, having command over large sums of public money, and supported by traditional respect for chieftaincy authority, is a direct consequence of institutional manipulation by the British Administration. Undoubtedly the decision to utilize indigenous authority systems in Uchagga has been effective in the fashioning the present authority system. The concentration of the Native Authority System upon the chiefs did not violate the character of the indigenous system, for actually the most significant political institution. The clans and the age-grade system had been rather conclusively brought under the control of the chiefs even though there were still some limitations on the ability of the chiefs to act in an arbitrary fashion. With

the establishment of German rule, the autocratic position of the chiefs was intensified inasmuch as the support for chieftaincy authority was derived from a source external to the Chagga chiefdom. Thus, the British concentration upon the chiefs as agents for local administration actually capitalized upon a set of political institutions which had sufficient authority to bring about the changes in Chagga society desired by the Administration.

The transformation of Chagga society, and of its political system in particular, is not totally the product of planned manipulation. Many of the factors contributing to the change were unplanned, and others were both unplanned and undesired. Thus, the phenomenal growth of the coffee industry and the resulting prosperity of the Wachagga is a result of accident, British stimulation, and the remarkable adaptability of the Wachagga to a money economy. The development of political parties, the emergence of the paramount chieftainship, and the concentration upon Chagga nationalism are in the category of events which were neither planned by the British Administration nor--in the initial stages at least--even desired. The Wachagga have demonstrated that they are quite willing to accept many of the benefits of European culture, but they are definitely going to accept them on their own terms.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT FINANCE

In the investigation of governmental operations in Western states one often finds that the key to understanding the power structure within a complex governmental arrangement lies in the analysis of financial control. Practically every government program of significance depends at base upon the raising and spending of public funds. Thus, in discovering who controls the raising of revenue and the expenditure of funds; and in seeing what type of programs are engaged upon and the manner in which they are put into operation, one has gone far in laying bare the more crucial power relations of modern governmental operations.

In non-Western societies this relationship between finance and the activities of manifestly political leadership is not always as significant. Indeed, in the traditional societies of Usukuma and Uchagga, the position of the chiefs as economic leaders having control over large amounts of wealth was but one of several sources of supports to chieftaincy authority. Furthermore, under the "superior/subordinate" relationship which has obtained in Tanganyika for close to 70 years; the factor of the superior armed force of the German and British Administrations has been the most significant key to the understanding of the power structure. In a way, this could be construed as a situation in which the financial superiority of the Europeans vis-a-vis the African societies permitted the former to buy better equipment, pay mercenary troops, and in other ways manifest military superiority. Such an analysis, however, would get us into difficulties, for there are the problems of technological advancement and certain organizational skills which the Germans and the British possessed which must be considered as well. Consequently we

shall not labor this particular point.

With the introduction of the Cameronian period in Tanganyika, it was intended that the factor of armed force no longer be regarded as the mainstay of support for local authorities. Instead it was hoped that certain internal sources of support could be strengthened and revived. One of these supports was the traditional respect for hereditary chieftainship. A second was the position of the chiefs as administrators of justice in connection with customary law and, later, with infractions of Rules and Orders of Native Authority.¹ In the first two decades of British Administration the economic position of the chiefs and other Native Authorities was considerably diminished. The system of personal tribute, which had given the chiefs a certain measure of internal control over their chiefdoms even during the German period of rule, was abolished or transformed into tribute rendered to the chiefdom rather than to the chief. This applied to the tribute which was provided by communal turn-outs for irrigation schemes, famine relief work, road construction, and other public projects. It also applied to the Rebate which was given to the local Native Treasury out of the tribute, or tax, which was due the Central Government but which was in fact collected by the local chiefs. The early concern of the British Administrators was not so much that of giving the Native Authorities the power to tax and spend as a support for their authority; the concern was rather with achieving honesty and regularity in the collection and expenditure of funds at the local level.

Nevertheless, it was recognized by some members of the Administration that as far as the effectiveness of Native Administration was concerned, "experience teaches that it soon becomes of little account if no funds are placed at its disposal out of which it can pay the salaries of personnel,

1. Tanganyika, Local Government Memoranda, No. 1, op. cit., p. 5. Hereinafter referred to as Local Govt. Memo., No. 1.

build its own court-houses and schools, and make its own roads..."

What was desired was that the Native Authorities and people alike should feel that the salaries of the chief and the local government programs were being provided from Native Treasury funds rather than by the Central Government.¹ However, inasmuch as the Native Treasury funds were derived primarily from a Rebate on a Central Government tax, it is difficult to see how the Africans were to make the assumption that the funds really came from their own Native Authorities. Moreover, control over the expenditures rested largely in the hands of the European Administrators.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Africans queried in Sukumaland were unable to make any differentiation between the programs of local government and those of the Central Government. They thought practically all the programs were run by the Central Government. In Uchagga, on the other hand, the Africans were able to differentiate quite readily between the activities of the Chagga Council and the activities of the Central Government. The difference between the two areas does not arise solely from the better education of the Wachagga, but rather from the knowledge that the Chagga Council does actively participate in the raising of revenue and expenditure of funds.

Local Sources and Control of Revenue.

The principal form of revenue for the Native Treasuries during all but the most recent years of British rule has been the Rebate from the Central Government House and Poll Tax. Although this tax is collected by the Native Authorities (and often by the traditional officers who collected

1. Tanganyika, Native Administration Memoranda, No. 3: Native Treasuries (3rd ed., 1938), p. 3. Hereinafter referred to as N. A. Memo. No. 3 (1938).

the chieftaincy tribute in the pre-European period), it is entirely under the control of Central Government insofar as the determination of the size of tax in a particular District and of the size of the Rebate to the local treasury is concerned.¹ Furthermore, in the matter of granting personal exemptions from the tax, it has not been the chief, but rather the District Commissioner, as the representative of the Central Government, who decides that the age, poverty, or other conditions of the petitioner permit him to be exempted from payment.²

The size of the tax in 1953 ranged from a low of Shs. 15/- collected from the Sonje Natives of the Masai District to a high of Shs 50/- from the Masai themselves. The average payment for the Territory ranges somewhere between Shs. 18/- and Shs. 20/-. In both of the areas analyzed in this study the tax amounted to Shs. 17/-. The Rebate to a particular District has varied in accordance with the needs of the area. Initially it stood at between 20 and 25 per cent. Since the war, however, it has risen to over 50 per cent in some cases. The Rebate in 1953 ranged from a high of Shs. 37/50 out of Shs. 50/- in Masai District to a low of Shs. 3/- out of Shs. 17/- in Moshi.³ The actual decision regarding the size of the tax and Rebate is usually a matter for agreement between the District and Provincial Commissioners, on the one hand, and the Member for Local Government on the other. The Native Authorities are largely ignored in the determination of these questions. The general principle involved in gauging

1. N. A. Memo., No. 3, pp. 4-5.

2. Tanganyika, Native Tax Ordinance, Chap. 183, Revised Edition of the Laws, 1947, Sec. 9.

3. Tanganyika, Secretariat, "The Development of African Local Government, 1953", (mimeographed), pp. 53-54.

the size of the rebate is that there shall be a balance between the funds which go to Central Government and that which go to the Native Treasuries. Thus, in Sukumaland, where the House and Poll Tax is Shs. 17 and the local rate on cattle average Shs. 3/- per taxpayer, Government only grants a Rebate of Shs. 7/- on its Tax. Thus, viewed as a whole both governments get Shs. 10/-. If the Sukumaland Federal Council attempted to raise the Rate, it could do so, with the Member for Local Government's approval. However, it would be a matter for agreement with Government whether the Rebate would stay at Shs. 7/- or be reduced so that a balance is once more struck. Actually, this system of adjusting the Rebate has stifled initiative on the part of the chiefs. For, if a Shs. 1/- increase in revenue is required, the Rate actually has to be raised Shs. 2/- so that Government gets one Shilling and the local treasury the other.¹ It had been proposed that beginning with 1955 the Rebate system be abolished in favor of each government levying what is considered to be a fair contribution towards the cost of government.

