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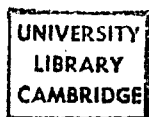
CHRISTIANITY IN UNYAMWEZI

1878-1928

by

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of Philosophy in the Faculty of History at the
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CHRISTIANITY IN UNYAMWEZI, 1878-1928

SUMMARY

The dissertation is based on oral accounts collected in Unyamwezi and on archival material located mainly in Rome and Tabora. It examines the limited development of Christianity in mid-western Tanzania within a context of social and economic change and with reference to parallel changes in traditional religion.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Unyamwezi was a prosperous commercial area. The political organisation was fragmented and the people highly mobile in settlement and trade. But the immigration of Arab traders, Tusi herdsmen and Ngoni warriors heightened Nyamwezi awareness of distinct cultural identity. Larger commercial and military chiefdoms developed and it was in these that three missionary societies established themselves in pre-colonial times. Their projects proved incompatible with the military and commercial needs of the chiefs and eventually the CMS and LMS left Unyamwezi to work elsewhere.

After colonial rule had been established, northern Unyamwezi went into economic decline. The foundation by the White Fathers of large freed slave settlements proved a threat rather than an attraction to surrounding villages. The more enterprising elements left Unyamwezi for distant trade and employment. The elders who remained were preoccupied with the defence of their customary privileges and powers. Although Nyamwezi institutions had developed in a volatile social and economic environment, the imposition of colonial political

controls and the loss of prosperity through trade stultified political change for a time in some northern chiefdoms. Traditional cults there came to express symbolic resistance to interference by outsiders.

There was more social and economic innovation in the south and east. Ndala chiefdom was more recently settled and not dominated by an entrenched ruling group. Catechists emerged as leaders of a movement to incorporate new skills into local society through education. Elsewhere in southern Unyamwezi, change was inhibited by the influence of Tabora, where a dominant Moslem group monopolised the employment available in the lower echelons of the colonial service.

A first world war campaign did great damage in Unyamwezi and ended nostalgic hopes of a return to the pre-colonial past. The temporary loss of employment opportunities at the coast diverted the energies of the younger generation into alternative means of social advancement at home, especially through the acquisition of education at mission schools. As the rituals of traditional religion displayed only a limited adaptability to social innovation, their practice declined. Christianity began to replace it among the generation building up the foundations of a new social order.

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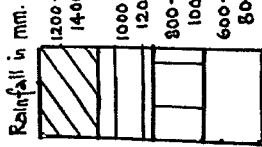
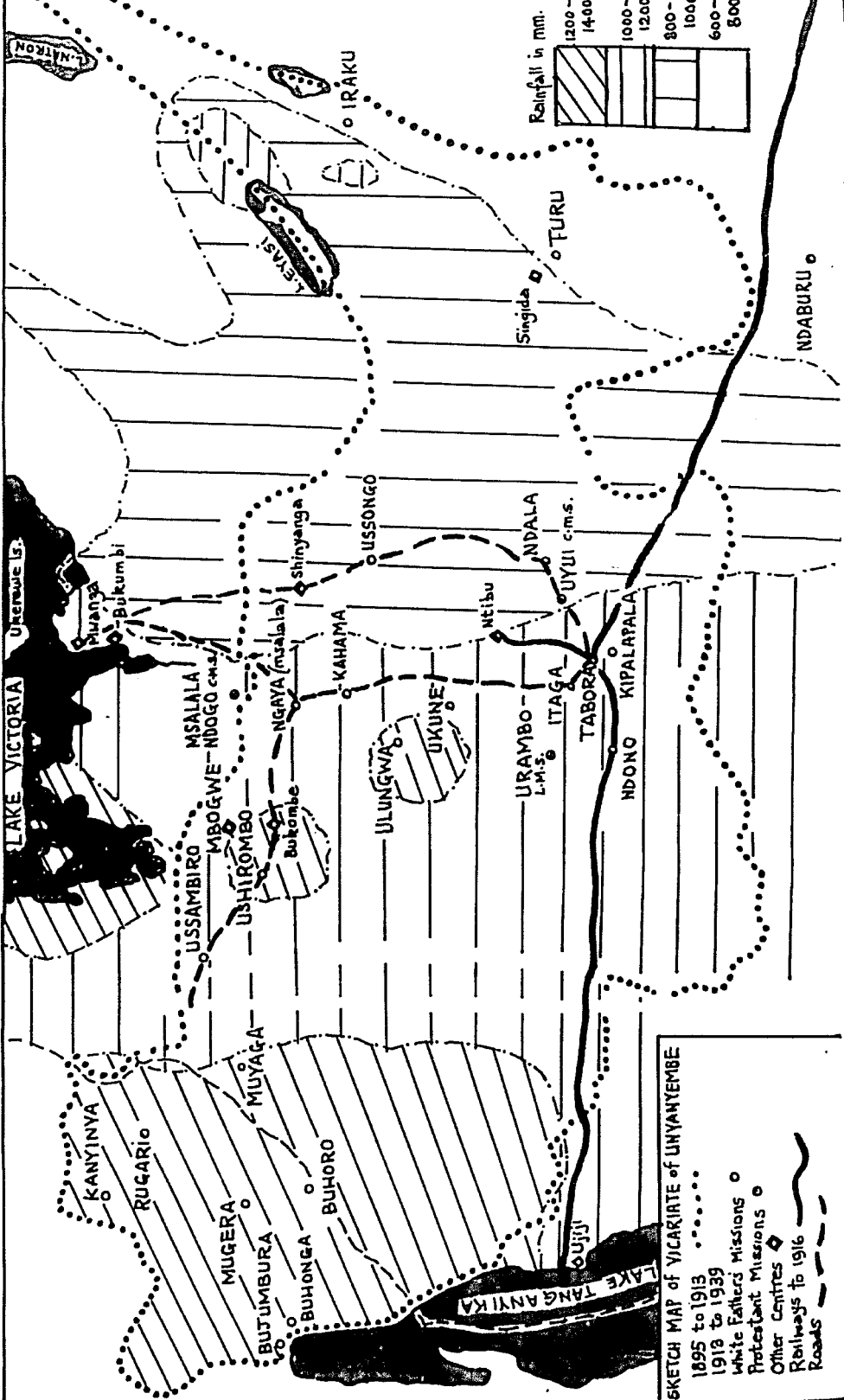
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PREFACE

This dissertation could not have been written without assistance. A large number of oral informants in Tabora Region, Tanzania, generously shared with me their knowledge of Nyamwezi history. Fr Lamey of the White Fathers in Rome and Fr Grondin in Tabora, each over periods of several months, were unfailingly kind on placing their archival resources and knowledge at my disposal, as were, for shorter periods, the late Reverend C.S. Craig of the Congregational Council for World Mission, Miss Rosemary Keen of the CMS, and the White Sisters of Frascati. I am grateful to the librarians and archivists of the British Library, the Public Record Office, Rhodes House, Oxford, the Royal Geographical Society, Westminster Archdiocese, the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Moravian Church, Muswell Hill, the National Archives of Tanzania, the University of Dar es Salaam library, the Bibliothèque Africaine, Brussels, the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Brussels, and the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris. Bishop Kasanji lent me some documents from the Moravian Church at Tabora. Miss Jean Dyce of the Mitchell Library, Sydney, provided a microfilm of part of Walter Hutley's diary with the kind consent of Mrs. Hutley. Miss Elisabeth Knox of Gordon, N.S.W., and Dr. H.T.Fry of the James Cook University, Townsville, wrote giving advice on the location of certain material. Professor N.R. Bennett sent me copies of two unpublished papers on Isike. The map is the work of Fr Gerard Wynne. The typing has been arranged by Mrs. V.G. Williams. Mr. Clement Kwileleka made an ideal

research assistant during my fieldwork in Unyamwezi, and two young students, Peter Mandwa and Athanas L. Patricky, gave enthusiastic and capable help during my two visits to Usumbwa. I am grateful to Fr Theo van Asten, formerly Superior General of the White Fathers and Archbishop Mihayo of Tabora for allowing me the time and opportunity to undertake the research. The Smuts fund made a contribution to the expenses and fieldwork. Otherwise, I was supported by the British Province of the White Fathers to whose members I express my gratitude. During the fieldwork, Professor Kimambo of the University of Dar es Salaam, maintained a guiding hand. My largest debt is to Dr. John Iliffe, my supervisor at Cambridge, for his limitless patience, advice and encouragement.

Apart from regular supervision and the help acknowledged above, the dissertation is entirely the result of my own work. It has not been submitted, in whole or in part, for any qualification at any other university.



SKETCH MAP OF VICARATE of UHYANEMBE

1895 to 1913
 1918 to 1939

White Fathers Missions ○
 Protestant Missions ◇
 Other centres ○

Railways to 1916 ———
 Roads - - - - -

LAKE VICTORIA
 Uvyanembe IS.

LAKE TANGANYIKA

KANYINYA

RUGARIO

MUGERU

BUTUMBURA

BUHONGA

BUHORO

MUYAGA

USSAMBIRO

USHIROMBO

MSALALA

MBOGWWE - NDOGO C.M.S.

NGAYA (Msalala)

Shinyanga

KAHAMA

ULUNGWA

UKUNE

URAMBO L.M.S.

ITAGA

TABORA

NDONGO KIPALAPALA

UYUI C.M.S.

NDALA

USSONGO

Singida

TURU

IRAKU

NDABURU

ABBREVIATIONS

AHS	African Historical Studies
AIA	Association Internationale Africaine
C	File classification at White Fathers archives, Rome
CA	Central Africa boxes of the London Missionary Society papers
CCGZ	Correspondence consulaire et commerciale, Zanzibar, at Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris
Cmd	Command paper published by Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London
CMI	Church Missionary Intelligencer
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CT	Chronique Trimestrielle and its successor, Chronique; cf. White Fathers' archives, Rome in bibliography
D	Diary
DB	District Book in the National Archives of Tanzania
DKZ	Deutsche Koloniale Zeitung
F.O.	Foreign Office; cf. Public Record Office in bibliography
HAT	Historical Association of Tanzania
J	Journal
JAH	Journal of African History
JAI	Journal of the Anthropological Institute
JRAI	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute
JRGS	Journal of the Royal Geographical Society
JWH	Journal of World History
MAE	Ministère des Affaires Etrangères

- MdA Missions d'Algier and its successor Missions d'Afrique;
cf. White Fathers archives, Rome
- M.G. Maison Générale, present headquarters of White
Fathers in Rome
- MM Maison Mère, original headquarters of White Fathers
in Algiers
- MPA Periodical Accounts of the foreign missions of the
Church of the United Brethren (Moravians)
- NAT National Archives of Tanzania
- P.B. Pères Blancs
- PRGS Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society
- SCPF Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, the Vatican
department directing mission work
- TAJH Transafrican Journal of History
- TBA Tabora Archdiocesan Archives
- TBGS Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society
- TNR Tanganyika Notes and Records and Tanzania Notes and
Records
- WF White Fathers
- WSA White Sisters' archives
- WSD White Sisters' Diary

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The Nyamwezi are a Bantu people numbering about half a million who live in mid-western Tanzania. They are among the most widely known and best documented of East African peoples. In the nineteenth century, they travelled extensively for trade and work while their homeland was visited and described by many European travellers. During colonial times, their customs were recorded by Bösch, Blohm, Cory and Yongolo,¹ and a study of their political organisation was made by Abrahams.² More recently, Roberts has recorded some of their dynastic traditions and examined their early trade.³ The history of the two most prominent chiefdoms has been written by Kabeya, Bennett and Unomah.⁴ In an unpublished and partly inaccessible thesis, Collinson has discussed their secret societies.⁵ In the context of ecological change in East Africa, Ford and Kjekshus have

1. Bösch, H., Les Banyamwezi, Munster 1930.
 Blohm, W., Die Nyamwezi, Hamburg 1930.
 Cory, H., Sheria na kawaida za Wanyamwezi, Dar es Salaam 1955.
 Yongolo, D., Maisha na desturi ya Wanyamwezi, London 1956.
2. Abrahams, R.G., The Political Organisation of Unyamwezi, Cambridge 1967.
3. Roberts, A.D., 'The Nyamwezi' in his Tanzania before 1900.
 Roberts, A.D., 'Nyamwezi trade' in Gray and Birmingham, Pre-colonial African trade.
4. Kabeya, J., Mtemi Mirambo, Dar es Salaam 1972.
 Bennett, H.H., Mirambo of Tanzania, London 1971.
 Unomah, A., Economic expansion and political change in Unyanymbe, U. of Ibadan Ph.D. thesis 1972.
5. Collinson, J.D., Witchcraft and sorcery among the Wanyamweli, U. of Oxford, B. Litt. thesis 1975.

made extensive use of material relating to Unyamwezi.⁶ This is yet another study and takes as its central topic religious change in Unyamwezi between the last years of independent pre-colonial chiefdoms and the aftermath of the first world war. The most significant innovation was the penetration of Christianity after several early failures. The number of Christians in Unyamwezi is still not large - perhaps twenty per cent of the total population - but they represent a distinctive and influential group originating outside the traditional power structures. This dissertation concentrates on their emergence and with the help of hitherto untapped oral and written sources, attempts to set it in a broader context of political and economic change than is usual in mission history.

Historians of East Africa have tended to focus their interest either on distinctively local institutions having their origins in pre-colonial societies, or on colonial and nationalist themes which, being centralist in character, are usually linked with Pan-African or ideological movements. The two topics have been related in the context of indirect rule, or opposed in the study of resistance to colonialism and the development of nationalism. The experience of Unyamwezi suggests that innovations of importance to a potential nation took root at an early stage of colonial rule among people outside the traditional positions of authority and leadership, as traditional institutions were drawn into the service of a colonial system of government.

6. Ford, J., The role of trypanosomiases in African ecology, Oxford 1971.
 Kjekshus, H., Ecology control and economic development in East African history, London 1977.

At the time of the colonial conquest, large powerful chiefdoms were still comparatively recent innovations in Unyamwezi. Much of the nineteenth century had been an unsettled period. The incursions of Ngoni warriors and Arab merchants had provoked by reaction a strong sense of Nyamwezi identity. Settlement became concentrated into compact island-like states in the endless bush. The chief's authority was strengthened by his control of trade and by a new class of warriors who, if successful, eventually retired to large households with many wives and cattle to be influential elders and advisers. However, in the face of the overwhelming advantage in weapon technology of German-trained troops, and the collapse of commerce in ivory and slaves, the extended powers of the chiefs were weakened. Those who remained in office under the colonial government maintained the respect and loyalty of their subjects which they had won in pre-colonial times. But their successors were often nominees of district officers and, even if members of the royal family, were sometimes ineligible for succession by customary law. They became dependent agents of a colonial administration. While keeping the outward symbols of chiefship intact, they were increasingly associated in their subjects' minds with demands for inflated taxes and forced labour. Even in pre-colonial times, Nyamwezi chiefs tended to form a class apart: usually they were immigrant dynasties from the west or from near the coast who intermarried among themselves. Although they were symbols of common welfare, co-ordinated agricultural activity and mediated in disputes, they were not in general regarded with great awe as were, for

example, rulers of the west lake kingdoms. If their power was not dispensable, at least it was severely limited by the mobility of their subjects. The absorption of chiefs into the colonial structure was to cause some dissatisfaction with them for failing to protect an independent way of life. Their subjects needed a new kind of communal identity. In the long run it was provided by nationalism, but an essential preliminary was a greater fluidity and experiment at the local level which was incompatible with the actual wishes of the chiefs.

When colonialism removed trade and military power as contributors to chiefly authority, it also destroyed the motives of the recent local wars. An earlier and freer time when people lived in scattered households rather than in military style encampments was still remembered, and in the early years of the twentieth century there was a spontaneous reversion to settlement patterns and minimising attitudes to chiefly authority which had existed earlier in the nineteenth century. It became less important to acquire military skills and to learn the secrets of specialist societies than to acquire the skills of reading and writing as tools of new leadership and social reorganisation. Increasingly, young people undertook work for long periods at the coast. Ever wider contacts with the world outside was to raise questions and doubts about established authorities and customs. For many individuals education brought liberation from the tight restrictions of family and chiefdom and offered the chance to redirect common social resources. At local level, the early colonial period was a highly creative time with experiments

and exploration of alternative social organisation by the Nyamwezi. Divisions, tensions and opposition from those who felt their authority was being threatened were inevitable, but the roots of modern Tanzania lie here, long before the appearance of nationalist leaders and constitutional lawyers, when the first challenges were made to the principle of chiefly authority by its subjects.

It was in this context of tension and social change that the Christian missions were to assume a significant role in Unyamwezi. Earlier, in the last decade or so of pre-colonial independence, three missionary societies had operated without attracting a single adult Nyamwezi convert. They had been confined to the periphery of local life and the same held true for a time in some strong chiefdoms after German rule was established. As time passed, converts came to be numbered in thousands. To explain the difference by suggesting the missions were the ecclesiastical arm of colonialism is too facile an explanation which underrates the opposition to imposed change by the Nyamwezi. Initial association of the missions with colonialism was a source of resentment and distrust and it was only when the missionaries were perceived to be a politically neutral body capable of serving useful purposes within Nyamwezi society that any practical collaboration was possible. Although like colonial administrators, the missionaries were exempt from chiefly authority, they were different in nationality, interest and long term residence. They generally avoided founding posts near administrative centres in order to avoid involvement with government officials. From the beginning

their aim was to set up an African Church run by African clergy and laymen. It was the catechists who bore the main burden of teaching from the start. Nowadays, the recruitment of outstanding men as catechists proves difficult owing to the variety of alternative opportunities and careers open to men of ability. But in the first quarter of the twentieth century, the catechists comprised an élite group of exceptionally able men. Although the catechists accepted the authority of the chiefs and taught their followers to pay taxes and perform corvées, they were regarded with a great deal of suspicion and hostility by most chiefs who recognised in them opposition to some of the more restrictive aspects of traditional society. In a very few cases, chiefs hoping to gain mission support were favourable but such co-operation was temporary and more often the missions tended to be identified with social changes threatening the chief's powers. After the disruption of Unyamwezi by the military campaigns of the first world war, a more widespread demand for education appeared and the mission village schools provided the most accessible means of satisfying it. In the resulting conflict with a colonial government anxious to limit popular education, the missions were to articulate and defend Nyamwezi rights to education and provide an outlet for the pent up energies of many ambitious young people within small scale local society. It was in a broad context of social change, as a politically disinterested body, that the missions could provide the means for the reappraisal of many social and political institutions by the Nyamwezi, and within the reappraisal was the opportunity for the communication of religious ideas.

Religious conversion is a highly personal and individual act, yet the historian can only describe general patterns of social behaviour and make illustrative reference to individuals. In the nature of religious experience, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to prove individual cases are typical. Religious history can then become a form of sectarian hagiography. However, another approach is possible. When a change of religious allegiance is made, it is likely in an individual case to be at a stage of life or in personal circumstances in which the individual's social role is changing. Social change on a large scale can put many individuals simultaneously into a state of dislocation and reappraisal and it is suggested that in the colonial period this situation applied to many Nyamwezi. Religious choice can thus be related to measurable social, economic and political factors. This is not to reduce a personal act of faith to social principles or to explain away religious behaviour in terms of environmentalism. It is simply to discover and delineate contexts in which radically new religious teaching may attract an individual and facilitate an exercise of personal faith. In this way, religious history is related to general Nyamwezi history.

An alternative method would be to trace the development of Christianity as the growth of an institutional Church. In that case most points of reference would be towards the ecclesiastical institution itself, Nyamwezi history and experience being of incidental importance. In some parts of East Africa, Christian institutions are so original that they are interesting in themselves, but they

are less so where the creed and rites adopted are strikingly orthodox. Nyamwezi society is an egalitarian and non-competitive society in which social roles are clearly defined. Everyone has duties towards neighbours in communal activities, but there is sufficient social and physical space for people to maintain a certain distance. It is a small-scale formal world in which neighbourly harmony is always maintained, at least on the surface. In such a society, religious ritual often becomes a symbolic way of transcending the closely defined confines of daily life. The typical nineteenth century peasant family in Europe had much in common with a farming household in Unyamwezi. It existed in a restricted society with only occasional contact with the outside world. Agricultural activity was patterned on the seasons of the year and neighbourhood relationships were rigidly defined according to status and kinship. Although literacy was more widespread in Europe, there was, technologically, a much smaller gap between the life and work of Europeans and Nyamwezi peasant farmers a century ago than there is today. The Tridentine type of Catholicism with its formal ritual and ornate ceremonial in a mysterious tongue was transferred with remarkable ease from one continent to another, only the more devotionalist aspects of nineteenth century European Catholicism being omitted by the missionaries as a matter of policy. One might draw a similar parallel between the Pentecostalism of informal urban environments in Europe and its attraction for some Nilotic peoples among whom spirit possession cults are found. There are thus no unusual features in Nyamwezi Christianity, no attempt to combine

Christian practices with traditional rites or to found independent Churches. In fact, the universalism of Christianity was one of its attractions. In 1928 when Archbishop Hinsley visited the Tabora area as Apostolic Visitor and personal representative of the Pope, large numbers of people turned out to meet him.

At this point, it might be appropriate to indicate what is meant by the term Christianity in the title. The term is not used comprehensively to include all denominations in Unyamwezi. Missions founded by the Congregational London Missionary Society and the Anglican Church Missionary Society are referred to extensively in Chapter three. They provide considerable information on pre-colonial Unyamwezi and serve as terms of comparison for Roman Catholic missions founded about the same time. But the CMS and the LMS withdrew from Unyamwezi before 1900, the place of the latter being taken by members of the Moravian Church which today constitutes the second largest Christian group in the area. Unfortunately, limitations of space preclude much mention of their work. An Anglican Church was opened in Tabora after the first world war but it was for many years looked after by the Moravian Bishop Gaarde and was designated mainly for expatriate and immigrant people in the town. No other Christian denomination was working in Unyamwezi before 1928. The term Christian is therefore taken to refer to Roman Catholics except occasionally in chapter three. It is supposed that the Christian in some degree practices his religion even if, for example, his marital state raises canonical obstacles to full sacramental participation. When a group is in a minority,

as is the case in Unyamwezi, lapsed and non-practicing members may well join other religious groups or lose all association with their fellow parishioners. In defining a Christian, membership, at least occasional, of an active group of Christians is supposed.

Unyamwezi lay in an area assigned to the missionary society of the White Fathers which has provided by far the largest single contingent of missionaries to work in East and Central Africa. The White Fathers have produced relatively few systematic studies of their own work, preferring to get on with their pastoral duties and leave the task of writing about it to others. The reaction of Bishop Léonard when invited to subscribe to a periodical on missiology typifies a deeply ingrained tradition. "What do they mean by 'missiology'?" he wrote, "Do they want to invent a new theory? They have pretty things to say sitting in their offices with a large glass of beer beside them. Let them come and sweat a little and shiver from fever; then we will listen to them."⁷ Despite being sceptical of the usefulness of theorising, the White Fathers based their methods on quite distinctive and original principles. Most of their predecessors during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had thought it necessary to inculcate a European way of life as well as teaching Christianity. A common method had been to found communes living aloof from surrounding peoples under the paternalistic control of the missionaries themselves. Converts were obliged to abandon traditional society rather

7. Leonard to Frey, Tabora, 24.2.14. TBA 310.001.

than to come to terms with it. The most striking examples of this approach were the Jesuit Reductions in Paraguay. The same principle of transformism operated quite explicitly in the townships of freed slaves at Freretown⁸ and Bagamoyo⁹ and more subtly in the missions of the CMS in southern Nigeria.¹⁰ The White Fathers' aims, however, were very different. From the start they set out to make Christianity known to people within the lifestyle of their own society and to limit the material disruption of their lives. It was up to the missionary to adapt his way of life to his hearers rather than to require them to adopt his; he set out to work within the existing political units and depended on the help and co-operation of African agents. In Central Africa the White Fathers assumed from the start the responsibility of a vast area around the great lakes far away from the Zanzibar coast with its consuls and direct communications with Europe. Their intended means of propagating Christianity was initially to win the co-operation of important rulers who, like the Frankish king Clovis, would rule their states in partnership with a burgeoning Church. In fact, the unforeseen advent of colonialism was to subordinate traditional authorities to a European government and make collaboration with them a lower priority but the policy of adapting to existing African society remained a guiding principle.

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8. Temu, A., British Protestant Missions, London 1972.
 9. Kieran, J.P., The Holy Ghost Fathers in East Africa 1863-1914, U. of London Ph.D. thesis 1963.
 10. Ajayi, J.F.A., Christian missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891, London 1965.
Ayandele, E.A., The missionary impact on Modern Nigeria, London 1966.

Problems of transformism and adaptation were not confined to any one denomination or country. Marcia Wright has shown how they were to influence the thinking of the Lutheran and Moravian missions in the Southern Highlands of Tanzania.¹¹ Adaptation had been a problem in China from the time of Mateo Ricci to Père Lebbe. To pursue this theme is beyond the scope of a thesis concerned much less with the missionaries themselves than with the Nyamwezi church growing from the seed they sowed. Nevertheless a brief comparison with the reactions of other peoples in East and Central Africa to the methods of the White Fathers may throw into relief the particular characteristics of Nyamwezi Christianity, for there was a general uniformity of method among the White Fathers. They shared an identical international training in North Africa and followed the directives laid down by Lavigerie, their founder. Another element of uniformity among them was due less to training than to the background from which they came, countries where Christianity had, in Linden's phrase 'filtered for centuries through European peasant culture.'¹² They tended to have as a model an idealised picture of a rural peasant Church. Thus, in Malawi,¹³ Christianity was to infiltrate the villages of a conservative peasant culture, a process necessarily gradual because of the resistance of traditional customs institutionalised in societies like the Nyau. Unyamwezi was, perhaps, a more

11. Wright, M., German missions in Tanganyika 1891-1941, Oxford 1971.

12. Linden, I., Catholics, peasants and Chewa resistance in Nyasaland 1889-1939, London 1974, p.X.

13. ibid., p.

cosmopolitan area than northern Malawi and youthful energies were directed to opportunities for work and profit in distant places. The local dominance of elders in the early colonial period may in consequence have been greater: Christian infiltration into existing Nyamwezi society was insignificant. There was a closer resemblance to Ubemba, Zambia,¹⁴ where among a thinly scattered population rivalry between chiefs and missions for influence was discernible; the Copperbelt later was to draw away many of the younger potential innovators and education remained a low priority for decades. In Buganda,¹⁵ the arrival of Christianity coincided with the start of rapid social change as chiefs challenged the powers of the kabaka; literacy was in great demand and the new religion was adopted by groups at the political centre of the kingdom. Social change in Unyamwezi was to come later and proceed more slowly, but there also it was to coincide with the spread of education, the decline of traditional religion and the adoption of Christianity. In Unyamwezi as elsewhere, the adaptation by the White Fathers was limited by the rigidity of the Tridentine Church and was a gesture of respect for the African way of life rather than a bridge to another culture. In the end, Christianity spread only with a measure of social change.

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14. Garvey, B., The development of the White Fathers' missions among the Bemba speaking peoples 1891-1964, U. of London Ph.D. thesis 1974.
15. Waliggo, J., The Catholic Church in the Buddu province of Buganda 1879-1925, U. of Cambridge Ph.D. thesis 1976.

The missions in Unyamwezi were widely separated geographically and each was surrounded by a different group of chiefdoms. The argument of the thesis proceeds by examining the successive impact of different foundations. The pre-colonial missions failed to break out of the social capsules in which they were maintained by chiefs wary of aliens and experienced in dealing with them. The German conquest had no direct result: the early colonial period was a time of economic recession in northern Unyamwezi and the missions of Ushirombo and Msalala were faced with the defensive conservatism of declining chiefdoms. At Ushirombo, the anachronistic policy of building a village of freed slaves was an added handicap as it alienated local sympathies. At Msalala the role of traditional religion as a symbolic means of continuity with the past and of resistance to change is investigated. In the south of Unyamwezi a variety of factors contributed to a degree of economic and social development. Consequently, at Ndala the relative weakness of traditional authority enabled some groups to pursue social and economic change more vigorously and Christianity was to penetrate this element. In Tabora meanwhile, the presence of a large Moslem enclave presenting an alternative path of innovation was to rival and inhibit Christianity. All these local variations were to some extent submerged by the first world war campaigns which were highly disruptive in Unyamwezi. In their aftermath, a larger number of people sought education, literacy and Christianity. The principal aim of the thesis is thus to establish and define the relationship between religions and certain specified social changes in Unyamwezi.

During a period of ten months in Unyamwezi during 1973 and 1974, I interviewed a wide range of men and women. Some of the most informative were old catechists but others were chiefs, bafumu, experts on traditional religion and history, residents and immigrants, literate and illiterate, poor and wealthy, Christians, pagans and Moslems, near neighbours to a mission and others living fifty miles away. The only common feature was their age which was, in nearly every case, advanced. Unyamwezi is warm and dry; respiratory diseases which prove fatal to old people in many parts of the world are rare. The Nyamwezi have always been a physically fit people who delighted in athletic games and competitive team sports long before football was introduced. People in their nineties still work in the fields and think nothing of walking many miles. The ages of many could be checked. Mwami Lumelezi of Mbogwe became a chief in 1891 as a boy of about twelve: the event is recorded in the Ushirombo diary. The daughter of Mirambo was a child when her father died in November 1884. She was delighted at the opportunity to join a visit to her father's grave at his old capital and happily bounced along in the back of an army land rover for ninety miles on a very rough road. Mwanangwa Petro Nzigula who still rides a bicycle was described as about thirty when he was baptised in 1925 and his age confirmed by the evidence of his nephew. Petro Kapuga of Ndono has letters of recommendation from the caravans for which he worked at the beginning of the century. Teresia Mbuga had married and was raising children when the first world war campaign reached Unyamwezi. The mother of Gerardo Mwandamila was

still carrying him when she was almost caught working in the fields by a raiding party of Ngoni. Mwami Kizozo was a teacher at the government school in Tabora before the first world war. One man claimed to have seen the corpse of Livingstone being brought into Tabora as a small boy in 1873 and to have been an adult soldier in Isike's war twenty years later, but it was impossible to confirm his claim. Previous to the actual experience of the person interviewed, oral information tended to be patchy. At Uyui extensive enquiries could not discover a single informant who was aware that for eight years a CMS station had existed within a few hundred yards of the chief's ikulu and of which the baked brick ruins are still visible. Much older material was recalled about former chiefs and wars, trade and caravan organisation. Within the span of a long human lifetime, the wealth of evidence and detail was remarkable and extended over the whole history of most missions founded since 1891.

The weakest point of oral sources is their inaccurate chronology. A particular year might be remembered as the year of the comet or the year of the hunger, but no other calendar exists. Frequently working to the limits of informants' earliest recollections, one could often see how events previous to their personal experience had become telescoped and condensed. Long past events tended to be assigned to a time some ten or twenty years before the birth of an informant: they were part of the world into which he had been born and their mathematical dating was unimportant to him. Sometimes chronology could be corrected by reference to written records, but there was ample ground for concluding

that earlier traditional history which could not be so checked had been telescoped far more than oral historians would seem to suppose.

All the interviews were conducted by myself with an assistant. Usually we saw one informant at a time but often two or three of his neighbours came along to take part either by invitation or on their own initiative. The form of the interview was as informal as possible and normally lasted about two hours. Some particularly knowledgeable people were interviewed several times. The usual form was to begin by explaining the importance of preserving the past history of Unyamwezi and of writing it down. A particular topic was then specified and the informant encouraged to talk freely about it in the light of his knowledge of the history of the area, his own expertise and experience, the incidents he had witnessed or heard about at the time, and so on. In Unyamwezi it is very bad manners to interrupt an elder person's flow of ideas but eventually the opportunity arrived to ask questions either about the matters described or based on previous interviews and manuscript sources. Set questionnaires proved too inflexible and were not used. Only two people refused to be interviewed, both of them elderly women who were not Christians. But they were untypical. Most old people feel their knowledge is undervalued by the younger generation and responded with enthusiasm when they were asked about events and persons deep in their memories of the past. I recorded each interview in extensive notes on the spot and far from this practice inhibiting informants, it gave them an added sense of importance. Sometimes they

would emphasise a particular point and ask questions to satisfy themselves that it had been noted down accurately. A tape recorder proved an unhelpful distraction and was not used.

All but one informant spoke Swahili fluently and this was the language in which I put questions. But the vast majority when talking about essentially local matters felt more at ease in Kinyamwezi or Kisumbwa and after they had spoken on a topic, my assistant would translate into Swahili while the informant listened, sometimes interrupting to elaborate on a particular point. In terms of incidents and concrete facts, some material was, of course, already known from manuscript sources, but informants not only supplemented, corrected and explained them in the local context, they also incorporated a consistent local point of view which I have endeavoured to recapture. Thus although the ~~number of~~ footnotes in the following chapters referring to written sources greatly exceed in number those referring to individual oral sources, the point of view and the evaluation of the incidents is often determined by unnamed oral informants. An edited version of the interview notes will be placed in the library of the University of Dar es Salaam at a later date. A full list of informants is included in the bibliography. Many of them specifically asked to be so named.

The most important documentary material comes from the White Fathers' archives in Rome, and the archives of the Archdiocese of Tabora. Until a few years ago, the former were not available to researchers and the material on

Unyamwezi there has not been used previously. The amount is considerable: between 1878 and 1889 alone the biggest part of a thousand letters were written from Unyamwezi, the average length of which is perhaps eight or ten pages, frugally filled with tiny handwriting. To the correspondence must be added volumes of personal and official diaries, reports, plans, articles and photographs. After 1890 the number of missionaries in Unyamwezi increased steadily and so does the volume of their extant letters. History, customs, political events of all kinds were recorded, many of them having little or nothing to do with the mission directly. After about 1900 the material on local affairs began to be restricted to matters of direct concern to missionary work. When Léonard became bishop in 1912 correspondence on local matters was directed to him rather than to the Superiors of the society. Apart from magazine articles, annual reports, monographs and letters on specific questions, the later correspondence was largely about personalities and the internal administration of the society. On the other hand, the amount of material in the Tabora Archdiocesan archives increases in value and volume after the succession of Leonard. His interest in local customs and alternative missionary methods is reflected in the correspondence he received and in the numerous memoranda which he wrote. Also in Tabora are the diaries of the early missions. (Microfilm copies are available in Rome). Some of the older missions contain letters and studies of local customs which have not yet been collected in a central place. Details are to be found in the bibliography. The White Sisters at Frascati, Italy, let me read their diaries and other documents relating to Tabora.

At Dar es Salaam, the National Archives furnished material on the schools and a few other questions. At the University, Mwami Kizozo's Habari za Wasumbwa and the Cory papers contain the result of their own enquiries, and the former particularly proved useful. Consular material from Zanzibar was read at Paris, Brussels and London.

Three other missionary societies have archival material on Uyamwezi. The CMS and LMS preserve all the correspondence with their early missions. The Moravian Church at Muswell Hill has some records which were printed for general circulation, but the correspondence with the Nyamwezi missions is in East Germany and I did not get the opportunity to read it. The Mitchell Library of Sydney, New South Wales, provided a microfilm of part of the diary of Walter Hutley (an LMS missionary at Urambo in 1881). At Rhodes House, the papers of district officers Barnes and Bagshawe threw some light on the delicate relationship between the mission of Ushirombo and the newly arrived British administration in the nineteen-twenties. Other archival items consulted included papers by Bishop Steere on the Nyamwezi in the UCMA archives, records of the tour of Archbishop Hinsley in 1928 (preserved at the Westminster archdiocesan archives), Burton's field book and some of Speke's unpublished letters at the Royal Geographical society, and records of early naval visits to East Africa in the British Library.

CHAPTER TWO

NYAMWEZI BACKGROUND

The Nyamwezi comprise several scattered groups of chiefdoms. In much of the period to which this dissertation refers, the name Nyamwezi lacked a precise definition. Sixty years ago, the word had derogatory connotations implying unsophisticated rusticity and would be angrily disclaimed by the up-country visitor to the coast.¹ Manua, Grant's herd boy, was taunted by coastal men for 'only being a Mnyamwezi!'² At Zanzibar, Steere observed that the name was looked on as a reproach.³ Oral sources, including those consulted in the nineteenth century, are emphatic that the name originated not among the Nyamwezi themselves, but at the coast.⁴ Etymologically, it means people of the moon and is usually translated people of the west. 'As the coastal people say, the Nyamwezi came from the direction where the new moon shines; where the moon goes, they went after leaving

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1. Fieldnotes: Fr. John Kaholwe, Ibodja, 28.8.74.
 2. Grant, J.A., A Walk across Africa (London 1864), p. 248.
 3. Steere, Bp.E., Collections for a handbook of the Nyamwezi language (London 1885), p.3. See also Kandt, R., Caput Nili, pp. 25-7.
 4. Southon to LMS Urambo 28.3.1880, C.A. 3/1/C.

the coast.⁵ To the coastal people, the land of the new moon suggested a remoteness from the civilized delights of their towns both in geography and culture, and so the name was used, rather disdainfully, to distinguish the porters and traders originating far inland from immediate western neighbours. Perhaps 'people of the far west' would be a more accurate translation. Although the name has nowadays lost its unflattering undertones, it is still used by the Nyamwezi only as a concession to outsiders. In their homeland, they prefer to identify themselves by the group of chiefdoms to which they belong. A man who is a Mnyamwezi at Dar es Salaam will call himself a Mkamba or Msagali at Tabora.

The use of a vague geographical designation for the porters and traders arriving at the coast led to a great variety and imprecision in references to the country of Unyamwezi among nineteenth century writers and visitors. Erhardt included Ujiji in Unyamwezi, Cooley included Uha, but Livingstone restricted it to the single chiefdom of

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5. Velten, C., Grammatik des Kinyamuesi (Göttingen 1801), p.V. Some writers, Livingstone, R., Last Journals, (London 1874) II, p.180; Bösch, Les Banyamwezi, pp.8-9; Southon, History, County and people of Unyamwezi, ms in Southon to LMS Urambo 28.3.80 C.A. 3/1/C; Burton, R.E., Lake Regions of Central Africa JRGs 29 (1859), p.168; Stanley, H.M., How I found Livingstone (London 1872), p. 405., give a variety of alternative and rather far-fetched explanations of the name - that all Nyamwezi were descended from a chief in Burundi entitled Mwezi, that they were called after a crescent shaped ornament worn by some porters etc. I could find no one locally to agree with these interpretations. Most early enquirers show no sign of being aware of the original offensiveness of the name and may have been deliberately misled.

Unyanyembe.⁶ Southon applied it to the empire of Mirambo and specifically excluded Unyanyembe, as did Becker.⁷ Early CMS and White Father sources generally used it as a linguistic term to describe all the people living between Tabora and Lake Victoria. On the other hand, the Swahili traveller Abdullah bin Rashid described the Sumbwa as Nyamwezi although their respective languages are not mutually intelligible.⁸ Not until after the first world war did the name acquire a generally accepted definition and is now taken to mean the members of the predominant language group within the Areas (formerly Districts) of Tabora, Nzega and the eastern half of Kahama. This study is also concerned with the Sumbwa who occupy the western half of Kahama Area. The two peoples share certain characteristics of political institutions, religious ritual and commercial history, although the Nyamwezi have less in common with the Sumbwa than they have with the Sukuma to their north. The appropriateness of including the Sumbwa rather than the Sukuma is based on an accident of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The headquarters of the White Fathers' Vicariate of Unyanyembe, from which the early foundations were made in Unyamwezi, was at Ushirombo

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6. Erhardt, J., 'On the inland sea in Central Africa', PRGS (1855-7), p.9.
 Cooley, W.O. 'The geography of Nyassi' JRGS 15 (1845), pp.185-235.
 Livingstone: Last Journals, ii, pp.180,183,196,209.
 Meyer, H., Das Deutsch Kolonialreich (Leipzig 1909), p.273 includes the Basumbwa, Vinza, Gala, Konongo and Kimbu among the Nyamwezi.
7. Southon to LMS, Urambo, 28.3.80, C.A. 3/1/C.
8. Abdullah bin Rashid, 'Safari yangu' in Velten, C., Safari za Wasuaheli (Göttingen 1901) p.189. Guthrie placed the Sumbwa and Nyamwezi in the same language group: Comparative Bantu (Farnborough 1971) ii, p. 48.

in Usumbwa. The mission history of the two regions is therefore interlocked. Taking advantage of the historical imprecision of the term Unyamwezi, I use it sometimes to mean Unyamwezi proper, sometimes Unyamwezi and Usumbwa together. The sense should be clear from the context.