In addition to the Native House and Poll Tax, the only other sources of revenue for Native Treasuries consisted of court fines and fees, market receipts, beer and game licenses, and revenue from the sale or rental of properties. In some cases, the sale of wood and wattle from Native Authority forestry reserves has provided a considerable source of income for local governments. However, by and large these sources of revenue contribute only small amounts to the Native Treasuries. In view of the social and economic developments which were being planned for the period following World War II, it was felt that larger sources of local revenue should be tapped. One simple solution to the problem would have consisted

1. Local Government Memoranda, No. 3, p. 5.

in raising the Central Government House and Poll Tax. However, it was felt that any new taxes should be graduated according to ability to pay, and that the new taxes should be levied on the initiative of the Native Authorities and not of the Central Government. Accordingly, beginning in 1942 the local government bodies in Tanganyika have been permitted to levy Annual Rates on African taxpayers.¹

The form of the local Rate varies. In some cases it is a graduated tax on the ownership of houses and shops; in other instances the rate is levied on cattle. A number of special purpose Rates have been tried in Tanganyika (mostly in Moshi District). These consist of annual levies to be used specifically for education, reforestation, water development, and the like. Actually, these tied taxes have been viewed with disfavor by the Administration, because they give the Africans an erroneous impression regarding the cost of a service. For example, in Moshi District the Chagga Council levied a Shs. 2/- education rate during the war. The purpose of this rate was to subsidize the mission primary schools, thereby eliminating the necessity of parents having to pay school fees. The balance was used for construction of further Native Authority schools. The ordinary Mchagga cultivator seemed to feel that the Shs. 2/- head tax was a one-way ticket for every Mchagga to go to Mkerere. In reality, the Rate only covered a fraction of the cost of primary school education. To dispell any further erroneous impressions, the special rate was dropped in 1946. Surprisingly enough, at the time I left Moshi, the Chagga Council was once more considering a Shs. 17/- to Shs. 23/- education rate to provide for expansion of the middle school program in Uchagga. This suggestion rose from within the ranks of the Chagga Council itself.

1. Amendment to the N. A. Ordinance (1947), Sec. 17; No. 29 of 1942.

The most common form of the local Rate is the one on cattle. The introduction of this form of taxation has not come easily in many areas of Tanganyika where the "cattle complex" is firmly entrenched. In Sukumaland, for example, the suggestion regarding a cattle Rate had been proposed to the chiefs off and on for six or seven years before it was finally adopted by the Sukumaland Federal Council. The administrative officers carried out an intensive campaign of propaganda at the village level in order to "soften the people up." Some of the more conservative Africans from Maswa District thought it was unjust to tax cattle, and told the District Commissioners so. "After all," they argued, "cows don't work, they don't buy things, they don't use Native Authority schools and dispensaries. They just stand in the field and eat grass. Why should they have to pay a tax?"

The initiative for suggesting new local rates in practically all of the 17 Districts which currently have them, originates with the administrative officers rather than with the Native Authorities themselves. Africans resent taxes as much as anyone else. Moreover, since the chiefs are among the more wealthy people of their respective chiefdoms, they have a personal interest in not levying Rates based on the ability to pay. Once the Native Authorities have been pressured into approving a local Rate Rule, they usually spend the next year or two in attempting to rescind their action. The only instances in which I was aware of suggestion of local Rates arising from Africans themselves was in Moshi District. The Education Rate which was discussed above, stems from the marked enthusiasm which the Wachagga display for education. Recently the Chagga Council has proposed the levying of a cattle rate. This has decidedly political overtones.

In the first place the suggestion was designed to ease the complaints of the coffee producers who claimed that they were carrying practically the whole burden of taxation, and that the load should be spread more equally. Secondly, the manner in which the Rule was drafted reflects Chagga nationalism. The only cattle to be affected by the Rate were the cattle grazed on public land. Inasmuch as most Chagga cattle are stall fed, the Rule was clearly drafted for the purposes of taxing the Masai, Wakamba, and Wapare who graze their cattle in the low-lying areas of Moshi District.

Various produce cesses have also been introduced in the post-war period to tap the wealth which was coming to the African population through the sale of high-priced export crops like coffee and cotton. Many of the commodities on which cesses have been levied included cattle sold in Native Authority markets, hides and skins, and lower-priced export produce like sunflower seeds and castor beans. The cesses have been regarded as temporary measures only, and will be replaced as Africans accustom themselves to taxation being levied according to ability to pay. Since the cess yield fluctuates, the money is used to defray the cost of development projects, rather than recurrent expenditures.

The produce cesses directly affect the newly emergent groups more than they do the rather apathetic African cultivator of the hinterland. The opposition from the new economic groups has been intense, and it adds ammunition to their anti-chief and anti-Government campaigns. In Sukumaland, for example, the two cents per pound cess on raw cotton has met with vigorous protests from the Lake Province Growers Association, and correspondence and petitions from the Association have gone direct to the Colonial Secretary in London. Indeed, many leading cotton growers

threatened to refuse to plant cotton. Several Administrative officers in Sukumaland acknowledged that the Federal Council was decidedly pushed in to accepting the cotton cess without the usual "softening up;" however, they felt that this was justified inasmuch as the agitation of the growers was forcing the chiefs to reverse their earlier stand taken in favor of the cess. Here, it was a question of securing revenue which was needed for development programs (desired by the Africans themselves in most instances), or of permitting popular opinion to be exerted over the actions of the chiefs. In this case, the British Administration chose the former.

Similar opposition on the part of growers to produce cesses has been evident in Moshi among the coffee growers. There the seven to ten cent cess on every pound of coffee has been vigorously opposed by the rather wealthy coffee growers. However, their opposition is more restrained than that of the cotton growers of Sukumaland. The Paramount Chief and his subordinate chiefs appear, in the opinion of European officials, to be doing much to convince the coffee growers that development can only take place through taxing wealth where it exists. However, as the Mwangi Mkuu Thomas Marealle has pointed out, there is a Chagga proverb that "it is unfair for one donkey alone to carry the whole burden." Accordingly, other cesses are currently being proposed in Uchagga to include the growers of maize and the cattle-raisers. In many cases the coffee growers also sell cattle and maize in the market; but apparently, there is a greater division of labor in this respect than is obvious to the outside observer. The maize and cattle cesses appear to be accepted by the coffee growers as being a just distribution of the burden of taxation.¹

It is striking that the suggestion for the maize and cattle cess origin-

1. Remarks of Mwangi Mkuu and "Annual Report of the Mwangi Mkuu", 1953, p. 12 (typewritten).

ated with the Chagga Council itself. In view of the lethargy of the other Native Authorities in respect to suggesting new forms of revenue, we have a further indication of the rate of advancement of the Wachagga in local government affairs.

The participation of the Native Authorities of Sukumaland in the revenue phase of local government finance does not represent a very high level of attainment or responsibility by the local authorities. Primarily, the chiefs are engaged in the mechanical operations of checking tax registers, seeing that the tax is collected, and attempting to discover fraud among the ranks of the local Rate clerks. It is true that new forms of revenue must be approved as Rules of the Sukumaland Federal Council before they become effective; nevertheless, the initiative for suggesting new sources of revenue originates with the European administrative officers, and the chiefs frequently have to be coerced into accepting the proposed Rules. In the educative process of letting the people see the relationship between their taxes and the provision of new social services, the performance of the Sukuma chiefs is rather dismal.

In Uchagga, on the other hand, the opposition to taxation is as intense as it is in Usukuma. Nevertheless, the Chagga Council, under the leadership of the Mangi Mkuu appears to realize that new developments can only come with new taxation. The Mangi Mkuu, in fact, has suggested many of the new forms of revenue. Not all of the suggestions are acceptable to Government, however. For example, it was proposed that the Chagga Council establish a lottery, the proceeds of which were to be used for development purposes. The Wachagga were able to point to Southern Rhodesia, Malta, and other areas as examples where lotteries were both profitable and operated with honesty. Government, however, has opposed the suggestions on the grounds that it is contrary to established principles of local government

finance.¹ Despite Government's rejection, the suggestion at least serves as evidence that the initiative in revenue matters had gradually been shifted from the District Commissioner to the Wachagga themselves. Ultimate responsibility, which includes decisions regarding the particular sources of local wealth which may be tapped for revenue purposes, still rests with the "superior" component.

The Control over Expenditures

With regard to expenditures, the progress of Native Authorities in Tanganyika varies. Both in the preparation of Estimates of Expenditures for the coming year and in the actual expenditure of funds allocated, the performance of the chiefs in most areas of Tanganyika is relatively insignificant insofar as the attainment of genuine responsibility is concerned. Here the character of the "superior/subordinate" relationship stands out rather clearly. Legal, as well as actual, responsibility rests with the District Commissioners. In most cases the administrative officers regard the chiefs as being ill-prepared to accept financial responsibility. The low level of education, the unfamiliarity of the chiefs with technical financial procedures, and their inability to comprehend the actual cost of services are all offered in justification of this position.

The Sukuma chiefs, who are rather typical of a middle range of development in Tanganyika, may be cited as examples regarding the low level of participation of chiefs in financial matters. The District Commissioners of the Sukuma Districts find that the chiefs are of very little help in the preparation of Estimates. They can seldom do more than suggest

1. "Annual Report of the Mangi Mkuu," 1953, p. 10.

certain priorities of needs for their individual chiefdoms. One District Commissioner stated that the only suggestion the chiefs ever made to him concerned salaries. The Estimates are usually prepared in advance by the District Commissioner, and the chiefs of the District are called to comment on the details of the expenditures. In the actual expenditure of funds on concrete programs in Sukumaland the District Commissioner bears almost full responsibility.

In Uchagga, the acceptance of financial responsibility by the members of the Native Authority is relatively advanced. As noted in the previous Chapter, the Finance Sub-committee of Chagga Council has been delegated much of the actual work of formulating the Estimates. A District Officer prepares a draft based on the information received from the various technical officers concerning the projects for their departments. From this comprehensive list, the Financial Sub-committee establishes priorities and narrows the list to meet the limits of expected revenue. It is the opinion of the officer who assists the Sub-committee in its deliberation that the members are showing a remarkable appreciation and understanding of very complicated financial transactions. Unlike other areas where this officer has worked, he felt that in the Chagga Council, once an item was explained the members accept the explanation without the constant re-opening of the issue (a common practice in Sukumaland and other areas). Since the deliberations are conducted in English rather than Swahili, it affords the Mangi Mkuu with the opportunity of limiting the membership of the Sub-committee to the better educated members of the Councils. It is Marealle I's opinion that the deliberations are practical lessons in economics for the members of the Council. The character of the Chagga Council's opposition to Government has markedly altered now that the Sub-committee is accepting more of the responsibility for

financial administrations.

An equally striking innovation with regard to the granting of financial responsibility consists in the allocation of funds which may be spent at the discretion of the Divisional Chiefs. The allocation is still in its experimental period; consequently the amounts voted to each division are rather small, consisting of Shs. 3000/- for transport, 2000/- for maintenance of vehicles, 100/- travel allowance to messengers, and 1000/- for subsistence allowances to Divisional Court and Chagga Appeal Assessors. During the first year, 1953, the Divisional Chiefs exceeded their allocations in several instances, but in the second year they appeared to be making an improvement.

Thus, although it is the intention of the British Administrators that the expenditure of funds from Native Treasuries should become the mainstay of support to chieftaincy authority in the present period, the actual responsibility accorded to the Native Authorities is rather minimal. At the present rate it is estimated that it will take another decade before the Wasukuma can even attain the level of responsibility presently enjoyed by the Wachagga. In many respects the Finance Committee of the Sukumaland Federal Council and district federation of chiefs are engaging in "role-play." They go through all the motions of considering the Estimates and finally give their approval, without many of them understanding what has been discussed and without their assent actually being legally necessary.

One of the most difficult tasks for the present period is to establish a bond in the minds of the ordinary Africans between the taxes he pays and the services he receives. In the traditional period, there was a personal link between the tribute ~~as~~ provided for his chief and the beer he drank at the Chief's ~~home~~ or the grain which was provided to him

during times of famine. In the money economy, there is little personal connection between the payment made to a tax clerk in January and a school building which is constructed in December. In many instances the rural Africans still feel that the tax they pay constitutes some sort of exaction which is used to the personal advantage of the chief or the corrupt tax clerk. The school building, on the other hand, is provided for from that "bottom-less pit," which is the Central Government Treasury. There is a decided lack of horn-blowing each time a school or dispensary is dedicated, announcing that this project is derived from the taxes the people pay to their Native Treasuries.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSIONS

This study of local government in Tanganyika has been focused upon the efforts of the British Administration in Tanganyika to utilize indigenous authority systems as vehicles for administration at the local level. The material presented in this dissertation has been directed to the answering of two questions: (1) has the utilization of the indigenous authority systems actually been in accord with the traditional expectations regarding the performance of these systems? and (2) has the real or putative use of the indigenous authorities been "successful" in the accomplishment of the goals of the British Administration with regard to the performance of local government bodies?