Unyamwezi is situated on the western plateau of Tanzania which is generally level except for a few ranges of flat-topped hills in the north and west. The altitude is never many hundreds of feet more or less than four thousand above sea level so the temperature is warm but equable, the average monthly temperatures of June and October (the coolest and warmest months) varying only four degrees Celsius. The monotony of the landscape is broken up by inselbergs, rounded masses of granite rock, sometimes two or three hundred feet high, and devoid of soil or vegetation. The soil is characteristically sandy and reddish brown, leached by centuries of tropical rainfall; it contains little humus and a few years' cultivation exhausts it. The average rainfall is thirty inches a year in the east and increases progressively in quantity and reliability towards the west where it averages forty inches. The lower lying land is flooded during the rainy season and vast swamps which appear used to make long range travel impossible for months at a time. Surface water is dispersed by evaporation rather than by natural drainage: rivers are few and their beds dry for half the year. Over the whole of Unyamwezi, miombo (*brachystegia*) woodland provides a light canopy of trees - a feature which distinguishes its scenery from the drier central plateau of Ugogo to the East, and the empty plains of Usukuma to the

north. The Sukuma methodically destroy trees because they offer shelter to birds which might devour their crops of sorghum and millet. During the dry season, from May to November, there is little surface or sub-surface water available and the grey trunks of the miombo trees stand leafless in the straw-coloured grass. The uninhabited forests are infested by tsetse flies (*Glossina morsitans*) whose primary food supply is the blood of game animals and they make the scattered keeping of cattle impossible.

Already in the nineteenth century, Unyamwezi had acquired a relatively large population: it was probably about a quarter of a million in 1900. This in itself is a fact worthy of remark. Physically, Tanzania is shaped like an irregular saucer; the country's edges are hilly or mountainous areas with plenty of rain and a high level of fertility favouring an agricultural way of life. The drier flat country in the centre is generally very thinly populated, or not populated at all, and then mainly by pastoral peoples. Periodic bouts of starvation accentuated this distribution. However, the Nyamwezi, occupying the western part of the central plateau, are a farming people, who, even if they own cattle, do not customarily look after it themselves, or use it as a major source of food. The large numbers of Nyamwezi require some explanation. They can be linked with a tradition of commercial enterprise and travel which made it possible to buy food after the occasional poor harvest, and in good times to absorb large numbers from the more densely populated areas to the north and west, especially through the intermediate status of domestic slavery. Between two hundred and one

hundred years ago, the Nyamwezi traded over a vast network of routes extending from the north of Uganda to Ubemba in Zambia, and from Lake Tanganyika to the Mrima coast. Their early commerce was in salt and iron goods (they were noted smiths), in tobacco, herds of animals, beads and cowries. But in terms of the wealth and manpower involved, a much more important object of trade was cloth from India which was purchased mainly with ivory and slaves. The Nyamwezi and Sumbwa were the only people from the western interior of East Africa to venture to the coast on a regular basis.⁹ When the first Europeans arrived in Unyamwezi, it was to find a society whose members were seething with ambition for wealth and adventurous travel.

The motive was provided by cloth. Domestically woven cloth (kagonho) was widespread in central Africa and is still produced in a few places today such as the Rukwa valley. Cotton was cultivated all over Unyamwezi.¹⁰ It was heavier, stronger and longer lasting than imported textiles and was the common dress of Nyamwezi trading at the coast at the time of the first Royal Naval visits about 1800. But Indian calico, and later merikani from the United States, were to prove more popular. Kagonho had certain defects.

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9. In 1877, the French Consul Ferry reported the arrival at the coast of a caravan of 'Manyama' who had made a fifteen months' journey to Zanzibar. Their country of origin was unknown, their language and appearance being totally unfamiliar to the people of Bagamoyo. Their weapons, axes and very long spears, were quite unlike any made in East Africa. But such an arrival was arare, perhaps unique, event. Ferry to MAE (Paris), Zanzibar, 13.12.77. CCG/2/3.
10. Speke, J., What led to the discovery of the source of the Nile (London 1864), p. 87; Grant, A walk across Africa, p. 47; Becker, J., La vie en Afrique (Brussels 1887) II, p. 106; Stanley, How I found Livingstone, p. 526.

The texture was loose, admitting wind and rain. It was rough and unpleasant when dry, heavy and comfortless when wet. Raw cotton was expensive¹¹ and the crafts of spinning and weaving seem to have been dying out before the colonial period, in trading centres like Tabora and Ushirombo earlier than elsewhere.¹² The production was laborious: ten days work produced only enough yarn for one standard-sized cloth (two yards by one and a half).¹³ Even before the wearing of imported cloth became general, its use was less common than barkcloth or skins. In Uganda, to the south of Tabora, local cloth was sufficiently rare for it to be the emblem of a chief.¹⁴ On the other hand, imported cloth was so attractive it drew many thousands of porters to make a journey of well over a thousand miles on foot. It represented a universally acceptable form of currency and was a convenient form of storable wealth. It was a means of paying wages and gave social recognition to work values. It bestowed elegance, modesty and prestige on the wearer. A store of cotton cloth was an invaluable political asset to a chief. A wealthy chief distributed it to his followers as an expression of esteem and secured loyalty and political support in return. The early missionaries were to find that at times when trade was slack, the envious eyes of the chief were to be turned on

11. Burton, 'The Lake Regions of Central Africa', p. 204.

12. Capus, A., Essai sur les mœurs et coutumes des Basumbwa, p. 90 ms. MG 803.11.

13. Leonard to Bringuier, Tabora, 14.10.15. TBA 310.001.

14. Tabora D.B. NAT.

their store of cotton cloth. 'Cloth smelt good' said one informant.¹⁵

The only source of industrially manufactured cloth was the Mrima coast where quite small quantities were paid for by goods from inland. Hamilton was told that in Mozambique a length of cloth was measured against a similar length of ivory for payment.¹⁶ Not many years later, two dollars worth of handkerchiefs could be sufficient to purchase a slave or a tusk weighing sixty or eighty pounds.¹⁷ Even when Speke and Burton visited Unyamwezi, the wages paid to their porters were only nine or ten cloths, worth as many shillings.¹⁸ Before 1800, inland traders had little to offer which was not available nearer the coast.¹⁹ Only the high valuation attached to cloth made long distance trade for small amounts a worthwhile occupation.

There appear to have been two distinct but overlapping phases of Nyamwezi trade with the coast and they had quite different effects on the demography and political

15. Field notes: Joseph Nsubi, Ndala, 26.4.74.
16. Hamilton, A., A new account of the East Indies I, (Edinburgh 1727), p.9.
17. Captain Tomkinson in B.L.Add. ms. 19, 419. Two dollars were worth a little more than eight shillings. See also Prior, J., Voyage along the east coast of Africa in the Nisus Frigate (1812) (London 1817) p.43.
18. Speke, J., 'On the commerce of Central Africa', Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society (1860), pp. 138-145.
19. Herds of elephants were still to be found at Sofala in 1800. B.L.Add.ms. 19, 419. See also Salt, H., Voyage to Abyssinia 1809-10, p. 26.

structures. The picture of thousands of Nyamwezi turning up at the coast annually for trade and employment as porters is a vivid one depicted by numerous nineteenth century travellers. However, such large scale trade seems to have been still a recent development and quite a different pattern of commercial organisation may have originated long before dates usually ascribed to the beginnings of Nyamwezi trade. From oral sources, Roberts dates the first Nyamwezi contact with the coast to about 1800; Shorter as late as the first quarter of the nineteenth century.²⁰ In view of the extensive trade in salt and metal goods which, in terms of usefulness and value, was probably more important than the cloth trade at the beginning of the nineteenth century, there is no obvious reason why the small beginnings of coastal trade should have been remembered. Traditional Nyamwezi stories of the origin of coastal trade do little more than string together a few random and popularly known facts to represent a picture which existed just before living memory. Thus one story associates the origins of the coast trade with Bushiri, a leader of the rising against the German East Africa Company.²¹ Even a century ago, enquiries failed to discover very specific information. Speke said the Nyamwezi had been going to the coast 'as far back as we can trace'.²² Reichard of the

20. Roberts, A.D., 'The Nyamwezi' in Roberts, A.D. (ed). Tanzania before 1900 (Nairobi 1968), pp. 125-6.
Shorter, A., Chiefship in Western Tanzania (Oxford 1972), pp. 188 and 233.

21. Roberts, 'The Nyamwezi', p. 126.

22. Speke, J., Journal of Discovery of the Sources of the Nile (London 1863), p. 346.

German A.I.A. found the Nyamwezi had been going to the coast 'at least a hundred years ago'.²³ The LMS missionary, Hutley, made 'very many enquiries' on the subject of the arrival of the Arabs in Unyamwezi and decided that they arrived about 1760.²⁴ Coastal and Unyamwezi sources are agreed that the Nyamwezi reached the coast before the Arabs travelled inland.²⁵ The characteristics of all these investigations is their inconclusiveness and they leave the date of origin an open question.

The earliest explicit evidence of Nyamwezi at the coast comes from a series of British naval expeditions to Zanzibar. The first was commanded by Blankett in 1799. He and succeeding visitors left a picture of flourishing long distance commerce, inland traders from the ivory-rich plains of Unyamwezi arriving at the Mrima coast after a

23. Reichard, P., Deutsch Ost Afrika (Leipzig 1898), p. 346.
24. Hutley, Mohammedanism in Central Africa ms. written at Urambo in 1881. LMS C.A. 4/2/D. Burton dated the foundation of Tabora at about 1850 (Lake Regions i. p.325 and ii, p.223) but the Arabs had already been operating in other parts of Unyamwezi for many years.
25. 'Habari ya zamani za Daressalama', pp. 288-292 and 'Hiki kisa cha zamani za Bagamoyo', pp. 300-303, both in Velten, C., Prosa und Poesie der Suaheli, (Berlin 1907); Field notes: Mwami Kizozo 19.7.74.

three months journey.²⁶ Brown and Sheriff, concerned primarily with the development of trade at Bagamoyo and Zanzibar, have linked the development of Nyamwezi activity at the coast with growing French and Indian commerce from about 1700 onwards.²⁷ But there are a few indications that the trade may be even earlier. The Sagali chiefdoms in Unyamwezi were founded or seized by families from regions near the coast probably in the first half of the eighteenth century. Stories of the Sagali founders suggest they maintained continual contact with their birthplace which was only about a hundred miles from the coast.²⁸ In 1811, Hardy

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26. Bissell, A., A voyage from England to the Red Seas of Commodore John Blankett 1798-9 (London 1806), pp. 34-7.
Smee, T., 'Observations during a voyage of research on the East Coast of Africa in 1811' in Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society 1841, pp. 23-61.
'Journal' in Naval Chronicle (1814) pp. 73-6. Report of Captain Smee to the Governor of Bombay, B.L. Add. ms. 8958.
Hardy, H., Report touching on the East Coast of Africa 1811, B.L. Add. ms. 8958. Report with accompaniments, India House Archives, Marine Records 586. For this document, I have relied on the transcription by Walter Brown in his thesis pp. 108-110 (see next footnote).
Prior, J., Journey along the East Africa coast 1812, (London 1819), Voyage in the Indian Seas 1810-11 (London 1820).
Smyth, W.H., The Life and services of Captain Beaver, (London 1829) (This includes extracts from the diary of his visit in 1812).
Salt, A voyage to Abyssinia 1809-10 (London 1814).
Boteler, T., Narrative of a voyage of discovery to Africa and Arabia 1821-6 (London 1835).
Owen, W.F., Narrative of a voyage to explore the coast of Arabia, Africa and Madagascar, i & ii, (London 1833).
27. Brown, W., A pre-colonial history of Bagamoyo, U. of Boston, Ph.D. thesis 1971.
Sheriff, A., The rise of a commercial empire, U. of London Ph.D. thesis 1971.
28. Field notes: Mlisho Magaka Mhugé; M. Kasundwa Mhugé.

recorded the recollections of two very old men whose grand-fathers had traded with 'the other side of Africa'.²⁹ If this is a reliable indication of trade as far west as Lake Tanganyika, it was already being carried on early in the eighteenth century. The majority of maps before 1800 throw no light on inland Tanzania north of Kilwa. Generally they show a range of hills about a hundred miles inland parallel with the coast where the edge of the escarpment runs.³⁰ To the west some geographers filled up the empty space with a supposedly vast kingdom of Monemugi.³¹ The first appearance of Monemugi was as a small chiefdom on the Zambezi.³² It was mistakenly linked with the west coast trade by Pigafetta³³ and then expanded into a mythical kingdom comparable to the

29. Hardy, Report with accompaniments qb.
Brown, A pre-colonial history of Bagamoyo, p. 115.
30. For a list of maps consulted, see Bibliography, maps. Also, the maps illustrating the following works: Barbosa, D., Description of the coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the beginning of the 16th century (London 1866); Ca da Mosta, L., Cum ego Ludovicus Cadamustus (- 1508); Dapper, O., Description de l'Afrique (Amsterdam 1686); Lopez, O., A report of the Kingdom of the Congo (London 1597); Malte-Brun, V., Précis de la Géographie Universelle v. (Paris 1921); Moore J.H., Collection of voyages ii (London 1780); Africanus, J.L., A geographical history of Africa (London 1600); Vossius, I., De Nili et aliorum fluviorum origine (The Hague 1666).
31. Cooley, W.D., Memoir on the lake regions of East Africa (London 1864); Major R.H., 'Pigafetta's maps', FRGS 11 (1866-7), pp. 246-51.
32. Africanus, A geographical history, p³¹.
33. Lopez, A report of the kingdom of the Congo, pp. 202-3.

El Dorado of South America or the Timbuctoo of West African tales.³⁴ However, three maps dating from the seventeenth and early eighteenth century clearly depict Lake Victoria.³⁵ Unlike many other maps in which an indeterminate series of lakes are shown as sources of the Nile (following Ptolemy), this lake is quite independent of the Nile basin. It is in the right place (only two degrees too far south), it is the right shape and has islands on it. On the west bank the land is said to be 'very fertile' and the lake is said by Visscher to have been 'placed according to the report of the Negroes'. It can only be Lake Victoria and is explicable only if some form of contact with the coast had been established. It is reasonable to suppose that the direct trade between the far interior and the coast may be much earlier than either the unreliable chronology of oral history or the chance observations of naval visitors suggest. There is no question, however, of vast Nyamwezi caravans setting off to the coast in the eighteenth century and earlier. The early organisation, routes and market areas were quite different from the pattern which developed in the nineteenth century with its large volume and mass participation.

Bissell and other naval visitors to the coast around 1800 described Nyamwezi trade as being carried on by

34. Dapper, Description de l'Afrique, pp. 394-5.

35. Map of Visscher, Amsterdam c. 1705 in Klemp, E., Africa on maps dating from the 12th to the 18th centuries (Leipzig 1968); G. Delisle's Carta o Congo (1708) in Texeira Da Moto, A., A cartografia antiga da Africa central (Lorenzo Marques 1964) Vossius, De Nili, pp. 64-6.

small groups of professional traders who transported their goods on donkeys and took their families with them to the coast. They built houses there and sometimes stayed a year or two before returning inland. These small groups of professional trading families were still operating in the time of Krapf and Burton but there is no later trace of them.³⁶ They had a broad choice of routes reaching from the coast as far north as Pangani and even Usambara.³⁷ Evidence from Ukerewe and Buganda suggests that they had already begun to re-export coastal goods from Uyamwezi before the end of the eighteenth century.³⁸ The Nyamwezi monopoly of coastal trade with the lacustrine kingdoms was made easier by the southward advance of the Masai in the latter half of the eighteenth century which cut off direct routes between Lake Victoria and the coast.³⁹ The subsequent drive northwards by the Sangu⁴⁰ was to leave only a restricted channel from Uyamwezi to the

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36. Krapf, J.L., Travels and researches and missionary labours (London 1860), pp. 361 & 420-22.
 Burton, R.F., The Lake regions of Central Africa (London 1860) ii, p. 30.
37. Rebmann, J., 'Narrative of a journey to Madjama', C.M.I. 1 (1850), pp. 310 & 330.
 Speke: What led to the discovery, pp. 350-1.
38. Hartwig, G.W., 'Long distance trade and the evolution of sorcery' AHS (1971), p. 510.
 Tosh, J., 'The northern lacustrine region' in Gray R. and Birmingham, D. (eds) Pre-colonial African trade (London 1970).
39. Speke; Journal of discovery (1906) p. 155.
 Posnansky, M., 'Connections between the lacustrine peoples and the coast' in Chittick, H.N. and Robert, R., (eds) East Africa and the Orient (London 1975), p. 217.
40. Burton, R.F., 'Lake Regions in Central Africa', JRGS 29 (1859), p. 300.

Mrima coast through which all the cloth and, later, guns could travel freely to the growing markets around the lakes. The extension of the ivory trade to the south and west of Lake Tanganyika was a later development. The earliest definite evidence of Nyamwezi activity in the Katanga area was related to the copper trade during the 1830's.⁴¹ When Msiri arrived with a group of Sumbwa ivory hunters towards the middle of the century, they were clearly strangers.⁴² Most of the ivory trade from the Congo was in the hands of the Arabs as far back as records show.

The rising price of ivory in the Zanzibar market in the nineteenth century stimulated rapid expansion and the reorganisation of Nyamwezi commerce.⁴³ The large herds of elephants in Unyamwezi were wiped out during the middle part of the century.⁴⁴ Coastal cloth had once been a rare luxury but by the third quarter of the century it was a popular article generally worn in Unyamwezi and Usukuma.⁴⁵ In Bukumbi

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41. Roberts, A.D., 'Nyamwezi Trade' in Gray and Birmingham, Pre-colonial African trade, p. 56.
 Verbeken, A., and Walraet, M., La première traversée du Katanga en 1906 (Brussels 1938), p. 75.
 Verbeken, A., Contribution à la géographie historique du Katanga et de la région voisine (Brussels 1954).
42. Munongo, A.M., Pages d'histoire Yeke (Lubumbashi 1967), p.11
43. The price of ivory doubled at Zanzibar between 1826 and 1857 and again during the next thirty years. For fuller figures see Bennett, N.R., East African studies (Boston 1963) App.2.
44. Thomson, J., To the Central African lakes and back (London 1881) ii. p.17.
 Dutrieux, P.J., La Question Africaine (Brussels 1880), p.12.
 Lourdal to MM Kipalapala n.d. (end of 1883) M.G.C14-162.
45. Hutley, W., 'Mohammedanism in central Africa' ms.LMS. C.A. 4/2/D.

in 1888, the mission journal recorded the death of an octogenarian mwanangwa (sub-chief) who refused to replace his cowskin with cloth until the end of his life. The first man in the area to wear cloth was still known by the nickname 'Clothed'.⁴⁶ The increase in the supply of ivory as the elephants were shot out, the demand for cloth in increasing quantities, and the longer distances both had to be carried over-taxed the transport resources of the professional traders with their donkeys. There is no record or memory of donkeys ever being used as anything but beasts of burden. There was no reservoir from which the number employed in trade could be increased. (Arab or coastal donkeys were not suitable: although more docile, they were not, like the Nyamwezi variety, immune to tsetse-borne diseases). In an egalitarian non-competitive society like Unyamwezi, the opportunity was there for popular participation in the trade. So another pattern of trade was to emerge. Much larger caravans sometimes numbering two thousand or more, trekked down to the coast and back. Trade became a popular dry season activity for Nyamwezi farmers, leaving shortly before the crops of sorghum were ripe and returning home before the onset of the November rains. Most carried goods to trade on their own account or on that of their family. Others carried goods for a local trader of their district as a form of personal service. The Arabs introduced the concept of contract labour, paying porters a previously agreed wage, but the numbers involved in trade for the Arabs seems always to have been less than independent caravans.

46. Bukumbi Journal, 15.4.88 and 8.7.88. Nyegezi archives.

Trade was to cause at least two series of changes in settlement patterns with extensive social and political consequences in Unyamwezi. During the period of trade expansion in the first half of the nineteenth century, settlement developed along the trade routes in a ribbon-like fashion. At a later stage, an increase of wars and insecurity caused the Nyamwezi to be moved into militarised concentrations, in well defended chiefdoms under powerful chiefs. Secondly, the development of trade with the Congo increased the importance of southern Unyamwezi through which the route to Ujiji passed and there was a drift southwards and eastwards into the rising chiefdom of Unyanyembe.

Speke's description of his first journey from Tabora to Lake Victoria gives the impression that for the first eighteen miles as far as Ulekampori the road passed through unpopulated bush, but henceforth the countryside was populated all the way to Kahama. "Apart from a short stretch of wooded hills just to the north of Tabora", he wrote, "the country was well populated and carried an appreciable cattle population. There was little bush." When he reached the Kahama area, "this district astonished all my retinue. The road was literally thronged with a legion of black humanity."⁴⁷ Speke was following a trade route which linked centres of population along intermediate populated parts. Long before the end of the century, most of this route was tsetse infested bush and another source enables us to date the depopulation. Speke passed close to the site of the later mission of Ukune from

47. Speke J., What led to the discovery of the source of the Nile (1864), p. 280.

which in 1883 Levêsqe went to visit Mirambo. "The countries used to be well peopled and cultivated", he wrote in his diary, "and people could travel from one part to another safely. But for nearly thirty years, the different chiefs have been at war and on all sides, one sees only bush".⁴⁸ A similar sequence of events is discernible to the east of Tabora on the coastal route. The Mgunda Mgali⁴⁹ was being settled in Burton's time. About 1840 the crossing required twelve stages and several *tibikeza* or forced marches of thirty to forty miles. Burton needed only nine days.⁵⁰ Kimbu settlers were moving in from the south under pressure from the Sangu, clearing the bush and opening up waterholes.⁵¹ Needless to say, they were welcomed by the Nyamwezi chiefs in the area. Cameron observed the recent progress in clearing bush.⁵² By the time Becker

48. Levêsqe Journal, 6.12.83. M.G. c14-376.

49. Mgunda Mgali is usually written Mgunda Mkali and translated as fiery field, burning plain, or some synonymous phrase, *mgunda* being the kinyamwezi for shamba or field, and *mkali* the Swahili for fiery or burning. It seemed an appropriate name to coastal travellers in view of the discomforts of the forced marches with little water. In fact, the proper kinyamwezi name is Mgunda Mgali, *mgali* meaning broad. the name really means broad field, or, by analogy, broad stretch of bush.

50. Burton; 'Lake Regions' in JRGS (1859), p. 155.

51. Burton, Lake Regions ii, p.19;
Stanley, How I found Livingstone, p. 257.

52. Cameron, V.L., 'From Bagamoyo to Benguela' PRGS 20 (1875-6), p. 807.

passed twenty-four years after Burton, six stages were sufficient to cross the uninhabited parts.⁵³ Nearer Tabora, Burton passed a string of well populated chiefdoms including Itura, Rubuga and Kigwa. However, in the Unyanyembe succession war between Manwa Sele and Mkasiwa which broke out a year after Burton passed, Itura, the westernmost was raided and destroyed by the Mkasiwa faction, many villages being reduced to ruins.⁵⁴ Manwa Sele retaliated by burning villages around Rubuga which supported his rival and a long tract of country was desolated.⁵⁵ Later, in the wars between Mirambo and Tabora, Rubuga and Itura were on opposing sides and when Levêsque passed in 1884 he found only three villages between Tabora and Itura - all the rest were destroyed.⁵⁶ The war was carried into the Mgunda Mgali where Faure found only one village, Kironda, left standing.⁵⁷ In Eastern Unyamwezi it seems also that initially trade routes attracted settlement, but wars left the settlers with a choice of fleeing to more remote places, or clustering round the strongholds of chiefs, powerful enough to protect them.

There is some evidence to suggest a similar situation in the west of Unyamwezi on the route to Lake Tanganyika. The LMS missionary Thompson was told by Mirambo that a part of

53. Becker; La vie en Afrique ii, pp. 102-4.

54. Speke, Journal of the discovery of the source of the Nile, p.80.

55. Grant, A walk across Africa, p. 54.

56. Levêsque Journal, 16.2.84.M.G. cl4-377.

57. Faure to MM, Tabora, 29.6.82. CT16 (1882), 236.

Urambo once thriving with cattle and people was now tsetse infested bush. Thompson simply refers to it as 'Mirambo's country' in unspecific terms.⁵⁸ Since at the centre of Urambo there was a very considerable concentration of people and cattle he may have been referring to the only part he had passed through a few days before - the road from Tabora where Hore, in the same party, had remarked on several ruined villages.

The wars did not necessarily involve as wholesale and indiscriminate loss of life as the ruined villages and abandoned crops suggested. Cattle were a favourite target of raiding parties in the unsettled third quarter of the century and it made sense to move them to less vulnerable areas. The price of Mirambo's friendship and protection was conscription into his armies and many on the fringes of his empire preferred to migrate beyond his reach.⁶⁰ The Shinyanga District Book refers to the evacuation of the area between Kahama and Shinyanga owing to Mirambo's wars, and there is evidence of migration into the Shinyanga area at this time.⁶¹ A series of wars in Msalala between rival wanangwa caused a flight of people from the south of Kahama to the more easily defensible stronghold of Ngaya.⁶² The

58. Thompson to LMS, Urambo, 4.8.78 C.A. 1/3/D. This passage is wrongly attributed to James Thomson in Gottberg, R., Unyamwesi: Quellensammlung und Geschichte (Berlin 1971) p. 124.
59. Journal of E.C. Hore, 25.7.78. p.54. LMS CA Journals 2/4
60. Field notes: Ntemi Lembeli of Bulungwa.
61. Diary of Emin Pasha, q.b. Ford, J., Role of Trypanomiasis in African Ecology (Oxford 1971), p. 187.
62. See below chapter five.

principal object of a raid was loot in the form of cattle, slaves and stores of ivory. In the military collision of chiefdoms only the strongest chiefs had sufficient authority to control and protect the property rights of his subjects. Nyamwezi chiefs generally preferred to submit peacefully to Mirambo and avoid the alternative of punitive raids. When Mirambo seized part of Tabora in 1871, Stanley was surprised that he did not push home his attack and destroy the surviving Arabs, but his men had captured a large quantity of booty and saw no purpose in continuing to risk their lives fighting. The tactics and conventions of war minimised the loss of human life. Fighting was restricted to the dry season so as not to endanger crops and cause starvation: Mirambo was known to send his men back to their fields when they wanted to make war in November, the beginning of the planting season. (The Ngoni did not observe this convention and were feared all the more).⁶³ Before an attack was made, spies were sent to discover weaknesses in the defences of a potential victim. Then the attack was made usually before dawn and quickly decided. Trickery was preferred to pitched battles. Mirambo is said to have invited chiefs to his capital to make alliances and then to kill them rather than make war.⁶⁴ When guns replaced bows and arrows, they were used primarily to intimidate, being generally fired from the hip without aim being

63. Field notes: G. Mwandamila, Mbogwe.

64. Hauttecoeur to MM., Tabora, 10.7.83. M.G. C20-113.

taken.⁶⁵ Speke reported a war in Ukune which lasted two years and cost each side only three casualties.⁶⁶ After a short war between Kaduma and Mwanza, all the warriors returned 'safe and sound as usual'.⁶⁷ In defeat, women and children were usually taken as slaves. The male warriors might escape: if they were captured they were sometimes killed but might also be ransomed.⁶⁸ The recognised sign of surrender was to wave a bunch of grass: it would hardly have been used if capture meant death.⁶⁹

Strong and well defended chiefdoms exercised a centripetal attraction. A good example is the ikulu of Hwimu at Ngaya which was situated to the north of Kahama in a natural fortress. It is surrounded by a ring of vast inselbergs with a few easily defensible gaps. Situated on a low hill, visually commanding the surround countryside, the rocks are honeycombed with passages which were used as stores. The area of the ikulu - four or five acres - was sufficient to shelter a large number of people and their flocks in an emergency. Hwimu himself was an able soldier who would be better known but for his being overshadowed by Mirambo. During the decade or two before colonial rule, the population of his chiefdom was multiplied by arrivals from the more fertile parts

65. Bukune Diary, 23/4.10.1883 and Becker, La Vie en Afrique ii, p.38. Most of the guns coming from the coast were little better than bits of gaspipe according to O'Neill. They cost only eight shillings at Zanzibar and frequently blew up in their owner's hands. Holding them at waist level minimised the danger of facial injury.

66. Speke; Journal of discovery, p. 114.

67. Nyanza Diary, 12.3.79.M.G.

68. Southon Journal, 8.9.79. LMS C.A. Journals 2/13

69. Bösch; Les Banyamwezi, pp.520-1.

of Msalala to the south. In areas lacking such natural defences, fortifications were constructed. At Kahama, Hwimu's rival Nkandi built stone fortifications at Hongwa, Zongomela and Malungu. The walls were some ten feet high with platforms inside. Below them was a ditch in which the garrison lay to shoot through apertures in the walls. At the centre was the chief's house surrounded by two rings of fireproof tembes (houses with mud roofs). Often a euphorbia hedge and ditch were added: its long thorns contained a milky pith capable of blinding and it was virtually impenetrable. Most of the smaller chiefdoms had outer fortifications built of wood but the large military chiefdoms had much more elaborate defences. The Tusi who guarded Mirambo's herd lived at Ibanza in the frontier area of Ukuna. Their defences consisted of five successive rings - a euphorbia hedge five or six metres thick, a bank of earth with embrasures for shooting, a trench, a wooden pallisade, and a thick wall.⁷⁰

The addition of stone or mud walls was due to the spread of guns. In Burton's time a muzzleloader was rare, 'a chief's heirloom, the most powerful rulers of the Nyamwezi can seldom boast of more than three'.⁷¹ But in 1880, Kirk estimated that thirty thousand firearms a year were coming into Zanzibar.⁷² Mackay reckoned ten thousand a year were reaching Unyanyembe along.⁷³ Storms estimated the number of guns at the disposal of Isike of Unyanyembe as twenty thousand.⁷⁴

70. Levêsqe Journal, 20.11.83. M.G. C14-376

71. Burton, Lake Regions i, p.233 and ii, p.308.

72. Kirk to F.O., Zanzibar, 24.8.80. PRO F.O.84/1375 p.70

73. Mackay to CMS, Uyui, 11.6.80. CA6/O/15/45

74. Becker, La vie en Afrique, ii, p.509.

These are round figures and can, in two instances at least, be no more than wild guesses. But they do show that firearms had become a standard military weapon. The heavily fortified capitals were refuges in times of war but as permanent settlements their usefulness was limited. It was not possible for a single ikulu to permanently confine several thousand people. Many thousand acres of crops would have been needed to provide them with food.⁷⁵ Working at a great distance from shelter was hazardous and the crops would have been afforded inadequate protection against the depredations of game. So the more lightly fortified villages also survived. The resulting settlement pattern is well illustrated by maps of the early missions: a heavily fortified capital at the centre of a cluster of kayas. In times of crisis, the individual kayas were not defended individually unless their inhabitants were surprised and cut off from the ikulu. When Ushirombo was attacked by the Ngoni, six kayas were abandoned and destroyed, seven survived. The capital of Igulwa was strong enough and sufficiently well supplied with food and water to hold out.⁷⁶ The blocs of land occupied by the cluster of villages were cultivated intently, all trees being cut down. Between the chiefdoms stretched abandoned and unpopulated tsetse bush.

75. According to Rounce, an average acreage for a household is five to twelve acres. (Rounce: 'The Banyamwezi at home', Rhodes House Mss. Afr. S424 ff. 297-303). Thus a thousand families would need nearly nine thousand acres - some fourteen square miles. In practice, the varying fertility of the soil would make an even larger area necessary.

76. Field notes: A. Ndega, Mwami Kizozo and others, Ushirombo.

Ford and Kjekshus give rather different pictures of the ecology of Unyamwezi during the nineteenth century.⁷⁷ Ford attributes the expansion of tsetse infested bush which today covers most of Unyamwezi to the apocalyptic visitation of rinderpest during the last decade of the nineteenth century, causing a contraction of pastureland. He suggests depopulation was also caused by a series of plagues and epidemics including locusts, jiggers, smallpox and sleeping sickness. The devastating effects of these epidemics is undeniable and they did contribute to the spread of bush into some inhabited areas in the twentieth century. However, much of his argument that Unyamwezi was mainly free of tsetse fly before the twentieth century depends on the passage from Speke being a typical cross-section of Unyamwezi at that time. Kjekshus favours a very static settlement pattern in the nineteenth century. He doubts the disruption caused by wars and minimises movement which he regards as a profligate waste of resources. He suggests that the larger numbers of cattle in the nineteenth century made it possible to maintain control of vast cleared areas. Like Ford, he relies very much on Speke's descriptions and perhaps underestimates the sheer size of Unyamwezi. When the descriptions of travellers are taken into account, it is clear that tsetse infested bush occupied most of Unyamwezi long before the rinderpest epidemic. 'Were one to ascend by a balloon', wrote Stanley⁷⁸ and scan the whole of Unyamwezi, he would have a view of one great forest broken here and there by

77. Kjekshus, H., Ecology Control and Economic Development (London 1977), pp. 62-4.
 Ford, The role of trypanomiasis in African ecology.

78. Stanley, How I found Livingstone, p.38.

the little clearings round the villages.' Barbot wrote of the different chiefdoms being in little islands separated by great stretches of bush.⁷⁹ Nor had there been less bush in Speke's time. His first companion described the separation of clearings from one another by 'primeval jungle',⁸⁰ and his second companion wrote that for ninety miles north of Tabora 'never once did we lose sight of tree-wooded hills or valleys'.⁸¹ Numerous other visitors could be quoted to the same effect.⁸² About 1920, an old chief told Delon that in his childhood they did not live in villages because there were not yet any wars. Every head of a family had his houses in the middle of his fields.⁸³ Oral informants confirm the movement into military concentrations.⁸⁴ Speke's report of the absence of tsetse is unreliable. Neither he nor Burton were able to recognise the m and only when some specimens were identified by an expert did Burton correct his similar report.⁸⁵ A number of other travellers including Becker and the White Fathers either make

79. Barbot to MM, 11.8.81. MG C14-484 (2)
80. Burton, 'Lake Regions' JRGS (1859), pp. 169-70.
81. Grant, A walk across Africa, p.59.
82. e.g. Cambier, Rapport de la Premiere Expedition (Brussels 1879), p. 78; Jahr bin Zid in Tabora, DB; White Fathers, Seventh caravan journal 24.12.88 CT45/175; Mackay to CMS Uyui 25.7.78 C.A.6 MI 1878/125; Wilson, C.T., 'A journey from Kagei to Tabora and back', FRGS 2 (1880) 784.
83. Delon: 'Quelques notes ethnographiques et historiques sur le Msalala' ms. 1920 at M.G.
84. e.g. Ntemi Lembeli, Bulungwa and Gerardo Mwandamila, Mbogwe.
85. Burton: Lake Regions, JRGS (1859), p.177

no mention of tsetse or denied their existence. It is worth noting, however, that Speke, Burton, Becker and the White Fathers all used donkeys as a means of transport. Tsetse are highly selective in the choice of victim, ignoring humans when a placid animal is available.⁸⁶ (They are so fond of donkeys that at Mpwapwa Baxter dressed his mount in two pairs of trousers to protect it). Moreover, Victorian travellers were grossly overdressed. Caravan instructions at the time recommended serge suits, waist bands, flannel shirts and woollen underwear.⁸⁷ Even then Hannington claimed to have caught "sunstroke in my foot through sock and boot".⁸⁸ Travelling with a large number of lightly clad porters, Europeans must have been an unrewarding target for tsetse. When Ashe introduced a bicycle and rode ahead of his caravan, he was surprised to find how much he was bitten.⁸⁹ One can reasonably conclude that unpopulated tsetse bush was more extensive a century ago than the selection of passages by Ford and Kjekshus suggests, and their hypotheses do not take sufficiently into account changes in the patterns of settlement.

While war was sometimes a direct and immediate cause of resettlement, it was only one factor affecting the pattern of cyclic migration characteristic of the Nyamwezi. From time to time cultivated land is left fallow for a year or two to recover its fertility but even so it is gradually exhausted to a point at which moving to a new site and clearing a piece

86. Ford, Role of Trypanomiasis, p.26.

87. e.g. Dodgshun to LMS Jan 1879 CA 2/1/B; Southon to LMS, 18.12.79. CA 2/3/A.

88. Hannington, Bp.J., Peril and Adventure in Central Africa (London 1886), p. 50.

89. Ashe, R.F., Chronicles of Uganda (London 1894), pp.28-30.

of bush provides, after two or three years of cultivation, a better return on labour.⁹⁰ Migration involves little capital loss. Fruit trees were even less common in the past than now.⁹¹ Houses were built of materials freely available, livestock and household possessions were portable. Nor are family ties to the graves of ancestors strong: with the exception of chiefs, no cult is associated with the graves. If parents are separated, married sons often move elsewhere. While language and culture are similar over a large area, exogamy and the dispersal of relations creates a very scattered family circle which minimised the problems of joining a new kaya. Though some personal knowledge of a newcomer was generally required, even total strangers might be accepted as, for example, when famine drove many Gogo to move to Unyamwezi in 1884.⁹² Apart from exhausted fertility, movement might be the result of drought, disagreement with the mzenga kaya (village headman) or neighbours, perhaps leading to witchcraft accusations. Within a particular kaya or chiefdom, a high degree of conformity was required; emigration was one of the few ways of showing dissent or disagreement with those in authority. The death of a chief or the unpopularity of his successors often caused the rapid dispersal or reduction of a settled area.

90. The Nyamwezi did not use animal manure to improve the soil. When the missionaries used it at Msalala to get a fine crop of rice it was an innovation. R.A.Msalala 1914-5. See also Reichard, D.O.A., p.381. They did use the ashes of the remains of the previous year's crop.

91. Wilson, A., 'A journey from Kagei to Tabora and back' p.619. According to Bösch, there used to be a belief that a man planting a tree would die before it bore fruit.

92. Stokes to CMS, Uyui, 18.12.24. G3 A6 O/1885/28.

Reinforcing the pattern of movement and resettlement was the importation of slaves. In the more prosperous trading areas there was a demand for labour: trading profits could be used to buy slaves whose work on crops would enable their owner to have a more leisurely life. Unyamwezi was an importer of slaves rather than an exporter. All the neighbouring areas provided slaves. Many Sukuma were prisoners in Mirambo's wars; the Sumbwa bought them in Urundi; Mutesa sent them from the borders of Buganda. When there was famine in Unyaturu, the Nyamwezi went to buy children there.⁹³ In one sense, the slave trade represented a migration (though involuntary) of poorer peoples to a flourishing commercial economy. Their lot in Unyamwezi was not particularly harsh. They ate with their masters and might reach positions of responsibility in the chief's service. Often they married free citizens. If women, they were wives of a lower status but their children were accepted as children of the household, equal with their half-brothers and sisters. Their number is difficult to estimate. In the large commercial chiefdoms they constituted a high percentage of the population: a majority in Ushirombo,⁹⁴ perhaps also in Unyanyembe.⁹⁵ Hutley thought they comprised a quarter of the population of Unyamwezi: but the parts of Unyamwezi with which he was familiar were untypically large powerful chiefdoms and his figure is probably exaggerated.⁹⁶ In many parts, there were

93. Schneider, H., The Wahi Wanyaturu (Chicago 1970), p.8.

94. Field notes: A. Ndega, Ushirombo.

95. A German government estimate of 70,000 slaves in Tabora district was thought to be a 'little exaggerated' by van Aken, Tabora R.A. 1921-2.

96. Hutley in The Times, 30 May 1882.

no slaves or very few.⁹⁷ However, the importation into the flourishing trading and military chiefdoms did tend to multiply the effect of redistribution and considerably raise the population of Unyamwezi as a whole.

The links between chief and people were easily ruptured and did not inhibit the movement of a man and his family from the jurisdiction of one chief to another's. The permanent character of a chiefdom flowed from its links with the land. A chiefdom represented the claim of a dynasty to ownership of a defined expanse of land on which others might live and work if they accepted the chief's authority. It was the collective patrimony of the ruling family on which transient commoners might live. The rights of the ruling family culminated in the chief whose link with the land was unique. He owned the land, his ancestors were buried in it. (The burial of commoners was a recent innovation in Unyamwezi in the nineteenth century.)⁹⁸ Sacrifices offered on the graves of his ancestors ensured protection from famine and pestilence. The administration of the country was in the hands of the royal family, each important position being occupied by a mwanangwa (literally, son of the chief) or by a mwizikulu (grandson). Matrilineal succession, traditional in many but not all chiefdoms, was a safeguard of patrilineal power: it ensured a peaceful succession and eliminated the danger to the royal family of a jealous heir removing possible

97. Fieldnotes: Mbikirwa, Ushetu; Masele Matagiri, Mbogwe.

98. Burton, 'Lake Regions', p. 199.
 Broyon-Mirambo, P., 'Description of Unyamwezi', PRGS 22
 1877-8), p. 35.
 Tabora Mission Diary 12.12.02. Capus to MM. 5.5.94. M.G.

pretenders. Initially the new ntemi, usually a young man without children who had grown up outside the court, possibly in another chiefdom, and had little training or knowledge, was received back into the established clan and was for years dependent on the advice and support of his relatives. A chief's daughters often married other chiefs so that each royal family was complexly linked to a network of related dynasties. In the case of a civil war, a chief might seek the support of a neighbouring chief to re-establish himself in power. Mirambo and Isike were able to surround themselves with client chiefs as a result.

The privileges, powers and rights of royal families separated them from common subjects who lacked the capacity for land ownership. Their obligations towards the chiefs were relatively light: a few days work a year on his fields and the payment of a tax at harvest time amounting to about four kilogrammes of sorghum. In peace time, the chief's revenues were supplemented by court fines and a share of the hunters' ivory and meat. Important judicial cases were dealt with by the chief but the wazenga kaya (village headmen) generally preferred to settle cases among themselves to avoid the possibility of fines being lost to the kaya. The chief kept spies and informants to report criticism and critical subjects might suffer the imposition of a month's building or collecting wood. His judicial activity was, however, less an exercise in the assertion of his authority than the conciliation of disputants. The pursuit of an abstract concept of justice and the imposition of deterrent punishments were secondary to the restoration of a working relationship

between two aggrieved parties who had to co-operate daily in the life of the local community. The personal qualities looked for in a candidate to the chiefship were hospitality, generosity and the ability to 'live well' with others. A tactful and amiable candidate was preferred to an aggressive and self-assertive personality. The capricious use of power was restricted by the chief's need to pacify subjects and attract new immigrants who added strength, wealth and prestige to his chiefdom. Traditionally, judicial punishments were moderate: the chief could rarely order capital punishment. (Mirambo and Isike were a law unto themselves in this respect). Apart from the nucleus of personnel attached to and related to the royal family, there was a potentially mobile and fickle population to conciliate so the chief had to exercise his authority without provoking hostility or resentment. One consequence was that the power of a chiefdom waxed and waned according to the ability, policies and popularity of a chief causing an influx or outflow of population. A second consequence was the chief's acute sensitivity to intrusive alien elements which might disturb the tenuous hold he had on his subjects' loyalties.

The chiefship was a ritual as well as a political office. In common with most agricultural peoples of Bantu Africa, the traditional religion derived from strata-like layers of inherited cults. In pre-colonial society, everyone took part in the celebration of the rites without question. A remote God was associated with the symbolism of the universal sun, but most rites were directed to ancestral spirits. Chiefly ancestors provided the localised rain of tropical

thunderstorms, household troubles were referred to departed relatives. Cults were also associated with certain inanimate subjects such as rocks or large trees. Many of the routine activities of life were given a magical or mysterious dimension. The chief gave a ritual permission to his subjects to sow seeds, set fire to the grass, or make beer from the new harvest. Although these were basically practical decisions necessary to co-ordinate communal activity, they were expressed ceremonially. The increase of secular activities such as commerce and war did not reduce ritual: offerings were made to predict the outcome of a siege and every caravan had its diviner to provide guidance and protection against future dangers. The chief's prestige as a magical and symbolic figure was a real exercise of power, not an empty show. In practice it was shared by the bafumu who performed the divinations and gave advice: they are said by some informants to have been more powerful and feared than the chiefs themselves.⁹⁹ It was only in colonial times that a distinction was made between the ntemi's secular and religious power when he was made responsible for the former to a European officer. Once made, the traditional basis of his temporal power was weakened as much of the ritual became an empty symbol of the departed power of his predecessors. However, at the time the first missionaries arrived, chiefs still depended on their ritual role and were well aware that any diminution of it was equally a reduction of their effective political authority.

99. Fieldnotes: Mikaeli Kasundwa and others, Mhuga.

Traditional religion is discussed more fully in a later chapter. It is sufficient at this stage to emphasise its ritual and non-verbalised character, illustrated by an incident involving the LMS missionary Swann. On a hunting trip, Swann was climbing a hill with his gunbearer. At the top of the hill, the gunbearer added a stone to a little pile already there. This was a gesture common among porters passing through any particularly difficult or dangerous stretch of country. Swann asked him the reason for it. The question puzzled his gunbearer at first but he answered eventually, 'Was the sun not hot? Was not the hill steep? I was tired but I had the strength to reach the top. I added the stone to the pile, at the same time saying to myself, that trouble is over and may I reach the top of every hill I climb'.¹⁰⁰ The gunbearer's action was not planned or purposive. The symbolism had no obvious meaning and he was unable to explain any motive which would have prompted Swann to perform it. Yet there was a rationale in it. It was a ritual act marking the end of his climb. The displaced stone was a personal signature making a minute but permanent rearrangement on the hill's surface. On leaving a chiefdom, caravan porters often placed a small stone on a cairn as a sign of successfully completing their passage and as a personal mark to which they might one day return. The gunbearer did not express himself in words: the action conveyed what he had to say. In fact, to have expressed his sentiments in words would have been to take away the whole point of the

100. Swann, A., Fighting the slave hunters in Central Africa (London 1969), p. 70.

ritual. So religious rituals expressed emotions, states of mind, hopes which could not be articulated or expressed verbally. The challenge to Nyamwezi traditional religion was to arise when it was faced with another religion which, while containing ritual, was also verbalised. The spread of literacy and the introduction of a religion with a reasoned theology, were to assault the acceptance of traditional rituals simultaneously.

Before the rationalisation of chiefdoms into units convenient for administration by indirect rule, there were approximately a hundred and fifty chiefdoms in Unyamwezi.¹⁰¹ They were very varied in size and prestige - a quality which depended mainly on seniority. But in political terms, there was a polarisation of wealth and military power around two single chiefdoms, Unyanembe and Urambo, between whom the rivalry was intense. Unyanembe owed its importance to its position on the route to Ujiji and the Congo: it appears to have been still a minor settlement at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Before the development of large scale coastal trade, a major factor in determining settlement was the fertility of soil and the availability of water. It is reasonable to suppose that the north and western parts of Unyamwezi with their more reliable rainfall and richer soil would be more attractive to farmers and more heavily populated than the southern and eastern districts. The earliest maps and descriptions of Unyamwezi based on reports by Nyamwezi traders at the coast list mainly chiefdoms in the

101. Bösch, Les Banyamwezi, p. 493.

north and west.¹⁰² The northern and western chiefdoms have much longer genealogies: at Msalala at least twenty-four successive batemi can be identified.¹⁰³ The Sumbwa can be traced to long past associations with the dynasties of Uha and Uvinza. On the other hand, Unyanyembe probably became a chiefdom about 1800. The Songo chiefdoms along the eastern boundary of Unyamwezi to about the same time: their dynasty originated in Usumbwa and Bösch discerned the linguistic influence of kisumbwa on the kinyamwezi spoken there. There is no comparable sign of influence in the opposite direction. Mpalang'ombe and Ng'ong'omi, remembered in songs as early traders to the coast, came from Usagusi in the west.¹⁰⁴ Yet in the second half of the nineteenth century, Unyanyembe was a well populated area around the Arab commercial centre of Tabora, and the Songo chiefdoms of the East were thriving.

The early Arab traders had been scattered in a number of settlements including Kilila, Msene and Kigandu. They secured protection and political advantage by involving themselves in dynastic disputes. Their access to guns gave their clients a distinct advantage in any local conflict. At Uyowa, Juma ibn Rahab sponsored the claims of Mirambo's grandfather, Mabula,¹⁰⁵ and the alliance was followed by Mabula's sending Kasanda, Mirambo's father to the coast to

102. Cooley, 'Geography of Nyassi', p. 185; Guillain's map in his Voyage à la côte orientale (Paris 1856).

103. Delon, 'Quelques notes ethnographiques et historiques sur Msalala ms. . . M.G.

104. Baumann, O., Durch Massailand (London 1894), p. 234.

105. Tippu Tip: Autobiography (Nairobi 1966), para. 130.

make a treaty of friendship with the Sultan.¹⁰⁶ At Kigandu, the Arabs became involved in a dispute between two claimants but their support was insufficient to tip the balance in favour of their candidate and they were driven out by the ntemi Simbila of Mhugé.¹⁰⁷ The presence of the Arabs appears to have been disruptive wherever they settled, not least because of their slave trading and the harshness with which they treated caravan porters. By about 1870, they had almost all been forced to concentrate at Tabora where their support for Kiyungi, formerly a refugee at Kilila, had helped secure the chiefdom of Unyanyembe for him.¹⁰⁸

The presence of wealthy and prestigious intruders could very easily threaten a chief's authority. Manwa Sele, Kiyungi's predecessor, who had succeeded to Unyanyembe shortly after the visit of Burton and Speke, had felt threatened by the Tusi at the beginning of his reign. The Tusi were the customary herdsmen of Nyamwezi cattle as well as of their own. They maintained their own distinctive dress, housing and language, not usually intermarrying with the Nyamwezi, except with the chiefs. Some ruling families in the north and west of Unyamwezi had Tusi origins: the Tusi had a reputation for wisdom and skill in settling legal squabbles and often occupied positions of power and influence as diviners and officials. Manwa Sele, apparently afraid that Tusi influence might reach a point at which it could success-

106. Notes sur Tabora, ms. M.G.

107. Fieldnotes: M. Kasundwa, Mhugé.

108. The principal oral sources for the history of Unyanyembe are Ngulati Fundikira, Mgabe Kagito of Masimba, Daudi Mpandashalo of Ndonu.

fully challenge his family's right to Unyamembe, killed some of the Tusi and drove others away. 'They stink', he is supposed to have said. He was less successful in trying to tax and control the Arabs though in part this was due to the alienation of important sections of his own family, several of whom he had executed, including the wife of his Fundikira his predecessor and her brother. Kiyungi, who replaced him, is remembered as being unable to protect Nyanyembe porters from harsh treatment in Arab caravans.

Isike was chosen to succeed Kiyungi for his easy going and generous disposition rather than for any pugnacious qualities, being preferred to his more bellicose brother Swetu. Near the beginning of his reign, Isike seems to have been overshadowed by the bullying personality of Kisesa, the Arab wali,¹⁰⁹ but Becker more perceptively described him as 'a Claudius, pretending to be stupid but biding his time'.¹¹⁰ Later, when Kisesa was called to the coast to die in the Sultan's prison, there were rumours that Tippu Tip was to be appointed wali, and Isike confessed to being terrified, even fearing for his own life.¹¹¹ Instead, Tippu Tip returned to the Congo and Isike gradually acquired the initiative over the Arabs, fining them heavily for mistreating porters¹¹² and forbidding them to hire his subjects or organise any caravans at the coast for many

109. Southon to Acting Consul, Urambo, 25.3.82, LMS 4/4/8; Deniaud J. 13.9.78. M.G..

110. Becker: La vie en Afrique n.67.

111. Hauttecoeur to MM. Tb 7.5.83. C20-109.

112. Joubert Journal, 4.3.85. M.G. C10-132.

months at a time.¹¹³ When Mirambo offered to end his wars with Tabora after the death of Kisesa and the Arabs received the overtures favourably, even threatening to ally themselves with him against Isike, it was Isike who kept the hostility with Urambo alive and in the final year of Mirambo's life, he was actively sending help to Kapera of Bukune, then fighting Mirambo.¹¹⁴ Since Tabora was situated at the junction ^{where} ivory and slaves from the Congo and south-eastern Tanzania were funnelled into the pipeline of Nyamwezi contract portorage to the coast. By keeping alive the hostilities with Urambo, Isike forced the Arabs to concentrate their stores at Tabora and remain dependent on his protection and supply of porters. The Arabs and coastal traders were kept firmly isolated in Tabora, surrounded by large numbers of Congolese slaves, cut off by language, culture and religion from the Nyamwezi.

If the Arabs had an apparent advantage in a more sophisticated credit system provided by the Banyans of Zanzibar, the communal arrangement of the Nyamwezi caravans and the free availability of ivory to far ranging groups of hunters made such credit unnecessary. Burton encountered twice as many Nyamwezi caravans as Arab in his journey from the coast and the same proportion still held good twenty years later if the caravans met and reported by the missionaries are a representative sample. All the same, the Tabora Arabs' need for porters and food for their Congolese ivory drew the centre of gravity of Nyamwezi trade southwards and Mirambo's

113. Kipalapala Journal 3.3.85, 18.5.87.

114. Hauttecoeur to MM, Kipalapala, 2.3.84. C20-121.

attempt to establish control of this trade can be seen as a conservative reaction to restore a previous predominance of northern and western chiefdoms. Among the scattered Nyamwezi chiefdoms, Mirambo created an identifiable sense of embryonic nationalism which was remarked on by several visitors. "The robust subjects of the great Mirambo ... made us feel we were among men who felt they belonged to a great kingdom" wrote Swann.¹¹⁵ When Hore visited Urambo, 'everything pointed ... to certain methods and habits indicating a national and tribal feeling for the common weal,'¹¹⁶ and elsewhere Hore concluded that Mirambo was 'actively engaged in trying to establish a nationality.'¹¹⁷ Only members of the LMS went so far as to use the words 'nation' or 'nationality' but to a number of visitors, Mirambo spoke in terms of Unyamwezi as a whole where other chiefs thought only in terms of their own chiefdom. He spoke to Lourdel of his ambition for peace 'all over Unyamwezi permitting travellers and merchants to travel in complete security'.¹¹⁸ He envisaged an alliance of all the Nyamwezi chiefs against the Arabs¹¹⁹ and he strongly criticised the Arabs' divisive influence to Becker who concluded that Mirambo was 'working for the centralisation of a great empire'.¹²⁰ Mirambo's influence went beyond the areas he openly controlled. Some chiefs apparently friendly to the Arabs, in secret

115. Swann, A., Fighting the slave hunters, p.58.

116. Hore, E.C., Tanganyika - eleven years in Central Africa (London 1892), p. 53.

117. Hore to LMS, Urambo, 4.8.78. C.A. 1/3/D.

118. Lourdel to MM, Bukuni, April 1884.

119. Fieldnotes: D. Mpandashalo, Ndonu.

120. Becker, La Vie en Afrique ii:176.

supported Mirambo and provided him with military supplies.¹²¹ Becker spoke of him as a hero celebrated throughout Central Africa.¹²² His opposition to alien control appears to have won him popularity even in hostile Unyanyembe. A few years after his death but within the lifetime of Isike, Moloney heard a blind singer in Tabora openly singing 'the glories of Mirambo the Deliverer.'¹²³

Shaw, who lived for twelve years at Urambo, attributed Mirambo's support to his opposition of the Arabs. However, Mirambo's origins seem to be associated with opposition to Tusi rather than to Arab power. Tusi families controlled a string of chiefdoms to the north and west of Unyamwezi. Within Mirambo's lifetime, Uyowa (Mirambo's natal chiefdom) had a Muhinda ruler, Muramira - it may have been him whom Mirambo's grandfather overthrew with the help of Tippu Tips grandfather.¹²⁴ Initially Mirambo was on friendly terms with the Arabs in the nearby chiefdoms of Kilila and Msene, trading with them and accepting their presents.¹²⁵ Later, he is said to have invited the Arabs of Kilia to a great feast and killed them all except for two or three, including Kisesa, who escaped.¹²⁶ Tradition blames different incidents for their falling out: that as a porter he was beaten by an Arab

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121. Cameron, V.L. 'From Bagamoyo to Benguela' FRGS 1874-5, p.140; Steere to Kesting, Zanzibar 22.10.73. UMCA/AI/IIIA letters 1865-83 No.97.
122. Becker, La vie en Afrique ii, p.35.
123. Moloney, J.A. With Captain Stairs to Katanga (London 1893), p.79.
124. Tippu Tip, Autobiography, para. 130.
125. Stanley, H., How I found Livingstone, p.293.
126. Moravian Periodical Accounts 8 (Dec.1912), p.428; Fieldnotes: D. Mpandashalo.

and swore revenge¹²⁷ or that one of his wives was seduced by an Arab.¹²⁸ The real reason may have been less personal. Mirambo restricted the price of cattle at Urambo to three dotis of cloth: one third the price at Tabora.¹²⁹ Consequently, Tabora became a more popular market with those who had goods to sell so he took steps to prevent cattle and goods reaching Tabora. Isike complained to Levêsque that Mirambo was trying to monopolise trade and prevent the Sukuma coming to sell their hoes at Tabora. In transporting goods to the coast, Mirambo had a considerable transport advantage over the Arabs. Shaw estimated his costs at ten Maria Theresa dollars or forty two shillings per load¹³⁰ - only about a third or half of that paid at Tabora for contract porters. On the other hand, Mirambo was at a disadvantage in bargaining once his goods arrived at the coast: his wandewa seem to have been easily persuaded to sell their goods at low prices.¹³¹ At a later stage, Mirambo proposed to cut the Arabs and Indians out of the trade altogether by selling directly to the Belgians but this suggestion was turned down by Storms. In the meantime, his only means of establishing a monopoly was by using force to close the routes through Unyamwezi to his competitors. The resulting wars and diplomatic manoeuvring, which were to dominate Unyamwezi during the reigns of Mirambo and Isike, had their constructive aspects. Stokes, who was

127. Wissmann, H., Unter deutscher Flagge quer durch Afrika (Berlin 1890), p. 258.

128. Fieldnotes: G. Mwandamila, Mbogwe.

129. Becker, La vie en Afrique ii, p. 157.

130. Shaw to LMS, Urambo, 8.1.84. C.A. 5/4/A.

131. Southon Journal, 12.8.80; Southon to LMS, Urambo, 17.4.82. C.A. 4/4/B.

generally critical of Mirambo, described his country as 'the most peaceful of Africa'.¹³² Mirambo was much more than a raider, adventurer or warlord as some historians have suggested.¹³³ Apart from his personal qualities and popularity, he personified a latent and implicit need for the unity of Unyamwezi provoked by the presence of Tusi and Arabs. To say his empire was merely ephemeral and personal, disintegrating within a few days of his death, is to miss the point of his policy and success, and to overlook certain underlying changes which had been taking place in Unyamwezi. Mirambo's concept of Nyamwezi unity was based on a common experience of farming, trade and politics within a common culture and language. It channelled a violent tide for enrichment into the construction of a nation, peaceful at the centre, in which trade was prominent and conflicts between chiefdoms were solved by his overall authority. If Mirambo failed to create a system of watwale as agents of a centralised government as his contemporary Nyungu did in Ukimbu; it was because his aims were defensive of the older pre-eminence of northern and western Unyamwezi. He had no wish to destroy old structures but to unite their common interests in the development of trade.

All the same, in attempting to restore the older political and commercial pattern, Mirambo was fighting a losing battle and his plans were on the point of failure even

132. Stokes to CMS Ngunda Mkale, 9.12.82. G3/A6/O/1883/11

133. Ingham, K., History of East Africa (London 1965), pp.64-5.
Smith, A., Introduction to Autobiography of Tippu Tip.

before his death. The initiative for his wars and campaigns had passed out of his hands. In his period of military greatness, he had succeeded in harnessing the aggressive acquisitiveness of the Nyamwezi to found a united and prosperous empire. As Thomson observed, he 'got together all the many scattered tribes who live by plundering all they can'.¹³⁴ He repeatedly told visitors his only ambition was to impose peace everywhere for travellers and merchants.¹³⁵ He complained to Willoughby two years before his death that he had been fighting since he was a little boy and the only fighting he wanted to do was with elephants in the pori.¹³⁶ Lourdel also reported that he was giving up war for lion hunting and was trying to hold back his men.¹³⁷ The arrival of missionaries and European traders was to give him the chance to achieve by diplomatic ends what he had failed to achieve militarily, that is, to divert coastal attention and resources to his own chiefdom. But because he had built up his empire by the leadership of the most violent elements in Unyamwezi, he could not adopt a peaceful policy without losing control of them. As Southon remarked, 'his people have such fighting propensities that only an occasional war will satisfy them'.¹³⁸ Only three months previously, twelve hundred of his subjects had arrived at his ikulu clamouring for war, but Mirambo had

134. Thomson to LMS, Urambo, 4.8.78. C.A. 1/3/0

135. Bukune Diary 9.4.84 in CT23/4(1884), p.262-3.

136. Willoughby to LMS, Urambo, 27.11.82 C.A. 4/5/C

137. Lourdel to MM, Bukumbi, May 1883. CT 20(1883), p.503.

138. Southon to LMS, Urambo, 19.2.80. C.A. 3/1/B.

sent them home to till their fields.¹³⁹ Consequently he put the loyalty of his men to a severe test and the military setbacks he suffered during the last year or two of his reign suggest a diminution of his military strength. He was heavily defeated in Urundi at the mountain of Murole in Uyogoma;¹⁴⁰ an army in Geita was driven off by poisoned arrows, and the war against Kapera was going badly. Symbolically, the enormous tembe with its carved doorway and sixty foot long audience chamber which he had built at Ikonongo was burnt down. His need to call in mercenary help from the Wahumpa, a sub-group of the Masai, suggests that he could no longer rely on tributary chiefs to supply him with sufficient men; many of them had taken advantage of his preoccupation with Kapera to levy hongoes on passing caravans, a practice he had previously been able to prevent. Hutley observed far fewer people at Mirambo's ikulu at Iselemagazi than on a previous visit.¹⁴¹ An embargo on powder supplies imposed at the coast gradually exerted a crippling restriction and he could no longer use thousands of pounds of it in a single campaign.¹⁴² At the time of his death, he still possessed considerable riches; and his skill at diplomatic negotiation and his inspiration as a leader were unimpaired. But the strength of Unyanyembe was being continuously fed by the enormous ivory and slave resources of the Congo.

139. Southon Journal, 10.11.79. C.A. Journals 2/13.

140. v.d. Burgt, P., Dictionnaire francais-kirundi (Bois-le-Duc 1903) art. Histoire.

141. Hutley Diary, 22.7.81. LMS C.A. Journals.

142. Bukune Diary, 9.4.1884. CT 23/4(1884), ff 262-3.

and after Mirambo's death, none of the surviving chiefs of northern Unyamwezi such as Kapera of Ukune or Mtinginya of Ussongo was able to maintain the impetus towards a unified political structure. In the end, it was Isike who resisted colonial conquest most strenuously, appealing to chiefs all over Unyamwezi for help.

The Nyamwezi the missionaries found on their arrival were a people who, far more readily and vigorously than any of their neighbours, had seized the economic opportunities opened up by the growing demand for ivory and slaves at the coast. From the old chiefdoms of the north and west, they expanded south and eastwards along the trade routes, absorbing servile immigrants from fertile and densely populated regions and regrouping into defensible concentrations after the introduction of firearms. Trade became a popular activity in which a large proportion of the men took part and the profits were widely dispersed. In the process, the Nyamwezi became a prosperous and cosmopolitan people whose dealings with others had given them a strong sense of their own common identity across the boundaries of their numerous chiefdoms. Even outside Unyamwezi, they maintained a certain separation, occupying their own quarter in Zanzibar¹⁴³ and making separate camps from Zanzibar porters on caravan routes.¹⁴⁴ They displayed a confidence and self-assurance when dealing with outsiders which caused one experienced observer to remark, 'they think they are above foreigners'.¹⁴⁵ Within Unyamwezi they

143. Burton, Lake Regions i, p.39; See also Leslie, J., Survey of Dar es Salaam (Oxford 1863), pp. 43-4 & 258.

144. Fruen, S.T., The Arab and the African (London 1891), p.180.

145. Mackay to CMS, Uyui, 9.6.80. C/A6/O/15/45.

had learnt to control the potentially disruptive influence of intruders. Tusi pretensions to chiefship had been defeated and now they were restricted to the roles of advising chiefs and keeping cattle. The Arabs were confined to residence in Tabora with their Manyema slaves, free to organise their own lives but dependent on the ntemi for porters and protection, their gifts of cloth and guns being used by Isike to maintain his power over them. A small group of Ngoni in Usumbwa was restricted to professional soldiering in the employ of powerful chiefs. They fought first for Mirambo, later for Kapera, and Hwimu of Msalala: they were excluded from acquiring any authority over their victims as related groups had done elsewhere. All these alien intruders whether cattle herders, merchants or raiders, had initially been a threat to the political order, but were controlled, encapsulated and used to bolster up the power of the stronger chiefs.

The missionaries arrived to find a society in which there were quite clearly defined areas of continuity and change. There were conservative and defensive tendencies as well as enterprise and adaptation. Despite the fluidity of political boundaries, the institution of chiefship itself maintained the continuity of social and political organisation. The expression of traditional relationships in the form of religious ritual added a quality of unquestioning reverence to the concepts they symbolised. Expectations of material wealth went beyond the provisions of subsistence farming and were well established. Growth and development were directed

in a very specific direction, the acquisition of cloth and retainers, and there was a general willingness to expend much energy to secure them. The biggest problems of the missionaries would be to avoid encapsulation by chiefs whose ritual character and growing power their teaching threatened, and to find a common interest with the younger Nyamwezi in an activity more socially constructive than the provision of guns and cloth.

CHAPTER THREEPRE-COLONIAL MISSIONS

In the twelve years before the arrival of the first German troops in Unyamwezi, three different missionary societies established posts there. The Congregational London Missionary Society, the Anglican Church Missionary Society, and the Roman Catholic White Fathers chose sites in three separate chiefdoms and each pursued its aims independently. During that time, none were to make any measurable impact and by 1890, three of their four posts had been closed while the surviving mission had still no baptised adherents. The presence of the missionaries was accepted by the chiefs, but the scope allowed for their activity was narrow. The principal question of this chapter must be to investigate the mismatching of missionary expectations and the chiefs' attempts to encapsulate and use the resources of the missions for their own political ends, leading to frustration of the missionaries in their dealings with the ordinary Nyamwezi.

All three societies were at first more concerned with the peoples living on the banks of the great lakes. Their intention was simply to pass through Unyamwezi until transport problems showed a greater dependence on Nyamwezi control of the routes than they had realised. The CMS first expedition sent in 1877 had been hastily organised in response to Stanley's letter from Buganda to the Daily Telegraph. In it, he extravagantly offered to 'the practical Christian tutor' a princely reception by Mtesa and the mass conversion of two

millions of his subjects living along the shores of the Victoria Nyanza. From Bagamoyo, Shergold Smith, the leader of the expedition, elected to follow the central caravan route as far as Mhalala in western Ugogo. He then struck out directly to Kaduma at the south of the lake skirting the small chiefdoms in the north-east of Unyamwezi. The choice of route displeased his porters who were anxious to return to their homes further west in time for the sowing season. They left him and he had to make an unforeseen safari to Tabora to find replacements.¹ The CMS design of launching a steam boat on Lake Victoria provoked widespread public interest in England and persuaded the Congregational London Missionary Society to send a similar expedition to Lake Tanganyika. Attempting to dispense with porters altogether, Price and his companions set out from the coast carrying several tons of supplies in a fleet of cumbrous ox-carts. When the oxen died from disease and exhaustion, the caravan was divided and reorganised. After struggling on through the wet season, it was faced with the problem of enrolling porters to go inland at a time of the year when the mainstream of the traffic was coastwards. The final section of the caravan under Dodgshun reached Ujiji in March 1878 after spending twenty months on the journey - four times as much as porters normally took.²

The activities of the Protestant missionary societies and projects of King Leopold's Association Internationale Africaine enabled Archbishop Lavigerie of Algiers to hustle

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1. 'Report of Lt. Smith' CM Intelligencer (1877), pp. 370-5.
 2. Journals of Dodgshun, Hore, Thomson, LMS C.A. Journals 1-3.

the Roman Congregation de Propaganda Fide into the hasty assignment of Catholic mission work around the great lakes to his recently formed society of White Fathers.³ Even before the rescript confirming the allocation had been confirmed by the newly elected Pope Leo XIII, a group of volunteers had been chosen and it set off a month later, in March 1878. The White Fathers' caravan left the coast unusually early in the dry season for a caravan going inland, but made use of the regular portorage system and headed towards Unyamwezi. Nevertheless, haste and inexperience led to frustration and delays. On arriving at the eastern borders of Unyamwezi, the kiongozi or caravan leader, making his customary evening address to the assembled porters, said: 'Tomorrow, at Tura, we reach two roads: one goes to Tabora, the other to Uyui. The wazungu wish to take the first; we shall take the second. (Loud cheers). Each of you must throw down the white man's load and follow me'.⁴ Next day the porters took from their loads the wages due to them and went on their way leaving two hundred and fifty bundles of goods piled by the road. Unwittingly, the fathers had employed men who were allies of Mirambo and could not safely enter Unyanyembe. The journey was completed only after successive expenditure over the final stages.

3. Lavigerie, C.M. Mémoire secret sur l'AIA de Bruxelles et l'Évangélisation de l'Afrique Equatoriale, 2.2.1878. M.G. C10-1. Reprinted in Storme, M., Rapports de Pere Planque, de Mgr. Lavigerie et de Mgr. Comboni, (Brussels 1957).

4. Deniaud Journal, 31.8.78. M.G.

Such problems were due to a lack of experience and understanding of the only efficient system of transport available. Only half a dozen Europeans had travelled so far into East Africa from the Zanzibar coast.⁵ Their published accounts had given the misleading impression that there were large numbers of casual porters available at the coast who could be employed to carry vast quantities of goods to virtually any destination in the interior. This was far from being the case. Caravans arriving from Unyamwezi consisted of quite small communal groups of traders originating from a specific chiefdom, sometimes combining into larger groups for safety and to bargain over hongoes.⁶ When they agreed to carry goods for a European, they did not think of themselves as wage-earning employees under his orders. They thought of him and his goods as in their charge and expected to receive gifts rather than wages in return.⁷ When Swann arrived at Lake Tanganyika, his

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5. Namely Burton, Speke, Grant, Stanley, Cameron and Broyon. (Livingstone reached Lake Tanganyika via the southern route).
6. The hongo was a tax for the use of waterholes, protection from thieves, compensation for possible damage and a fee for passage. Coastal and European caravans normally paid it in commodities; the Nyamwezi often paid it in labour which could be onerous. Strictly speaking the Swahili word hongo and its kinyamwezi counterpart ihongo mean bribe and connote an illegal exaction. Because the tariff was not regulated and depended on the casual needs of the chief rather than on the wealth of the caravan, it aroused a good deal of resentment among travellers. One Nyamwezi caravan had to spend two weeks collecting firewood before being allowed passage through a Gogo chiefdom. The unpopularity of such impositions established the term in popular caravan parlance among the Nyamwezi even if it was strictly incorrect. Field notes: Fuloriano Doto, Ndala; Josefu Mihambo, Ngaya.
7. Fieldnotes, Justini Kiluma, Ndala.

porters sang: "We have brought you a child from the white man's land to ride on your back"⁸ and when Wolfendale left Urambo for the coast, his men said, 'they will take me to the coast'.⁹ Such phrases were not simply chance expressions of the writers, they occur often in letters and accounts.¹⁰ Attempts to hire casual porters at the coast could be a time-wasting and frustrating exercise. Unyamwezi was the hub and centre of overland transport system and almost all the porters began and ended their annual safari there. The only guarantee of sufficient porters for the missionary caravans was to contract with chiefs and caravan leaders before their men left home in Unyamwezi. Travellers to the lakes paid off their porters in Unyamwezi and engaged others for the second stage. Caravan organisation made bases in Unyamwezi a necessity and within a few years of their arrival, the missionaries had regular and punctual supplies arriving. Porterage had at first seemed a risky and expensive form of transport: even at the modest payment to the porter of twenty-five shillings a month including posho, it cost more than a shilling a pound to transport goods to Unyamwezi from the coast - a high rate when compared to the cost of rail or shipping. Later, the operations of the German East Africa Company were to destroy the traditional caravan system and reduced all the communally grouped traders to the status of hired porters, but the first

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8. Swann, A.J., Fighting the slave hunters in Central Africa (London 1969), p. 73.
9. Wolfendale to LMS, Urambo, 16.4.92. C.A. 8/5/B.
10. For instance, Becker, J., 'La vie en Afrique (Brussels 1887), pp. 201-2; Thomson 'East Africa as it was and is' p. 43; Hore, E.C., 'Tanganyika - eleven years in Central Africa (London 1892), p. 248.

missionaries were established within the framework of the traditional trading pattern.

The LMS and CMS are sufficiently well known to English speaking historians to require no introduction here. Both were to withdraw from Unyamwezi after a relatively short time. The White Fathers occupy a more conspicuous place in Nyamwezi religious history and some introduction seems called for. The Society of Missionaries of Africa, or White Fathers as they came to be known from the white Arab habit they adopted, was founded in North Africa in 1868 by Charles Lavigerie, Archbishop of Algiers. At the age of forty-two, Lavigerie had already had a varied career as lecturer in Church history at the Sorbonne, organiser of relief work in Syria after the Druse massacres, Auditor of the Rota in the Vatican, and Bishop of Nancy. In 1867 he was appointed Archbishop of Algiers with the agreement of the French government in the expectation that, like his predecessors, he would confine his interest to the French and Maltese settlers. But Lavigerie saw Algiers as 'only the threshold of a vast continent of more than two hundred million inhabitants.'¹¹ In some alarm at the implications, Napoleon III offered him one of the principal dioceses in France but Lavigerie turned it down and spent the rest of his life in North Africa. A year later, in furtherance of his plans, he established a missionary society of priests bound by an oath to a common life. It was not a religious order although the way of life adopted was semi-monastic, a

11. qb Bouniol, J., The White Fathers and their missions (London 1929), p. 24.

minimum of three members forming a community and sharing a rule of life and common work with certain times reserved for prayer. Lavigerie was a rigidly authoritarian figure as only a nineteenth century French Archbishop could be and the society he founded was highly centralised. Candidates of whatever nationality received seven years training in North Africa before selection for ordination and posting and most set off for Central Africa without any expectation of ever returning to Europe again. Whereas the main function of the home committees of the CMS and LMS was to provide material support for their members in Africa, leaving the operation of the mission to local initiative and preferences, Lavigerie retained a strong guiding hand on his society. He not only drew up detailed instructions on methods of missionary work for the first caravans to central Africa, but required each member to copy them out in his own hand and reread them monthly.¹² They were based on his wide reading of the evangelisation of Europe and the Near East in the early Christian centuries, the experiences of more recent missionary enterprises in Africa and South America, and reports of travellers in Central Africa. He concerned himself with details on the siting and building of houses, the planting of crops, the collection of scientific data, and the recording of local history and customs in the mission diaries. He attached great importance to a knowledge of local languages, expecting his men to use only the local language among themselves within six months of arrival at a definitive foundation.

12. Lavigerie, Cardinal C.M., Instructions aux missionnaires (Algiers 1927); Lavigerie, Cardinal C.M., Ecrits d'Afrique (Paris 1966).

This proved over-optimistic. Nevertheless, drafts of African dictionaries, grammars and texts were soon being sent back to Algeria for printing. Lavigerie was more concerned with entering and changing African society than in following the accepted method of trying to incorporate indigenous Christians into a European way of life in village communes. He proposed that the White Fathers should establish a rapport with strong rulers such as Mirambo or Rumanika, and under their protection, turn them into Christian kingdoms. The first Christians were to be redeemed slave children who would be educated in science, hygiene and medicine and in crafts useful to their people. They were to be housed and fed in the customary local fashion and not divorced from their background by the provision of European comforts. 'I insist that the material education of the young Africans be essentially African', he wrote ... 'otherwise they will be no more use than a European'.¹³ He anticipated the training of African priests, catechists and teachers from the beginning as the principal agents of spreading Christianity. For adult proselytes from the background of local society, he revived the catechuminate system of the early Church in a modified form to provide a long period of training and instruction before baptism. Potential converts were to be postulants for a year, then, if they appeared serious in their intentions of becoming a Christian, they would be admitted as catechumens and receive regular teaching for three further years before being baptised. Such a long period was unusual at the time

13. Lavigerie, 'Nouvelles Instructions 1879' in Instructions aux missionnaires, p. 104.

and recognised the problems of reconciling within traditional society established customs and Christian practice. Lavigerie's instructions were drawn up remote from central Africa and although adapted in details by missionaries on the spot, they were to determine the principal policies and methods of the early White Fathers.

The first mission in Unyamwezi was set up by the CMS at Uyui of which the capital, Isenegezya, was a collection of mud-built tembes, closely packed together and strongly fortified by a ditch and stockade. Lying on the eastern side of Unyamwezi, twenty miles from Tabora on the principal road to Lake Victoria, it was a thriving commercial centre with a population of four to five thousand people, sufficient to guarantee a supply of porters.¹⁴ Wilson, reaching it en route to Tabora from Kagei for supplies, found he could obtain there all the trading goods he needed.¹⁵ Its climate was reputedly healthier than Unyanyembe's where the strain of malaria was particularly virulent. Once it had been a much more extensive chiefdom, but had lost the site of Tabora about forty years previously and had since been overshadowed by the rising power of Unyanyembe.¹⁶ By all accounts, the

14. Mackay to CMS, Uyui, 25.5.78. C/A6/1878/125.

15. Wilson, C.T., 'Journey from Kagei to Tabora and back' PRGS 2 (1880), p. 620.

16. Nyanyembe sources say it was a gift for helping the Ntemi Mbiti overcome internal rivalry, but informants at Uyui insist it was outright conquest. Fieldnotes: Mlolwa Mwanakapigawashi, Isenegezya, 8.5.74; Hamisi Maganga, Ndala 14.4.74; Caroli Maywili, Ndala, 1.5.74.

Ntemi, Majembe Igana, was a man of peaceful temperament who appreciated the traditional chiefly comforts of an abundance of beer and a multiplicity of wives.¹⁷ It was said that he had acquired his name (which means Hundred Hoes) from his response to an embassy sent to him by Mirambo offering him the choice between gifts of a hundred hoes and a hundred bullets as symbols of peace and war. Majembe had no ambition for military glory and was content to accept the authority of Mirambo.¹⁸ One result was the freedom of this part of Unyamwezi from the wars and conflicts which were causing havoc in some areas.

Wilson appears to have been prompted to choose Uyui for a mission by an Arab living there at the time, Said ibn Salim, once Burton's guide, later wali of Tabora and driven from that post in January 1877.¹⁹ He was then about sixty years old and had only two years to live but he was clearly angling for European support in his attempt to regain his lost governorship. Burton has left an unflattering picture of him²⁰ but he clearly impressed the missionaries as 'a very respectable looking old gentleman'.²¹ He expressed a wish

17. Chiefs did not customarily drink water.
18. Copplestone to CMS, Uyui, 27.10.80 G3/A6/O/1. Modern oral sources have a different explanation of the name. Majembe's father was unable to pay his mother's bride price in the usual currency of cattle and paid in hoes instead. Fieldnotes: Mlolwa and others, Isenegezya, 8.5.74.
19. Said ibn Salim to Kirk, CMS C/A6/O/1/26. Wilson to CMS, Uyui, 18.2.78. C/A6/N/1878/67.
20. Burton, R.F. Zanzibar and two months in East Africa', Blackwood's Magazine, 83 (1858) p. 211.
21. Hore's Journal, 20.7.78. LMS. CA Journals 2.

to join the Royal Navy to Smith, himself a former naval lieutenant.²² Majembe showed himself little interest in a mission at this stage although Stokes reported the request for a mission as coming from both of them.^{22a} It was the urbane Arab who did the talking and the chief was not very communicative. As a result of Said's negotiations, Copplestone began a permanent foundation and in November 1879 it was officially approved by the committee.²³ This approval was given only grudgingly and this was to be a source of continual weakness. Although well supported financially, the mission was undermanned: for most of its existence there was only one man in residence.^{23a}

Among the members of the CMS working in Buganda and Unyamwezi, a deep division of opinion existed between those who, like Mackay, believed that a training in skills and crafts and a high level of education should be imparted with Christianity²⁴ and those who thought the work of a missionary was, in Hooper's phrase, 'of words only'.²⁵ The second school of thought predominated in the operation of Uyui mission. Successive residents regarded themselves as there

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22. Smith to CMS, Unyanyembe, 1.1.77. C/A6/M1/1877/22.
- 22a. Stokes to CMS, Uyui, 23.10.78. C/A6/O/16/52.
23. Reports of the Victoria Nyanza sub-committee Minute Book 20.11.79. CMS C/A6/N.
- 23a. Uyui was staffed by Copplestone from June 1879 to December 1882, by Blackburn from September 1882 to December 1885, by Hooper from April 1886 to November 1887. A number of other men stayed for short periods.
24. Mackay, A.M., The Solution of the African problem' CM Intelligencer (1890), pp.40-47 and (1891), pp.673-5.
25. Hooper to CMS, Nasa, 27.2.88. G3/A5/O/1888/191.

to preach the gospel - they were 'not too given with the idea of civilising'.²⁶ There was no medical practice, no gardening or introduction of new crops, no teaching of trades. Local employees were not engaged: instead the household was staffed by strangers brought from the coast. The personnel of the mission was not involved in any of the communal tasks of the chiefdom whether agricultural or social. They did not take part in the threshing of sorghum, house-building, or religious ceremonies to invoke rain. The household language was Swahili although it was little known at Uyui and used only for buying and selling. The missionaries were careful not to intervene in political matters apart from writing a rare letter to Unyanyembe or Urambo at the explicit request of the ntemi:²⁶ nor does any record exist of them being approached to settle disputes or exercise any judicial function. Their correspondence includes no accounts of local religious beliefs or the customary way of life. If this seems an unfortunately negative picture, it was due largely to the problems facing a series of solitary pioneers in surroundings totally unlike the theological colleges they had just left, yet there is also an impression of deliberate isolation by the Bayui.