By virtue of the questions asked, as well as by the character of the governmental arrangements in Tanganyika, certain inclusions and exclusions had to be made in this study. In the first place, we have limited our study with regard to the type of authority system analyzed. Not all of the 120 tribal societies of Tanganyika are being administered through the use of local institutions of a traditional type; and not all of the societies in which traditional leadership is being employed resemble those of Uchagga and Usukuma. Nevertheless, some of the primary features which the traditional systems of Sukumaland and Uchagga have in common are, in turn, found in the Haya, Nyakyusa, Ha, and other traditional systems of Tanganyika. These primary features include: (1) a system of hereditary chiefs; (2) a variety of chieftaincy roles in connection with law, warfare, the economy, and magico-religious performances; (3) the existence of a number of institutions, in addition to chieftainship, which are concerned with the performance of political functions; and (4) the proliferation of political authority in the traditional period among a number of multiple chiefdoms

within a single tribal grouping. While the findings in this study have specific application to the Chagga and Sukuma situations, it was apparent during my field study in Tanganyika that developments regarding the changing roles of the chiefs, the emergence of popular political and economic groupings, the introduction of local councils, and the cultivation of tribal unity could be applied to other areas of Tanganyika.

A second category of inclusions and exclusions was required by reason of our attention being directed to local government rather than to Central Government. This concentration on local government is more than an analytic device; for, it reflects to a very great extent the manner in which transformations have actually taken place in the African social systems of the Territory. It is true that the European administrative officer, the Asian ginner, the missionary, and the African school teacher or rural medical aide may regard Tanganyika as a meaningful unit for his observations and activities; however, for most Africans the village, the chiefdom, or even the tribe have greater significance. Unlike the situations in the Gold Coast, Nigeria, and possibly Uganda, where the Central Government Legislative Council constitutes a genuine arena for African political activity on the Territorial level, the Legislative Council does not serve a similar purpose in Tanganyika. The only political organization which is territorial-wide in membership—the Tanganyika African Union—does not include the Kili-manjaro Chagga Citizens Union, the Sukuma Union, the Bahaya Union, and the other powerful associations which are based on tribal units. Central Government personnel do indeed come into daily contact with the African population; local government policies are formulated at the Territorial level; and the financial resources of local treasuries have, until recently, been derived almost exclusively from a rebate on a Central Government tax. Nevertheless, in our analysis of the office of District Commissioner,

an attempt was made to demonstrate the manner in which that officer--- himself the agent of Central Government---stands as a buffer between the Central Government organization and the Native Authorities. The significant unit with regard to the study of local government is the District; and to a great extent the relationships which Africans have with Europeans and Asians, whether official or non-official, are regulated by the District Commissioner.

Thirdly, although our focus of attention has been upon the British period of administration in Tanganyika, it was necessary to examine certain alterations which had taken place in the traditional authority systems as a result of almost three decades of German rule. The German economic organization, the increased missionary activities in the fields of education and health, the ban on inter-tribal and inter-chiefdom warfare, the improved transportation system, and other factors conditioned the manner in which the British have been able to utilize indigenous authority systems in attaining certain goals.

The Character of Political Dependency in Tanganyika

For the purposes of analysis, we have found it useful to regard the transformations which have been taking place in Tanganyika as occurring within a situation of political dependency. By this, we mean that individuals and groups associated with one society have been able to make alterations in the authority system of a second society. This "superior/subordinate" relationship is a recurrent phenomenon in inter-societal relations. Consequently, if the various facets of the relationship are made explicit, this schema can be useful as a device for comparative studies of colonial rule, military occupation, or situations in which one society is regarded as a "subordinate" enclave within a larger political unit. It is the intention of this writer to utilize the schema in the analysis of other situations in

East Africa. The points on which the relationship have been made explicit are: (1) the manner in which the relationship was initiated; (2) the manner in which it has been sustained; (3) the membership of both the "superior" and "subordinate" societies involved in the relationship; (4) the goals of the relationship from the standpoint of one or both sides of the relationship; and (5) the manner in which the goals are implemented.

With regard to the first point---the manner in which the relationship was initiated---we find that armed force was a necessary factor in the establishment of German rule in East Africa inasmuch as the Wachagga, Wahehe, Wapogoro, and the Arabs did not accept the new hierarchical arrangement without a struggle. In some areas, like Uhehe and sections of the present Southern Province, the struggle was long and drawn-out and resulted in the virtual destruction of some tribal groupings. In other areas, like Uchagga, the initial resistance was strong but not persistent; and once the people were subdued they cooperated with the Germans. In still third areas, like Sukumaland and Bukoba, the Germans were accepted without resistance. In the last named cases, however, it is not unwarranted to assume that the reputation of German soldiery was a factor in the submission of the people; however, in some instances the Germans appeared to have been genuinely welcomed by local chiefs as "friends" who could bring merchandise, help establish schools, and serve as a counter force in intra-tribal struggle for supremacy or in resisting Arab encroachments. Armed force was also a factor in the establishment of British rule although in this instance the force was directed not against the African communities but against the German "superior" component.

Turning to the second point, the manner in which the "superior/subordinate" relationship has been sustained, we find that armed force was a

significant factor throughout the German period. Large scale military operations, however, were not necessary after the quelling of the Maji Maji Rebellion of 1905-1906. A fairly large force of African troops was maintained under the command of German officers, and this was supplemented by the subsidization of tribal armies as the need arose. During the period of British administration, the combined military and police force has been remarkably small in view of the dispersed character of the population, and the large area included in the Territory. Undoubtedly, the British Administration has profited with regard to the maintenance of civil order by the fact that European armed might had been made manifest by the Germans, and by the fact that the only force capable of defeating the Germans was a superior British and Allied force.

Armed force has not been the only factor in the sustaining of the relationship. In many cases, the Germans and the British won the support of the chiefs and were able to capitalize on indigenous African loyalties in securing compliance from the African peasantry. Furthermore, the European system of commerce was absorbing many individual Africans and thereby winning at least the tacit support of the Africans regarding certain goals of the Europeans. The mission schools and dispensaries were also aiding in revising the old order and providing a supplementary system of goals and beliefs for the African tribesmen. The European way of life has become an object of imitation for a great number of Africans, making them adherents of many of the goals of the British Administration. Nevertheless, it is evident that force is an ultimate factor in sustaining the relationship. This is made manifest in the fact that European Administrators determine which areas will exist as chiefdoms, who can exercise chieftaincy authority, what powers may be exercised by the chiefs, and what alterations will be

made in the existing social and economic organization. The element of compulsion is present in a great many of the activities of local government today.

Our third point for analysis concerns the membership groupings involved in the relationship. The "superior" component has included a number of individuals such as administrators, military officers, and professional and technical personnel, who have had a direct agency relationship with the German or British metropolitan Governments. However, the "superior" component has included a number of other individuals who have been less directly identified with the force of the European societies. This includes Christian missionaries, British and German settlers and business-men, Asian shopkeepers and ginners, and even African merchants, clerks, and subordinate administrative personnel who have been able to occupy new positions or carry on new activities as a consequence of the establishment of the European system of administration in Tanganyika. The presence of each of the groupings in the "superior" component has in some ways altered the traditional authority systems in Tanganyika. To a great extent, the personality on the "superior" side of the relationship who stands out is the District Commissioner. Not only is he directly concerned with introducing a number of transformations in the local African authority systems of Tanganyika, but he regulates the manner and intensity of other contacts which the rural African will have with other members of the "superior" component.

On the "subordinate" side of the relationship, all Africans are to a certain degree involved in the relationship through the payment of Central Government taxes and through the application of the European system of justice. Individual Africans may also be directly involved in the relationship through their employment in government posts, labor on the European estates,

attendance at the mission schools, or service in the Territorial police. However, the chiefs are the individuals from the "subordinate" side of the relationship whose contact with the individuals of the "superior" side is most intense and continuous and most significant as far as alterations in the authority systems are concerned. It is through the chiefs that many of the modifications in the African social systems are being introduced. The administrative and judicial roles of the chiefs have given them a leading position with respect to the introduction of new methods in agriculture, animal husbandry, sanitation, and education.

The fourth facet of the situation of political dependency which is made explicit in this study concerns the goals of the relationship. Inasmuch as the relationship was initiated by the Europeans without consultation regarding the desires of the African population, the most significant goals in the relationship have been those of the Europeans. There is not intent here to give the impression that the British (or the Germans) have acted selfishly in all instances. Indeed, many of the British actions are manifestly altruistic; however, the altruism is not always appreciated by the recipients of such behavior as being in accord with their own goals.

With regard to the ultimate goals of the relationship, the German period differed considerably from the British. Although the German Colonial Secretary in 1913 indicated that the African interests should be paramount to those of the European settlers, this was as far as the Germans went in indicating any long-term goals for the African populations of Tanganyika. The British Administration, on the other hand, has indicated through its acceptance of a League of Nations Mandate Agreement and a United Nations Trusteeship Agreement that the ultimate goal is some form of self-government. Thus, the ultimate goal would be the elimination of the "superior-subordinate"

relationship. It has yet to be determined whether self-government will take the form of tribal autonomy, creation of an independent Tanganyika state, or a federation of various territories in British Africa.

The more immediate goals of the German period were economic: to make East Africa favorable for German settlement; and to provide Germany with sources of raw materials and markets for German products. Consequently, the performances which the Germans required of the administrators at the local level were directed largely to achieving these ends. Therefore, inter-tribal warfare, cattle raiding, blood vengeance, and other forms of disruptive behavior were to be suppressed as being a threat to the economic goals. In a more positive fashion, local administrators were to collect taxes for the support of German troops, to see that local roads were constructed and repaired; recruit laborers for the estates; and ensure that at least a low standard of sanitation was maintained.

When the British took over, the immediate goals differed not radically from those of the Germans. However, the withdrawal of many of the German and Boer settlers from Tanganyika and the lack of British commercial interest in the Territory made it possible for the British Administrators to concentrate on the welfare of the Africans. Development plans, reached looking towards the expansion of social and economic services, were introduced on a large scale in the post-war period. New political values for the Africans were suggested at the same time. Thus, the British have moved from a position of rather limited goals (a "holding operation") to a position which envisions transformations in practically every facet of the African social systems.

Moving to the final point for comparison of the character of the "superior/subordinate" relationship, we find that the Germans and the

British differed in the manner in which they implemented their goals. As we have seen from the analysis of the Chagga and Sukuma situations, both Administrations did in fact utilize indigenous authorities for the purposes of local rule. However, the analysis of the German period, and especially of the akida system, furnishes us with sufficient evidence to the effect that the Germans utilized indigenous authorities primarily as an expedient; and that there was no policy positively favoring their use. The same impression, it should be added, can be applied to the first few years of British Administration. Nevertheless, from the period of Sir Donald Cameron's governorship of Tanganyika to the present day, the declared policy of the British Government has been to utilize traditional authorities as vehicles for local government. This policy, however, has always been accepted with provisos regarding certain standards of justice; supremacy of the Central Government; and the insistence on "progress." Thus, the British have accepted certain auto-limitations on the manner in which goals of their Administration are to be introduced.

Limitations upon the Utilization of Indigenous Authorities: the Varied Response of the Wachagga and the Wasukuma

Given the British intentions to utilize indigenous authorities, and given the goals which they hope to achieve through such utilization of local leadership, we find that there are several general categories of phenomena which condition the success of efforts on the part of the "superior" component to use native institutions in meeting new goals. These categories we have set up as cognition, adaptability, character of the agents of the "superior" component, emotional content of the relationship, environment, and unplanned responses on the part of the "subordinate" component.¹

1. Cf. pp. 11-12, supra.

From our comparative analysis of the Chagga and Sukuma situations, we have found that the Wachagga have adapted themselves more readily than the Sukuma to the goals of the British Administration with regard to the provision of social and economic services and to the introduction of new political values. Some of the reasons for this varied response are revealed in our examination of the six categories.

(1) cognition. By cognition, we refer to the ability of the "superior" component to discern what the traditional authority system actually is, and to utilize it in a form approximating its original character. Although the stated policy of the Cameronians in Tanganyika was to utilize the indigenous authority systems as vehicles for local administration, in actual practice British Administrators have tended to concentrate upon the predominantly political institution of chieftainship. It is true that chieftainship was the most significant institution in the traditional authority systems of the Wachagga, the Wasukuma, and of other social groupings in Tanganyika. However, chieftainship was certainly not the only institution which performed political functions in those systems. The kinship groups, the age-grades, royal courtiers, and even dance societies, have political functions and in many cases served as vital checks upon the abuse of chieftaincy authority. Thus the Native Authority System, in concentrating almost exclusively upon the political office of the chief as the Native Authority, utilized the chief out of the context of the traditional constitutional milieu.

In Uchagga, this was not a drastic violation of the character of the traditional authority system inasmuch as the Chagga chiefs had rather effectively been elevated from their positions as presidents of the clan councils to captain-generals of their chiefdoms. The warrior-age-grades

in Uchagga, moreover, had been bound to the support of chieftainship. The commanding position of the Chagga chiefs with respect to their people had been strengthened by the "alliance" with the German administration. Thus in Uchagga the Native Authority system was able to absorb an institution which was the pinnacle of the indigenous political system.

In Usukuma, the Native Authority system took hold of the feudal lord but ignored his vassals. In this area the royal courtiers, the basumba batale (economic leaders), and clan leaders were able to exercise greater control over the chiefs. In not recognizing these economic and familial institutions, the Native Authority system disregarded some of the more crucial institutions of the Sukuma political system.

(2) adaptability. By adaptability, we refer to the problem of whether the institutions selected as vehicles for administration are capable of being utilized in carrying out the objectives of the relationship. In part the answer to this problem hinges upon the preceding consideration of cognition. For example, German and British administrators have issued orders to chiefs regarding a tribal turn-out for road construction or bush clearance. In Uchagga the administrators could expect the people to comply with the order as relayed by the chiefs because the Wachagga had been accustomed to obeying the orders of their chiefs and headmen in this regard. In Usukuma, however, a similar order involved the chief in conflict with the basumba batale and other traditional leaders who shared in the responsibility for such activities.