During the first years of the mission, Majembe was reported to be friendly but indifferent and the exchange of presents between him and Copplestone was rare.²⁷ He displayed

26. Copplestone to CMS, Uyui, 5.7.81. G3/A6/O/1881/54.

27. Copplestone to CMS, Uyui, 21.4.80, C/A6/O/1880/9 and 21.1.81, C/A6/O/1881/31; Copplestone's Journal, March 1881, G3/A6/O/1881/40.

no interest in Copplestone's religious teaching and when Copplestone tried to talk to him about religion, Majembe switched to Kinyamwezi, ending the conversation. On other topics, they found very little to converse about.²⁸ There were a few baptisms, seven in all, in July 1885. All the candidates were members of Blackburn's household who originated elsewhere.²⁹ When he left, so did they, and his successor, Hooper, arriving a few weeks later, engaged a new domestic staff.³⁰ None of the Bayui were ever numbered among the Christians or catechumens.³¹ The missionaries tended to attribute the lack of popular interest to simple indifference,³² to spiritual darkness,³³ and to the strangeness of their teaching.³⁴ 'They never seem to realise', complained Blackburn, 'that the gospel is for them'.³⁵ When Hooper asked one of his domestic staff why the people thought he had

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28. Copplestone to CMS, Uyui, 21.1.81. G3/A6/1881/31
Copplestone Journal 22.3.81. G3/A6/O/1883/40.
29. Stokes to CMS, Uyui, 24.6.85, G3/A6/O/1885/102. Two of Blackburn's boys were Nyamwezi given him by Majembe. Their slave origin suggests they were not Bayui. Proceedings of the CMS (1886), p. 44; Jünker, W., Travels in Central Africa (London 1892), iii p. 557.
30. It included a teacher from Freretown, seven Baganda, three Basoga, three Sukuma, one Msumbwa, three Sudanese. Taylor to CMS, Uyui, 14.12.86, G3/A5/O/1887/53.
31. Bishop Parker to CMS, 17.10.87. G3/A5/O/1887/410.
32. Ashe in CM Intelligencer (1883), p. 754.
33. Copplestone to CMS, Uyui, 25.12.80. G3/A6/O/1881/29.
34. Copplestone Journal, March 1881, G3/A6/O/1881/40;
Litchfield to CMS, Uyui, 1.7.80. C/A6/O/15/10.
35. Blackburn to CMS, Uyui, 21.10.84. G3/A6/O/1885/4.

come, he was told, 'They think you like to build and live here: they have not idea of God'.³⁶

There are reasons for thinking the lack of impact may have been due in part to a deliberate policy by the chief to isolate the mission to a degree which the missionaries did not suspect. Monica Wilson has drawn attention to a number of individual Europeans who settled in various parts of East and Central Africa in the late nineteenth century, married African women and established a following, becoming in effect local chiefs.³⁷ Stokes was later to become a trader and a very influential figure at Ussongo. The chiefs were surely aware of the vulnerability of their traditional institutions to ambitious immigrants. Although the missionaries had, in fact, no ambitions to take over control of the state, Majembe had no means of knowing and was naturally cautious of the unfamiliar and wealthy strangers living a few hundred yards from his capital who rarely presented him with guns or powder and provided only occasional employment for his people. While permitting them full autonomy in their relations with domestic staff imported from outside the chiefdom, Majembe constantly discouraged the local children from attendance at the school. On one occasion he ordered a boy who was coaching Stokes in Kinyamwezi out of the mission property.³⁸ When Copplestone asked him to send boys for schooling, he replied that it was 'too serious a matter and he wished to hear the results of the work of others before he ventured on it himself.'³⁹ On

36. Hooper to CMS, Uyui, 13.5.87. G3/A5/0/1887/283.

37. Wilson, M., The peoples of the Kyassa-Tanganyika corridor (Capetown 1958) p. 59.

38. Copplestone to CMS, Uyui 21.1.81. G3/A6/0/1881/49.

39. Copplestone to CMS, Uyui, 1.4.81. G3/A6/0/1881/50.

another occasion he said he was afraid to send children but of whom or of what he would not say. One suspects the example or instructions of Mirambo in the background. He once offered to sell two boys to the mission but would not let any attend the school from the ikulu.⁴⁰ A few weeks later he seemed to give way after much persuasion but the people would still not let their children go, insisting that the chief would execute them if they did.⁴¹ Most of the men were away on safari to the coast in the dry season and fully occupied cultivating during the time they spent at home. The women could not be approached in the absence of the men without arousing suspicion.⁴² Although Copplestone rashly promised Litchfield fifty pupils if he would come to Uyui, the only pupils were the household boys and they were taught by Moses Willing, a Freretown trained catechist.⁴³

The wealth of the mission must have appeared extraordinary to the Bayui. Copplestone was anxious to impress the local people and spent two years building and furnishing a house of baked bricks which Hooper described as 'very comfortable'.⁴⁴ Six or eight servants were maintained when Becker visited it in January 1881 although no crops were being cultivated or livestock kept.⁴⁵ Goods ordered from the coast included such items as tinned salmon, crystallized fruit and

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40. Blackburn to CMS, Uyui, 3.12.83. G3/A6/O/1884/26.
 41. Blackburn to CMS, Uyui, 1.4.81. G3/A6/O/1884/27.
 42. Blackburn to CMS, Uyui, 16.5.85. G3/A6/O/1885/89.
 43. Stokes to CMS, Uyui, 23.7.81. G3/A6/O/1881/53.
 44. Copplestone to CMS, Uyui 21.1.81. G3/A6/O/1881/31
 Hooper to CMS, Uyui, 18.8.86. G3/A6/O/1886/314.
 45. Becker, J., La vie en Afrique i, p.127 and ii, p.76
 See also Junker: Travels in Central Africa iii, pp.557-8.

pounds of white pepper.⁴⁶ Later, some of the other CMS men were critical of such a standard of living. Hooper believed that the wealth of the mission was a great drawback in its work and thought the missionaries should live on local food, an opinion supported by a general conference of CMS missionaries at Uaambiro under Bishop Parker.⁴⁷ What the people at Uyui thought has not been recorded or remembered, but an Arab remarked to Hooper, 'You white men are kings out here: you have everything.'⁴⁸ At a less affluent post in Uguha, Jones observed: 'Our life is entirely above them and we are surrounded by things entirely beyond their reach. The consequence is that they despair of trying to follow us... They regard us as beings of another order and believe that our religion is to them altogether unsuitable.' When he told them 'God is good, we are his children', they pointed out the things in and around his house and said, 'you are his children indeed'.⁴⁹

For a single household at the capital to maintain a style of life out of character with everyone else in the area was an exceptional situation which conflicted with the broad equality of a non-competitive society. Apart from the special position of the chief, the Nyamwezi did not tolerate extreme inequalities of wealth. Among themselves there were a variety of social mechanisms to ensure the redistribution of surpluses; obligations to make substantial

46. Blackburn to CMS, Uyui, -.9.82. G3/A6/O/1882/66.

47. Hooper to CMS, Uyui, 19.9.86. G3/A6/O/1886/346; Smith 7.11.76 G/A6/O/22/11; Conference minutes, Ussambiro December 1887 G3/A6/O/1888/120.

48. Hooper to CMS, Uyui, 18.8.86. G3/A5/O/1886/314.

49. Jones to LMS, Uguha, 2.12.84. CA 5/5/C.

gifts to the chief, to respond generously towards numerous relatives who asked for favours, and to exercise lavish hospitality towards neighbours. The wealth of alien intruders could not be so easily absorbed. At Tabora, the Arabs were constantly imposed on by the ntemi for gifts and taxes and it was only a matter of time before a similar policy was followed at Uyui. Initially, Majembe appears to have been influenced by Said ibn Salim to welcome, and therefore not impose greatly, on his guests. Copplestone refused to make any larger gifts to Majembe even when requested.⁵⁰ No present was given for the site of the mission, for rent or in return for building materials of which Majembe supplied a great deal. Occasionally Copplestone dispensed a few yards of cloth: the total value came to five pounds in his first two years at Uyui.⁵¹ Majembe's gifts were just as infrequent and the present of a lean sheep was an exceptional event.⁵² However, Majembe died in January 1885 and Mtani who succeeded him made steadily increasing demands for cloth and his insistence took a more aggressive form. Sometimes he turned up at the mission with a body of armed men and made threats of physical violence.⁵³ Mtani's exactions of gifts seemed to the mission a simple exercise of greed and veiled hostility. But Mtani had obviously no idea of the limits of the mission's resources which he treated as an answer to his own problems.

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50. Copplestone Journal, 31.3.81. G3/A6/0/1881/50.
 51. Copplestone to CMS, Uyui, 5.7.81. G3/A6/0/1881/54.
 52. Copplestone Journal, 15.3.81. G3/A6/0/1881/50.
 53. Hooper to CMS, Uyui, 31.5.86. G3/A6/0/1886/242.
 Parker to CMS, Uyui, 19.9.87. G3/A5/0/1887/369.
 Mtani is called Kanoni in the CMS correspondence.

As a new chief, surrounded by the favourites and nominees of his predecessor, he was anxious to build up his own personal following by the distribution of gifts. In the second year of his reign, he was on the point of war with Unyanyembe after sheltering a group of runaway slaves belonging to Swetu, Isike's brother. If the practice of Unyanyembe is anything to go by, the threat of war normally resulted in the chief demanding gifts from Arabs and wealthy subjects as he prepared and armed his forces. Also, circumstances were changing on the commercial scene. Mirambo's power had always been a restraining influence on Majembe but Mtani succeeded a few months after Mirambo's death. The weakening of Mirambo's grip on Usukuma in the previous year had encouraged the chiefs there to reimpose hongoes on passing caravans and a similar reaction may easily have occurred at Uyui.⁵⁴ Elsewhere, CMS missions were known to be generous in their gifts to chiefs: fifteen hundred pounds had been given to Mwanga in three years.⁵⁵ At Msalala, Gordon had paid a heavy fine after being accused of making friends with the Ngoni.⁵⁶ When Mtani heard of it, he demanded a similar one from Hooper.⁵⁷ There was also pressure on Mtani due to changes in trade. During the previous decade, some of the traditional sources of ivory had been exhausted; the widespread introduction of guns in the 1870's had led to the

54 Girault Journal, 2.5.84. M.G.

55. Hooper to CMS, Uyui, 27.2.88. G3/A5/0/1888/191.

56. Bukumbi Mission diary, 17.7.87. IT 37/112-3.

57. Hooper to CMS, Uyui, 20.8.87. G3/A5/0/1887/345.

rapid elimination of elephant herds in Unyamwezi.⁵⁸ Caravans were going further afield, far into the Congo basin, to Bunyoro and northern Uganda in search of ivory. Uyui was less well-placed in this larger market area. The Arabs, who were freer to travel in Unyamwezi after the death of Mirambo, constantly fed suspicions that the missionaries were political agents of European powers and this must have had some effect.⁵⁹ One of Mtani's final demands for cloth was accompanied by the explanation that he wanted it 'to show we are still friends',⁶⁰ reasoning that mystified Hooper but which showed a desire for reassurance: a gift was a sign by the donor of dependence and respect for authority. It proved one of the last straws and in November 1877, the Uyui mission was closed.

No attempt was ever made to reopen it. When the shorter route to Buganda across Masailand was opened up, the CMS lost interest in their Nyamwezi missions. No local memory of the mission appears to have survived; not in the chiefly family, nor among the local experts in Uyui history, nor in the household which occupies the site of the old mission building.⁶¹ The only acceptable contribution from the mission to the chiefdom had been its material possessions. Communication on the religious level was not possible across a cultural divide which neither party had any personal need or ambition to bridge. Nyamwezi society may have had internal

58. Lourdel to MM, Kipalapala, n.d. (end 1883). C14-162.

59. Parker to CMS, Uyui, 17.10.87, G3/A5/O/1887/410.

60. Hooper to CMS, Uyui, 8.6.87. CM Intelligencer (1888)p.87.

61. The burnt bricks which can easily be disinterred there are ascribed to Rashid ibn Ali who was an agent of Stokes and occupied the site after the mission closed.

tensions, but it was still too homogeneous to be influenced by a religion presented in isolation from a familiar social context. The activity of the mission was restricted to its perceived usefulness to the needs of the chief.

At Uyui, Majembe Igana had accepted the CMS mission at the instance of Said ibn Salim apparently without any definite design of his own. The reception of the LMS was more deliberately planned by Mirambo. His war against the Arabs had reached a position of stalemate by 1877. In the previous November, he had made his last attack on Tabora leaving the tembes battle-scarred but intact, and the heads of two hundred of his men on the stockades around the various parts of the town.⁶² Coastal suppliers were refusing him powder and guns, yet as the volume of ivory and slaves from the Congo increased, so too had the ability of Unyanyembe to maintain control over that key stretch of the central trade route where large numbers of porters could be enrolled to carry the ivory onward to the coast and where the slaves could be profitably dispersed. After five dry season campaigns, Mirambo seems to have given up hope of his ever inflicting total defeat on Unyanyembe with its solidly built tembes, its abundance of arms and powder, and large numbers of soldiers. He therefore changed his policy to one of peaceful competition. Mirambo told Stanley in 1876 that he was anxious to make peace with Unyanyembe and compete with the Arabs only on a commercial basis.⁶³ He had the advantage

62. Smith to CMS, Unyanyembe, 1-18.1.77. C/A6/M1/1877/22; Tabora Diary 20.10.1900; Grün to Bazin, Tabora, 17.9.01 in Bulletin de la Société Antiesclavagiste 8 (1901), 229; Fieldnotes: Ngulati Fundikira, Kigwa 17.6.74

63. Stanley, H.M., Through the dark continent (London 1878), p. 493.

of lower cost transport: his porters would work for him more cheaply than for the Arabs and would also carry larger loads at a faster speed.⁶⁴ His attempts to negotiate an agreement with Said ibn Salim, then wali of Tabora, met with a favourable response until a more hostile group led by the two Nassib brothers drove Said out of Unyanyembe and took over the official residence of the wali.⁶⁵ The new wali, Abdullah ibn Nasib, or Kisesa as the Nyamwezi called him, had personal reasons for his enmity towards Mirambo and was unwilling to come to any kind of agreement.⁶⁶ Mirambo therefore turned to the coast where he hoped to come to an understanding with the British Consul Kirk and have Kisesa removed from office.⁶⁷ Kirk had been disenchanted by the farcical expedition sent by Sultan Barghash against Mirambo and had little regard for Kisesa.⁶⁸ He was attracted to the idea of Mirambo exercising his power for the protection of English travellers and missionaries.⁶⁹ When Hore and Thomson led the first LMS caravan to Urambo, Mirambo asked for a resident missionary whom he expected to be a regular and permanent representative of Kirk, and who would also supply

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64. According to Shaw, Mirambo could send goods to the coast for as little as ten dollars (forty-two shillings) for an eighty pound load. Shaw to LMS, Urambo, 8.1.84. CA5/4/A.
65. Mackay to CMS, Uyui, 25.5.78. C/A6/O/16/30.
66. According to one tradition, Kisesa was one of the two survivors of Mirambo's Sicilian Vespers when Mirambo organised the massacre of the Arabs of Kilila. Field-notes: D. Mpandashalo, Mdono.
67. Message dictated by Mirambo in Thomson to Kirk, Urambo, 4.8.78. A copy is in LMS 1/4/D.
68. Kirk to Granville, Zanzibar, 22.9.71, reproduced in Stanley: How I found Livingstone (London 1872), p.702.
69. Hore to LMS, Ujiji, 9.12.78, quoting letter of Kirk to Thomson.

him with guns.⁷⁰ Later, Kirk changed his mind when Cadenhead and Carter, in the employ of King Leopold's elephant expedition to Karema, became involved in a minor war in Upimbwa and were killed by Mirambo's men. He restored his support to the Arabs in view of the 'immense value' of British capital in their hands.⁷¹ By then the LMS were installed at Urambo and continued to be generously treated by Mirambo. To Landeau, he described all Europeans as his children,⁷² that is, not only under his protection but also his subjects and dependants. The dependence of the missionaries on Mirambo was expressed by one informant in strong terms: they were kept by Mirambo 'like his slaves' (kama watumwawake).⁷³ It was in no way inconsistent with this way of thinking that Mirambo often presented Southon with gifts, sending him a share of his booty when he returned from his wars. The activity of Southon, the first resident at Urambo,⁷⁴ contrasts with the style of life at Uyui. Southon signed his name with the qualification M.D. (U.S.A.) but there is some doubt about the awarding institution.⁷⁵ He was a man of versatile skills

70. Thomson Diary in LMS, Willoughby papers.

71. Kirk to Southon, Zanzibar, 12.8.80. PRO FO 84/1575/64.

72. Landeau to MM, Ujiji, 24.4.84. Cll-54.

73. Fieldnotes: D. Mpandashalo, Ndonu.

74. Urambo was staffed by Southon from October 1879 to July 1882, Shaw from October 1882 to September 1895, Brooks from October 1885 to November 1888, Draper from November 1888 to May 1898. No other European missionary was there long enough to learn Swahili or Kinyamwezi. There were two African teachers there but information available is insufficient to establish their length of residence.

75. The awarding institution is not known. He was a warehouse foreman in Brighton before going to the U.S. where he worked as a schoolmaster, journalist, commercial traveller, mercantile clerk and surgeon in the U.S. army. When he returned to England he was still only twenty-one years old.

and in his short career at Urambo he built a house, school and hospital, doing most of the skilled craftsmanship and making the furniture himself. He reared homer pigeons and wild pigs and maintained a large garden, cooking the produce himself. In his hospital, he treated sixteen hundred patients in twelve months, taught in his schoolhouse, surveyed the fauna and plant life of the area in detail, and wrote quite substantial papers on the history and geography of Unyamwezi. In his spare time, he hunted, did a fair amount of language study, and visited the area more extensively than any of his successors. The extent of his medical practice did not please the Directors of the LMS who urged him to discontinue taking in-patients into his hospital. After his death in a hunting accident, medical work was discontinued.

In spite of the social character of much of this feverish activity, the mission remained on the edge of Urambo society. Raiding for slaves and cattle played an important part in the maintenance of Mirambo's authority. During the period of his ascendancy, and in the confused melee of wars that followed his death, the main attraction to successful warriors was a share in conquered wealth. There was an obvious incompatibility between the way of life of a typical, ruga-ruga, or soldier, and the ideals of an LMS missionary. Yet in view of the constant dependence of the mission on Mirambo, there was little to be done or said. A slave woman who sought refuge at Urambo mission in 1880 was handed over to her owners without question.⁷⁶ A couple of weeks later,

76. Wookey Journal, 16.9.80, LMS C.A. Journals 3/24

Wookey was drawing near Ujiji when a woman from an Arab caravan escaped and joined the LMS caravan travelling in the opposite direction towards her homeland. The porters were given instructions to have nothing to do with her and when an Arab came in search of her, she was pointed out to him.⁷⁷ Wright witnessed an Arab beating a slave in chains at Kavala and wrote, 'it was as much as I could do to prevent myself interfering'. Although they were clearly upset by their passive stance in such incidents, expedience was considered the more prudent course. 'Our policy has been and is one of silence and respect for the unwritten laws which exist however we may wish to ignore them; the result is that whilst others are actually at war being shot and eaten next door (a reference to a companion of Stairs in the Congo) we enjoy peace and goodwill of the Arabs, often powerful ones'.⁷⁸ In the middle of 1880, Mirambo received an envoy from Sultan Barghash who told him that the English came at first in small numbers, then in twenties and eventually in hundreds over-running the country and deposing the sovereign. Mirambo's apprehensions were further sharpened by the reminder that the English had caused the slave trade to be forbidden at Zanzibar, for much of his wealth came from slave dealings.⁷⁹ Although Southon later had a long talk with Mirambo, he failed to satisfy him. There was little he could say: only that the British

77. ibid., 29.9.80.

78. Swann to LMS, Niamholo --.5.92. ^{C.A.} 8/5/C

79. Southon to LMS, Urambo, .4.5.80. ^{C.A.} 3/3/D.

had not taken forcible measures against the rulers at the coast and that he did not expect any inland. Southon's protestations that he was a missionary, not a government representative, could hardly counterbalance in Mirambo's mind his frequent and influential contacts with Kirk at Zanzibar. If, on a question of such importance in the creation of the Central African mission, Southon could not openly state a position, he could only stand aside from the wars and raids which had made Urambo a vital and expanding society.

As for the school, Mirambo made frequent promises to send pupils but after a time Southon learnt not to take them too seriously. During the reign of Mpandashalo, Mirambo's brother and successor, there seems to have been no prohibition on the children to attend. Nevertheless, the school still did not function very successfully. Literacy offered no pecuniary advantage and work like portorage entailing physical endurance of a high order had acquired much prestige. The only way pupils could be persuaded to attend the school at that time was by regular payments.⁸⁰ They received training in various trade skills, notably carpentry, and showed no curiosity in literacy or religious instruction. Their numbers gradually fell until a year later only pupils living on the mission were attending.⁸¹ Mrs. Shaw's attempts to run a school for girls was no more successful. After a few weeks, the girls 'took a freak into their heads and never come near

80. Shaw to LMS, Urambo, 10.2.84. C.A. 5/4/A.

81. Shaw to LMS, Urambo, 19/4/1886 C.A. 6/3/C; Brooks to LMS, Urambo, 21.5.86. C.A. 6/3/D and 15.8.87. C.A. 7/2/D.

us now'.⁸² Literacy must have seemed a highly specialist occupation with very restricted usefulness. Other European skills were largely irrelevant to local needs. Mirambo had his own carpenters and smiths who could build, repair guns and make bullets (from iron) to his orders.

It was a frequent practice to tour villages with a group of mission boys who had been taught to sing a Swahili version of Moodey and Sankey's hymns. Brook describes a visit to a chief twelve miles from Urambo with his concertina and his little choir. 'We had some fine singing and talk with the people but the men were busy getting ready for the war. The women were listening but I'm afraid very few of them understood'.⁸³ A great deal of significance was attached by Southon to the observance of the Sabbath and he was delighted one Sunday when Mirambo discarded his old fustian suit for an Arab black coat, white shirt and white turban for the day.⁸⁴ However, hymn singing and Sunday suits were hardly likely to impinge deeply on the established values of a militaristic way of life and Draper reported a common reaction: 'What you say is good and true but our kingdom and ways are good enough for us'.⁸⁵ When Copplestone told Mirambo of the enthusiasm for reading among the Baganda, Mirambo refused to believe the interest was genuine. It may also be that, like Kimweri, he did not want any of his subjects to

82. Shaw to LMS, Urambo, 10.11.90. C.A. 8/2/C.

83. Brooks to LMS, Urambo, 15.8.87 C.A. 7/2/B.

84. Southon Journal, 1.12.79. C.A. Journals 2/13; Southon to LMS, Urambo, 2/12/79. C.A. 2/2/D.

85. Draper to LMS, 30.3.95.C.A. 9/3/8.

develop regular contacts with foreigners.⁸⁶ Years after Mirambo was dead, Shaw learnt that several men had been quietly executed because they were considered too intimate with the missionaries.⁸⁷ Such a fate was unique; some of the first catechumens at Katoke mission near Biharamulo, where Chief Kasusuro was strongly opposed to the mission, disappeared mysteriously.⁸⁸ In retrospect, it may seem that the policy of choosing strong unitary states for the establishment of missions was a mistaken one. Apart from the conflicts of values the missionaries were vulnerable to the wishes of the ruler who might make use of them for diplomatic and prestige purposes without having a reciprocal obligation to facilitate any approach to his subjects.

Missionaries in Matabeleland and Barotseland had similar experiences. Buganda was exceptional in that it was on the eve of radical political change: literacy and European innovation were welcomed by the younger generation of Ganda chiefs as tools for securing a share of the Kabaka's power. Urambo was not on the verge of revolt: Mirambo and his ruga ruga had an identify of interest in victorious wars of conquest. His succession by a less able leader did not put the authority of the chiefship at risk: those wishing to pursue a career of a warrior moved elsewhere to the service of more successful military leaders, such as Kapere of Bukune or Mtinginya of Ussongo. There was another difference between Buganda and Urambo. In Buganda a certain congruence between

86. Feierman, S., 'The Shambaa' in Roberts A.D. (ed) Tanzania before 1900, p.9.

87. Shaw to LMS, Urambo, 27.4.95. C.A. 9/3/8.

88. Betbeder, P., 'The Kingdom of Buzinza' JWH 13 (1971) p.756.

traditional beliefs and Christian doctrine is detectable.⁸⁹ But at Urambo, the religion of the missionaries did not correspond to the beliefs and anxieties of the people. A significant characteristic of the LMS correspondents is their belief in an overruling Providence which it was hoped would intervene to change the hearts of the Nyamwezi and their whole pattern of life to suit the expectations of the missionaries. A theological discussion of nature and grace is beyond the scope of this study, but the relationship of the two envisaged by the men at Urambo may have given rise to a certain lack of adaptability. The traditional belief in Unyamwezi was in a God who was at best disinterested and might even be hostile.⁹⁰ Good and bad fortune were attributed to ancestors, whose cult total strangers had no relevance. Occasionally requests were made to a missionary to act like a mfumu: a certain Manua Seria asked Southon to divine the fate of his son lost in the bush.^{90a} But there was nothing Southon could do to relieve the man's anxiety. When Mirambo required a sacrifice for rain, Southon offered to explain the physical nature and causes of rainfall, but his offer was not taken up. Similarly the practice of medicine was to the missionaries a secular not a religious art, and while their treatments may have contributed indirectly to undermine faith in diviners, the mission had no protection to offer in the wars, no rain-making services, no pretence to guarantee

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89. Waliggo, J., The Catholic Church in the Buddu Province of Euganda (U. of Cambridge Ph.D. thesis 1976).
 Taylor, J.V., Processes of growth in an African Church, (London 1958).
90. Mirambo's interview with Hutley in Hutley Diary, 1.11.81. (Mitchell Library, N.S.W.)
- 90a. Southon J., 11.3.80. LMS. C.A. Journals.

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fertility of family or crops. It would seem from the early experience of the mission of Urambo that within the social context which had given rise to belief in dependence on ancestors, the attempts to offer alternative social services in the form of medical training and education would be unsatisfactory starting points for religious teaching. Only when the structure of government, trade and social ambitions began to change would a point of entry into Nyamwezi society be found.

The experience of the White Fathers at Mirambo's hands was also of being used more deviously than they realised. In 1883 they were instructed by Lavigerie to open a post between Tabora and Lake Victoria.⁹¹ The site they selected initially was at Msalala which was on the main caravan route, healthy, well-populated, and blessed with plenty of cheap food. Levésque and Girault were despatched to secure Mirambo's authorisation but after discussing the matter with him, they decided to settle in territory under his immediate control.^{91a} When they asked for a site, he proposed Ukune as fitting the conditions they required. Of all the territory under his control, only Ukune was suffering invasion: Kapera was taking one village after another there. The mission was established at Sweru's village, close behind Mirambo's front line and when Lourdel arrived it was moved to a slightly more protected site at Iwelyashinga. Over the next few months, more land was lost by Urambo and the post was abandoned. During its twelve months existence, the only

91. Lavigerie to Hauttecoeur, Tunis, 29.8.83, repr. in Lavigerie; Instructions, p. 251.

91a. Levésque Journal, 13.11.83 N.G. C14-376.

teaching had been of the ten Baganda orphans that Lourdel had brought with him.⁹² Mirambo's decision to situate the mission within earshot and sometimes within sight of the fighting, had the purpose of closely identifying the fathers' safety with that of his successful defence of the area. Whether he hoped to get guns and powder from them, or to improve his prospects of getting it at the coast, is immaterial. Yet the fathers were so impressed by his charm and apparent kindness they never suspected they were being manipulated.

In both Uyui and Urambo, the missionaries were drawn into a tightly defined political context and the response controlled by the chiefs. In Unyanyembe the situation was rather different. The first attempts to set up a mission were firmly resisted. When eventually a mission was founded it was to adopt a method of operation that fell within the limitations imposed on it. Nevertheless, the end result was similar to ^{that in} Uyui and Bukune and it was evacuated in frustration when the mission became a pawn in the politics of the kwikuru.

The second White Fathers Caravan in 1879 included a contingent appointed to establish a mission near Tabora. Tura, once an important commercial centre on the eastern frontier of Unyanyembe, was considered but the wars with Mirambo had reduced it to two tembes. In the east of Unyanyembe, Usoke seemed a promising site until the chief tried to frighten them off with stories of a plague of devils which caused houses to collapse on their occupants. There was surely a veiled threat in his prediction that they would certainly make Ganachau (who was to be the mission superior)

92. Lourdel to MM, Ukune, 1.12.84. CT 26/252

their victim. Closer to Tabora, the Arabs appear to have opposed the siting of a mission. It may be that they were alarmed by the predictions of the fathers to the Nyamwezi that they were going to get rid of the Arab slave trade. Burdo said the fathers antagonised the Arabs by talking of establishing a 'Christian kingdom'.⁹³ The term 'Christian kingdom' seems to authenticate his report. Lavigerie had used it when recommending to the fathers the formation of a political connection with an important chief.⁹⁴ But Ganachau's companion died and, discouraged, he set off for Lake Tanganyika, much to the dissatisfaction of Lavigerie.⁹⁵

When Guillet arrived with the third caravan in August 1882, he found the Arabs not at all hostile to the foundation of a mission, but only concerned about possible competition or rivalry to their political influence.⁹⁶ Without any apparent trouble, he was able to buy a house from the AIA agent Dr. van den Heuvel, a big Arab style tembe with two hectares of land on the northern flanks of Kazeh hill. The transaction was made with such smoothness that the contrast with the opposition to Ganachau requires some explanation. Guillet had taken the precaution of bringing a letter of approval from Said Barghash.⁹⁷ The possibility of some kind of rapprochement between Zanzibar and Mirambo had not been lost on the Arabs who were more pliable subjects of the Sultan

93. Burdo, R., Les Belges dans l'Afrique Centrale (Brussels 1886) i, 256.

94. Lavigerie, Instructions, pp. 135-8.

95. Lavigerie to Tanganyika Missionaries, 18.10.80, C10-32.

96. Guillet to MM, Tabora, 12.8.81, C20-59, and 8.10.81, C20-62.

97. Ledoux to M.A.E. (Paris), Zanzibar, 22.12.80. CCC Z. 4b.

during the 1880's than they had been previously. The wali, Abdullah ibn Nassib, had been called to the coast to account for his opposition to the French trader Sergère and this may have induced a more cautious attitude among those Arabs who had remained in Unyanyembe. Another factor was commercial. In 1879 the Arabs had no difficulty in disposing of slaves but in 1881 the renewal of hostilities with Mirambo had reduced the possible market in Unyamwezi and made journeys to the coast more risky. The Arabs hoped to sell slaves to the mission and the wali's brother told Guillet that he would support the idea of a Bagamoyo type orphanage. One last factor was the choice of Tabora town as the site of the mission. It put the mission under Arab surveillance. Isike seems to have been hardly consulted but the site also enabled him to slot the mission into a recognisable category assimilating it into an Arab settlement. From the missionary point of view, Tabora was an unorthodox site. Guillet considered the function of the mission as only a means of providing communication between the great lakes and the coast. His choice pleased neither his superiors in North Africa nor Hauttecoeur who arrived to take over in June 1882. The town of Tabora at that time consisted only of widely scattered tembes of the Arabs each surrounded by a collection of conical grass roofed houses inhabited by their retainers, mostly Islamised Congolese. There were no Nyamwezi living within some three miles.⁹⁸ In February 1883 three fathers and seventeen Baganda catechumens arrived as refugees causing an

98. Hauttecoeur to MM, Tabora, 8.3.83. C20-102.

unhealthy degree of overcrowding. An alternative site was chosen at Kipalapala, six miles away and only two miles from Isike's kwikuru. The move was more than a simple change of location: it was a move into Nyanyembe politics and, it was hoped, the base for direct evangelisation among the Nyamwezi. Isike welcomed the move as a means of strengthening his own hand against the Arabs.⁹⁹ Despite the transfer, the mission was still to remain cocooned and isolated from the surrounding villages.

The first building at Kipalapala was a Nyamwezi tembe of mud-encased posts and a flat roof. Its construction was the work of a few days for the four hundred men, women and children who built it. A year later, work was begun on a more permanent house of mud bricks. The orphans were housed in two buildings seventy metres long, and the fathers in a house a third that size. The vast buildings were not intended to be kept half empty for long. The preliminary means of evangelisation in Unyamwezi was to be indirect in the expectation that the slave trade would continue for a long time to come.¹⁰⁰ The missionaries were not in a position to mount any effective opposition to it in the interior and they were instructed not to try.¹⁰¹ Following Lavigerie's instructions, their policy was to ransom small boys, and educate them in trades, literacy and religion, in the hope and expectation that when they grew up they would spread Christianity 'by a fortunate and inevitable contagion'.¹⁰²

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99. Hauttecoeur to MM, Kipalapala, 19.10.85. C20-144-
 100. Lavigerie to Directeur 1.1.84. MdA. 4 (1884), p.133.
 101. Lavigerie to Livinhac, Carthage 10.2.11 in
 Lavigerie, Instructions, p. 207.
 102. Lavigerie to Directeur 1.1.84. MdA 4 (1884), p.133.

The purchase of slaves from the Arabs was heavily criticised by the British authorities and the Protestant missionary societies on the grounds that it was a direct participation in and encouragement of the slave trade.¹⁰³ Protestant missionaries were forbidden to acquire or redeem slaves by British law although a few isolated cases in Unyamwezi are recorded.¹⁰⁴ The number of orphans as the freed slaves were called, increased gradually and between 1882 and 1889 a hundred and thirty were ransomed, though the number at Kipalapala never exceeded ninety at any one time.¹⁰⁵

The orphans were taught to read and write in Swahili. Three times a week they were instructed in the catechism and were expected to take part in the communal morning and evening prayers. After four years instruction, they were baptised. Discipline appears to have been lenient unless an orphan ran away when he was liable to be beaten. They worked daily in the fields growing a large part of their own food and a variety of fruit trees and experimental crops. Guillet had written of plans to grow cotton and produce cloth but nothing ever came of this scheme. During the dry season, crops of wheat and potatoes were grown which needed special irrigation by hand. Year round agricultural work, however, was not liked by the orphans who cast envious eyes on their more leisured Nyamwezi neighbours.¹⁰⁶ Although sometimes they ran away as they grew older, they tended to return on their own account.

103. Kirk to McKinnon, Seven Dales, 13.12.82. McKinnon Papers Corresp. B23/F91/29. SDAS.

104. Stokes to CMS, Uyui, -.11.80 G3/A6/O/1880/25; Shaw to LMS, Urambo, 29.4.86. C.A. 6/3/C.

105. R.A. 1893 Unyanyembe. M.G.

106. Fr. Waliggo discovered at Rubaga that the orphans complained they had to work harder than slaves (Personal communication). In Unyamwezi, it proved impossible to trace any descendants of the orphans at Kipalapala.

There was no place for isolated individuals in Nyamwezi society and the orphans were nearly all from distant places. The Nyamwezi regarded them as the slaves of the fathers and since it was a serious crime to shelter or keep runaway slaves, they were generally brought back if they did not return on their own.¹⁰⁷ Elsewhere, notably in Buganda, the White Fathers were having second thoughts about the system of orphanages as a means of building up a nucleus of Christian catechists. There they began to place ransomed slaves in families where an upbringing more in keeping with their future way of life was assured.¹⁰⁸ It is probable that if Kipalapala had not been evacuated in 1889, the missionaries there would have learnt the same lesson. The previous year a number of the older orphans had married local girls and were being set up in independent households around the mission. Most of them went north with Girault to Ussamiro the same year and the rest were dispersed when Kipalapala was evacuated. The disturbances obscured the failure of the orphanage to produce catechists and the same policy was to be followed and to fail at Ushiroombo in the next decade. In the meantime, the growing size of the mission, in both numbers and buildings, was to make it a factor on the local political scene.

Isike's relationship with Hauttecoeur was, from the first, cordial. After their first meeting, Hauttecoeur remarked, 'he seems a good chap - il a l'air brave homme.'¹⁰⁹

107. Hauttecoeur to MM, Kipalapala, 10.7.83. C20-112.

108. Lourdel to MM, Rubaga, n.d. MaA 5 (1889) p.540.

109. Hauttecoeur to MM, Tabora, 8.7.82. CT 16 (1882) p.237.

and when Hauttecoeur wanted to move the mission from Tabora, Isike invited him to settle close to his ikulu. Modest gifts were exchanged from time to time, Isike sending sorghum, rice and the occasional cow, and requesting gifts in return, believing that the Europeans were immensely rich with inexhaustible treasures.¹¹⁰ On one occasion he was so delighted with a watch he asked also for a striking clock and Hauttecoeur had hardly arrived back at the mission after presenting it when a messenger arrived from Isike asking for five barrels of gunpowder.¹¹¹ The refusal by Hauttecoeur of some of the requests, for example, to dispose of one of Isike's wives or generals, did not disturb the harmony which existed between them.

The rains of 1884-5 were particularly heavy and many houses in Unyamembe became waterlogged and collapsed. It was decided to rebuild the outer walls at Kipalapala on stone foundations and the work was begun without any thought of the impression which might be given. Soon exaggerated stories began to circulate at the ikulu about the thickness and strength of the new walls: they were said to be fifteen feet thick with bastions at the corners. A certain Mabruki was sent by the ntemi to inspect them and declared the rumours untrue. Nevertheless, during the next three weeks, the Kipalapala Diary gives a picture of complicated and at times confused negotiations, which ended with Hauttecoeur reluctantly paying the sum of a thousand francs (about forty pounds) for

110. Faure to MM, Kipalapala, 4.4.85. MaA 4 (1885),p374.

111. Kipalapala Diary, 5.7.85. TBA.

permission to complete the wall, and Isike boasting that he had begun the whole business himself in order to extort a massive hongo. The result was a sharp deterioration in the good relations between Isike and the mission. Hauttecoeur never forgave Isike for exacting such a heavy tax on a house designed simply for three men and a number of children.

The new ring wall, however, was more substantial than Hauttecoeur was prepared to admit. A drawing of it¹¹² makes the mission look like a military fortress. Years later, a Major Johannes, commander of the German troops in Tabora, used it as target practice for his field guns and found his shells did not pierce the walls. He remarked to a fellow officer: 'This is how we should build our forts.'^{112a} The fear that it might be used at some future date by a force of European soldiers was natural enough. When the first Catholic mission was built at Zanzibar, the British Consul had suspected it to be a front for a French naval base. Military advisers at Isike's court could hardly be expected to be better qualified to judge the purpose of European constructions. Trojan horse tactics were not unknown in Unyamwezi. Kamagi, a mid-nineteenth century chief of Unyambewa persuaded his neighbour Maganga of Karitu to let him build a house in the latter's chiefdom. Having done so, he expanded it into a fortress and later introduced an armed force which drove Maganga out of his chiefdom.¹¹³ At

112. M.G. C20-10 (1).

112a. Notes on Tabora, ms. TBA 355.106.

113. Fieldnotes: M. Kasundwa, Mhuge.

Msalala Gordon had built a fence round the mission and had been obliged by the chief to demolish it.

The suspicions of the military leaders of Unyanyembe were encouraged by Isike's brother Swetu and the Arabs of Kiwahara for their own reasons. Swetu had made a name for himself as a warrior in wars against Nsimba Kabu'ngando of Ukonongo. He had hoped to succeed Kiyungi as ntemi but perhaps his reputation as a cruel and hard man counted against him. He was alleged to have plotted with the French trader Sergere and Kisesa to poison Isike and later tried to get Mirambo's help to supplant him.¹¹⁴ How far Isike trusted him is not clear. He complained to Captain Joubert in a private interview about the intrigues and ambitions of Swetu¹¹⁵ but since his own succession was not recognised by another important branch of the family, he could not afford to kill or alienate his close relations as one of his predecessors Ma^Nwa Sele had made the fatal mistake of doing. After Swetu had failed to secure help for his ambitions from the fathers at Kipalapala he played a leading role in stirring up the suspicions of Isike when the new boma wall was built at Kipalapala.¹¹⁶ In this, he was acting in partnership with the Arabs.