The Germans and British alike appeared to recognize that the chieftaincy systems of Uchagga and Sukumaland were adaptable to many of the purposes of the European Administration. Both administrations capitalized

upon the indigenous respect for hereditary chiefs. However, of the two areas analyzed chieftainship in Uchagga was a much stronger vessel for introducing change than was chieftainship in Usukuma. The "blood line" of the Chagga chiefs ran back about 300 to 400 years; the Sukuma dynasties ran back only 150 to 250 years. The Chagga chiefs, as noted above, had gained supremacy over competing institutional loyalties within Chagga society; the Sukuma chiefs had not. Furthermore, the system of patrilineal succession made Chagga chieftainship a more stable institution since it narrowed the range of choice during succession periods to one or two claimants; and once the chief had been chosen, the other claimants were relegated to the ranks of the commoners. In Sukuma chiefdoms matrilineal succession left the range of choice wide indeed, and the inclusion of royal brothers and uncles in the Council of State (banang'oma) increased the possibilities of political intrigue.

The problem of adaptability becomes most acute when we consider the alteration in chieftaincy roles. The new expectations of the British Administration with respect to modern services of government have led to an alteration in the performances of chiefs. Chiefs in the traditional period were not chosen on the basis of their ability to read, prepare financial estimates, or lecture their subjects on the need for soil conservation measures. They were chosen on the criteria of royal birth, pleasing physical characteristics, military prowess, and other qualities quite unrelated to what is expected of the modern chief as executive-administrator of local government affairs. Chagga and Sukuma chiefs were indeed concerned about the health of their subjects in the traditional period. However, they approached the problem of disease by offering sacrifices to the chiefdom ancestors rather than by urging their people to construct latrines and boil drinking water. Furthermore, traditional leadership in both

areas was concerned with the distribution of wealth in cattle, grain, and slaves; but these economic activities are only remotely comparable to the role of the modern chief in assisting the District Commissioner in the framing of Estimates. In both areas the military roles of the chiefs have been eliminated as a consequence of the European enforced peace.

In many respects the transformation of Sukuma chiefs from their traditional roles to the modern roles has proceeded with difficulty. The old supports for chieftaincy authority are disintegrating or being withdrawn before new supports have taken their place. The role of the Sukuma chiefs in connection with magico-religious performances is executed in an almost perfunctory manner. Its significance as a support for chieftaincy authority probably only holds with the older, un-Christianized elements of rural Sukumaland. The planting and harvesting ceremonies are in many cases viewed simply as recreational devices when they are observed at all. The Sukuma chiefs still act as magistrates, but the majority of their cases concern infractions of Rules and Orders dealing with agriculture and soil conservation—hardly a traditional body of law! Moreover, the chiefs are being divested of their judicial role through the assumption of legal work by their deputies. The role of the Sukuma chief as legislator is now being shared with fellow chiefs, and more recently with popular elements. It is the executive-administrative role which the British Administration wishes to emphasize. However, the comparatively low level of education and training of Sukuma chiefs makes them ill-equipped to understand or appreciate many of the changes which they are expected to introduce to their people. Even if they were better educated, their task would not be an easy one in view of the low level of education of the Wasukuma as a whole.

In Moshi District, on the other hand, the generally high level of education and training of chiefs and people alike has made it possible for

them to respond in a more favorable manner to the new goals of the British Administration. Were it not for the fact that the chiefs and people alike are emphasizing the hereditary basis for chieftaincy authority in Uchagga, one might be inclined to regard this transformation as a case of institutional substitution rather than institutional adaptation. The Mangi Mkuu, and the subordinate chiefs are genuine executives of their councils. In carrying out their administrative duties, they have both the training and appreciation for the duties they are performing. The role of the Chagga chief as administrator is not a radical innovation; the traditional chief served in this capacity when acting as captain-general of the chiefdom. Divesting the Chagga chiefs of their judicial duties has been regarded by them as a blessing since it eliminates a time-consuming and onerous chore. In Sukumaland the chiefs still regard the judicial arm as a strong support in securing compliance with their orders.

(3) character of the agents of the "superior" component. A further factor which conditions the response of the Africans to the new goals has been the numbers and types of individuals drawn from the "superior" society, or associated with it, in the situation of political dependency. The relatively slow response of the Wasukuma in contrast to the response of the Wachagga may in part be attributable to the fact that much of Sukumaland was isolated from large-scale contact with European officials and non-officials. Some of the hinterland chiefdoms of Shinyanga and Maswa have been permitted to carry on their traditional ways of life almost to the present day. Moshi District, on the other hand, has had a large cadre of officials, settlers, and missionaries present in the area and they have contributed to the process of change. The European missionaries in particular have been significant. The early presence of British and German missionaries in large numbers on

Kilimanjaro gave the Wachagga an initial advantage over the other tribes of Tanganyika with respect to the acceptance of European education and medicine. This enabled the Wachagga to be more receptive to the later-day goals of the British Administration. Mission activity has been less intensive and more recent in character in Sukumaland; hence, the new expectations regarding local government are viewed as being drastic, and the changes are all being introduced within the space of a few years.

One further point should be made with reference to the missionaries. The introduction of Christianity (and the Moslem faith as well) has constituted less of a threat to the authority of the Chagga chiefs than it has to the Sukuma chiefs. This stems, I believe, from the fact that the magico-religious rites of the Chagga Chiefs did not constitute as significant a prop for their authority as was true in the case of the Sukuma chiefs.

The presence of Asian shop-keepers and gingers and European settlers have also had their effect upon the rate at which transformations have taken place, and the character of the modifications. The contact in Moshi District has been more intense. German settlers and Indian merchants arrived early, and settlers and merchants are still there in large numbers. In Sukumaland, on the other hand, there are no European settlers to speak of; and the appearance of Europeans at the diamond and gold mines, and the appearance of Asian shop-keepers in the minor settlements are relative recent occurrences. Thus, when it comes to an appreciation of new agricultural techniques, the value of cash crops, and the material benefits of Western civilization, the Wachagga have been far in advance of the Wasukuma and other tribes of Tanganyika. It should be noted here that the more favorable response of the Wachagga to the European economy may be attributable to the pre-European interest in markets on Kilimanjaro.

(4) emotional content of the relationship. This has been the most difficult factor to document; nevertheless, it is a significant element in the utilization of existing institutions to meet new goals. As long as the expectations regarding the performance of chiefs were minimal and largely negative or compulsory in character (prohibition on warfare, payment of taxes, compulsory labor exactions, and the like) the relationship between the European administrators and the African chiefs and peasants could be characterized by harshness and hostility. Rather than hindering the performance of required activities, such an attitude aided in securing compliance. However, the goals of the British Administration in the more recent decades require positive sympathy and appreciation on the part of the Africans if the goals are to be achieved. Accordingly, an educative approach has been required to supplement the compulsory approach. The District Commissioners and other European personnel have attempted to intensify their contact with the African population and to establish a friendly relationships with the chiefs. In many cases observed by myself, the District Commissioners have used patience and humor in getting their new ideas across. They have established close bonds with the chiefs.

In Sukumaland this close relationship is having an ambivalent reaction. On the one hand, it acts as a support to chieftaincy authority because the District Commissioner is able to secure the cooperation of the chief and because the close association serves as a reminder that the chief is supported by the European administration in his actions. On the other hand, it is working against the chief because the emergent classes regard the Native Authorities as "tools of the Wazungu (Europeans)." In barazas when the District Commissioner and the chief appear together, the former often--- by force of circumstances or out of habit---conducts the meeting without

deferring to the chief as chairman of the baraza. In the emergence of these new groups, the British administrators frequently seem torn between a desire to see the Africans "stand by themselves," and a resentment towards Africans who attempt to stand without being helped to their feet by the administrators.

In Moshi District the attitude of the Wachagga regarding their level of advancement in education and material benefits requires that the British Administrators assume a new attitude. The Wachagga are demanding that they be accorded a greater share in the management of their own affairs. Unlike other colonial peoples who have reluctantly equated superiority in military power with general superiority, the Wachagga feel that their own culture is superior in certain respects to the innovations which are being introduced by the Europeans. They reject the "father/son" relationship between themselves and the administrators in favor of a more business-like approach to the problems of local government finance, the growing of coffee, and re-afforestation. The relations are friendly (in fact the friendliness is often cultivated by the Wachagga themselves), but the familiarity among races which I am told prevailed in Uchagga several decades ago is being replaced by an African demand for respect. Inasmuch as the Mangi Mkuu and a number of the subordinate chiefs have been able to cooperate with the Europeans while still maintaining an attitude of independence, they have been able to secure the active support of the emergent elements of Uchagga.

(5) environment. A further factor conditioning the utilization of indigenous institutions to meet specific goals in a situation of political dependency is that of the natural and social environment. Thus, the duties of the Chagga chiefs in connection with the introduction of new agricultural

techniques, the encouragement of cash crop production, soil conservation measures, and famine programs have been enhanced by the abundance of water, good soil, the early introduction of the coffee tree on Kilimanjaro, and the Chagga technology regarding the construction of furrows to tap the mountain streams and the use of iron implements. In Sukumaland the recurrent drought, the presence of plant diseases, and the absence of a high level of technology has made the tasks of the Sukuma chiefs more difficult.

The factor of the health of the two populations has also been significant in accounting for the varied response of the Wachagga and Wasukuma. The Wasukuma, as the Kwimba survey revealed, are undernourished and subject to a number of tropical diseases which are endemic to the area. The Wachagga, on the other hand, live in one of the more healthful areas of East Africa. Thus, a people who are in poor health and living largely at a subsistence level can hardly be expected to make the same response to new local government programs as is made by a rather healthy and wealthy population.

Although in the two areas analyzed, the population was in each instance mono-tribal, the inter-mixture of tribal populations can very definitely condition the manner in which traditional institutions are accepted. This was demonstrated in the Geita District of Sukumaland, where many of the tribesmen refused to cooperate with the local chief, because these leaders were "traditional" only in respect to a portion of the population.

(6) unplanned responses on the part of the "subordinate" component. The "subordinate" African groupings are not passive actors in the transformations taking place around them. Planned institutional modification by Europeans is now encountering resistances on the part of the Africans.

1. Cf. p. 32 supra.

There is an insistence that the Africans be permitted to accept European material benefits and political and social ideologies in forms which have been adapted to meet the felt needs of the African population. These resistances are often only vaguely formulated. In reality we note the emergence of a series of ambivalences in African attitudes which are affecting the political transformations currently taking place. These ambivalences are more marked in Uchagga than they are in Sukumaland.

(a) Africans in both areas are torn between respect for individuals because of their noble birth and respect for individuals because of their talents and achievement. The Mangi Mkuu combines both royal ancestry and personal talent and experience in maintaining his position of leadership. Other chiefs in Uchagga and Usukuma are no longer able to command respect merely by virtue of their royal birth. The system of public education, membership in cooperative associations, and the Christian Churches have had a levelling effect, which makes king no better than commoner. The claim of an individual to a position of leadership in Chagga society---and to a lesser extent in Usukuma---is coming to be judged on the criterion of merit rather than relationship to a chief. In Sukumaland, the chiefs and their families still monopolize the positions of leadership.

(b) There is an ambivalence between parochialism and cosmopolitanism. The situation of political dependency has brought the members of 120 tribal groups under a common political roof; nevertheless, the effect of the Native Authority system in recognizing traditional chiefs and consolidating tribal units has posited a parochialism which at the present stage is more significant than cosmopolitanism. The Wachagga, by dint of education, experience in the territorial civil service, and leadership in the cooperative movement, are capable of becoming the African leaders of

Tanganyika. However, since the election of the Paramount Chief, they have been emphasizing their tribal unity. The Wasukuma manifest a different type of ambivalence: they are torn between loyalty to the chiefdom unit and loyalty to the tribe. The British Administration, which has actively cultivated tribalism in the preceding decades, now views tribalism as a deterrent to the goals of creating a multi-racial Territory in which social and economic services are provided without regard to the ethnic origins of the recipients of these services.

(c) Closely related to the preceding ambivalence are the alternating attitudes of hostility and respect towards the presence of Europeans and Asians in the Territory. The Europeans and—to a lesser extent—the Asians are regarded as "teachers" of the Africans. However, it is felt by many Wachagga that the education is a costly one indeed if the price includes having to be dominated politically in the future by these other races or even having to share political authority with them. Parity with Asians and Europeans on multi-racial councils is viewed by the Wachagga somewhat in the manner of Orwellian equality ("all animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others").

(d) Finally, there is the ambivalence between individualism and group solidarity which makes the continuation of traditional political institutions precarious. Many of the new programs of local government require the Africans to accept individual responsibility for the adoption of new agricultural techniques, health measures, and the like. The Christian Churches, through the notion of salvation being a personal problem have also cultivated individualism among the Wachagga and Wasukuma. The European educational system does the same thing by placing reliance upon individual achievement. The European and Asian commercial enterprises,

through their stress on competition, also emphasize individual responsibility for success or failure.

On the other hand, group solidarity is expressed in the continued obligations of clan membership which often result in penalizing clan members who have been successful in commercial enterprises. The more successful one is, the more relatives one has to support beyond one's own immediate family. New forms of group solidarity are represented in the rising economic and political organizations of Sukumaland and Uchagga; and although individual coffee and cotton growers may seek private fortunes, the group rises and falls together. In the political associations this ambivalence between group solidarity and individualism has some anti-democratic manifestations. The members of these groups, although decrying the alleged attempts on the part of the British Administration to stifle free speech, regard as "traitors" those who raise a voice of dissent within the ranks of the political association.

What has emerged from this study is that one cannot speak in vacuo of the advantages or disadvantages of utilizing indigenous authority systems as vehicles for colonial or military administration. A decision to utilize indigenous institutions is meaningless unless we actually know what those institutions are; for what purposes they are to be utilized; and what factors set limits upon the actual utilization of these institutions. In our analysis of two situations in Tanganyika, we found that the utilization of the system of hereditary chiefs in Uchagga was largely in accord with the traditional expectations regarding the performance of the system, and that it has led to a large measure of success in the attainment of certain goals of the British Administration. In Sukumaland, on the other hand, the endeavors of the British Administration were less successful on both points.