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114. Fieldnotes: Ngulati Fundikira, Kigwa; D, Mpandashalo, Ndono.
Stanley: How I found Livingstone, p. 542.
Levêsqe to MM, Ukune, 9.9.84. C14-46
115. Joubert Journal, 4.3.1885. M.G. C10-132.
116. Fieldnotes: Mgabe Kagito, Masimba.
Hauttecoeur to MM, 6.12.84. CT 26(1885), p. 225.
Hauttecoeur to MM, Kipalapala, 21.8.85. C20-143

In Burton's time, the Omani Arabs had been based at Unyanyembe and the coastal Arabs at Msene. They belonged to two different Moslem sects, the former being members of the Ibadiyya sect, the latter being Sunni. Kwihara, an Arab settlement some three miles from Tabora and near the ikula of the ntemi, had been settled by the Hardhi in 1856;¹¹⁷ they had left the coast hastily after the failure of their opposition to Sultan Majid's succession. At Kwihara, they were later joined by some of the Arabs of Kilila and Msene fleeing from Mirambo. The Arabs of Kwihara had been the hawks when Mirambo had tried to restore peace in the time of wli Said ibn Salim. They were strongly against any European intervention in trade and had killed or driven away a succession of French and German traders. Later, they encouraged Isike in his opposition to von Prince.¹¹⁸ The Tabora Araba were less deeply involved in trade and devoted more of their resources to their extensive plantations. Like Tippu Tip, they preferred a compromise with European encroachment to direct opposition. Some of them, including Saif ibn Saad/^{the}future wali who had the largest plantations, took no part in the battle between Isike and von Prince.¹¹⁹ At the time of Bushiri's rising, letters were sent to Tabora by Bushiri and Sultan Said Khalifa. According to the Kipalapala Diary, Bushiri wanted the Arabs to kill all the Europeans: Khalifa asked Isike and the Arabs to send troops to fight

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117. de Vienne to MAE (Paris), Zanzibar, 20.10.71.CCCZ3.
118. Prince to Govt. of DOA, Tabora, 28.1.93 in Gottberg, A., Unyamwesi, Quellensammlung und Geschichte (Berlin 1971) p. 382.
119. van den Burgt to MM, Msalala, 1.5.93. M.G.
Gerboin to MM, Ushiroambo, 6.2.93. M.G.

against the coastal rising.¹²⁰

Another factor which increased tensions in the ikulu were the activities of German settlers. As early as August 1885, Reichard of the German section of the AIA had appeared in Unyanyembe with a small army of a hundred men and told Isike that his country was now German Territory. He added boorishly that he had the heads of two chiefs in his baggage and was taking them to Europe as curiosities.¹²¹ The following year, Isike was disturbed by the German activities in Usagara close to the central caravan route.¹²² The implication of future German expansion was brought home to him by the German trader Hårders who refused to pay any share of his profit to Isike and constantly threatened the intervention of his government.¹²³ But it was the Arabs' interests which were most seriously threatened at that time. They were as yet no plans by the Society of German Colonisation to occupy or mount a military operation against Unyanyembe. Trade organised by the Nyamwezi does not seem to have been affected in any way. The German policy was to cut the Arabs out of the ivory trade with the help of Isike and for this purpose the son of a former wali of Tabora was sent as the representative of German interests to negotiate an agreement with Isike.¹²⁴ Unease felt by Isike's advisers, however,

120. Kipalapala Diary 2-3:4.89. If the contents of Khalifa's letter are reported accurately, serious doubt would be thrown on the hypothesis (based as it is on circumstantial evidence only) that the Khalifa was secretly supporting the rising. Oliver, R., Missionary Factor (London 1965) p. 108 and Martin, B.G., Muslim Brotherhoods in 19th century Africa (Cambridge 1976), p. 167-8.

121. Hauttecoeur to MM, Kipalapala, 22.8.85, C20-142.

122. Hauttecoeur to MM, Kipalapala, 4.4.86, C20-152.

123. Gleerup, F.J., 'A journey across Tanganyika in 1886' TRR 58/9 (1962), p. 138.

was not easily relieved and increasing pressure in the form of tax demands was put on Kipalapala.

In November 1885, Hauttecoeur was obliged to hand over forty pounds worth of cloth and had no resources left to ransom slaves. Isike also indicated that he would like to receive lesser gifts as well on a regular basis.

'Medicines', he said, 'are not taken in large quantities but a little at a time'.¹²⁵ Subsequently, the Kipalapala Diary recorded almost daily requests for items like sugar, eau-de-cologne, brandy, slippers, coloured cloths and other goods. Altogether between 1881 and 1889, the total value came to over a thousand pounds. This was an extremely heavy burden in relation to the allowance per missionary of twelve hundred francs - fifty pounds - per year.¹²⁵ The demands for gifts were accompanied by a succession of accusations after 1885: charges of setting up a flagstaff, of secretly importing cannons, of providing orphans with guns, of cutting down mizimu trees and building a tunnel two miles long to blow up the ikulu. Although all the charges were investigated by Isike and disproved, a heavy fine was levied on each occasion.

The demands for gifts were not simple financial exactions. According to Livingstone, "to hongo originally meant to make friends and it does so now in all the more central countries."¹²⁶ A gift implied that the donor put an actual and real value on the friendship of the recipient.

124. Zanzibar Journal 31.1.88. M.G.; Brard to MM, Kipalapala, 25.3.88 C20-250.

125. Lavigerie to Guillet, Carthage, 10.4.83. C10-47.

126. Livingstone to Granville, Unyanyembe, 20.2.1872 in British Parlt. Papers, Colonies, Africa, lxvi, p.26.

In March 1889 when negotiations concerning the hongo on a Karema bound caravan dragged on, Isike asked, 'Do you prefer your thirty joras or my friendship?' The offering of a gift might also be an act of subservience and a recognition of authority, as when Mtani asked Hooper for cloth 'to show we are still friends'. Refusal to make presents, on the other hand, was interpreted as a sign of hostility as, for example, Majembe Igana's refusal of the hoes from Mirambo would have been a declaration of war. In a tightly regulated society, like Unyamwezi, gifts were given only if they were due, but they also required a return from the recipient. In April 1888, Isike asked for a gift of twenty-five joras which would 'oblige him to protect' the mission.¹²⁷ Gifts were an index defining friendship and a means of adjusting a relationship to changing external circumstances. Insofar as the gifts represented portable wealth, they provided Isike with the means of satisfying the suspicions of his wanangwa and purchasing their agreement to the continuance of the mission for generosity was the means by which a chief sought the goodwill of his powerful subjects. Isike himself seems to have been convinced of the non-political nature of the mission and did not regard it as a German base or a threat to his own power. His distribution of the gifts to his followers counter-balanced the embarrassment and distrust he risked drawing on himself by protecting the mission.¹²⁸

127. Kipalapala Diary, 3-4.4.88. TBA..

128. Schynse, A., A travers l'Afrique (Paris 1890), p.29.

In spite of a background of growing uneasiness, a new arrival at Kipalapala, Lombard, tried to extend the work of the mission by initiating a touring apostolate in the kayas scattered beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the capital.¹²⁹ The value of Kipalapala for organising caravans was declining with the increased rate of taxes and missionaries destined to Lake Victoria were being diverted away from Unyanyembe. It was not until Hauttecoeur believed that the missionaries and orphans were in physical danger that the evacuation of the mission was decided. It is doubtful if there was any real danger. Bushiri's rising at the coast had cut off all communication with Zanzibar and the sense of isolation from other missions intensified the strain of uncertainty. The only source of disturbing news was Sudi, a leper who lived at the mission and brought back from the market place rumours of plots against the mission. In June 1889, the younger orphans left for Bukumbi, near Lake Victoria, which they reached safely. The second group left at night a few days later, got lost, were refused shelter at Kwihara, and eventually arrived in Tabora surrounded by a jostling and threatening crowd of the Arabs' retainers. Saif ibn Saad reorganised and reequipped the caravan and despatched it to Bukumbi.

Isike has been blamed for causing the collapse of the mission of Kipalapala but unfairly.¹³⁰ Reports that he was planning to kill the missionaries and enslave the orphans

129. Kipalapala D., June 1887. TAA.

130. Bennett, N.R., Mirambo of Tanzania (London 1971), p.172. Shorter, A., Chiefship in Western Tanzania, p.345.

are unreliable, being picked up at Bukumbi, two hundred miles away, or from Arab sources long afterwards. Apart from Sudi's reports none of the documents of the time or of the local traditions suggest that Isike had any hostile intention. On the contrary, he needed the mission to support his power over the Arabs. After the departure, Isike protected the mission buildings and insisted to Van Oost that he had been able and willing to protect Hauttecoeur.¹³¹ His protests were brushed aside but they are entirely in accord with the Kipalapala diary over the last few weeks before the departure.

The White Fathers' mission at Kipalapala was set up with the idea of working in harmony with Isike. While there was no likelihood of Lavigerie's plan of a Christian kingdom ever being realised, and no expectation by Hauttecoeur that it would, the second stage of Lavigerie's plan was attempted: the upbringing and training of ransomed slaves as potential catechists. Attempts to go beyond the work of the orphanage proved fruitless. Hauttecoeur's attempts to discuss religion with Isike were met with the reply, 'God is not concerned with us'.¹³² An investigation was made into local religious belief,¹³³ but the ancestor cult seemed to offer no starting point or common basis for the communication of verbalised ideas. The threat of Christianity to the cult of ancestors and inanimate objects may have been dimly perceived and may explain the character of some of the

131. Diary of ninth White Fathers' caravan. M.G.

132. Hauttecoeur to MM, Kipalapala, 6.12.84. CT 26 (1885)p.227.

133. Bukune Diary, 12.5.84 M.G.; Hauttecoeur to M.M., Kipalapala 1.1.86 reprinted in slightly edited form in MdA 4 (1886), pp. 404-7.

accusations of the mission in symbolic rather than theoretical terms. Even when the walls of the new building at Kipalapala had been measured, they were still said to be six feet thick: charges that mizimu trees in front of the mission had been cut down were visibly wrong. But a recent invasion of Ndisya's kingdom of Ugunda had gone badly: some unfamiliar and disturbing agency had to be held responsible. The building of a tunnel from Kipalapala to the ikulu two miles away was in itself an absurd idea, but if the construction of a tunnel was impossible, fears that the strange ideas of the missionaries would undermine society had some point. The missionaries actively propagated infidelity to accepted religious beliefs. In a totally political society in which the ntemi and his advisers made all important decisions involving the community, from the length of necklaces sold in the market to the date for sowing sorghum, the missionaries' attempts to remain outside the religious and social system was an implicit threat to the established order.

Whereas trade had disrupted some societies in East Africa, in Unyamwezi it had consolidated the powers of some chiefs within enlarged territorial borders. The missionaries were drawn to the larger Nyamwezi chiefdoms in the hope of taking advantage of their peacefulness and pre-eminence. Instead it was the missionaries who were used to maintain and strengthen the chiefs who gave them little scope or opportunity to build up a following outside their households. There was little scope for non-conformity to develop in tightly-knit societies where the energies of the ordinary people, whether in agriculture, portage or trade, were

directed and co-ordinated by the chief. If the results of the mission work are measured in the numbers of baptisms, they were slender indeed. The only Christians were at Uyui and Kipalapala within the households of the mission. At Urambo no baptism was recorded until after the Moravians arrived to take over from the LMS in 1898. The contribution to social growth or internal development was very slight. The reaction of Nyamwezi society was uniform: to contain the missions, restrict their influence, discourage integration into local society, make use of them for external political relations, and to use their material resources to prop up the power of the chief. If any conclusion was to be drawn, it was that as long as the chiefs absorbed all the energies for growth and change, there was no way of communicating radically new religious teaching.

CHAPTER FOUR

USHIROMBO - A SUB-COLONIAL CHIEFDOM

In July 1890, when Gerboin set out from Algiers as the new provicar of Unyanyembe,¹ it was to be an ecclesiastical jurisdiction with only a paper existence, having neither stations nor missionaries. He selected as a site for a new foundation Ushirombo, 180 miles north-west of Tabora in Usumbwa. This commercially active chiefdom was on the trade route from Tabora to the west lake area and after the death of Mirambo, the heavy Hongoes in Sukumaland had caused caravans between Tabora and Lake Victoria to be diverted through Ushirombo.² Years before Southon had proposed the foundation of an LMS mission there.³ ~~SAI~~ rombo traders meeting Hauttecoeur at Isike's ikulu had recognised the usefulness of numeracy in their business dealings and had invited him to go and teach there.⁴ The

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1. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Unyanyembe was the predecessor of the diocese of Tabora. As delimited in 1886, it was roughly triangular in shape, the three corners being Mount Kenya, the northern tip of Lake Nyasa, and a point near the south west corner of Lake Victoria. In 1895 the boundaries were redefined and the Vicariate (as it then became) extended westward to include Urundi but lost the southern regions. Further divisions have taken place over the years until today it corresponds to Unyamwezi and Usumbwa. The unapt name Unyanyembe remained until May 1925 in spite of repeated requests of Bishops Gerboin and his successor Leonard to change it to Unyamwezi. (Maps of successive boundary delimitations can be found in P.B., Nos missions: atlas historique (Algiers 1931).
 2. Girault Journal, 17.3.85, M.G; Livinhac to MM, Bukumbi, 23.3.86, CT 31(1886) p.267; Livinhac to MM, Bukumbi, 21.8.87, CT 38 (1888) p. 237.
 3. Southon to LMS, Urambo, 29.11.80, CA 3/3/D.
 4. Kipalapala Diary, 8.1.87, M.G.

land was fertile, the population considerable and the communications convenient. Of the personnel who had worked at Kipalapala, only one, Lombard returned with Gerboin to Unyamwezi: the others were dispersed elsewhere, mostly in the vicariate of Nyanza. Consequently there was only a slender connection between the earlier pre-colonial missions of the White Fathers and the later foundations. But the experience acquired at Kipalapala had taught the missionaries the disadvantages of working in large strong chiefdoms where their activities might be inhibited by powerful chiefs. The situation at Ushirombo turned out to be very different. It was a chiefdom on the point of rapid economic decline. For many years, the German officials were too distant to exercise more than occasional interference in Usumbwa. The mission assumed exemption from the chief's jurisdiction from the start and became a rival to his authority, limiting his power over those of his subjects who came to live on the mission plot. The mission village which developed became sufficiently large for Gerboin to try to create a social and economic environment quite separate from the surrounding Sumbwa states for many hundreds of Christians. The relationship between mission and chief which Gerboin tried to establish as a medieval-like partnership, was uneasy. Eventually, the causes of decline were to influence the mission village also and leave a vast complex of hopes and buildings in an area of steady depopulation.

Ushirombo was in the centre of the Sumbwa states which were about twenty in number before being amalgamated by the British administration. The earliest written descriptions of Unyamwezi mention 'Osiwombo' and describe Unyamwezi as being

under the rule of the King of 'Oha' who lived 'on the banks of the lake'.⁵ In view of the predominantly northern origins of early Nyamwezi traders, this is less inaccurate than it might seem. Oha may be a confused reference to the Hinda kings of Bwina who ruled over much of Usumbwa and north-western Unyamwezi as far east as Kilila and Ushetu.⁶ The Bwina paramountcy seems to have been fairly nominal, useful to legitimise rulers but not particularly onerous.⁷ In 1891, the ruler of Ushirombo was a descendant of Shima-songo, a semi-nomadic hunter from Uha who had introduced hunting dogs and new methods of getting salt. He had lived eight generations earlier but descendants of the previous dynasty were still exercising subordinate authority. It is very possible that Ushirombo's fertility, lying as it does in a very broad valley between two ranges of hills, had drawn settlers in the very distant past. The name Sumbwa means 'created by God' and implies a claim to far off unremembered origins long before the arrival of conquering chiefly families.⁸

In the nineteenth century, the Shirombo were prominent in the development of the Nyamwezi trading network,

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5. Cooley: 'The geography of Nyassi', p.207; Macqueen, J., 'Visit of Lief Ben Saeed to the great African lakes', JRGS 15 (1845), p. 372.
 6. Capus, A., 'Essai sur les moeurs et coutumes des Basumbwa', ms. M.G.
 7. M. Marie-Claver, Voyage de Mere Marie-Claver dans l'Afrique Equatoriale (Algiers 1908), pp. 122-8.
 8. Capus to MM, Ushirombo, 18.8.96, MdA; Capus to MM, Ushirombo, 5.4.95, M.G; Ushirombo, D., 15.9.93, T.B.A. Fieldnotes: Mwami Kizozo, Ushirombo, A. Ndega, Ushirombo.

being by far the most commercially active of the Sumbwa peoples. Mpipi Makaka protected indigenous commerce by heavy taxes so that no Arab trader went near him.⁹ Traders from Ushirombo were active in areas as far apart as Katanga, the Sudan, Masailand and Kilwa.¹⁰ But prosperous trade depended on the opportunity for peaceful travel. In the years before Mirambo, one informant recalled,¹¹ there were no snakes or lions or wars, and Ushirombo did not develop any offensive military capacity. When Mirambo took over Usumbwa from the Bwina overlords, Ushirombo made no resistance but actively allied with Mirambo's aims of an extensive Nyamwezi commercial empire. Troops were sent to help Mirambo in his campaigns, in one instance saving his life,¹² and Ndega, the successor of Speke's Makaka, made a tributary visit to Urambo.¹³ The neighbouring Sumbwa kingdom of Mbogwe sat less happily under Mirambo's shadow and rebelled against the conscription of troops for a war against Usoke, a sub-chiefdom of Unyanyembe. As a result, Ifwada, the mwami, was deposed and strangled on Mirambo's orders about the end of 1880.¹⁴ In

9. Speke, Journal of the discovery, pp.126-7.

10. Msiri was of Sumbwa stock. Makaka told Speke that he had himself, when younger, travelled to Busoga and across Masailand to the coast. (Speke, Journal of the discovery, p. 127). When Sudanese soldiers serving in the German colonial army first arrived at Ushirombo, some traders were able to converse with them in their own language, having learnt it in the course of their travels. (Fieldnotes: Mwami Kizozo, Ushirombo). As late as 1885, a group of Sumbwa traders passed through Tabora heading for Kilwa though the route does not seem to have been used regularly for many years. (Kipalapala D, 23.8.85 TBA).

11. Fieldnotes: Masele Matagiri, Mbogwe.

12. Bukune D., 24.4.84, M.G.

13. Southon to LMS, Ujiji, 14.10.80, CA 3/3/G.

14. Mranda Mweri D., 27.5.81. CT 14 (1882) p.114.

the punitive campaign against Mbogwe, Ushirombo provided arms for Mirambo's men and after his death Mbogwe sought revenge in two further wars. In the first, Ushirombo was defended by Mirambo's successor Mpandashalo who called in help from Buganda to match the allies of Mbogwe, the Msalala chiefs Hwimu and Sundi and the Ngoni.¹⁵ By 1890, however, Mpandashalo was dead and in a renewed war, the Mbogwe and Ngoni destroyed one village after another in Ushirombo, only the most strongly fortified being able to resist. The

Ushirombo seem to have lacked military skill and leadership. The Ngoni who had raided the area for cattle in the time of Speke¹⁶ had then been merely skimming the cream off Sumbwa wealth; now they were fighting as mercenaries to destroy, enslave and kill. Although only three of four hundred in number¹⁷, their military ability and personal bravery could not be matched anywhere in Unyamwezi. Once they had been introduced into what were in essence local quarrels, the destructive consequences became disproportionate to the

15. Rubaga D., 13.7.87. CT 28 (1888) p. 265; Fieldnotes: Mwami Kizozo, Ushirombo, Melkior Muganda, Ushirombo, (who was so called because he was born the year the Baganda troops arrived).
16. Speke, Journal, p. 151. The Ngoni in Unyamwezi are often referred to by European travellers and historians as Watuta as if this were a tribal name. In fact, it is a mortally offensive word meaning cut-throat or brigand. Shorter (Chiefship in western Tanzania, p. 258) suggests a derivation from Mtuta Mpezeni, son of Zwangendaba, but the Ngoni origin of the word was emphatically denied by Nkosi Kazimula in an interview.
17. The number of their warriors is calculated from two figures. In 1893 Capus visited them and estimated the number of their kayas as forty. (Capus, A., 'Vers le pays des Bangoni', EdA 188 (1894) p. 414. In 1913, Goarnisson estimated their total population at 1300. (Goarnisson to Leonard, Ushirombo, 6.12.13. N.G.).

original dispute. By 1891 the outlying rice fields had been destroyed and the Washirombo were afraid to leave their kayas to cultivate.¹⁸ In the capital, Igulwa, three thousand people were concentrated as refugees. A similar number were sheltered at Shilamira with its triple ramparts.¹⁹ Ndega and his advisers considered fleeing to Usui but the ancient co-ordinating overrule of Bwina which had once contained and settled local quarrels had long since been destroyed by Mirambo.²⁰ There was no hope of help from a declining Urambo and the total destruction of the chiefdom appeared imminent. It was to be saved by the arrival of the mission. The factor which decided Ndega to receive the mission was the desperate danger of the complete destruction of his chiefdom by the Ngoni. The Ngoni excelled in hand to hand fighting with club and short stabbing spear even against firearms, but the previous year they had been defeated by Langheld whose cannon killed at long range: "they killed before you could get angry".²¹ Their Mkosi, Mpangalala, was anxious to avoid any risk of provoking the Germans by attacking the site of a mission and the Sumbwa fully recognised the protection offered by the mission's presence. "People look on us like a good watch dog - as they say themselves," wrote Gerboin.²² Other

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18. Bukumbi, D., 6.2.91. Nyegezi archives.
 19. Capus to MM, Ushirombo, 5.4.95. M.G.
 20. Fieldnotes: G. Mwandamila, Mbogwe.
 21. Fieldnotes: Mwami Lumelezi, Mbogwe.
 22. Gerboin to MM, Ushirombo, 15.5.91. C20-33.

Sumbwa chiefs made haste to establish friendly relations and the first months of 1891 witnessed a succession of visits from surrounding chiefdoms anxious to invoke the protection of the new mission by protestations of goodwill and friendship.

Gerboin arrived with a group of some sixty Christians and catechumens from Bukumbi in 1891. His companions' origins were various. Apart from his four fellow White Fathers, most of them were freed slaves of various nationalities including Ganda, Tusi, Sukuma and Nyamwezi. Two of them, Leon Ussembe from Manyema and Xavier Mlewa, a Nyamwezi, had been educated and trained as catechists in Malta. With their porters, the new arrivals constituted a formidable column and in some anxiety, Mwami Ndega and his men cautiously concealed their ivory and women before receiving them. After seeking the approval of his diviners, Ndega presented them with a large plot of land about half a square kilometre in area, from his personal shambas close to the ikulu. Building was begun immediately. The techniques were learnt by trial and error. Sometimes walls collapsed, Xavier Mlewa and six others being killed in one accident, but the scale of construction exceeded anything in the region. The ambitiously designed Church impressed the Sumbwa: comparing it with the miniature commemorative huts used in the ancestor cult, they concluded that the *nizimu* of the new arrivals must be powerful indeed.²³ This was the beginning of a vast building programme which was to

23. Capus to Mf, Ushiroambo, 14.6.93 and -.2.93, M.G.

continue for many years. Some idea of it, still incomplete, is given by the illustration. All the outer walls and buildings, including the workshop and cowsheds, as well as the living accommodation for the fathers, sisters and orphans, were eventually faced with burnt bricks and the roofs tiled. The burning of more than a million bricks was a vast labour and took some fifteen years. The economic effect of creating so much paid employment will be considered later. Physically and psychologically, it overshadowed the great grass-roofed msonge of Ndega which had seemed until then majestically large.²⁴

The first representative of the German government to arrive in Unyamwezi was Emin Pasha who, on his own initiative, made a diversion to Tabora to establish German rule there while ^{leading} an expedition to Lake Victoria from the coast. At Unyanyembe he extorted presents from Isike and appointed Said ibn Saad as wali of Tabora. Langheld was despatched to fight the Ngoni on behalf of Katuga Moto of Urambo where a temporary German base was established. At Usongo, Mtinginya and his people accepted another German base in the belief that the newcomers were friends of Stokes.^{24a} The relations between the German officers and each ntemi remained undefined until after the defeat of Isike by von Prince in 1893. Until then, the Germans were not regarded

24. The royal residences of Sumbwa and western Nyamwezi chiefs were not inconsiderable. That of Ndega was thirty feet high and had a diameter of fifty-four feet. (Stanley: Through the dark continent, i. p.489).

24a. Declé, Three Years, p.362; Shaw to LMS, Urambo, 10.11.90, C.A. 872/G.

as colonial rulers in Unyamwezi, but their defeat of the Ngoni with machine guns and repeater rifles did win them a great deal of military prestige.²⁵

All the chiefs assumed the existence of a close relationship between the missionaries and the colonial authorities. Ironically, the relationship between the French missionaries and the German officials was characterised by forbearance rather than friendship. Missionaries tended to regard the short term government officials as ill-informed birds of passage, unnecessarily jealous of their jurisdiction.^{25a} They sited missions well away from German bomas whose proximity was rarely regarded as beneficial to the missions.²⁶ On the other hand, government officials were by no means willing to see French missionaries exercise any political influence and repeatedly circulated missionaries with instructions to restrict their activities to religious matters. Generally, the harmony of relations between missionaries and colonial officials was proportionate to the distance between them. For nearly two decades, Ushiroambo came under the jurisdiction of officials at Tabora a hundred and eighty miles away. They were too distant to exercise a continuous or informed control and Ushiroambo mission existed in a sub-colonial relationship with them. The missionaries used their prestige as Europeans

25. Schweitzer, G., Emin Pasha - his life and work (Westminster 1988) pp. 61-85; Lenheld, W., Zwanzig Jahre in Deutschen Kolonien (Berlin 1909) pp. 44-63.

25a. Sweets to Gerboin, Rubya, 27.7.05, TBA 465.102.

26. They refused even a nominal contribution to a fund to raise a statue to Wissmann at Tabora. Bulungwa D., 15.12.05, TBA.

and their association with the German government in the eyes of the Sumbwa, to assume a good deal of authority and initiative in civil matters. They collected the taxes from the mission village for forwarding to Tabora, appointed a village headman with the authority to deal with petty crimes, advised visiting officials on succession disputes and all manner of court cases. The colonial authority remained a distant court of appeal but in the exercise of day to day matters concerning the interests of the mission, it was, in effect, represented by Bishop Gerboin.

Ndega's need for a missionary umbrella was temporary and when the Ngoni danger receded it became positively unwelcome to him and certain sections of his chiefdom. At the time of Isike's war with the Germans, he sent messengers to Tabora to bring him news of the result. The missionaries were told that in the event of a German defeat, he intended to have them killed and their followers enslaved.²⁷ The presence of the missionaries was clearly, in his mind, associated with the colonial troops at Tabora. Gerboin deliberately encouraged the belief. When Ndega let one of his children die without having it baptised, Gerboin delivered a purposely ambiguous rebuke to him, hinting darkly at spiritual retribution but in terms which could only have been understood by Ndega as military punitive action.²⁸ Although Gerboin was rebuked by his superiors for taking such a line²⁹ the initial impression could not be eradicated.

27. Capus to MM, Ushiroambo, 21.6.93. M.G.

28. Capus to MM, Ushiroambo, 9.2.94, CT 62 (1894) pp. 244-5.

29. Livinhac to Gerboin, Algiers, 8.10.95, TBA 465.465.

"We are the masters of the country: the kings dare do nothing without consulting us," wrote Desoignies.³⁰

However, the fathers were fully aware of the reluctance of Ndega's tolerance of them and of the insincerity of his professions of friendship. Their primary concern was to neutralise his control over the people's response to their teaching. In view of Ndega's multiplicity of wives, and his involvement with the ritual aspects of his office, the missionaries never expected him to personally adopt the practice of Christianity, except perhaps belatedly on his deathbed. Their dealings with him were designed to ensure that his subjects had the option of instruction and baptism and this object appears to have been achieved in the early years of the mission. 'Ndega is always on the best of terms with us,' wrote Capus in an optimistic moment. 'His purposes are political and ours are to win Christians'.³¹ Unlike his predecessors at Kipalapala, Gerboin was able to counterbalance the opposition of the chief by reference to the German colonial authority. The apostolate which had been inhibited and encapsulated at Kipalapala could be exercised openly and the Sumbwa given the opportunity of learning about Christianity. The immediate impact of the mission on Ushiroombo was considerable. Within a few months large numbers of people were attending catechism classes and within three and a half years, some two thousand people were wearing a catechumen's medal in place of more traditional

30. Desoignies to MM, Ushiroombo, 15.4.94. M.G.

31. Capus to MdA., Ushiroombo, -.5.1893 and 11.2.94, MdA.

charms.³² The first group consisted mainly of young men from the ikulu and included all four sons of Ndega.³³ As the number grew, it became more representative of the surrounding population even including several diviners but few old people. On a few occasions, Ndega and some of his immediate subordinates appeared in the catechism class but he was never prepared to send away his extra wives to meet the requirements of entry into the catechumenate. 'They represent our success and wealth', he said.³⁴ The motives for the popular interest in religion were undoubtedly very mixed. For a time the custom was introduced of giving the mother of a baby a coloured cloth when she brought it to be baptised. This led to a large number of leso or handkerchief baptisms, the same baby sometimes being brought for baptism several times as each of the womenfolk in the family came to collect their cloth.³⁵ As for the adults, van den Burgt believed they patronised the mission simply out of fear of the Germans: in their hearts, he said, the important people detest us.³⁶ This may have been a sweeping generalisation but undoubtedly the missionaries' attitude to divination and magical customs was causing divisions in the court. The fathers' attitude towards traditional religious customs was of unswerving hostility. When the wife of a mwanangwa died and his sisters and two slaves were accused

32. Capus to MM, Ushirombo, 5.5.94, M.G.
33. Lombard to MM, Ushirombo, 17.4.92, M.G. R.A. Ushirombo 1894, M.G.
34. Capus to MM, Ushirombo, 15.8.95, M.G.
35. W.S.D., Ushirombo, 14.4.95. W.S.A. P.B., Les Pères Blancs de l'Afrique à Tabora (Kamur 1939) p. 37. Fieldnotes: Melkior Kuganda, Ushirombo.
36. v.d. Burgt to MM, Ushirombo, 15.8.95, M.G.

of witchcraft and killed, Capus objected to Ndega. A large meeting was held attended by a hundred of the leading men of Ushirombo. After long discussion, the Mwami forbade witchcraft and divination to universal applause and to confirm this resolution many wanangwa burnt down the little mizimu huts in their villages.^{36a} Presumably they were applauding the ban on witchcraft rather than prohibition of protective charms. But to the missionaries, they were both the same and they attempted to show by empirical logic the ineffectiveness of such practices. When a family tried to discover a witch to blame for a woman's death, by inspecting the entrails of a hen, Lombard (the first to acquire fluency in Kisumbwa) offered to find the guilty party. At a formal consultation, the symptoms of the fatal illness were described. Lombard diagnosed the cause of death as sunstroke and pronounced the sun guilty. They went away 'if not convinced, at least troubled and doubtful'.³⁷ On another occasion he tried to make three diviners look foolish by asking them for predictions of the future and promising rewards.³⁸ At time: one detects a vestigial belief in witchcraft among the missionaries themselves: it had by no means disappeared from the nineteenth century rural backgrounds in Europe from which some had themselves come and occasionally there are elements of medieval European witchcraft practices attributed to the Buswezi at whose meetings, Capus wrote, the devil himself appeared in animal form.³⁹ There was a strong

36a. Capus to MM, Ushirombo, 13.10.94. M.G.

37. Ushirombo D., 21.5.91. TBA.

38. Ushirombo D., 23.8.91. TBA.

39. Capus to MM, Ushirombo, 23.6.91, MaA 96 (1896) p. 518.

inclination to identify all kinds of ritual superstitions and practices with devil worship, even the cult of the ancestors. Following a current anthropological theory, beliefs in God were supposed to have been overgrown with the cult of ancestors owing to the deceptive activities of diviners.⁴⁰ Christianity was therefore proclaimed as the worship of Kube, the neglected God of the Sumbwa, able to protect them from witchcraft and from fear of the bafumu diviners. Kube provided rain and good health. "Everyone admits", Lombard said, "that the bafumu have no power over the missionaries: therefore become children of Kube and they will have no power over you". Indiscriminately in these years, traditional religious practices were termed 'mashetani' or devilry. Whenever the fathers came across any of the little symbolic huts dedicated to the ancestors, they knocked them down as a matter of course.⁴¹ A tree which had for long been the scene of sacrifices to the ancestors was cut down and a large section of it carved into a baptismal font for the Church.⁴² The reactions of the builders of the little huts were remarkably tolerant: the ancestors, being the private concern of the family, were believed not to be offended by a third party's interference.

Such activity brought the mission into headlong collision with the Buswezi, the most powerful of the secret

40. Lombard to MM, Ushirombo, 17.4.92, M.G.

41. Fieldnotes: Herman Masoni, Ushirombo.

42. The tree was regarded as magical because owls nested in it.
Fieldnotes: Mwami Kizozo, Ushirombo.

societies in Usumbwa. The Buswezi was primarily concerned with the cure of illnesses by dancing and exorcism. The missionaries objected strongly to the initiation ceremonies and various other practices. The Buswezi was, however, influential in the ikulu where it regularly organised dances: a third of the people in Igulwa were members including Ndega himself and members of his family.⁴³ Although the Buswezi tried to exert every influence on the king against the mission, Swezi reunions were banned by the Mwami at least publicly or at the ikulu. The Bamanga and Bakoko societies were similarly restricted. There is no doubt that the authority of the bishop was wielded indiscriminately and heavy-handedly in the early years of the mission: all dancing after sundown, for example, was forbidden. In the case of any infringement, he simply sent some of his men to split the drums.⁴⁴ The opposition to the practice of traditional religion and societies could only be effective over a very limited area of a few square miles. It had extra significance in that this area comprised the centre and capital of the chiefdom. It was a challenge to the authority of the chief, limiting at least the open and public display of his ritual protection of his territory. Another apparent threat to public welfare was the missions practice of granting refuge to witches. The usual victims of witchcraft accusations were helpless and aged female slaves, but as they were popularly regarded as criminals, capable of continuing their nefarious activities from behind the cassock of the bishop, saving their lives was a cause of alarm.

43. Ushirombo D., 12.5.92. TBA.

44. Lombard to MM, Ushirombo, 17.4.92, M.G; Fieldnotes: Gerardo Mwandamila, Mbogwe.

Ndega endeavoured to placate the traditionalists in his court as well as the strong-minded bishop living only half a mile away, but after his death in 1896, opposing parties collected round two of his sons. His immediate successor, Robert Munesi, was installed without many of the traditional rites. A year later, he suffered a mental breakdown and was replaced by Constantine Mabubu. Mabubu was, nominally at least, a Christian, but he was frequently reported to boast that he would burn the mission down and enslave the fathers.⁴⁵ In September 1899, Gerboin decided that certain of his insignia were masheetani and one Sunday during High Mass in the church, rebuked him publicly. In an atmosphere of increasing tension, Mabubu called in the hyena society to drive away the missionaries. The hyena was commonly regarded as a witch in disguise and the average Msumbwa, finding his house surrounded at night by a pack of what appeared to be hooting and yelping hyenas, would have been terrified. At the mission, Gerboin and several of the orphans stationed themselves on the flat roof of the mission and blazed away into the night with shotguns, killing six or seven members of the society including Mtalano, chief of Busonge.⁴⁶ A few months later, taking advantage of a visit of Mabubu to Tabora, Munesi re-installed himself in the chief's dwelling. To settle the dispute between the two claimants, the German officer from Tabora, Ganser, paid a visit to Ushirombo and

45. Ushirombo D., Sept.1899, passim, TBA.

46. Ushirombo D., 9.12.99.TBA; M. Marie-Claver, Voyage, p.133; Fieldnotes: Melkior Muganda, Ushirombo, Mwami Kizozo, Ushirombo. On the fiftieth anniversary of the mission, the incident was re-enacted as part of the celebrations.

after discussing the affair with the bishop, held a public meeting to decide which of the two Abami the people wanted. The majority voted for Munesi; according to one source they did so in the belief that the supporters of Mabubu would be exiled with him.⁴⁷ In the event, Mabubu was sent away to live near Tabora and Munesi resumed his reign. Munesi attributed his success to Gerboin: 'I got the country by praying,' he said, 'Ndi mhonga sapula'.⁴⁸ The years that followed were the high point of the mission. Large numbers of the Washirombo became Christian: some twelve hundred were instructed and baptised between 1900 and 1904. The political circumstances and doubtfully religious motivation do not seem to have disturbed Gerboin. He evidently expected that given time and schooling, the next generation would grow up more convinced Christians. But time was not on his side.

The end of the Sumbwa-Ngoni wars did not lead to the restoration of former prosperity. There was a brief resurgence of trading activity: by August 1891 there were simultaneously caravans from Ushirombo in Bunyoro, Kiziba, Busoga, Tabora, Usagara and at the coast.⁴⁹ The enthusiasm to resume commerce was such that women and even children of eight and ten years old joined the caravans.⁵⁰ The concentrations of refugees in the fortified towns like Igulwa and Shilamira were dispersed; burned out villages were rebuilt and abandoned land restored to agriculture. But the

47. Fieldnotes: Melkior Muganda, Ushirombo.

48. Fieldnotes: Melkior Muganda, Ushirombo.

49. Ushirombo D. 29.8.91. TBA.

50. Gerboin to MH, Ushirombo, 31.12.91. C20-39.

renewed energies put into trade were less fruitful. The principal source of ivory for the Sumbwa had been Bunyoro,⁵¹ from which the British administration in Uganda was now anxious for the ivory to be re-routed to Mombasa. A caravan of Ndega's to Bunyoro returned with only three tusks and later caravans were refused any licence to hunt.⁵² Similarly the Belgians diverted Congolese ivory to the west coast - an action which removed Urambo's main supply.⁵³ Some trade in hoes, coffee from Uhaya and local agricultural products such as beeswax and skins remained, but trade in these commodities had previously been merely a sideline and was insufficient to maintain profitable caravaning. Coinciding with the collapse of trade came a number of other disasters. In 1891, rinderpest appeared for the first time in Usumbwa among the large herds of cattle looked after by the Tusi. One Tusi lost a hundred cattle in a few weeks and many were sold off quickly for slaughter before they became infected.⁵⁴ No longer were the Tusi women to be seen carrying on their heads the big pots of milk which constituted a large part of their diet,^{a situation} giving rise to the proverb: 'Sad as a Mtusi woman'. The herds were never restocked and although some cattle survived until the sleeping sickness epidemic after the first world war, most of the Tusi emigrated eastwards to Kahama district or returned to Bukanga whence their fathers had come. Henceforth, five

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51. Ushirombo D., 5.3.92, TBA; Fieldnotes: Nsolo Mkolele, Bukombe.
52. Ushirombo D. 25.10.93. TBA. Msalala D., 10.7.96. TBA.
53. Draper to LMS, Urambo, 11.2.93, CA 9/1/D.
54. Gerboin to NM, Ushirombo, 13.12.91. C20-37.

cows was considered a large herd. Most of the grazing grounds reverted to bush and a decade or so later, when the game had recovered, the encroaching bush became infested with tsetse flies. In local memory the arrival of the tsetse is connected with the coming of buffalo from the forests of Rutinde to the west. One informan remembers being bitten for the first time 'in the year of the comet' when he returned to Usumbwa to collect taxes.⁵⁵ (Halley's comet was visible in 1910). Grass burning, often practised by hunters and honey collectors to drive out game or snakes, was forbidden by the German administration and this may have taken away another natural defence against tsetse. In the short term the effect of rinderpest was to impoverish the Sumbwa by destroying their cattle. In the long run it also disposed the ecology for the entry of sleeping sickness thirty years later. Rinderpest was followed a year later by a plague of jiggers. Jiggers (pulex penetrans, funza) were not altogether new in Unyamwezi. Both Burton⁵⁶ and Dutrieux⁵⁷ had encountered them. But what must have been a new variety introduced into the Congo in the ballast of a Brazilian ship spread rapidly along the trade routes from west to east, maiming and laming vast numbers of people inexperienced in its cure and treatment.⁵⁸ After the plagues

55. Fieldnotes: Mwami Kizozo, Ushirombo.

56. Burton: Lake Regions, ii, p. 230.

57. Dutrieux, P.J., 'Etudes sur les maladies et l'acclimatement des Europeens dans l'Afrique inter-tropicale', Revue Geographique Internationale 6 (1881) p.161.