APPENDIX 1

SOURCE MATERIALS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Field Interviews

- A. European Officials. Conversations were held with approximately 150 European administrative, professional, and technical officers in various Districts of Tanganyika during the period between September, 1953, and August, 1954. In some instances the conversation consisted of a formalized interview held in offices; on other occasions I was permitted to accompany these officers on their tour of duty and make observations about the nature of their work in the field. The following individuals were especially helpful in providing me with either general background material or specific information on local government activities in Tanganyika:

The Member for Local Government, F. H. Page-Jones.
 Provincial Commissioners E. G. Rowe (Lake), S. A. Walden (Lake), M. J. B. Molohan (Northern), L. M. Heaney (Central), and J. E. S. Griffith.
 Deputy Provincial Commissioners J. V. Shaw and E. M. Martin (Sukumaland), and K. Dobson (Lake).
 Sr. Government Sociologist H. Fosbrooke.
 Government Sociologist H. Cory.
 District Commissioners A. G. Stephen (Kwimba), Z. E. Kingdon (Singida), B. J. J. Stubbings (Moshi), F. D. Dowsett and F. Gawthorne (Shinyanga), G. D. Popplewell and J. Scott (Mwanza), and F. Baillie (Maswa).
 District Officers T. Unwin, L. E. Pickett, L. S. A. Stewart, D. McKay, T. D. D. Williams, and D. H. A. Bell.
 Provincial Education Officer C. J. Cooper.
 Medical Officers K. J. Covell, and B. Burkett.
 Veterinary Officers J. Stewart, and E. A. Thomas.
 Assistant Conservator of Forests M. Gane.
 Agricultural Officer I. Constantinesco.
 Field Officers (Agriculture) R. Foreman, V. C. Allen, R. Bumpsted, A. R. Paxton, and F. H. J. LeRiche.
 Water Development Officers J. C. Ramsey, and F. Jollands.
 Assistant Cooperative Development Officer H. E. Dickenson.
 Woman Administrative Officer C. Foreman.

Sir Donald MacGillivray, High Commissioner for Malaya (former District Commissioner, Kwimba, Maswa Districts).
 Mr. A. L. B. Bennett, O. B. E., Member of the Moshi Native Coffee Board.
 Mrs. T. Unwin, Secretary, Lake Province Council.
 Mr. T. LeRiche, Lake Province Cotton Committee.

- B. African Officials and Subordinate Staff. Conversations were held with approximately 225 African chiefs, sub-chiefs, deputies, headmen, secretary-treasurers, court clerks, rural medical aids, agricultural instructors, and veterinary instructors. These conversations were held individually in over three-quarters of the cases;

the remainders consisted of group interviews. Conversations were held directly in English or through interpreter who spoke the vernacular language. The following individuals were especially helpful:

(1) In Sukumaland:

Chief Majebera s/o Masanja of Mwangalla, President of the Sukumaland Federal Council.
 Chief Charles Mange s/o Masanja of Nera.
 Chief Joseph Ngombe s/o Makolo of Uchunga.
 Chief Musa s/o Mgemera of Magu.
 Sub-chief Nhunga s/o Luhuna of Kakora, Nera.
 Joseph s/o Mgemera, Secretary-Treasurer of Sukumaland Federal Council.
 D. Gogadi, Secretary, Kwimba Native Treasury.
 Bethlehem s/o Rugasa, Veterinary Instructor.
 Caruso Lohumba s/o Makwaia, Rural Medical Aide.
 Petro s/o Claver, African Schools Supervisor.

(2) In Uchagga:

Paramount Chief Marealle II.
 Divisional Chief Petro s/o Marealle.
 Divisional Chief Abdiel s/o Shangali.
 Area Chief Augustine Marealle.
 Divisional Magistrate Justin Balozi.
 Deputy Divisional Chief Paul Lemama s/o Kavisho.
 Law Courts Advisor A. M. Mlay.

(3) In Singida:

Chief Abdurahamani s/o Gwao of Unyahati.
 Chief Senge s/o Mgeni of Singida.
 Chief Rajabu s/o Kolongo of Wilwana.

C. Social Science Scholars. Various individuals in London, Kampala (East African Institute of Social Research), and other parts of East Africa were helpful to me in this study. The criticisms and information received from the following were especially helpful:

Dr. Audrey I. Richards (EAISR).
 Dr. C. C. Wrigley (EAISR).
 Dr. C. A. G. Wallis (African Studies Branch, Colonial Office).
 Mr. Irving Kaplan (Social Science Research Council).
 Mr. Jack Mower (Presidential Fellow, Brown University).

D. Non-officials in Tanganyika. Contacts with non-official Africans, Europeans, and Asians were legion. The following were of direct assistance for this study:

Mr. A. S. Andrea, M. B. E., Manager, Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union, my interpreter, and other officers of the Union.
 Mr. Mark Bomani (my interpreter and clerk, Sukumaland; student of Makerere College).

Mr. Richard George Mallya (my interpreter and clerk, Uchagga; student at Tabora secondary school).
 Mr. Lamiki s/o Bogoch, Secretary of the Sukuma Union.
 Mr. Dudley Thompson, Barrister, Moshi.
 Officers of the Lake Province Growers Association and over 100 chairmen and delegates of the primary producers societies.
 Officers of the Tanganyika African Union, Mwanza and Singida Branches.
 Officers of the Usmao Ghee Association, Ibindo, Kwimba.
 Rev. Hess and Mr. A. Marsh of the Africa Inland Missions, Kwimba District.
 Rev. P. Vachon, White Fathers, Kwimba District.
 Mr. and Mrs. D. Henry, Rev. H. Olsen, Dr. S. Moris, and Miss D. Anderson of the Augustana Lutheran Missions, Singida.
 Mr. C. K. Patel, M. B. E., President of the Lake Province Ginners Association.
 Mr. Shell Muhena, Arab member, Lake Province Council.

2. Observance of Local Government Activities

During the course of the 12 months of field study, I was permitted to attend a number of meetings of various types and to observe other activities which had a direct bearing upon the study of local government in Tanganyika. The following is a listing of some of the more significant activities observed:

- A. Sessions of the Sukumaland Federal Council at Malya, and meetings of its Finance Committee, October, 1953.
- B. Meetings of Divisional and Area Councils in Uchagga (2); of Chiefdom, Sub-chiefdom, and Village Councils in Usukuma (11); and of Divisional, Chiefdom, and Village Councils in Singida (4).
- C. District Team Meetings in Kwimba, Maswa, and Singida Districts.
- D. Meetings of the District Education Committees in Kwimba and Maswa Districts, November, 1953-February, 1954.
- E. Sessions of the Lake Province Council and its Finance Committee, Mwanza, December, 1953.
- F. Meeting of the Lake Province Cotton Committee, Mwanza, December, 1953.
- G. Meeting of the Lake Province Growers Association, Mwanza, February, 1954.
- H. Sessions of the Local Government School, Malya, February, 1954.

- I. Meetings of the Planning Committee for the Sukumaland Agricultural Show, Mwanza and Ngudu, December, 1953.
- J. Meeting of the Arusha-Mbulu-Masai Districts Advisory Council, Arusha, July, 1954.
- K. Meetings of the African Elisia Farm Committee and the Turu Development Company, Singida, May, 1954.
- L. Attendance at an estimated 15 court sessions in Kwimba, Moshi, and Singida Districts, November, 1953-July, 1954.
- M. Inspection of various local government facilities and programs in health, education, animal husbandry, agriculture, and forestry.
- N. Attendance at ceremonial functions of a traditional character in Nera and Buhungukira Chiefdoms, November-December, 1954; and Investiture Ceremonies of the Governor; Empire Day celebrations; and the like.

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