58. Guillemo, Bishop, 'Funza (pulex penetrans)', Mda 107 (1894) pp. 363-5; Stanley, H.M., Introduction to Declé, L., Three years in Savare Africa (London 1898), pp. xx-xxi; Ford, The role of trypanosomiasis, pp.140-3. Ushirombo D., 13.2.92. TBA.

of rinderpest and funza, the rains of 1892-3 failed. By November some people were eating only one day in three and Ndega was rationing food for his slaves. Some slave owners unable to feed their charges at all, ransomed them at the mission, beginning the breakdown of a work system largely dependent on slaves. The following wet season there was an abundance of rain, but it was accompanied by locusts and the old people gloomily remembered a time when the locusts came in three successive years so that men sold their children and wives to obtain food.⁵⁹ The early years of the colonial period in Ushirombo must have seemed like an unrelieved cataclysm of apocalyptic proportions. Oral sources remember an increase in the number and variety of diseases and the mission diary records serious outbreaks of smallpox, diphtheria and kafindofindo - an acute and sometimes fatal form of laryngitis.

Economically, Ushirombo was reduced almost to subsistence level. The affluence which had once attracted and held together a peaceful, healthy and populous chiefdom was lost. In many parts of Africa, the stability of an agrarian people depended on permanent settlement on family or clan property, identified by ancestral graves, in loyal subjection to a particular ruling dynasty. In Unyamwezi, the permanent elements were neither place nor ruler. Land was not bought or sold but freely available. Since its fertility was exhausted after a few years, households and kayas had a transient nature. The population was mobile

59. Capus to Gerboin, Ushirombo, 28.11.93. MG.

within a vast space of land only partially occupied by scattered agricultural settlements. A family did not have religious ties to an historic home for the cult of ancestors was not attached to graves or shrines. Even if a man died far away at the coast, his *mzimu* might be venerated wherever his descendants happened to live. Since chiefs and *wanangwa* were generally willing to add to their prestige and power by accepting newcomers from a neighbouring chiefdoms, political limits on migration were minimal. The *Washirombo* migrated eastwards to the *Kahama* area. Many turned to trade in small businesses in *Mwanza* and more distant towns.⁶⁰ In the meantime, the development of plantations at the coast created many thousands of manual jobs. *Unyamwezi* was a favourite recruiting area for plantation workers. The people had a reputation for physical strength and a high regard for manual labour; by tradition they adapted easily to working and travelling a long way from their homeland and were eager to earn wages to replace their lost commercial incomes. By 1912 there were reported to be a hundred and thirty recruiters operating in the *Tabora* district alone. They distributed cash advances and distributed blankets and cloth against future earnings to secure signatures.⁶¹ Thus a number of conditions favoured emigration from *Ushirombo*: the disruption of the traditional ivory trade, the loss of cattle and wealth in the wars and plagues, and a series of short-lived divisive reigns (for after *Munesi*, two more brothers and an uncle were

60. Fieldnotes: A. Ndega, *Ushirombo*; Caroli Kavulu, *Ushirombo*.

61. Martin, E., 'Namabuye', ms. TBA.

to succeed, all within twenty years of Ndega's death).
 Meanwhile at the coast, people were said to be able to live comfortably, having attractive clothes and money to spend on a brideprice.⁶²

Old men today remember when large areas of Ushiroambo, now abandoned, were fields of flourishing crops. Depopulation is frequently noted and regretted in the mission diary and the fragmentary figures available give the same general impression, though the picture is complicated by a redistribution of population within Ushiroambo as well as a total decline. There was a dispersal from the fortified towns to villages vacated and destroyed in the wars with Mbogwe and the Ngoni. Houses were rebuilt and old shambas resown. Peace also made possible the reassertion of an older pattern of even more scattered settlement which had existed before the spate of wars. The ecology of Usumbwa and Unyamwezi with its odd patches of fertile soil and irregular water reserves, favours a very fragmentary pattern of agriculture. New households were located in areas of virgin bush. Igulwa, the capital, shrank from the size of a crowded town containing perhaps three thousand people during the sieges, to an extended village containing only the king, with his family and retainers. Concentrations were dispersed over areas some twelve or twenty miles across. There seems to have been no emigration to other Sumbwa states on any significant scale, but many young men went to the towns and the coastal plantations; others secured employment in the German and Indian caravans operating out of Tabora where

62. Fieldnotes: Caroli Kavulu, Ushiroambo.

the number and size of caravans reached an unprecedented level. The mission had only a marginal effect on resettlement and emigration. The mission villages drew refugee slaves to the centre of the chiefdom but restrictions on traditional cult and Buswezi meetings in Igulwa encouraged some of the Sumbwa to move away where they could be undisturbed. Some ex-Christians, particularly if their matrimonial situation was canonically irregular, left the neighbourhood of the mission.⁶³

The birth rate in Usumbwa was insufficient to make up for the drain of young emigrants. It appears to have been lower in Usumbwa and north western Unyamwezi than to the south and east. All the evidence of oral and written sources, mission or not, points to this conclusion. Declé, for example, reported that one child per wife was usual in northern Unyamwezi and three children a rarity.⁶⁴ The White Sisters noted a higher birth rate among the women who had been brought up at their orphanage than among the other locally raised women. The marriage registers at Ushirombo list the children born of each Christian and care was taken to make them accurate. The sixty-three marriages contracted between 1891 and 1899 produced only sixty-nine children. When this number is corrected to allow for those who left the ambit of the mission (roughly half had done so by 1912) the birthrate suggested is still on the low side, especially in view of the high infant mortality rate consequent on the absence of hospital facilities. Ethnological studies remark on the high incidence of sterility

63. Fieldnotes: A. Ndega, Ushirombo.

64. Declé, Three years, p. 348.

in Usumbwa,⁶⁶ and a number of informants observed independently that the birth rate is higher in recent years than it used to be.⁶⁷ Demographic^{ic}/statistics in mission records, the District Book and tax lists are incomplete and vary in accuracy: some are simply estimates, others are based on house to house censuses. They suggest that the population of Ushiroambo chiefdom fell from about ten thousand in 1891 to about half that at the outbreak of the first world war. Subsequently, conscription of porters, flight from the rampaging army which invaded German East Africa from the Congo, and the sleeping sickness epidemic, made further inroads in the population which continued to decline until it numbered about three and a half thousand in 1930.⁶⁸ The activity of the mission had been concentrated almost entirely in the chiefdom of Ushiroambo itself which in 1891 had been a convenient centre of population. The style of work which had developed was mission centred: few catechists were employed and the fathers did little travelling to neighbouring chiefdoms. The more dispersed patterns of settlement were to put many people outside the immediate reach of the mission, and given the past reliance on political persuasion, it was to cause a marked reduction in religious practice. The emigrants included many of the young people (which partly accounts for the low birth rate).

66. Martin, V., 'Moeurs et Coutumes des Basumbwa', ms., Ushiroambo mission archives; Seibt, A., 'Fragebogen-Beantwortung', in Gottberg, Unyamwesi: Quellensammlung, p. 177.

67. Fieldnotes: M. Gagwa, Ngaya; A. Ndega, Ushiroambo; Adolfu Talu, Bukombe.

68. Libre de statistiques. Ushiroambo mission archives. cartes de visite, Bourget 1920 and Bientz 1921. Martin, E., 'Namabuye' ms. TBA; Ushiroambo diary, TBA. Quarterly reports, CT; Nzega District Book, TNA.

Apart from the economic motives, work on plantations, on caravans and in distant towns was a flight from the restrictions of tightly organised village life under the dominance of the elders. Emigration represented a preference of the younger people to go away on their own together - a major factor in urban migration today. In consequence, those who stayed at Ushiroombo consisted largely of the elderly, the less enterprising and those preferring the traditions of a small scale village society. The element which in the first decade of the mission had shown most interest in becoming Christians were those to leave in the second, while the more conservative elements remained. Only a minority of the parents could be persuaded to send their children to school. There was a general fear that they would be sent to Europe, forget how to work and lose their attachment to their families.⁶⁹ In the time of Munesi, traditional religion had been pushed into the background to avoid confrontation with the bishop but there was little to suggest that attachment to it was diminishing. The inhibition of traditional practices may have heightened anxieties especially in a period of economic crisis. In times of stress, it is common for traditional rites and witchcraft accusations to be stimulated in an attempt to control a deteriorating situation but there is too little evidence available to attempt to quantify such practices. Two factors may be significant, however. There was a tendency for unease to be directed into a suspicious defensiveness against outsiders. When, for example, the rains failed at the end

69. Fieldnotes: G. Mwandamila, Mbogwe.

of 1891, blame for the drought was directed at the missionaries. Their building programme was progressing well and rain would have brought it to a halt. They were therefore held responsible for the rains' lateness.⁷⁰ Secondly, after the death of Munesi, there seems to have been some marshalling of traditional forces in local politics. In 1908 another son of Ndega succeeded, somewhat reluctantly as he was afraid of being bewitched.⁷¹ An unsuccessful attempt was made by the elders to replace him with his uncle Muswezi and although it failed, Muswezi was to succeed him when the new mwami was dismissed within three years.⁷² The choice of an old man was extremely unusual and can only be explained by the lack of any other non-Christian candidate.

One of the principal reasons for the continued opposition of the wanangwa to the mission was the disruptive effect of the large freed slave villages which had grown up around the mission. But first something must be said about the subject of slavery in Unyamwezi and Usumbwa. Slavery is still a highly emotive topic: the cruelty and racial humiliation involved are still vividly remembered in Unyamwezi. Nineteenth-century travel literature contains some highly coloured passages describing caravans of starving and dying slaves being convoyed to the coast in chains. But such lurid sights were not typical. A high mortality rate in a caravan was not usual and where it existed was due to outbreaks

70. Ushirombo Diary, 5.11.9. TBA.

71. Ushirombo D., 30.10.08, TBA.

72. Ushirombo D., -.11.09 and 24.5.11. TBA.

of smallpox among previously isolated and non-resistant victims rather than to deliberate starvation or cruelty.⁷² At the opposite extreme, some apologists such as Becker or Tippu Tip try to correct other traveller's descriptions by exaggeration in the opposite direction. Becker depicts caravans trotting to the coast in happy anticipation of 'a life of delight.'⁷³ By the time slaves were funnelled into Unyamwezi, the character of the trade had changed from one of violent raiding and brutal disregard for life to one of peaceful absorption by way of an orderly trading network. As a Nyamwezi proverb runs, 'the heart of a slave is calmed and resigned on the road - holo ya msese ikweeraga mu nzira'. The majority of slaves came not from the massive but rare Arab column from the Congo, but from the small groups acquired in private deals. Not that there were two completely separate systems: many of the slaves brought by the Arabs from the Congo were absorbed by the peoples along the central trade route.⁷⁴ Today many of their descendants can still trace their origins: one part of Tabora is still predominantly peopled by descendants of Manyema. Wissmann reckoned that only a third of Congolese slaves actually reached the coast.⁷⁵ At Zanzibar the main supply of slaves came from Kilwa and the south; the central trade route was only a subsidiary source.⁷⁶ Many Congolese slaves never went east of Tabora -

72. de Vienne to MAE (Paris), Zanzibar, 20.10.71, CCCZ3. Burton, Lake Regions, i., p. 342.

73. Becker, La vie en Afrique, ii, p. 199.

74. Hore, A., To Lake Tanganyika in a bath chair (London 1886) p.166; Kirk to FO, 15.3.77. FO 84/1484. Cameron, V.L. Across Africa, ii, p. 28.

75. Wissmann, H., My second journey through Equatorial Africa from the Congo to the Zambesi 1886-7 (London 1891), p.246.

their loads of ivory being taken on to the coast by paid porters. Slaves were drawn into Unyamwezi from all sides. In times of famine in Unyaturu, Nyamwezi traders went there to buy children in exchange for food.⁷⁷ They bought them from Burundi for cloth, from Uganda for guns and powder. Mirambo sent to Ujiji for small parties of slaves.⁷⁸ The Sumbwa brought them from the Sudan. On the other hand, Nyamwezi chiefs were generally opposed to the sale and export of slaves. The chief of Tumbi, a western neighbour of Unyanyembe, told Cameron he never sold a slave though sometimes he bought one.⁷⁹ Chiefs opposed the sale of slaves as a matter of policy but were not always able to prevent it.⁸⁰ Occasionally a chief himself might sell slaves as the only means of getting guns.⁸¹

It is not possible to compute accurately the size of the servile class in Unyamwezi. Reichard estimated it as seventy to seventy-five per cent,⁸² but while this may be true of Unyanyembe where slaves formed a majority of the

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76. Select committee of the House of Commons on the slave trade on the East Coast of Africa, 4.8.71, qb.
Sullivan, Capt. G.L., Dhow chasing in Zanzibar waters (London 1891) p. 246.
77. Schneider, H.K., The Wahi Wanyaturu (Chicago 1970) p.8.
78. Hore to LMS, Ujiji, 16.4.79. CA 2/1/B.
79. Cameron, Across Africa, i. p. 174.
80. Fieldnotes: M. Kasundwa, Khuge; Mwami Kizozo, Ushiroombo.
81. Livingstone to Clarendon, FO 84/21265, qb. Jeal, T. Livingstone (London 1973) p. 304.
82. DKZ (1890) p. 277.

population⁸³ it was not true of Unyamwezi as a whole. Slaves were few in some areas and in a small minority almost everywhere. In Ushiroambo, there was a higher proportion than in the other Sumbwa states, but still a minority.⁸⁴ Not everyone was a slave owner: the richer men might own twenty or, in exceptional cases, fifty. The king had a fairly large retinue but no hard and fast figures of its size are available.

In some respects, the slave trade was a form of directed and controlled immigration. It was a means by which a wealthy but less populous state might absorb immigrants from poorer regions where the value of a man was less. Burton pointed out that slavery would end only when a man was more valuable by his work than by his sale and many opponents of the slave trade were concerned with the production of natural resources as an alternative to the exportation of human beings.⁸⁵ In fact, manpower was more valuable in the Nyamwezi trading states than elsewhere and this made the trade profitable. Some observers compared domestic slavery to the institution of domestic service in Europe. Southon, for instance, wrote: 'I have not seen slaves ill-treated in Unyamwezi ... slavery is only another term for domestic drudgery as, except in rare instances, the slaves are treated just like servants in England.'⁸⁶ Grant, identifying himself with the slave-owning class, suggested that life was hardly

83. Fieldnotes: D. Mpandashalo and others, Ndono.

84. Fieldnotes: G. Mwandamila, Mbogwe, Mwami Kizozo, Ushiroambo.

85. Burton, Lake Regions, ii. p.377.

86. Southon Journal, 12.8.80. CA 2/13.

tolerable without slaves.⁸⁷

The maintenance of slaves was an integral part of a commercialised economy. Even when sorghum was still the main crop in Unyamwezi, the potential agricultural production of one person was considerably greater than his own needs, yet the market for a surplus was limited. The neighbouring regions of Unyaturu and Ugogo had less rain and famine occasionally provided an opportunity to sell grain there. Within Unyamwezi, the surplus might pass from one chiefdom to another suffering from a local failure of the rains or from the destruction of its crops in war. The Washirombo bought a considerable amount of food in 1891 in the wake of the Ngoni wars. But as a rule food had no market value and its price in relation to bulk ruled out long distance transport. However, the ownership of slaves made possible a local surplus allowing a section of the community to be dispensed from its full share in agricultural work for the purpose of trade and travel. (Caravans normally set out before the crops were harvested.) A surplus could also be used for the production of beer, and provided for the exercise of hospitality and generosity, both status securing practices. Although no large reserves of food were kept, the excess of one harvest was carried over to the next year and helped safeguard against a single year's failure of the rains. In Unyanyembe, slaves made possible the production of labour intensive crops such as wheat and the building of large and luxurious tembes. Mirambo's fortress at Ikonongo was built by slave labour.

87. Grant, J.A. 'Summary of observations on the geography, climate and natural history of the lake regions of Equatorial Africa made by the Speke and Grant expedition 1860-63', JRGS 42 (1872) p. 250.

The slave himself represented a tangible reserve and an object of exchange in the case of famine. (Even Stanley, despite his fulminations against the slave trade, sold some of his men for supplies on his second journey)⁸⁸ Slaves were therefore capital assets in an economy notably lacking in them in other forms: land was free and productive plant - apart from a limited range of tools and weapons - was negligible. The slave represented storable wealth in a productive form. In Ushirombo, a rich man's wealth was measured in the number of slaves he possessed. Ownership of slaves facilitated trade by providing an incentive and a guarantee of a leisurely retirement. The greater proportion of the slaves were women providing offspring and sexual companionship also. Any threat to the system of slavery endangered the motives for trade and the savings from it localised at Ushirombo. The slave owners had to live where his rights over the slave were recognised and protected; so the slavery system provided owners with a motive for staying in the same place.

A dispassionate description of the economic role of the slave does not do justice to their position in society. Their masters had an obvious interest in treating them well, reinforced by the fear that a discontented slave might well poison his master. (The slaves ate with other members of the household.) The chief protected slaves from excessively harsh treatment. They received clothing, food and housing in old age and it was rare for a slave to be sold except in the case of a shortage of food. In a few cases, slaves

88. Gaillard de Ferry to MAE (Paris), Zanzibar, 13.12.77.
CCGZ 3; Kirk to FO, Zanzibar, 1.5.78, FO 84/1514.

became wealthy in their own right.⁸⁹ Katimula was a slave who became chief at Useke under Ifundikila.⁹⁰ It seems probable that the ownership of cattle was a late development. The children of a slave wife were equal to the children of a free wife, all the children being brought up together as watoto wa nyumba - the children of the household; nor was there any distinguishing racial characteristic indicating their origins.

Although a slave had recognised rights, his membership of Nyamwezi society placed him in a subordinate position. Slaves were in fact, and almost in essence, foreigners. Nyamwezi slaves were few for the Nyamwezi did not normally enslave each other. Exceptionally a chief might sell the family of a witch and prisoners from local wars were automatically considered slaves if they were not ransomed. Prisoners of war were generally women or children who could be easily absorbed into the polygamous households of a dominantly masculine society.⁹¹ Adult male slaves were more likely to run away if they were within reach of their homeland so they were generally sold a long way off. Thus Kirk noted the arrival of Nyamwezi slaves at the coast as a result of Mirambo's wars.⁹² At Ushiroambo the slaves were virtually all of foreign origin. Usually they could be identified by their imperfect knowledge of the local language: 'they just babbled - walibabia-babia tu!' remarked one informant⁹³ and they had an incomplete education in the

89. Grant, A walk across Africa, p.50.

90. Unonah, Economic expansion and political change in Unyanyembe, ch.3.

91. Bosch, Les Banyamwezi, p.440; Schweinfurth, G., Emin Pasha in Central Africa (London 1888) pp. 116-7.

92. Kirk to FO, 3.5.81. FO 84/1599.

93. Fieldnotes: A. Ndega, Ushiroambo.

customs and courtesies of the place. The slave was of an unknown family, without mizimu. As a stranger, he could not marry a locally born wife. Slaves were despised in some places more than in others: generally, the fewer they were in number, the greater the antipathy. At Mbogwe they were looked down on more than at Ushiroombo.⁹⁴ At Bukumbi and in parts of Usukuma where there were no slaves, the institution was despised greatly.⁹⁵ Generally where they were numerous there was less prejudice against them and in the commercial states their position was closer to that of freeborn citizens.⁹⁶

The establishment of a colonial government had no immediate impact on the institution of slavery in German East Africa as a whole. Initially slavery was tolerated to the extent that the Ngoni, as a reward for helping Langheld in an expedition in Ufipa, were permitted to take their captives back to Usumbwa as slaves. Enslavement became illegal in April 1902 and certain restrictions were placed on the sale of slaves. Although the government policy was to tolerate slavery and minimise economic disruption by a gradual policy towards emancipation, the policy of the mission at Ushiroombo was rather more drastic, and put into effect where slavery formed an important constituent of society. The mission did not employ slaves and the same practice was expected of Christian Sumbwa. The payment of wages for work on a contractual basis was a novelty. Previously working

94. Fieldnotes: Masele Matajiri, Mbogwe.

95. Girault to MM, Bukumbi, 10.6.84, MdA 52 (1884) p. 243.

96. What is said here of the institution of slavery refers to Sumbwa and Kyamwezi slavery or busesese only. Arab chattel slavery and Tusi feudal servitude were far harsher states.

obligations depended on personal relationships of neighbourhood or status. The food shortages and economic problems following the wars with the Ngoni led to the sale of many slaves in 1891-3 and many of them were redeemed by the fathers. Others were freed by payment to travelling traders. Another source of refugee slaves were runaways who fled to the mission claiming they were maltreated. The effect of freeing many slaves was to reduce their owners to the same economic and social level as their former slaves. The ransom was normally paid in cloth; an expendable item thus replaced a capital asset for the owner. The ransoming of a slave created the further problem of replacing the owner's obligations towards him. He had to be provided with food, shelter, provided with alternative work and reintegrated into society as a free citizen. For this purpose, orphanages and a village for freed slaves were established.

The rapid growth of orphanages and, after a few years, the growth of a village of freed slaves, was to change the character of the mission at Ushirombo. The priority of proselytising the locally born Washirombo gave way to the concentration of mission resources on the redemption and education of former slaves. They seemed to Gerboin to offer high hopes for the establishment of a nucleus of Christianity in Usumbwa. A fair proportion were young children who, being strangers, were less attached to Sumbwa traditions and customs which seemed to the missionaries incompatible with Christianity. They were less dependent on the chief than on the mission which provided them with housing and food. They could be schooled in literacy and the catechism without the risk of parental

opposition. In theory, they were to learn to live as model Christians and, while constituting an idealised village community, to work as catechists, passing on their learning to the Sumbwa.

There were two orphanages at Ushirombo: one for boys and another for girls directed initially by a Muganda widow, Paulina. (Her husband, Francis Gogi, a Hausa medical catechist trained at Malta, had been killed in the religious wars of Buganda). In 1894, the White Sisters arrived to supervise the girls' orphanage. Marriages were arranged very simply between the orphans: a boy expressed a wish to marry a certain girl and she was asked on the spot whether she accepted him or not. If so the bans were read out, a house built for the young couple and equipped with household utensils and tools, and they were provided with new clothes. Within a matter of a very few weeks, they were ceremonially married and escorted to their house with appropriate festivity.⁹⁷ A network of houses was gradually built up in front of the mission and later other villages were established in the vicinity. The redemption of slaves was originally subsidiary to the main work of building up a local Sumbwa community of Christians but it came to be the dominant element of the mission as the numbers increased. Two and a half years after the foundation of the mission, there were only fifty rachats and few than a dozen married couples, some of whom had come from Bukumbi.⁹⁸ But then the number grew rapidly and the number of orphans tripled during the next two years.

97. WSD, Ushirombo, 16.2.96, WSA.

98. Gerboin to MM, Ushirombo, 15.10.92, C20-53.

As they grew up and married, the girls at the early age of twelve or thirteen years (considerably less than was usual for Sumbwa girls) the mission villages became the largest concentration in the region after Tabora with two hundred households. The houses were of typical Sumbwa design: circular grass roofed misonge. Untypically they were laid out in streets lined with mango trees. A variety of other fruit trees and crops were tried in an attempt to make the villages self-supporting. At one time or another, vines, wheat, kapok, rubber and sisal were grown. None succeeded as a cash crop owing to the cost of transport to a market. Experiments with beeswax and gold production met with no greater success. The settlement did not therefore become self-supporting. The economic activities of local commerce, knitting and dressmaking by the women, building by the men depended to a greater or lesser extent on the importation of funds from outside to provide some of the materials and most of the wages. In practice the villages turned out to be rather less than the idealised communities envisaged. Many of the households broke up in a short time. The reason appears to have been mainly the lack of a dowry or brideprice. A husband who had no respect for a wife provided freely, nor a wife for a husband who had not earned the brideprice.⁹⁹ There was a rootlessness in the make up of a freed slave, a lack of the normal social restraints of parental and family ties. The drinking of beer was traditionally under the rigid control of the old men: no man under thirty was permitted to drink it. But there were no elders in the settlement to impose such customs. Complaints against the

99. Fieldnotes: Melkior Muganda, Ushiroambo.

villagers came from as far off as Kihumba in Uha.¹⁰⁰ Relationships with the Sumbwa became less cordial. While the local people had in recent years seen a decline in their own prosperity, their former slaves were in a privileged position, provided freely with clothing and houses, well placed to take advantage of the opportunities for paid work created by the vast brick-making and building programmes of the mission.¹⁰¹ As the orphanages and mission villages grew in size, the local people were displaced in the competition for jobs. The villagers were also paid at a higher rate than the Sumbwa for the same work and paid no taxes to the chief. One informant said they had an inferiority complex and behaved aggressively towards their former masters to compensate for it. They referred to the Sumwa as washenzi - uncivilised and tried to stop them attending the mission, confiscated their hoes if they saw them working on Sundays, and stole their hens with little fear of punishment. When on a feast day, the Christians of Namabuye - the only successful outstation of the mission - came to attend the High Mass and festivities at the mission, they formed up in

100. Ushirombo D., 23.9.99, TBA.

101. The construction work at Ushirombo was out of all proportion to a comparatively small remote chiefdom. The total number of baked bricks and tiles used for facing the cathedral, residences of the orphans, sisters, and fathers, the cowsheds and outhouses, and the extensive boundary walls was, at a conservative estimate, more than 1.1 million. A vast amount of wood had to be cut and carried a fair distance for the furnaces which were kept going for three or four weeks for each consignment of bricks. Figures for similar work at Makenenya show that each sound brick represented one man-hour of work.

a procession and marched through the village with Matulino their catechist in the lead. They would not have dared walk through the village alone.¹⁰² It is remarkable that in all the diaries and the several hundred letters written from Ushirombo in Gerboin's time, there is hardly a mention of the tensions between the villagers and local⁷ people. Just one reference to an incident described as 'une petite bagarre'.¹⁰³ While Gerboin may have seemed a stern man to the Sumbwa, he was the opposite to the people living under his protection on the mission plot and is remembered there only for his leniency and generosity towards them. Not all the missionaries agreed with his policy and after his death the policy of favouring the villagers at the expense of the Sumbwa was to be changed drastically and immediately. In the meantime, in the minds of the Sumbwa, Christianity had become associated with the ex-slaves, formerly a marginal and powerless element in society, now flaunting their comparative prosperity in the face of the former masters. It explains also why sporadic attempts to organise a catechist system had very little success. With one or two notable exceptions, such as Matulino at Namabuye, the catechists came from the mission villages and were not well received in neighbouring chiefdoms, being in some cases attacked or driven away. From the point of view of the mission, the results of the first twenty years were an anti-climax. The mission had been begun in the confidence of

102. Fieldnotes: G. Kwandamila, Mbogwe; Melkior Muganda, Ushirombo; Fr. John Kaholwe, Iboja; Fr. Anthony Nyambwe, Kahama; A. Idega, Ushirombo.

103. Ushirombo D., 21.2.99, TBA.

establishing a Christian chiefdom as a centre for the evangelization of Usumbwa. The Sumbwa had the reputation of being eager to learn and to adopt new ways. On the eve of the first world war, there was an array of impressive buildings, a diminishing few hundred Christians living close by, and little or no impression on the other Sumbwa kingdoms. The new bishop, Léonard, had already transferred his see to Tabora. The decline of the mission was only one aspect of a general decline in population of the whole region. Ushirombo had become a decaying society, its vitality ebbing away with the emigrants. The officialdom of the colonial government seemed remote and direct interference in the Sumbwa way of life had been slight. Yet the drawing of frontiers across traditional trade routes and the investment from overseas in plantations six or seven hundred miles away, even without intermediate road or rail transport, had had the most disturbing effect on Usumbwa. Like many hundred chiefdoms all over German East Africa, the ability to control its own way of life was taken away by governments thinking on a totally different scale. Many of the young and creative energies were drained off as emigrants sought freedom from the constrictions of a tightly ordered community dominated by the elders; they fled to a cash-oriented society, intertribal and potentially national in scope. In the old trading states of Usumbwa and north-western Unyamwezi, the traditionalists drew in defensively, strongly identifying themselves with the past and its survivals. Gerboin, without explicitly foreseeing the degree of depopulation, or analysing the economic causes, instinctively tried to

set up a local independent economic base by providing work, experimenting with new cash crops, and even creating a money system of stamped metal pieces which was used until the government introduced the small denomination heller in 1905. The attempt was to fail because of the lack of transport or a market and his villages were to depend on large subsidies to provide building work. On his death, his successors were not able or willing to concentrate such a large share of the vicariate resources on one mission and the villagers too began to leave for the coast. In the meantime, the mission villages had alienated many of the Sumbwa, first of all by constituting refuges for ransomed and runaway slaves, thus contributing to the breakdown of the master-slave relationship in Usumbwa, and secondly by the antipathy of the ex-slaves for their former masters and their monopolising the limited economic privileges available.

In the meantime, the idea of creating a Christian kingdom had been a failure. It flickered to life briefly when Mpipi, the last of Ndega's sons became chief in 1914. Mpipi had been one of the earliest catechumens and a catechist. Bright, intelligent and enthusiastic, he had been baptised in advance of the usual term of four years' catechumenate. He was not favoured by the kingmakers until the death of his uncle Muswezi in 1914 when he was recalled from the coast where he had gone to sell snuff. At his own request he was solemnly installed as chief in a church ceremony presided over by Bishop Leonard.¹⁰⁴ Within weeks, however, Mpipi found the paternalistic care of the Church

104. A detailed description of the ceremony is in Ushirobo D., 12.7.14, TBA.

exceeded his expectations. One night word reached the superior of the mission that Mpipi was spending it in the company of a young woman in the mission village and in the resulting altercation, Mpipi was discovered hiding in the roof of her house. He was ejected to return in abject humiliation to his ikulu for the night's shelter. In another incident, Mpipi fulfilled the order of the local British officer to provide people for government work by the convenient means of collecting the Christians as they left Mass on a Sunday. His action led to complaints to the officer who had Mpipi flogged on the steps of the Church in full view of a cheering crowd of villagers. From both the chief's and the mission's point of view, the renewal of the partnership between them was disastrous: the former had his authority undermined, and the mission eventually found him using his influence to discourage his people from practising as Christians. By the time he was dismissed by the government in 1922 over quite a different matter, the unofficial status of the mission villages as an extra-territorial ecclesiastical state had been taken away by the British administration, and they came directly under the authority of the chief.¹⁰⁵

There were two significant pointers for the future, however, which have been only touched on in this chapter. One was the employment of a remarkable catechist, Matulino

105. Ushiroombo D., 1918-24, passim, TBA. Safari book of D.O. Barnes at Rhodes House, Oxford. Léonard correspondence, TBA 355.115.

at Namabuye who built a significant influence in one neighbourhood. The development of the catechist system will be dealt with in a later chapter. Secondly, the decline of population and material wealth tended to promote a conscious traditionalism and conservatism against religious innovation, a reaction which was revealed even more clearly at the next foundation at Msalala.

CHAPTER FIVEMSALALA - THE CONSERVATIVE REACTION

The first foundation to be made from Ushirombo was at Ngaya in the Utemi of Msalala. Gerboin's familiarity with Unyamwezi was sketchy: a choice had necessarily to be made on restricted geographical knowledge. The principal factors were accessibility from an existing trade route, a reasonably numerous population, and a chief able and willing to provide physical protection. The receptivity to Christianity was impossible to foresee. Initially the re-opening of Kipalapala was considered, and Lombard and Gosseau went there in January 1893 to inspect the old buildings. But Lombard died at Tabora and Gosseau, depressed by his death and the dilapidated state of the old mission, and disturbed by the violence of war between Isike and von Prince, recommended a site at Msalala as an alternative.¹ Msalala lay across one of the principal routes between Tabora and Lake Victoria and would provide a convenient staging post on the road to Ushirombo. An initial approach had already been made to the ntemi Gagi, nominally sovereign of the region.² But the real power in the land was Hwimu, the mwanangwa of the Ngaya section, who had sent an embassy to Gerboin requesting a mission near his ikulu.³ His motives for doing so may have been political. He was on the brink of war with a neighbouring mwanangwa,

1. v.d. Burgt to MM, Msalala, 1.5.93. MG.

2. Ushirombo, D., 1.11.93. TBA.

3. Ushirombo, D., 7.2.93. TBA.

Msekera of Kahama, and he hoped the dependence of the missionaries on him for their defence would induce them to provide him with gunsaand powder.⁴ Some seven years before, in a comparable situation, the CMS, contrary to their usual policy, had provided powder to Chasama, mwanangwa of Msalala Ndogo, when he was attacked by Hwimu.⁵ Hwimu's invitation and the promise of his powerful protection were the factors that decided Gerboin to make a foundation at Ngaya,⁶ despite the presence of a larger and denser population to the immediate south in Kahana.

Hwimu had a personal authority which enabled him to govern his subjects more masterfully than the successive inexperienced rulers of Ushirombo. Ngaya mission was not to develop a very challenging political presence. The mission village remained fairly small; the infrequent flight of household slaves to the mission did not seriously disturb the more important elders. Since there was less economic dependence on the ivory trade than at Ushirombo, there was less economic upset when it collapsed. On balance, the political and economic changes of the early colonial period offered Ngaya fewer opportunities for social development than they took away, and the imbalance was sufficient to provoke a cautiously defensive reaction to innovation. If this can be established, the questions to be raised are more concerned with the specifically religious impact of the mission, for Christianity was to

4. Fieldnotes: Matias Chasama, Ngaya.

5. Wise to CMS, Msalala, 17.7.86. G3/AS/O/1886/282.

6. De Langle, Untitled ms. in Kahama-Mbulu mission archives.

compete directly with traditional religion within a stable social context quite unlike that at Ushirombo. The ancestor cult was designed to relieve fears of witchcraft, ill health, drought and infertility. Given the inflexible idiom of Tridentine Catholicism, its forms of worship and doctrine rooted in the culture of post-renaissance Europe, the question might be raised how its universalist tenets would be readapted to a small scale Nyamwezi chiefdom. It is suggested that in northern Unyamwezi, in the absence of social changes involving the adoption of certain specific characteristics of European culture, the gap seemed too large for the transfer of religious ideas. The conclusion is a negative one; the positive side will be dealt with in the context of an area showing more dynamic social change and development.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Msalala was one of the wealthiest and most thickly populated parts of Unyamwezi. Rainfall there is more consistent than to the south and east, and the soil is more fertile. The kinglist is exceptionally long⁷ suggesting early development of chiefly authority and continuous occupation of the area. The people of Msalala were involved in the coastal trade at an early stage: it is one of the chiefdoms mentioned by Cooley in the first written description of Unyamwezi.⁸ When Speke passed in 1858 he observed larger herds of cattle than he had seen elsewhere in Africa, 'tens of thousands' said Burton, and every village was filled

7. About 1920, Fr. Delon recorded the names and lives of twenty-four batemi of Msalala. Delon, P., 'Quelques notes ethnographiques et historiques sur le Msalala', ms. 11 pp. NG 801.11.

8. Cooley, 'The Geography of Nyassi', facing p.185.

with them at night.⁹ The herds were an object of exchange and trade at Tabora.¹⁰ By 1893, the herds were much smaller owing to the depredations of the Ngoni and the rinderpest epidemic, but even so, the area seems to have been still relatively prosperous and populous.

Nowadays, the outbreak of wars between rival wanangwa in Msalala during the decade following Mirambo's death is remembered as an aberration disturbing the previously peaceful lives of farming communities. It appears to be true that during the reign of the great Nyamwezi ntemi, Msalala was preserved from invasion. But early written sources, and the traditions and memories picked up by the early missionaries, show that this period was comparatively brief and had been preceded by intermittent wars and invasions for many years. Delon believed that the successive invasions of Baha, Bungu and Ngoni, took place over the space of a century or more, but in fact they can all be dated to the first half of the nineteenth century.¹¹ A Ha dynasty still controlled the area when it was visited by Khamis bin Othman, Cooley's informant.¹² The Bungu were remembered as having similar weapons, tactics and even war songs^{to those of} the Ngoni whom they imitated.¹³ When Speke passed, the Kamba clan was still

9. Burton, 'The lake region', p.267. Speke, J.H., 'Journal' Blackwood's Magazine 77 (1859), p.405.

10. Livingstone, Last Journals ii, pp.198 and 203.

11. Delon, 'Quelques notes ethnographiques'. MG 801.11. There is no other record of the Bungu raiding so far north.

12. Cooley, 'The geography of Nyassi', p.207.

13. Speke, 'Journal', p.571.

displacing the Manda dynasty in one kingdom after another.¹³ Arabs were also involved in the political rivalries of the area before being driven from northern Unyamwezi by Mirambo. A final group of invaders were the Ngoni whose raiding parties were attracted by the wealth of cattle. The wars were undoubtedly numerous and although few details of them are remembered, two general facts are clear. In spite of the intrusion of numerous outside groups, the Utemi maintained a continuity of identity and its institutions remained nominally alike those in other parts of Unyamwezi. If the invaders remained as rulers, they were controlled by absorption into pre-existing offices. Secondly, sufficient is remembered of the rulers to show that there was repeated unification by strong batemi, and fragmentation under weak chiefs.¹⁴ Boundaries were repeatedly realigned by conflicts.

After Mirambo extended his imperium over Msalala, imposing his nominees as rulers, there appears to have been a period of peace. But the men he sanctioned as wanangwa were mainly military men on whom he could rely for support in his wars. The early nineteenth century wars may not have been very destructive of human life: conquest, cattle and trading advantage being prior considerations. But the introduction of firearms and the appreciating value of prisoners of war in the slave trade, seems to have changed the nature of war, people replacing cattle as a prime object of plunder. The populations

13. Speke, 'Journal', p.571.

14. The traditional story of the break up of Nkumbi's lands is recorded in Abrahams, Political Organisation, p.32.

of Msalala became concentrated in defensible rocky areas close to the wanangwa's capitals. These men were sub-chiefs, patrilineal descendants of the royal family, ineligible for succession, but exercising administrative and military leadership under the authority of the ntemi. The redistribution of population affected the military balance between the different wanangwa and after Mirambo's death internal wars broke out as they sought to readjust their boundaries to reflect the strength of their followings. Hwimu and Sundi, two of their number, combined to drive out Chasama of Msalala Ndogo and to divide his territory between themselves. The militarised concentrated settlements were strong enough to control any further invasion by outsiders but the ntemi was made dependent on the wanangwa for military leadership and support.¹⁵

The early batami have been described by Cory¹⁶ as primarily ritual and ceremonial leaders. All the same, their ritual function put them in a position of considerable power in times of peace. There was no empty symbolism. All the land of the chiefdom was regarded as belonging to the ntemi and fertility depended on his physical welfare. It was his duty to coordinate planting and to decide when crops should be harvested or beer brewed. Although expressed ceremonially, these were strictly administrative decisions concerning matters of life and death to his people. He had full judicial authority to deal with disputes and criminal acts. His position as ritual head of the chiefdom gave him the ultimate responsibility for

15. A full account of the conflicts after Mirambo's death is to be found in the CMS correspondence from Msalala Ndogo 1885-6. See particularly Gordon to CMS, Msalala, 8.9. 1886, G3/A5/O/1886/341.

16. Cory, H. The ntemi (London 1951), p.75.

organising the defence of his subjects in time of war. So long as defence was against cattle raids and transitory succession disputes, no great military qualities were required in the ntemi. A candidate was chosen for the office often for his pliability in the hands of his leading subjects. As the descendant of a female member of the royal family, he had usually had no administrative experience: often his father was a commoner or he himself had been brought up in another chiefdom. Strong aggressive personalities were rarely chosen, amiability and a gentle disposition being preferred. He was expected to settle disputes by conciliating disputants, not by forcibly imposing his own judgement.¹⁷

The militarisation consequent to the development of the slave trade and the introduction of firearms on a large scale revealed a weakness in the traditional type of matrilineal candidate. In the more successful commercial chiefdoms, notably Urambo and Unyanyembe, patrilineal succession was introduced; ambitious sons succeeded their fathers, maintaining and broadening the authority of their predecessors. In Msalala, matrilineal heirs continued to succeed and the need for military leadership of a more permanent kind was met by the increasing power of the wanangwa while the ntemi's activity was limited to ritual and judicial functions. When the ntemi Nsabi was unable to offer any defence of his territory to Mirambo, his political power passed into the hands of the wanangwa acceptable to the latter. Kongoro, a mwanangwa who wanted to take over the utemi and restore its power, was

17. Fieldnotes: Solezi Seleli, Ngaya. J. Mihambo, Ngaya. Caroli Maywili, Ndala, and many others.

killed on Mirambo's orders. After Mirambo's death, Msekera, the mwanangwa of Ntobo, seized the ntemi's capital and drove him out of his remaining lands. His successor, Gagi, still a small boy, was given a little group of fifteen houses to rule over by Hwimu, the mwanangwa of Ngaya. The new ntemi's territorial and military resources were minute, but he still possessed a position of honour, receiving presents and homage from the much more powerful wanangwa. That the office of ntemi survived at all was partly for the respect traditionally accorded to it, and doubtless because Hwimu, controlling the ntemi as a client, hoped to make use of the residual prestige of the ntemi to exercise some influence over the other wanangwa. One of the Ntemi's titles illustrating his dependent position was Mbuliyahinda - the goat with a bell. This was a reference to an old mzimu practice: a goat with particular markings was sometimes adorned with a bell and taken to represent a dead relative. The title reminded the ntemi that his office, like the goat's bell, could be removed at any time and given to another. Thus the office of Ntemi remained but in an emasculated ritual role. The political power was acquired by the nominally subordinate wanangwa.¹⁸

The career of Hwimu illustrates the rise of the wanangwa. Hwimu claimed descent from a past ntemi, Nkumbi, but was of Kimbu origin. He inherited a small group of villages and the limited authority of a traditional mwanangwa.¹⁹ He had the

18. Fieldnotes: Petro Somola, Ngaya. J. Mihambo, Ngaya. v.d. Burgt to MM, Msalala, 1.5.93, MG. Capus, A., 'De l'Ushirombo à Tabora', CT 69 (1896), pp.156-7. Gosseau, P., 'Rapport', CT 65 (1895), pp.177-8. Levesque Journal, 16.11.1883, C14-376.

19. Capus, A., 'De l'Ushirombo à Tabora', CT 89 (1896), p.161.

advantage of possessing an ikulu in a strong natural fortress on an isolated hill, the top of which is an open space some three hundred metres across and encircled by inselbergs honey-combed with caves and passages where he kept a store of guns and food. Under the wing of Mirambo he extended his own domain and raided far afield - he is heard of in Usui more than a hundred miles to the north west. He defeated many of the neighbouring batemi including those of Nindo, Salawi and Mwakarunde.²⁰ He skilfully avoided any clash of interest with Mirambo, paying him tribute in ivory and providing young men for his armies. But once Mirambo was dead, Hwimu soon established his independence of Urambo and made friends with Kapela of Bukune, Mirambo's principal enemy. He began levying heavy hongoes on caravans²¹, a practice forbidden in Mirambo's time, and allied with the Ngoni in wars against Mirambo's former protégés, Ndega of Ushiroambo and Chasama of Msalala Ndogo. He seized more territory from his neighbour Nkandi, mwanangwa of Kahama. He was active in trade and could send as many as a hundred tusks at a time to the coast.²² In his capital he built a storied Arab style house with mats on the floors and furnished with many imported manufactures including a big armchair, an ornate mirror and a dinner service.²³ Hwimu usually fought in an alliance and invariably supported the winning side in a conflict. He was one of the

20. Fieldnotes: Solezi Seleli, Ngaya. Joseph Mhambo, Ngaya.

21. Msalala D., 1.12.13, TBA.

22. v.d. Burgt to MM, Msalala, 1.5.93, MG.

23. Capus, A. 'De L'Ushiroambo à Tabora', CT 89 (1896), p.162.

first to recognise German military supremacy after Langheld's defeat of the Ngoni and he submitted to it even before Isike's death when most of the other chiefs in Unyamwezi were still awaiting the outcome of the conflict between the Germans and Unyanyembe.²⁴ It was during this interlude between the passage of Emin with the first German military expedition through Unyamwezi and von Prince's victory over Isike, that Hwimu, knowing from Gosseau and Lombard that a mission foundation was being considered, sent an embassy to Ushiroambo inviting Gerboin to select his territory as its site.

In sum, the century preceding the colonial period was one of continuing territorial and institutional change in Msalala. There were changes of boundaries and dynasties, a progressive militarisation in leadership, concentration of settlement and increased commercial activity. Nominally, the political institutions endured intact, but the power and authority exercised by their holders varied radically. The means of change were confrontation and conquest rather than peaceful co-operation or diplomacy. Armed conflict and war were inextricably associated with the political development.

The immediate effect of the inception of colonial overrule was to arrest this vigorous process of political change in Msalala. Hitherto wars and conflicts had been the principal means of redividing territorial authority according to changing military potential. Now an imposed neutrality froze the existing distribution of land and loyalties. The colonial government drew maps, defined boundaries, distributed tax lists

24. v.d. Burgt to MM, Msalala, 1.5.93, MG.

and calculated responsibilities for manpower levies. In practice they regarded the wanangwa of Msalala as in full authority over their land. As a matter of general policy, German colonial officials settled territorial disputes by reference to historically established claims. In the nearby chiefdom of Bulungwa, for instance, a succession dispute was settled by the reinstatement of the old chiefly line supplanted by a protégé of Mirambo's.²⁵ Chasama of Msalala Ndogo, another client of Mirambo whose lands had been divided out by Hwimu and Sundi, secured German military support from Mwanza to retake his lost lands. German forces arrived from Tabora to take Hwimu's side too late to intervene.²⁶ The dispute was finally settled by the restoration to Chasama of his inherited land and titles.²⁷ But in other cases, actual possession was a more important factor than historical claims. Hwimu was ordered to restore two villages to a certain Mkwande but in the end he simply had to pay in compensation twenty goats and three guns.²⁸

Before the German arrival, ntemi Gagi had been plotting with the Ngoni to seize the old capital Igalukilo from Msekera of Ntobo but now he had to give up hopes of using force and instead tried to secure it by German intervention on his behalf.²⁹ Initially he secured the recognition of the

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25. Letter of a German officer in the possession of Chief Lembeli of Bunungwa. The signature is illegible.
26. Msalala D., 13-16.8.02, TBA. Fieldnotes: Joseph Nihambo, Ngaya.
27. Msalala D., 22.8.02, TBA.
28. Msalala D., 9-12.7.95 and 1-13.8.95.
29. v.d. Burgt to MM, Msalala, 1.5.93, MG.

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military commander in Tabora who gave him the Imperial flag normally reserved to batemi. But the wanangwa presented their case so ably that in the end Gagi was dismissed for his persistent attempts to disrupt the status quo. The wanangwa were then formally declared independent of him by the colonial government.³⁰ None of the wanangwa, however, used their new titles as batemi among themselves or their subjects. The German arrival was thus to crystallise the newly acquired and still uncertain power of the wanangwa. Provided a mwanangwa established an understanding with the German officers, he might even gain a measure of security and protection lacking previously. He could confidently expect to pass on his office to one of his sons at his death. There was no need for him to defend his villages militarily against a powerful neighbour. External security also imposed limits on internal change: opposition within a chiefdom could not take the form of supporting a rival claimant. To confirmation in office was added protection against internal divisiveness.

The political situation for the two decades after 1893 can be described not merely as stable, but as static. There was even a tendency to revert to settlement patterns and relationships which existed towards the beginning of the century. After a decade of enforced peace, the concentrated villages began to disperse.³¹ The Nyamwezi preferred to live close to their crops to protect them from wild animals, and to avoid the squabbles of crowded village life. The younger men

30. Msalala D., 3.12.00, TBA.

31. Msalala D., 18.12.07, TBA.

whose warrior qualities during the Wars had been of great importance, took a less significant and influential role in a purely agricultural society. The decline of the caravan trade and of regular dry season employment by local merchants reduced their earning power. Instead of remaining at home to take a junior position in local affairs, they began to seek employment at the coastal plantations, some being absent for years at a time. The elders were enabled to assert themselves and claim increased local authority and prestige. As they sat together in the evening, talking nostalgically of past wars and victories, the young men could only listen to their experiences without hope of emulating it in years to come. Rumours of disturbances elsewhere in the colony regularly provoked sighs for the past. Hwimu and his senior followers looked forward to the day when Tabora would be burnt to the ground and all the Europeans there killed.³²

Political quiescence was set against a background of economic decline. The rinderpest epidemic of 1892 destroyed many of the cattle. As at Ushiroambo, the sources of ivory were cut off by new colonial frontiers. The ntemi Gagi made a fruitless visit to Uganda to hunt elephants and returned empty handed, having to sell his guns to pay for his food.³³ The recession was not as disruptive as at Ushiroambo because trade had been only a secondary source of wealth, but it was not replaced by any alternative source of income. The price of agricultural produce remained derisory so that the payment of taxes became onerous in the extreme. The annual house

32. Msalala D., 2.10.09, TBA.

33. Msalala D., 16.9.96, TBA.

tax of three rupees required the sale of cattle at four shillings each, goats at one tenth that price. Some men were even driven to selling their wives and children to raise the necessary cash.³⁴ The lack of cheap bulk transport made the profitable cultivation of cash crops impossible, though experiments were made with cotton and coffee. Thus the economic level of the area reverted to an earlier stage of development. The drain of young men to the coast increased as recruiters invaded the country making attractive advance payments in cash and goods. The missionaries resented their presence and complained that the plantation owners were enriching the coast at the expense of the interior.³⁵ But there was nothing the chiefs could do to prevent the drain of productive manpower leaving behind an economy reverting to subsistence level.

As far as the ordinary Nyamwezi were concerned, the colonial rule removed the danger of local wars and Ngoni raids but it imposed onerous taxes and even more unpopular forced labour. The Tabora-Mwanza road passing through Msalala was named Hologosho (Trouble) on account of the harsh work its construction imposed. Apart from manual labour at the coast, no opportunities of paid employment were available and there was no incentive to make use of the educational opportunities provided by the mission. Security of property was maintained and many informants looked back enviously to the freedom from thieves at that time, attributing it to the

34. Msalala D., -.9.08, TBA.

35. Msalala D., 15.3.08, TBA.

severe punishments meted out to culprits.³⁶ But otherwise colonial rule did not impinge deeply on the ordinary farmer. Tabora was more than a hundred miles away and colonial officers visited the area rarely and briefly. For most matters administration was under the care of traditional authorities.

While the immediate effect of colonial rule was to paralyse political and economic development on traditional lines, Hwimu and certain other chiefs were quick to see their own advantage in this situation. Hwimu's main interest was the defence of his possessions in the large chiefdom he had built up. He had to guard against the schemes of the rival wanangwa. His hereditary claims were not strong and the other wanangwa regarded him as an intruder. In common with them his power was, according to strict custom, dependent on the ntemi. Although he claimed to be the grandson of Ntemi Nkumbi and used the title Mwizikulu (grandson), there is some doubt about the validity of his claim. Some of his lands were his simply by right of conquest and now force of arms counted little, especially after the Germans broke up his guns to prevent any hostility with the reinstalled Chasama.³⁷ All the same, Hwimu was by far the most skilful of

36. Many elderly informants remember that during their childhood, empty houses could be left safely unattended, thieves being deterred by the harsh judicial sentences of early colonial times, a spell on the chain gang, for example, or a beating with the kiboko - a rhinoceros hide whip. However, the respect for property they remember is much older. In traditional society cattle thieves were executed and robbers were liable to lose their right hand. In the tightly ordered society of that time, casual movement was less common: strangers travelled only in groups and local behaviour was rigidly controlled by the intimacy of village life.

37. Fieldnotes: Joseph Mihambo, Ngaya.

the chiefs in preserving the confidence of the Germans. He easily checkmated Gagi's plans to restore the authority of the ntemi: Hwimu and Sundi accused him before the Germans of planning war and so he was dismissed.³⁸ Gagi was replaced as ntemi by a nominee of Hwimu's called Nsana meaning Throw, so called because he ruled after Gagi was thrown out. In 1906 rumours broke out again of a plan of the Germans to recreate the kingdom of Msalala as a real unit of administration but they came to nothing.³⁹ Yet Hwimu does not seem to have favoured the formal independence of the wanangwa. When in 1911 Nsana was succeeded as ntemi by Nzwila, a patrilineal descendant of Nsabi, Mhonda of Ngogwa pointed out that this broke the customary law and claimed that now all the wanangwa were equally batemi with him. Hwimu and Chasama, the senior wanangwa, refused to wear the vibangwa (conus shells) even though their colleagues went to Mwingilo, the ancient capital, to receive these royal emblems.⁴⁰ In trying to hold on to the past, Hwimu must surely have been concerned by the erosion of his prestige and influence caused by emigration both to the coast and to Kahama. The more fertile soil at Kahama had been abandoned by many a generation or two previously in favour of the more defensible region of Ngaya. Now many returned there and a census of the population in Ngaya in 1906 showed the population was declining and villages of more than thirty inhabitants were rare.⁴¹

38. Fieldnotes: Joseph Mihambo, Ngaya. Astruc to MM, Msalala, 1.4.01, MG.

39. Msalala D., 3.2.06, TBA.

40. Fieldnotes: J.Mihambo, Ngaya. Mdira Buhopa, Ngaya.

41. Msalala D., 18.12.07, TBA.

Thus in so far as there were any signs of change in the political settlement of Msalala, at the turn of the present century, there were signs of reversion in economics, settlement and social relationships to an earlier time. Military resistance to German rule was impracticable. Moral resistance was thought of only in terms of maintaining pre-existing institutions: a factor entirely compatible with the Germans own method of indirect rule in Unyamwezi. A situation was created in which traditions of the past were reinforced as a defence against innovation. New ideas and values could no longer be encapsulated physically as in pre-colonial Unyamwezi but they could be psychologically. Right up to the first world war, there seems to have been no expectation that the colonial administration would last very long; it was seen as a passing phase, to be tolerated for the lack of any means of overthrowing it. In the minds of most of the elders and chiefs, it seemed a temporary suspension of the ordinary process of change. Hwimu was in a holding situation, defining his earned position and power, as far as possible within traditional structures, as they had existed immediately before the German arrival. There was no scope for the emergence of any alternative leadership within his chiefdom. Early resistance did not take the form of preparing or looking forward to the creation of a post-colonial national state. There was no sign of economic growth and no attempt was yet made to master by academic education the new techniques in order to use them against the colonial government. Hwimu, above all an opportunist, could only wait for the old life to return while resisting intrusive or upsetting ideological influences. Pre-colonial customs of the small scale warring chiefdoms were deliberately preserved while,

unrecognised, the outside world was creating a new context for Nyamwezi society which made a return to the past impossible. The ancient privileges of the old over the young, of men over women, the unity of the extended family, loyalty to the chiefs, were all sacralised and symbolised meanwhile in the traditional cult of ancestors. When a colonial officer came to supervise the election of a new ntemi in 1911, he was asked by the wanangwa not to permit the succession of a young man, less familiar with and knowledgeable about old customs.⁴² Ironically, it had often been the practice to elect a young man - often not yet adult - as ntemi. Now a tradition was being abandoned to maintain traditionalism. There was a conscious choice of conservatism even as the possibility of a return to old ways receded. Thus the interests of the wanangwa and elders on the one hand, and of the colonial government on the other, favoured the paralysis of political development. The lack of economic and political alternatives made the emergence of any other leadership unlikely. The principal characteristic of Msalala politics for two decades was to be an unaccustomed institutional immobility.

Some explanation of the cult of mizimu is needed to show how it acquired the character of symbolic resistance to innovation. Mizimu⁴³ can be described as ancestors who

42. Msalala D., 1.5.11, TBA.

43. Mizimu is a Swahili term and used widely in Bantu Africa. The equivalent in kinyamwezi is misambwa from the verb kusamba, to grieve or mourn. Most of the material on Nyamwezi religion on the following pages is based on interviews with informants in the east of Unyamwezi. Comparative material was collected in Usumbwa and northern Unyamwezi later. The principal informants on this topic were:
/Contd.

interfered in human affairs, causing personal and communal troubles; they were appeased by offerings, prayers, and the building of little commemorative huts. Not all the dead could become mizimu; apart from twins who had unique magical powers, and chiefs whose cult was territorially defined, mizimu were ancestors in the direct line, close enough to be remembered by name. Ancestors in general were not the subject of a cult, nor were distant forbears. On the other hand some years must elapse after death before an ancestor was venerated. This was a period during which the ancestor was de-individualised as the personal memory faded, for his individual human qualities did not influence his way of acting as a mzimu. Only his relationship to the living survived, and it determined his area of concern. A family mzimu was concerned with domestic matters only, such as illness or the propagation of children. A chief whose authority, in contrast, had had a territorial extension, and was buried sitting in state, attended by two of his slaves in the very earth of his kingdom⁴⁴ was concerned with the welfare of his kingdom as a whole, providing rainfall for the crops and protection in time of war. His concern was still localised but on a broader scale than a family

43. (Contd) Adofu Nyamiti, Fr Ambrozi Kaseka, Emile Luziga, Stefano Shija, Joseph Nsubi, Mark Shilindi, Petro Nzigula, Pio Ndiranba, all of Ndala; Mhumba Maboia of Simbo; Kapandabumela Yegela, Nyamizi Shija, Mfumu Luziga Magagi, and Magohe Madinda of Tongi; Mlisho Magaka and Mikaeli Kasundwa of Mhuge; Nyanya Ngelenge of Bugabe; Adofu Talu of Bukombe; Mwami Kizozo of Ushiroombo; Mwami Lumelezi, Gerardo Mwandamila, Masele Matajiri of Mbogwe; Mayebele of Kibama; Mpembe Ilagila of Kisuka; Solczi Seleli and Mdira Buhopa of Ngaya.

44. There is much evidence that burial was not universal in Nyamwezi in the nineteenth century, but it was spreading down the social order.

ancestor. In the event of drought, a black bull was offered to a specific chief nominated by a professional diviner. The offering was the occasion of a great feast which served several purposes at once. It expressed common anxiety and apprehension that the crops might fail; its festive character distracted the participants from fear of hunger and removed the frustration of being unable to influence the climate themselves. As a sacrifice to a chief it renewed belief in the fittingness of chiefly authority. Indirectly it consolidated the position of the reigning chief and was a renewal of loyalty to his dynasty. The cult therefore implied an identification of the harmonious relationship between chief and subject with the physical welfare of the chiefdom. Similarly, family problems were resolved and domestic relationships strengthened by the offering of a sheep or goat or the construction of a little hut to an ancestor.

The cult of ancestors was not a part of a religious cult to a supreme being. It was the celebration of the continuity of chiefdom and family by the making of ritual offerings to predecessors and progenitors. The occasions of offerings were events which threatened the harmony of common interests and welfare, such as sickness or drought. Interference by the ancestral power explained the nature and source of disharmony. There is a basic human need to find some order in a complex and apparently anarchic universe. To live subject to unpredictable natural phenomena bringing possible illness, starvation and communal annihilation imposes unbearable tension on any human being. Greek dialectic, which underlies European science, abstracted from amassed particular facts, universal ideas and physical laws. Nyamwezi science used a different kind of

reasoning. It developed in a relatively small scale society in which most specialised knowledge was secret and scattered among the initiates of restrictive associations. But everyone shared a very strong consciousness of human roles: social relationships were clearly defined and every individual's behaviour was governed by precise formalities. Explaining the unknown by the known was to perceive order in the physical universe in terms of personal roles.

Physical disharmony was associated with some weakness in prescribed social roles and behaviour. One source was sorcerers and witches: while their external behaviour conformed to the formal requirements imposed by the interdependence of communal life, their secret internal sentiments were malicious, discordant and out of harmony with it; this was both sinister and harmful. Another source of misfortune was the ancestors. They had created and formed Nyamwezi society, and were thought of as being concerned with the society they had handed down. In the absence of written laws, the individual was required to merge his needs and ambitions with the common good according to the traditions and precedents they had left.

The remembered dead represented the continuity of common experience and symbolised a harmonious web of social relationships. Their power came not from being the active guardians they were believed to be, but as abstractions of present ideals. While large scale societies commonly look forward to a golden age, small societies tend to look back to it. Before the Ngoni arrived, one informant recalled, there were

no snakes, no lions, no wars.⁴⁵ The past could be more than an idealisation of the present: it could also provide a practical programme of action. When Mirambo created an empire, he claimed to be restoring the dimly remembered unity of Unyamwezi under the rule of pre-Sagali kings.⁴⁶ The conservation and defence of social structures depended on reference to origin rather than to theories of present or future usefulness.

At the turn of the century, the situations which had produced the political structures of Msalala lay in the past. A colonial government backed by overwhelming military force had cut off any avenues of further independent development of those structures by military conflict. In these circumstances, the cult could be a means of restricting patterns of life to the requirements of past generations and conformity to the past might exclude new opportunities. It would seem that at Msalala, existing political structures, notably the political authority of the wanangwa, which was the product of the immediately pre-colonial period, could be maintained by constant reference to the past and an insistence on the cult of those ancestors who had lived during that significant period. The cult could be a means not simply of maintaining harmony and stability, but become a means of simply preserving the status quo. At this point, the interests of the wanangwa and of the colonial government coincided. During the seventy years of indirect rule in Unyamwezi, the chiefs were to

45. Fieldnotes: Masele Matagiri, Mbogwe.

46. Southon, 'The history, country and people of Unyamwezi' in Southon to LMS, Urambo, 28.3.80, CA 3/1/C.

become increasingly dependent on colonial appointment and maintenance. While many of the external symbols of chiefship were to survive, the office itself became in part a government agency: the boundaries and duties of the chief were adapted to fit general administrative policies. After the first world war, some old and venerated chiefdoms were to disappear and comparative newcomers were to supplant them. Despite very tenuous claims of kingship, candidates for chiefly office were often to be chosen not because they had the qualities traditionally looked for, but because they had qualifications which suited the colonial administration, such as experience of employment in a government office, even in the humble task of messenger boy. As the years of colonial rule passed, the traditional institution of chiefship survived in external form. But the context which had created it receded further and further into the past, it gradually became anachronistic and devoid of its original purpose. The cult of mizimu had originally, in pre-colonial Unyamwezi, sustained a living and developing political structure. Linking physical and social disorder together, it had made society a physical necessity to individual and communal welfare. The cult was, in its origin, not backward looking, but an explanation and idealisation of the present. But when the social context which had given birth to it began to change, it was to acquire a new character and purpose. It became the symbol of an idealised past and was used to maintain dying traditions and resist social innovation.

The arrival of Gosseau and van den Burgt in Ushiroambo in the eleventh Central African caravan of White Fathers

provided the personnel for the foundation of a second mission post under Gerboin's jurisdiction. Once the site of Msalala had been selected, they were despatched with a dozen freed slaves arriving at Hwimu's in February 1893. Hwimu provided wood and straw freely for the construction of a large building situated within a mile of his ikulu. Round it were grouped the 'orphans' houses to create the nucleus of a Christian village. A ten foot surrounding wall was built to keep out the marauding lions and leopards then prevalent in the area.⁴⁷ The building programme occupied the energies of most of the newcomers for the first year and a half, and the superior, Gosseau, was left to start conduct catechism classes on his own. In the early years, the missionaries rarely travelled far from the vicinity of the mission. Instead, they attempted to draw potential catechumens from all over the country to the mission itself. In a short time, Gosseau had succeeded in attracting many hundreds of pupils. He had inscribed the names of five hundred by the end of 1893 in his register, including all the sons and daughters of Hwimu and five of his thirty-three wives.⁴⁸ The following September the number had reached twelve hundred including most of the wazenga kaya or village heads within four or five miles and a hundred youths from Ntabo's several days distance.⁴⁹

47. Gosseau to MM, Msalala, 21.6.94, MG. They had claimed ten recent victims. Such activity near human settlement was due to the epidemic of rinderpest which had destroyed much wild game as well as cattle.

48. Gosseau to MM, Msalala, 20.12.93, M.G.

49. Msalala D., 14.7.94 and 12.9.94, TBA.

Such a response was remarkable and it was not entirely due to an interest in religion. Curiosity played a part, so too did the extrovert personality of Gosseau which is still vividly remembered nearly eighty years after his death. But an even more important factor was undoubtedly his lavish distribution of cloth. His private resources were considerable and he dispensed gifts of cloth for attendance at the mission on feast days and for knowledge of the catechism. In the long run, the result was to undermine the effectiveness of the work of his colleagues and successors who could not meet the expectations of them thus created. When Gosseau returned temporarily to Europe in November 1894, the work of the mission came almost to a stop.⁵⁰ At his death in 1899 a number of Christians ceased practising and moved away from the area. One told Gerboin, "Give me cloth and I will come and pray".⁵¹ Gosseau's liberality was the object of much frustration and criticism by his confrères, but in the Nyamwezi context it was not simply bribery or payment for frequenting the mission. At the time of his arrival, the sight of a European was sufficient to make any child and not a few adults flee in dismay,⁵² particularly after the brief but harsh colonial conquest of Nkandi's chiefdom at nearby Kahama. In Nyamwezi society, a gift is a highly personalised action and is much more than a simple transfer of goods, whether given as a hongo, in return for work done, or in exchange for goods. A gift was an expression

50. Desoignies to MM, Msalala, 20.8.95, MG.
Desoignies to MM, Msalala, 27.10.95, MG.

51. Gerboin to MM, Ushiroambo, 30.7.00, MG.

52. Fieldnotes: Joseph Mihambo, Ngaya.

of goodwill and was the normal means by which a stranger offered friendship to dissipate any cautious suspicion of secret hostility. The generous distribution of goods was expected of any chief, or wealthy man and there was no shame in asking for such favours gratuitously. In return the gift created reciprocal obligations of service. Gosseau used customary and orthodox means of building up a personal circle of friends and followers who came to his classes and learnt his catechism off by heart as a favour to him. In the same way, a generous chief built up a personal following by the distribution of his wealth from wars and taxes. However, the attachment of the catechumens was to Gosseau himself, not to the teaching he wished to impart or to the Church which he represented; it was not transferred in his absence to other missionaries. Rather, their unwillingness and inability to follow his lead was taken as a sign of indifference if not of outright unfriendliness.

A dozen years after the foundation of the mission, most of the early advances had been lost and the small number of active Christians had dwindled to little more than a hundred. Most of these were inhabitants of the mission village of some forty families. As at Ushiroambo, the greater part of the people in the mission village were not of local origin but ex-slaves ransomed from travelling traders or their Nyamwezi owners.⁵³ Some few were runaway wives of polygamous husbands. Occasionally a villager married a Mngaya and brought his or her partner to live at the mission but otherwise there were few Nyamwezi there. The village never became

53. Carte de Visite, 1905, MG 100.

a rival in size to the Ikulu as at Ushirombo. After the early years, Hwimu discouraged his people from attendance at the mission and advised Lembeli, ntemi of Ulungwa, to prevent his subjects going to the mission later founded in his chiefdom.⁵⁴ He appears to have been particularly unwilling to permit women to become Christians lest they should refuse to become the secondary wives of polygamous husbands.⁵⁵ The precautionary visits of surrounding chiefs to the mission in the early years and their despatch of children to catechism classes lasted only until they discovered that the colonial government did not care whether they became Christians or not. Because the mission was in Hwimu's territory, some chiefs identified the mission with his personal interest. Msekera said he would prefer to go and pray at far off Ushirombo rather than at Ngaya.⁵⁶ Thus the mission got the worst of both worlds: the disadvantage of being identified with Hwimu without the benefit of his support.

Attempts were made to cover more ground by the employment of catechists who regularly toured the villages of neighbouring chiefdoms during the dry season, residing at the more distant villages for several days at a time. They taught the catechism off by heart to groups of children and youths, the boys and girls singing alternately the questions and answers to a rhythmic tune. Later, in the time of Bishop

54. Msalala D., 15.3.12, TBA.

55. Ibid.

56. Msalala D., 12.6.95, TBA.

Léonard, the catechist system was to be organised much more effectively. But in the 1890's and in the early years of the present century, the catechists, with a few exceptions, were young boys of twelve to fourteen years old, generally unbaptised, whose educational equipment was a little reading and writing, and an imperfectly memorised catechism.⁵⁷ Sometimes they ran into physical opposition and had their reading books and catechism torn up.⁵⁸ On a few occasions they were refused food. 'We do not wish to become the slaves of the Europeans', they were told.⁵⁹ They were most unwelcome in the villages of Hwimu and found most adherents at Msekera's near Kahama.⁶⁰ Gass wrote that in his experience at Msalala, most of the catechists were orphans who could not read: 'They were happy to go far off', he said, 'where they received more money, drank pombe and played at being schoolmaster, administering the kiboko and imposing fines on children.'⁶¹ Gass was a severe critic by temperament but certainly the young inexperienced catechists of Msalala at that time had had very little training. Their status as ex-slaves and as foreigners did not make them very acceptable to the Nyamwezi.⁶²

57. Fieldnotes: M.Chasama, Ngaya. Joseph Mihambo, Ngaya. Bedbeder to MM, Msalala, 26.11.99, M.G.

58. Msalala D., 11.7.03, TBA.

59. Msalala D., 20.6.03 and 6.6.04, TBA.

60. Msalala D., 6.6.04, TBA.

61. Gass to MM, Tabora, 28.6.07, NG.

62. Even as late as 1911, none of the Msalala catechists came from outside the mission village.

There was still little interest in any form of schooling. For a few months in 1905 children were sent to the mission school in response to orders from Charisius, the station commander at Tabora,⁶³ but the school did not succeed in attracting a regular attendance.

The visible result of the first two decades of missionary work at Ngaya was the creation of a small Christian village with a hundred or so inhabitants living around the mission. Nearly all were redeemed slaves.^{63a} Scattered further afield were two or three hundred baptised people, most of whom had lapsed from any practice. The mission's activity was restricted to a strictly religious role: there was no process of social change in which it could involve itself. The chiefs and elders continued to dominate society and tried to entrench their personal influence which was being threatened from many sides. Peace had reduced dependence on their military leadership; emigration and dispersal had reduced their subjects in number; economic recession had lessened their powers of patronage and generosity. Colonial rule had as yet created no opportunities of alternative local employment and its support for the existing authorities inhibited the emergence of any alternative local leadership. There was therefore no interest in schooling. The ordinary Nyamwezi was still concerned primarily with the ancient needs of food, health and fertility: his fears of the contrary were expressed in the ritual cult of the mizimu.

63. Charisius is known all over Unyamwezi by the extraordinary nickname of Tumbondani which means 'Keep your stomach in'. No doubt it refers to the stiff military bearing he enjoined on his askaris.

63a. R.A. Msalala, 1907-8. M.G.

The cult, supported by the political leaders to maintain traditional values and attitudes in defence of their own authority and interests, was to become the main point of conflict with the mission.

The first missionaries arrived without any knowledge of traditional religion and from the first sought in it a foundation on which to build Christian beliefs. They sought parallels and common ideas, and worked out a terminology for Christian concepts. In doing so they displayed a sensitivity of approach and a regard for natural religion which was frequently absent later.⁶⁴ They discovered beliefs in a God which were quite independent of the mizimu cult. The practice of a divine cult, however, was slight: a ceremonial mention before and ancestor offering, a few proverbs and phrases, very rare offerings. God is given numerous titles⁶⁵ and all express exalted and transcendent qualities: omniscience, invisibility, universality, omnipotence etc. One important title, Livelelo, means the Universe; another, Lyuba, is associated with the rising sun. Sun symbolism is, of course, common to many peoples but has not everywhere quite the same significance. In Unyamwezi, the sun shines remorselessly most days of the year. A drought is attributed to the

64. Levêsque to MM, Bukune, 22.12.83, C14-376.
 Levêsque, 'De Rubaga à Tabora', CT 20(1883), p.507.
 Lourdel, Bukune U., 12.5.84, CT 23/4 (1884), p.267.
 Girault, L., 'Croyances et pratiques religieuses des
 Bakumbi', Mda 5 (1888), pp.485-91.

65. There are fifty five listed in Bösch, Les Banyamwezi, pp.26-32. Schönberger lists a number of additions; Schönberger, P., 'Names for God known and used by the Nyamwezi', Anthropos 56 (1961), pp.947-9.

sun in popular language: 'it is the sun which dries up the crops'. Mitigating its effects and rendering them fruitful is the rain. While the sun is experienced everywhere in a uniform way, most of the rainfall comes from thunderstorms which are local and unpredictable. One neighbourhood of Unyamwezi may have an abundance of rain whereas in a nearby chiefdom, during the same wet season, the rainfall may be below average. In both material and symbolic terms, the sun symbolism is complemented by the chiefly mizimu who bring rain. While the sun is universal, permanent and remote, the cult of an impersonal and uninterested God brings little or no profit. On the other hand, as rainfall is local, unreliable and immediately fruitful, the unpredictable mizimu with their direct interference in human life need to be placated by an active cult.

But although complementary, the cults of Liwelelo and the mizimu are quite different in religious terms. The mizimu have no cosmological existence. If pressed with questions such as where they live, an informant may produce an answer to satisfy the questioner, but six informants are as likely as not to produce six different answers. The question, in fact, has no meaning. The mizimu are abstractions of relationships and are not thought of as existing outside the cult at all. The difference was clear enough to the early missionaries who made no attempts to associate the mizimu with Christian beliefs in life after death. They distinguished emphatically between the religious belief in Liwelelo whom they identified with the Christian Creator and the mizimu cult which they regarded as a superstitious practice of a non-

religious nature. Indeed, the Nyamwezi themselves do not regard the cult of mizimu as dini or religion; they prefer to speak of it simply as an ancient and customary practice.

With the imposition of colonial rule, missionaries adopted a rather cavalier attitude to the mizimu cult and made a point of knocking down any mizimu huts they came across and of burning the paraphernalia of diviners.⁶⁶ In itself, this was no more than a clumsy demonstration of disbelief in the cult. Such iconoclasm did not prevent its exercise outside mission villages and many informants are emphatic that it did not even cause offence. They say it was regarded by the Nyamwezi as the normal behaviour of a European having no effect on the mizimu who were only concerned with their own descendants.⁶⁷ Perhaps this is a rationalisation thought out post factum to explain a destruction people felt powerless to resist. A more damaging attack on the cult was the prohibition of catchumens and neophytes from referring to a diviner in the case of illness; nor were they permitted to take part in ceremonial offerings or be members of secret societies. Though the injunctions were not always obeyed, the effect in the long term was to withdraw Christians from important communal activities. Quite unlike any of the secret societies in Unyamwezi, Christianity required the exclusive allegiance of its adherents.

66. Msalala D., 30.2.07, TBA.

67. Fieldnotes: R. Mayunga and others, Kahama.

The hostility of the missionaries towards the ancestor cult was matched by that of the diviners for Christianity. Little actual opposition was ever evident from the ordinary people: the missionaries frequently noted their indifference towards and lack of interest in Christianity but never unfriendliness or antagonism. But the bafumu were at an early date observed to be the 'implacable enemies' of the mission.⁶⁸ When rains were sparse in March 1907, the diviners blamed the missionaries for the lack of food. They asked for offerings and gifts to themselves to procure rain and were dissatisfied with the result. The Msalala diarist remarked that in the good old days they got goats and hens more promptly from the people.⁶⁹ In July of the same year, they blamed the Fathers for the invasion of the sorghum fields by the birds, and distributed medicine to keep the birds away. Some people trusting it, left their fields unprotected, and the Christians were not slow to point out its lack of efficacy.⁷⁰ The acceptance of traditional beliefs was early recognised on both sides as being incompatible with becoming a Christian. The missionaries expected the beliefs in the powers of witches and ancestors to disappear in the course of time as their converts and catechumens became better instructed. In the meantime, they regarded the cults as superstitious rather than anti-religious.

68. Hauttecoeur to MM, Kipalapala, 1.1.86, C20-149.

69. Msalala D., 1.3.07, TBA.

70. Msalala D., 2.7.07, TBA.

The succession of Léonard to Gerboin as Vicar Apostolic in 1912 led to a complete reorganisation of pastoral methods in the vicariate. The implications will be discussed in a later chapter, but something must be said here of a changed policy towards the mizimu cult. Léonard objected strongly to ill-informed disparagement of Nyamwezi culture and ideas.⁷¹ He encouraged Fr Bös^h to make a detailed ethnographical study of Nyamwezi customs. Bös^h's printed work,⁷² published years later, is mainly descriptive but as a missionary within Unyamwezi, he had a great influence in reshaping the assessment and evaluation of traditional practices and Christian attitudes towards them. He influenced not only his fellow missionaries, but also the training of catechists and reached neophytes and proselytes at the level of catechetical instruction. Thus the results of his thinking were felt in every corner of the Vicariate. In a theological study of the Nyamwezi way of life,^{72a} based on his extensive ethnographic knowledge, Bös^h was by no means unsympathetic towards it, concluding that the traditional ideals of social behaviour did not differ from the decalogue and comparing many established practices (notably honesty and hospitality) favourably with standards in Europe. But his judgement on the mizimu cult was more critical. While he recognised the general belief in the divinity expressed in certain rituals and traditional prayers, and conceded that the cult of mizimu was simply veneration and

71. Léonard, Bishop H., Introduction to Bös^h, Les Banyamwezi. Léonard, Bishop H., 'Vicariat Apostolique de L'Unyanembe' ms., TBA.

72. Bös^h, H. Les Banyamwezi

72a. Bös^h, H., Morale des Banyamwezi, ms. TBA.

not worship, he believed that the offerings of cattle and goats made from time to time were of their nature sacrificial and therefore essentially latrial. For Bös^{ch}, these rites were religious acts symbolising the recognition of the mizimu as the authors of life and death. It would not nowadays be accepted that a rite has an objective symbolism independent of the intentions and dispositions of its author, but Bös^{ch}'s conclusion did conform to contemporary theological judgements on ancestral cults in other parts of the world. Moreover, it was based on a current theory of the anthropologist Schmidt that the cult of ancestors was a degeneration of a formerly divine cult. According to Bös^{ch}'s evaluation, the mizimu cult which had previously been regarded by the missionaries as of peripheral and indirect concern to religion, was now asserted to have a distinctively religious character, not because of the object of the cult, but because of the nature of the rituals. Bös^{ch}'s work simultaneously revealed to the missionaries in great detail how ritual practices pervaded all aspects of the ordinary life of the Nyamwezi to an extent unsuspected by the missionaries. Traditional cults were thus singled out as the principal obstacle to the propagation of Christianity as their relationship with other aspects of Nyamwezi society was perceived.

Léonard forbade the destruction of mizimu huts or of objects used in the cults.⁷³ He decided that any missionary who broke a Swezi drum would be ipso facto suspended for three days.⁷⁴ Not that there was any lessening of the opposition

73. 'Directoire pour le Vicariat 1916', paragraph 259, duplicated ms., TBA.

74. Ndala Council Book, 14-19.11.19, Nyegezi archives.

towards traditional cults and magic: "it is the principal work of the missionary to combat them and destroy them, putting in their place faith and Christian civilisation" wrote Bösch.⁷⁵ But there was a change in the type of opposition to them. It was to be made with a detailed knowledge of the rites and practices. It was made on a more theological basis. The challenge was transferred from the ritual level to the level of ideology and doctrine, but this made the opposition of one to the other impossible to resolve. For traditional religion was non-literary with no body of doctrine or theology. It was entirely symbolic and ritualist. Instead of becoming increasingly sympathetic to the problems of survival and identity facing a chiefdom in a very conservative area, the mission at Msalala tended to drift into an increasing hostility towards many traditional customs. Inevitably, the mission seemed to threaten the values of chiefdom and family which the cults represented.

One effect of the work of Léonard and Bösch was to restore the emphasis on the teaching that the Christian God was identical with Liwelelo. 'We are no preaching ... an unknown God! wrote Léonard. 'They know and adore the same God that we know and adore.'⁷⁶ But this raised certain particular problems in Msalala. Beliefs concerning Liwelelo and the mizimu are not uniform in Unyamwezi. In many parts there is a good deal of fear and hostility towards the mizimu. The

75. Bösch, H., 'Obstacles à la conversion', ms., TBA 325.000.

76. Léonard, Bishop H., 'Vicariat Apostolique de l'Unyanembe' ms. TBA.

trite question, 'Do you love your mizimu?' produces uproarious laughter in Usumbwa. 'How', comes the reply, 'can one possibly love those who bring illness and misfortune?' But in northern Unyamwezi there are many people who claim an affection for their mizimu and who blame many troubles on Liwelelo.⁷⁷ This is not a recent development in hostile reaction to missionary preaching of a divine cult. Similar ideas are found in the early sources of northern Unyamwezi. It is, in fact, possible that the effect of missionary preaching has been to generally discredit the mizimu and produce a more benevolent idea of Mungu even among non-Christians. Mirambo told Hutley that all evil was due to the sun, the supreme being. 'The sun', he said, 'does not like us human beings, but kills us and is anxious to take us away from all that is good and beautiful on this earth.'⁷⁸ Lourdel noted at Bukune that when a prayer was not answered, the petitioner blamed Kubi (another title for God).⁷⁹

Such an attitude of trust in the mizimu as protective forces reflects the well-harmonised social relations in Ngaya. Where elders were respected and parental authority was willingly accepted, the mizimu might be loved and regarded with affection.

77. Fieldnotes: Mpembe Ilagila, Kisuka. Rafaeli Mayunga, Kahama. Solezi Seleli, Ngaya. Njagi Kasiga, Kahama.

78. Hutley D., 1.8.81, Mitchell Library, Sydney, N.S.W.

79. Bukune D., 12.5.84, CT 23/4 (1884), p.268. Livinhac records a similar sentiment at Kaduma. Nyanza D., 2.5.79, HG.

Elsewhere trade and change offered new opportunities outside family structures as parental controls were less favourably accepted and the mizimu feared and disliked. One consequence was that the mission's emphasis on the worship of God in direct opposition to the religious cult of ancestors had a less favourable reception at Ngaya than in some other parts of Unyamwezi. The cult of mizimu remained central in Ngaya society. In the conservative political structure, with the full backing of traditional authority, the mizimu offered all necessary protection against the uncertain hazards of life.

Msalala remained a small, quiet mission in which the only significant group of redeemed slaves ^{consisted of} ~~were~~ those living around the mission. Schools were unattended. There were only four catechumens in 1910. Two years later, Bedbéder remarked that the mission was dead and many wanted to bury it.⁸⁰ The next few years did little to change the situation at the mission itself though the organisation of catechists produced a scattering of Christians in other chiefdoms. An appointment to Msalala was regarded by missionaries as a sentence to the galleys.⁸¹ In 1922 Léonard decided to close the mission. A series of deaths had reduced the manpower available for staffing the various posts in the vicariate. Bulungwa, some thirty miles to the south, was closed at the same time and a new foundation made at Mbulu on a site midway between them. At Mbulu there were more hopeful signs for the future. An outstation under a catechist there had attracted a fair number

80. Bedbéder to MM, Msalala, 20.10.12, MG.

81. Delon to NM, Msalala, 5.12.18, MG.

of pupils and catechumens. It was on the main road to the west lake region and nearby Kahama was developing as an administrative centre. A more mobile and open society there offered a greater likelihood of the missionaries finding a hearing. Why social change should offer a more favourable opportunity for successful mission work will be considered with reference to Ndala.

CHAPTER SIXNDALA - BEYOND TRADITIONAL SOCIETY

With the foundation of Ndala mission in 1896, a pattern in the choice of new mission sites began to appear in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction entrusted to Gerboin. Ndala is situated a hundred miles to the south-west of Msalala on the caravan route to the coast from Ushirombo. By 1902, seven widely separated missions had been founded by Gerboin in an arc running from Tabora to Buhonga which is near the present-day city of Bujumbura.¹ These widely spaced foundations were an attempt to occupy as much territory as possible within the vicariate. Not all Gerboin's contemporaries followed such a policy. Lechaptois, for instance, had a comparable area to provide for in south-western Tanzania. Neglecting the greater part of it, he built a compact grid of stations along the shore of Lake Tanganyika and on the Ufipa plateau. None were more than fifty miles apart and the intermediate areas contained networks of outstations, each with its own village chapel and schoolroom. But in the Vicariate of Unyanyembe, Gerboin's annual visitation of each mission eventually required a round journey of well over a thousand miles. Mission posts were isolated from each other for most of the year and given the variations in political and human environment in each area, methods of apostolate were very different. As Léonard observed, in Gerboin's time, every

1. Buhonga (founded 1902), Mugeru (1899), Muyaga (1898), Ushirombo (1891), Msalala (1893), Ndala (1896) and Tabora (1900). See introductory sketch map.

missionary was, in practice, his own bishop.² The mission of Ndala was to develop quite unlike Ushirombo and Msalala, and to elicit a very different response.

Capus was despatched from Ushirombo to find a suitable site for a mission in the south of Unyamwezi in May 1895. He was already acquainted with the flourishing little chiefdom of Ndala thirty-five miles to the north-east of Tabora. On arrival, he described the ntemi, a woman called Ntabo or Matolu, as insistent that a mission should be founded there.³ This is surprising. Matolu had actively supported Isike in his struggle with the Germans and had opposed the conciliatory policy of her kinsman Mtinginya of Bussongo.⁴ The previous year she had refused permission to two Europeans to shelter in her ikulu and in consequence had been heavily fined by the German administration. But by 1895, Europeans behaved as conquerors rather than as clients and Capus marched straight into the ikulu and helped himself to a site for his tents. Matolu treated Capus and his companions hospitably because, she remarked wryly, well fed men do not beat people.⁵ She had no choice but to agree to a permanent foundation which was made the following January and intended by Gerboin to be a revival of the mission of Kipalapala: he gave it the same name St. Joseph's.⁶ A map drawn in 1896⁷ depicts the chiefdom

2. Léonard to MM, Tabora, 10.10.23, TBA 310.001.

3. Capus, 'De l'Ushirombo à Tabora', CT 70 (1896), p.310.

4. Moses Willing to German Station Tabora, Usongo, 18.11.92.
The text is in Gottberg, Quellensammlung, p.367.
Fieldnotes: Mlisho Magaka, Mhunge. Caroli Maywili, Ndala.
Ali Waziri, Bugabe.

5. Capus, 'De l'Ushirombo à Tabora', CT70 (1896), p.310.

6. Gerboin to MM, Ushirombo, 19.2.96, MG.

7. MdA 131 (1898), p.356.

as a concentration of some eighty kayas occupying about a hundred square kilometres of farmland. The population was most densely grouped around the large kaya of Buhemeli, four kilometres to the south of the centrally placed ikulu and it was close to Buhemeli that the mission was built on a piece of unoccupied land, despite encouragement by Matolu's ministers to take land already planted.⁸ It is commonly believed today at Ndala that Matolu directed the Fathers to Buhemeli because her subjects there were difficult to rule. They are said to have been 'proud', 'violent', to have beaten up her officials on occasion, and 'naughty' - one informant used the English word.⁹ The contemporary description of events in the diary makes it quite clear that the Fathers toured the neighbourhood before themselves deciding on a site and Matolu agreed to their choice of Buhemeli reluctantly, some of her advisers thinking the mission should be near the ikulu: this version is supported by some non-Christian informants.¹⁰ That the antagonism between Ngwanahemeli, the mzenga kaya of Buhemeri, and Matolu was a factor which disposed him to favour the mission (he was the first person at Ndala to become a Christian) is the real point of the factually inaccurate tradition.

When Gerboin informed his superiors in Algiers of the foundation, Livinhac, who had passed through the area on

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8. Avon, T., 'A propos du cinquantenaire de la Mission de Ndala, 1946', ms., WF Paris.
9. Fieldnotes: Marco Shilindi, Ndala. Mw. Petro Nzigula, Ndala. Caroli Maywili, Ndala.
10. Fieldnotes: Nyana binti Ngelenge, Ndala. Ali Waziri, Bugabe.

several occasions between 1898 and 1890, expressed some scepticism over the mission's future. Ndala was a commercial area providing many porters for caravans and he did not consider travelling to the coast conducive to settled marriages.¹¹ It was a common expectation of missionaries of that time that a rural area, undisturbed by outside commercial and cultural influences, offered the best prospects for successful evangelization. Experience so far in Unyamwezi suggested that the people most exposed to the influence of the outside world through their travels to the coast were unreceptive to revealed religion, Christian or Moslem. In any case, during the dry season, when the suspension of agricultural work made possible attendance at catechetical instruction, many of the youths and young men were away on their travels. However, from the first, crowds came to Ndala mission seeking medicine, requesting prayers for rain, attending catechism classes, giving unpaid help with the construction of mission buildings. The mzenga kaya of Buhemeri sent the village children to the school which had fifty pupils by the end of 1897, the best of whom were learning to read Swahili.¹² Allowance must be made for the euphoric tone of the diary and correspondence: Müller, the diarist, was not a man to minimise success. There are no informants alive today at Ndala who can remember the actual arrival of the mission: the memories and stories of the earliest years are compacted so that only the written sources

11. Livinhac to Gerboin, Algiers, 8.9.96, TBA, 465.465.

12. Ndala Diary, 1896, passim.

make it possible to measure the initial impact. But the picture they describe is consistent with later developments. There was no sudden reversal of attitudes after an apparently hopeful start as at Ushirombo and Msalala. The early interest in schooling was to grow and the immediate support of some wazenga kaya was to continue so that a decade later there was a community of some four hundred Christians, most of whom were practising, and the number continued to grow steadily without at any time going into decline as in the older missions.¹³

In this chapter it is suggested that Ndala had been in pre-colonial times and was to remain a more open and fluid society than the authoritarian chiefdoms of northern and western Unyamwezi. Economic and social growth there was not suspended by a collapse of trade and depopulation in the early colonial period. Certain important sections stood to gain new opportunities for social advancement and to escape the inhibitions of traditional life with its strict controls on the dissemination of knowledge and the regulation of social relationships by fears of ancestral displeasure.

Ndala was a small commercial chiefdom in the Songo group of fourteen ruled by the Songolera clan. The origins of the royal family are said to lie far away in Bunyoro. After settling in Usonge in Usumbwa, it was drawn in the early nineteenth century, by the opportunities of elephant hunting and trade, to Nkinga, the original chiefdom of the group. After an uneasy period of semi-independence, during which its rulers were appointees of the ntemi of Nkinga, Ndala

13. Rapport Annuel, Ndala Mission, 1905-6, MG.

finally broke away under Ngelenge the first, about the middle of the nineteenth century. The traditional history of the chiefdom is brief and the early rulers have left only the slightest of traces. When they first arrived, a small farming settlement was already in existence with some simple means of artificial irrigation. After the arrival of the Bassongolera, there was increased involvement in trade for the principal route from Usumbwa to the coast traversed Ndala, thus avoiding the marshes of the Wembere flood plain to the east, and the rival Arab commercial centre to the south-west at Tabora.¹⁴ Commercial rivalry with the Arabs, however, preceded the development of Tabora. At Kigandu, in the neighbouring chiefdom of Mhuge, there was for some ten years before 1840 a settlement of Arab traders including Snay bin Amir and Musa Mzuri who were known to Burton. The soil there still turns up fragments of smoke-blackened bricks, beads and other remnants on the site of their tembes.¹⁵ Local sources relate that the mwanangwa Moto objected to seeing the Arabs' slaves chained and ill-treated and so sent a cow loaded with charms to spread fire and destruction among them.¹⁶ The alien character of Arab slavers, their habit of concentrating large colonies of slaves in one place, and

14. Fieldnotes: Ntemi Ngelenge II of Ndala. Ntemi Sasamula and elders of Nkinga. Caroli Maywili, Ndala. Andreas Luzige (keeper of the royal tombs), Ndala. Miisho Maige, Ndala. Mwanangwa Fildei Maige, Ndala. Mwanangwa Petro Nzigulae, Ndala. Mhamedi Mami Mtemany, Ndala.

15. Fieldnotes: Visit to site, 28.5.74.

16. Fieldnotes: Mikaeli Kasundwa, Mhuge; Kigabo Nhunya, Kigandu. Kabanga Nkuzi, Kilino.

their commercial competitiveness, may well have aroused a great deal of resentment, and they were accused by Mirambo and others of threatening the independent rule and peacefulness of neighbouring states. According to Burton, the Arabs encouraged one chief, Mpagamo, to fight a rival chief Msimbira who defeated them and drove them out.¹⁷ If, as is very probable, Mpagamo was their own local chief, he was a mwangoma (sub-chief) subject to the ntemi Msimbila of Mhuga^{who}, is perhaps to be identified with the 'Sukuma' chief of that name known to Burton who preserved a hatred of the Arabs, harassing their caravans for years with raiding parties.¹⁸ When Snay and Musa removed to Tabora, to the south of any established trading Nyamwezi chiefdom, where the chief of Unyanyembe found their exploitation of the Congo route to his advantage, the commercial organisation of Ndala regained its small scale and co-operative character.

The elephant in eastern Unyamwezi were much reduced by the middle of the nineteenth century when Ndala had become a subsidiary collecting point for ivory and slaves from the west. Capus in 1895 noted the presence there of traders with hoes made by Rongo smiths at the south west of lake Victoria. Ndala traders took them eastwards to Ugogo where they traded them for cattle which were in turn exchanged for cloth at the coast. Cattle and goats from Ndala itself were also driven the five hundred odd miles to the coast.¹⁹ In

17. Burton, Lake Regions i., p.327.

18. Ibid., i., p.319.

19. Fieldnotes: Mhumbu Maboja, Simbo.

the late 1890's, slaves were still being smuggled from Ndala along less frequented paths to the coast.²⁰ In contrast to the Arab trade, the system was not highly capitalised. There were no traders as rich as in Usumbwa who exploited rich sources of ivory in Bunyoro. Nor did the Wandala have a victorious chief sending booty to the coast as the Warambo had. The caravans were co-operative ventures of numerous small traders. During April, a month before the crops were harvested, a drummer toured the villages announcing the departure of a caravan. Porters carried trading goods belonging to themselves or to their fathers.²¹ Some worked for local traders such as Ngwanahulu of Sungwizi or Mabwela of Isagehe. Some left Ndala empty handed in the hope of finding a place in a returning caravan.²² Others went to work at the coast for day wages, being unwilling to enter long engagements at the coast for fear of being enslaved.²³ When the proportion of contract porters engaged by European caravans increased, caravans ceased to include women and children. They began to follow fixed routes with regular programmes of marching and rest days. Even so individual trade by porters continued: Southon was perturbed to find some of his porters were taking slaves along

20. Capus to MM, Ndala, -.5.95, MG.

21. de Vienne to MAE (Paris), Zanzibar, 20.10.71, CCCZ3.
Fieldnotes: Mlisho Magaka, Mhuge.

22. Ferry to MAE (Paris), Zanzibar, 4.9.78, CCCZ3.

23. Kirk to FO, Zanzibar, 23.2.80, FO 84/1574/20.

in mission caravans. Only gradually did the systematic and exclusive use of porters as employees become established.²⁴

During the nineteenth century, Ndala grew by immigration and natural increase. It proved an attractive place of settlement. It was prosperous, reasonably fertile, and peaceful, being too far east to get involved in the wars between Unyanyembe and Urambo. Ngelenge kept on friendly terms with Mirambo by supplying men and arms in support of his brief campaign against Iramba.²⁵ Otherwise Ndala was remote from Mirambo's wars. It was at the limit of the range of Ngoni foraging parties and the only Ngoni raid remembered seems to have been a minor affair. The small chiefdom of the district rapidly united and supported each other so that the Ngoni were driven off without great damage.²⁶ From Unyanyembe came refugees from the succession disputes between rival lines of the royal family.²⁷ Many Gogo migrated to eastern Unyamwezi when the rains failed in 1884 and their cattle died.²⁸ Sumbwa settled in sufficient numbers to influence the language.²⁹ Some immigrants had left Uyui to escape

24. Fieldnotes: Petro Nkingwa, Idete. Mlisho Maige, Ndala. Mhumba Maboja, Simbo. Mikaeli Kasundwa, Mhugc.

25. Fieldnotes: Mlisho Maige, Ndala.

26. Kasunda, M., 'Kitabu cha ukoo wa watemi - Ibagari' (ms. in possession of the author at Mhugc).

27. Fieldnotes: Ali Waziri, Bugabe.

28. Stokes to CMS, Uyui, 18.12.84, G3/A6/O/1885/28.
Fieldnotes: Mhumba Maboja, Simbo.

29. Bösch, Les Banyamwezi, p.321.

the impositions of the chief.³⁰ Others came from Usukuma, Ukimbu, Ussongo. Many of the oldest people of the area are the children of immigrant parents. Buhemeri seems to have been fairly typical in having a majority of settlers from outside the chiefdom.³¹ Yet though immigrants outnumbered the locally born, it is significant that few were slaves. The proportion of the population in a servile status cannot be gauged exactly but local estimates vary from one in twenty to one in five. The modest scale of the trade did not produce many men rich enough to own slaves. So, unlike the wealthier trading areas of Unyamwezi, most of the immigrants had the same rights and freedom as those who had been born there.

A shift in the balance of population in Unyamwezi appears to have been accentuated by a higher birthrate in the south-east. Like most peoples in East Africa, the Nyamwezi place a high value on fertility, partly because of the high mortality rate among children.³² But pockets of low fertility in Tanzania and other parts of tropical Africa are well known.³³ Sterile marriages were not uncommon in Usumbwa during the half century which concerns this study,³⁴ giving rise to the

30. Ndala D., 19.6.1900, TBA.

31. Fieldnotes: Adofu Nyamiti, Ndala. Pio Ndilanha, Ndala. Mliso Maige, Ndala.

32. Nhonoli, A., 'An enquiry into the infant mortality rate in rural areas of Unyamwezi', East African Medical Journal 31 (1954), pp.1-12.

33. Brass, W., 'Bio-social factors in African demography', p.91, in Moss, R.P. and Rathbone, J.A.R., The population factor in African Studies, London 1975.

34. R.A.Ushiroombo 1921-2. MG. Gerboin to MFI, Ushiroombo, 14.10.10. MG. Fieldnotes: A. Ndega, Ushiroombo. Mfumu Talu, Bukombe.

proverb, 'Sumbwa women do not bear children - Basumbwa kazi butali mbana'. Martin thought the decline in the birthrate was a relatively recent factor.³⁵ Similar observations about low fertility have been made about the other important commercial chiefdoms, Urambo and Unyanyembe, but the statistical material for a study of the question is lacking.³⁶ Parish registers do not provide complete records: they include only Christians and may not take into account the children of young married emigrants. Such emigration, however, might be expected to lead to a relatively small number of children in proportion to the population. Various reasons have been suggested for a declining birthrate in the north and west; wars and insecurity,³⁷ the prevalence of polygamy owing to the presence of large numbers of female slaves,³⁸ the use of abortifacient medicines,³⁹

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35. Martin, V., 'Moeurs et coutumes des Bassumbwa', 2nd fascicule, part 2, ms. in Ushirombo mission archives.
36. Seibt, A., 'Beantwortung des Fragebogens über die Rechte der Eingeborenen in den deutschen Kolonien', in Gottberg, Quellensammlung, p.177. Letter of Mrs. Shaw in LMS Chronicle (1896), p.156. Declé, Three years, p.348. WSO Tabora, 15.8.13, WSA.
37. Fieldnotes: M. Gwagwa, Ngaya. Carnochan, F.G., and Adamson, H.C., Out of Africa (London 1937), p.221, record a well-known traditional story of the women of Urambo refusing to have children because of Mirambo's wars.
38. v.d. Burgt made a census in Ussambiro in 1909 according to which there were 828 married and widowed women and 803 children. He attributed the low proportion to polygamy. Full figures are in R.A. Ussambiro, 1908-9, M.G. Polygamy does not always lead to a low birth rate, as a study of population in Ulanga by the Culwicks showed. Culwick, A.T. and G.M., 'A study in population in Ulanga, Tanganyika Territory', Sociological Review 30 (1938), pp.365-379 and 31 (1939), pp.35-43.
39. Fieldnotes: Adofu Talu, Bukombe (an mfumu). A. Ndega, Ushirombo.

the incidence of venereal diseases through contact with the coast.⁴⁰ However, the evidence is insufficient to show which are the most significant contributory factors. In Ndala, the factors which may have influenced the birth rate in the older chiefdoms seem to have been less prevalent and the mission registers record very few sterile marriages and a relatively large number of families of seven or eight children, even though the spacing of children followed customary intervals of two or three years between them. It is probable that the proportion of young people and children was higher in Ndala than in some other parts of Unyamwezi at the turn of the century.

At the beginning of the colonial period, then, Ndala was a relatively new settlement, growing in population by immigration and natural increase, so that from small beginnings earlier in the century, it had a population of several thousand, including a relatively large proportion of young people. The mainstay of the economy was a varied agriculture, remarked on by Capus and Wilson.⁴¹ Additional commercial activity was diffused widely and was largely independent of chiefly control.

At Ushirombo and Msalala, the collapse of the ivory trade and the spread of rinderpest had had a catastrophic effect. Ndala escaped the great rinderpest epidemic of 1891 completely. The large herds of cattle which had been observed by the first White Fathers' caravan in 1878⁴² were

40. Dutrieux, Dr.P.J., Souvenirs d'une exploration médicale dans l'Afrique intertropicale, (Paris 1885), p.133. Tabora District Annual Report, 1923, TDB, NAT.

41. Capus, 'De l'Ushirombo a Tabora' CT 70(1896), p.316.
Wilson, C.T., 'A journey from Kagci to Tabora and back', PRGS 2(1880), p.619.

42. First caravan (Nyanza) diary, 22.11.78, MG.

still in existence when the French traveller Declé passed at the end of 1893. By then, rinderpest had disappeared from Unyamwezi.⁴³ If the opportunities of carrying ivory along the Sumbwa route to the coast were reduced, less valuable trading goods such as salt, medicines, tobacco and Taturu arrowheads were still in demand in Ugogo. The trade in hoes and cattle continued for many years. Hand-forged hoes were still produced in Urongo until well after the first world war when they were displaced by imported hoes from Europe.⁴⁴ The decline of the Congolese ivory trade was to reduce the amount of portage available in Tabora during the first decade of colonial rule. Some of the estimates of the numbers of porters seem to be rather wild guesses,⁴⁵ but the fall is reflected more reliably in the drop in wages which were always

43. Declé, Three Years, pp.357 and 566.

44. According to Brard, the Rongo produced 30,000 hoes per annum. Gorju, Bishop, Entre le Victoria, l'Albert et l'Edouard (Rennes 1920), p.148.

45. Meyer, H. Das Deutsche Kolonialreich (Leipzig 1909), ii, 391-2 and Calvert A.F., The German African Empire (London 1916), p.197 put the number of Nyamwezi porters as high as 200,000 at the height of the ivory trade but such a figure is scarcely credible. Even if a third or a quarter of the population of Unyamwezi had set out for the coast every year (and in spite of what Meyer says, this did not happen - very few men went from some chiefdoms) the maximum would have been much less than that. Nor were the resources available to pay for the amount of cloth two hundred thousand men could carry. A more realistic estimate placed the number going from Tabora as 15-20,000 (Coulbois, F., Dix années au Tanganyika (Limoges 1901), p.41/. Pruen, S.T. The Arab and the African (London 1891), p. 224 reckoned two hundred caravans in twelve months with 30,000 porters passed Mwapwa in all directions. See also Brard to M.M., Kipalapala, and of 1888, in CT 42(1889) pp.277-9.

very sensitive to the laws of supply and demand.⁴⁶ They rose sharply when porters were insufficient, for example, during 1878 when an exceptional number of caravans set out for the interior, and again in 1884 when famine reduced the numbers of men travelling to the coast, and fell in subsequent years when the news of increased wages drew larger numbers of hopeful employees. By the end of the 1880's, the wages of a porter for the up-country journey to Tabora from the coast had settled at about fifteen Maria Thersa dollars (sixty-two shillings). After 1893, the price fell to thirty rupees (forty-five shillings) or less. One year the German East Africa Company paid only three and a half rupees (less than six shillings) for portorage from Tabora to the coast (always lower than for the reverse direction) though this was exceptional.⁴⁷ By then the price was being kept artificially low, for if sufficient porters were not attracted by the wages offered, chiefs in southern Unyamwezi were obliged to supply contingents for government caravans. It would seem that one effect of this policy was to spread the payment

46. The following summary conclusions are based on detailed figures of the payment of porters in diaries of Tabora, Ndala, Kipalapala, Bukumbi, Itaga missions, the journals of Dodgshun, Wookey, Deniaud, Lourdel, the seventh White Fathers' caravan, the Ndala Council Book, carnet de renseignements of the White Sisters, Bukumbi, the correspondence of Dodgshun, Levêsgue, Gordon, Southon, Copplestone, Wookey, Guillet, Shaw, Draper, Hore, Lt Smith, Morton, Blanc and Jones; Jabr bin Zid in the Tb DB; the published travel accounts of Burton, Becker, Speke, Burdo, Stanley, Burton, Swann and Kandt.

47. Tabora D., 2.8.01, TBA.

of wages more widely in southern Unyamwezi as the proportion of Nyanyembe porters declined. It was about this time that men from Ndala began to look for employment as porters at Tabora in caravans organised by Indian traders.⁴⁸ Another source of increasing employment for the Wandala was the increased trade on the road between Tabora and Lake Victoria. The opening of the Uganda railway and the launching of a steamship on the lake made the route via Mwanza and Kisumu the fastest and cheapest form of transport to the coast. Thomas met several caravans daily in his journey southwards to Tabora in 1909.⁴⁹ Petro Nkingwa of Idete remembers earning four jora of cloth (worth about twenty-four dollars at Tabora prices) on two trips to the coast at the beginning of the century. On his return a porter's wages were given to his father who distributed the cloth among other members of the family. Two or three porters could provide enough cloth for all the members of a small kaya but exotic presents such as parasols and fine cloths became things of the past. Thus in the early colonial period, Ndala was able to maintain its modest level of commercial prosperity.

The presence of many immigrants gave Ndala a heterogeneous character. They originated from backgrounds of varied culture and different habits of life. They did not form an under-privileged social caste but shared in the widely dispersed

48. Fieldnotes: Mlisho Maige, Mhuge.

49. Thomas, P.-M., 'Un voyage de Marseille au Lac Tanganyika en 1906', TNR 5(1938), p.29. See also Tabora D., 23.1.05, TBA.

wealth of the chiefdom on equal terms. On the other hand, they had no part in the common kinship and ancestry of the native-born Wandala. Consequently the ntemi had the delicate problem of exercising her authority without overstraining their comparatively weak personal ties to the chiefdom. In Usumbwa, the population had been very dependent for military protection on its rulers and lived in large defensive units controlled by wanangwa usually related to and appointed by the chief. But at Ndala the people were grouped in numerous small kayas in which they were able to support each other against the impositions of the chief. Nowadays, the word kaya is often used to denote a single homestead, but in the nineteenth century a kaya was a small village inhabited by both related and unrelated families. It grew spontaneously around the household of the founder or first settler known as the mzenga kaya (literally, builder of the village). The kaya comprised a group of houses lightly defended with a single stockade. As well as flat mud-roofed tembes, always built in militarised and frontier areas, the house in Ndala included missonge or circular grass-roofed huts. The kaya provided sufficient protection against cattle thieves or slaving kidnappers. In the event of a serious military crisis, people crowded into the Ntemi's ikulu with its double ring of encircling tembes and mud reinforced stockade. (No one lives on the site of Ntabo's ikulu today but the arrangement of the buildings is still clearly visible). The size of kayas varied a good deal and might contain a population of between a score and a hundred. Some domestic activities were shared communally: housebuilding, the celebration of

weddings and funerals, guard duties, the threshing of sorghum (then the staple crop). Unmarried men and youths shared a dormitory (ibanza) as did the unmarried girls (theirs was called a mazi or ndalo). The dormitories were also the foci for daytime leisure activities for young people. There was a communal cattle enclosure, and if no trees provided shade, there might be a covered place for a workshop. There were no trading stores, the ubiquitous duka of today being a recent innovation. Travelling pedlars brought household equipment, tools and trinkets. Although much activity was in common, families maintained their own identities, houses, cattle and crops. Meals were taken at home, the men and women eating in separate groups.⁵⁰

Kayas were scattered across the compact island of treeless farmland which made up the heart of the chiefdom. The mzenga kaya was a household head rather than a political officer of the chiefly family. He might even be a stranger. Ngwanahemeli, mzenga kaya of Buhemeli was from Unyanyembe; most of his people were also immigrants.⁵¹ If a mzenga kaya was well liked, other immigrants settled around him. He judged disputes between members of his kaya in cases such as adultery and the occupation of land. He could levy small

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50. Cameron, Across Africa i, p.181. Burton, Lake Regions ii, p.27. Bösch, Les Banyamwezi, pp.324 and 504. Roscoe, J., Twenty-five years in East Africa (London 1921), pp.16 and 55. Fieldnotes: Fuloriani Doto, Ndala. Fr Ambrozi Kaseka, Ndala. Ntemi Ngelenge II, Ndala. Joseph Naubi, Chabutwa, Terezia Mbuga, Ndala. Paulo Madeleka, Buzwala.
51. Fieldnotes: Pio Ndilanba, Ndala. Fuloriani Doto, Ndala.

finer such as a goat which would be shared in a communal feast. In the event of quarrels and witchcraft accusations, sickness or death, he was the one to send for a diviner or mfumu. Persistent illness might cause the mfumu to advise the rite of the new fire, all the fires in the village being put out and a new purifying fire being made. From time to time, the mzenga kaya visited the ikulu to bring news to the ntemi and seek advice, but he held authority in his own right. If people were unwilling to accept his decisions, they simply departed elsewhere. The ntemi could dismiss a mzenga kaya but his successor was the villagers' choice. When he died his son normally succeeded him but if the son was disliked or thought unsuitable, the second of the original inhabitants to arrive was chosen in his place.

In relations with the ntemi, ordinary people were led and represented by their mzenga kaya. The rights and powers of the chief were in some matters, such as taxation, clearly defined by custom, but there was an arbitrariness in the exercise of a chief's powers and generally people preferred not to live close to the ikulu lest extra duties and inconveniences be imposed on them. Natolu is remembered as not keeping a tight rein on her officials.⁵² From time to time hints of discontent with their activity finds its way into the mission diary. In February 1898 the banaikulu seized some three or four hundred goats from surrounding kayas on the excuse (not, in fact, true) that the Station Commander of

52. Fieldnotes: Stefano Shija, Ndala. Fuloriani Doto, Ndala.

Tabora, Langheld, was coming. On another occasion, when Matolu found it difficult to get workers for the construction of the government road to Tabora, she told them to help themselves to cloth and chickens from the kayas as wages.⁵³ Small wonder that the banaikulu got a rough reception in the larger kayas. The mzenga kaya of the large kaya of Buhemeli, where most of the people were Kimbu and Iramba, was a particular thorn in the flesh of the ntemi and on occasion Matolu came personally to Buhemeli in attempts to enforce her authority.

The ntemi of Ndala had much less authority than her counterparts in the larger and more militarised chiefdoms. She received customary gifts and taxes but these were quite small. They enabled her to provide hospitality for guests and a reserve in the case of drought. When commuted to cash in 1925, these dues were increased to ten shillings a year,⁵⁴ but before the colonial period, dues were much less and at Ndala amounted to only four kilograms of sorghum a year.⁵⁵ She acquired no great wealth from trade though sometimes young men from the ikulu were sent to the coast as porters. Having no standing army, she lacked the military power to enforce her authority. Her judicial punishments were usually fines: she could impose the death penalty only exceptionally and on slaves. She had spies and informants posted in the kayas to keep her informed of events there and to identify her critics who might be punished by being made to cut wood for a month

53. Ndala D., 8.7.97, TBA.

54. Tabora DE, NAT. Tabora D., 14 and 17.7.24, TBA.

55. Fieldnotes: Fuloriani Doto, Ndala.

or to build a house. The chiefly clan was small and not even strong enough to control the succession when Matolu died. This was quite unlike the situation in the older established large chiefdoms where the chiefs had greater authority and were able to use it to counterbalance the influence of the missions. In those places, several generations of chiefs, each with many wives, fathering numerous children, produced a large ruling clan. Chief's sons married the daughters of neighbouring chiefs. Most of the wanangwa were relatives of the chief - personal kinship reinforced patronage. With their help he could carry out a family policy at the expense of the immigrants who had little political influence.⁵⁶ Several observers noted the slighter authority in the south of Unyamwezi. De Langle, who worked at Ndala and Msalala, wrote that the people of Ndala 'have little respect for chiefs or wanangwa.'⁵⁷ The District Officer Rounce made a similar observation.⁵⁸ When people left Ndala, they would break down their tembes and cart off the wood; in Ngaya, a vacated house belonged to the mwanangwa who would use it for his own purposes. At nearby Uyui, Stokes observed that the Sukuma who had come to build there were unwilling to take orders from anyone.⁵⁹ According to two former wanangwa of Ndala, the wanangwa of Ndala in pre-colonial times acted quite independently of the ntemi and people cultivated for them rather than for the chief.⁶⁰ The

56. Blohm, W., Die Nyamwezi (Hamburg (1931-3), ii, p.73.

57. De Langle to Léonard, Ndala, 1.2.19, TBA 361.000

58. Rounce Papers, Rhodes House.

59. Stokes, CM Intelligencer (1885), p.752.

60. Fieldnotes: Petro Nzigula, Ndala and Issa, Wita; both were wanangwa.

comparative weakness of Ntabo's position was due to the heterogeneity of her subjects and the institutional limits of her chiefship rather than to any lack of personality or prestige. Her authority does not seem to have suffered simply because she was a woman. Apart from the Ngoni raid in 1884, she was never called on to display any military skill or resourcefulness. She showed every sign of being a strong-minded person. She sent help to Isike in his conflict with the Germans. Only a few months before the arrival of Capus, a number of Baganda had complained to the German officers at Tabora that they had been mistreated and robbed in her territory. The Germans sent an expedition and hearing news of its approach, Matolu's entire court fled. But she waited for them in solitary state sitting on her stool in the middle of the ikulu.⁶¹ When Capus visited her in 1895 she was an elderly woman with grey hair but with an upright and vigorous carriage. She wore a simple full length cloth of blue kaniki with iron wire bound round her feet and great copper bracelets on her arms. For the occasion she loaded herself with protective charms: leopard claws, pieces of bones, strips of goatskins, although she did not normally wear chiefly insignia. Capus reported that she was respected and listened to like an oracle. In the recent past she had been humiliated by German fines and insistence that her fortifications should be dismantled. She was obliged to collect taxes and supply forced labour for road-building and portorage. Any group of men marching in military

61. Fieldnotes: Mlisho Maige, Ndala. Capus to MM, Ndala, May 1895, NG.

manner and carrying a piece of paper could make demands and there was no knowing whether the paper was a genuine order from Tabora, or a forgery, or even a totally irrelevant scrap of paper such as an old tax receipt. There were numerous tricksters circulating in Unyamwezi in the confusing years of early colonial rule.⁶² In accepting the missionaries, Matolu was most probably making the best of another unwelcome imposition. Possibly the mission might offer a means of ensuring sympathetic treatment by the government at Tabora, providing a local source of cloth. The choice of Buhemeli might be an embarrassment to the unruly mzenga kaya. But in any case, Matolu had not yet learnt to distinguish between those Europeans who belonged to the new administration and those who did not. She could hardly refuse their request to stay.

A second change was just over the horizon. With the ending of chiefly rivalries and the freezing of boundaries, the elimination of raiding parties of Ngoni and slavetraders, two decades of peaceful policed existence lay in front of the people of Ndala. During the first decade of the twentieth century the kayas began to disperse. The population did not emigrate to other chiefdoms, as did the people of Ushirombo and Msalala, but the kayas broke up as large residential units.⁶³

62. On one occasion, people at Itaga presented certificates of exemption to illiterate agents of the chief who were recruiting railway workers. The certificates were copies of an advertisement for cocoa depicting monkeys and frogs dressed like Europeans. (Itaga D., November 1904, TBA).

63. R.A. Ndala 1910-11, M.G.

Grouping in kayas made the protection of crops from the depredations of baboons and wild pigs difficult. The proximity of dwellings was the occasion of strife and jealousy between neighbours, particularly among the women. Men had no wish to live under the authority of a mzenga kaya unless strictly necessary. The patchy and uneven fertility of the soil favoured a more scattered pattern of agriculture in which each family lived surrounded by its fields. Hygiene and better water supplies were easier to manage. As the kayas dispersed, the wazenga kaya, who had never had any formal authority above the domestic level, lost their power. On the other hand, a protection was lost against the importunities of the ntemi and her officials. A need was created for an alternative local leadership to counterbalance chiefly power, and an opening made for catechists. But first something must be said about the organisation of the mission.⁶⁴

The dominant figure among the early missionaries at Ndala was Franz Müller, an Alsatian. He is always referred to in Ndala as Bwana Malole, or Mr Spectacles. His stay was quite short. He was there two years before being put in charge of the mission and two and a half years later, in November 1900, he went to Europe for medical treatment, after which he was transferred to a different vicariate. He appears to have spoken kinyamwezi better than his confreres and composed the first kinyamwezi grammar.⁶⁵ He is still remembered vividly

64. Fieldnotes: Joseph Igombe, Ndala. Adelhard Nhunde, Ndala. Fuloriani Doto, Ndala.

65. Müller, F., Grammatik der Kinyanwesi-Sprache (Salzburg 1904).

today when most of the early missionaries at Ndala have been forgotten. That he made such a strong impression appears to be partly due to his grandiose style of behaviour. According to the diary, Matolu proclaimed him king of that part of her kingdom round the mission.⁶⁶ What Matolu's intentions were are not clear but she certainly intended nothing more than to bestow an honorific title. But for Müller this was sufficient for him to assume the chiefly title of Mwangolo and to tour the countryside with a great procession of followers. He liked the drums at the mission to be beaten on his return as for a ntemi.⁶⁷ When owners of refugee slaves came to the mission, he high-handedly measured out some yards of cloth as compensation, and if they refused it he sent them to Tabora with a note where they would be beaten.⁶⁸ The diary records that when he was appointed superior of the mission, the Mgabe Kitambi, the principal adviser of Matolu, came to report the joy of the ntemi and all the country.⁶⁹ When he left, people came from far and wide to see him for the last time, half the Christians leaving for the coast to accompany him. 'They want to prove their affection for him'.⁷⁰ It is, perhaps, interesting to note that the diarist who wrote these words was Müller himself. Gerboin thought he had too high an opinion of himself

66. Ndala D., 17.4.98, TBA.

67. Müller, F., 'Quer durch Unyamwezi', Afrika Bote 8 (1903), p.83. Fieldnotes: Mhamed Hamisi, Ndala.

68. Fieldnotes: M. Shilinda, Ndala.

69. Ndala D., 12.4.98, TBA.

70. Ndala D., 29.11.1900, TEA.

chiefdom, nor did he try to convert her to a nominal Christianity. On one occasion, teaching a group of catechumens at the ikulu, he emphasised the duty of the people to obey and respect their chief and Matolu enthusiastically joined in the lesson, expounding on the theme at length.⁷⁶ On another occasion, the presence of an exceptional number of people at the mission with a number of wanangwa and important wazenga kaya gave Müller the opportunity to lead them all to the ntemi's residence with three flags flying and drums leading the way. When they drew near the ikulu, Matolu came to meet them and after a long shauri, he proclaimed Müller 'king' of part of the kingdom, as related above. He tried to associate himself with the ntemi's traditional prestige rather than supplant it. Similarly, in handling the freed slave question, which had caused so much hostility for the missions at Ushirombo and Msalala, he minimised the disruption of the pattern of local society.

The small group of Christians who took part in the foundation of Ndala included several ex-slaves. Most came from Ushirombo but two - Jean-Baptist Limongo and Leopold Kizibao - had been several years in Europe and could both speak and write French fluently.⁷⁷ They had hardly arrived at Ndala when an Arab offered to sell a couple of slaves to the mission but it never became or set out to become a large colony of ex-slaves. Occasionally old female slaves accused of witchcraft sought refuge at the mission. Some slaves ran away when the coastal

76. Ndala D., 23.3.96, TBA.

77. Limongo was a Muganda. Kizibao was born in the Congo and redeemed at Tabora in October 1882.

caravans were leaving, for girls whose masters had no ivory were afraid of being sold. Not all those settling at the mission were runaways. A number were sent by the Germans at Tabora. They also sent Kasimya, a son of Mirambo. Another 'orphan' was a boy who had become ill and was abandoned by his Indian owner. But generally slaves proved an embarrassment at the mission for the people of Ndala did not like their slaves to be sheltered there.⁷⁸ Women refugees were generally sent to Ushiroombo and young women were sometimes refused altogether.⁷⁹ Many sought refuge only temporarily until their masters persuaded them to return with promises of gifts and gentler treatment. Ransoming slaves, in any case, came under the supervision of the civil authorities. As long as slavery enjoyed legal status, owners could expect the ransoms to approximate to the value of the slave. In the early days of the mission, a few yards of cloth was the only compensation given, but in the last years before the first world war, the system was more tightly regulated and the price of ransom went up to thirty rupees (forty shillings).⁸⁰ This was equivalent to the mission budget for three weeks. Ex-slaves rarely became Christians for long and usually departed on their own accord sooner or later. The members of the mission village had no privileged protection or tax remissions. When some were accused of stealing from the local people, they were sent to Tabora to submit to the ordinary process of the law.⁸¹ The orphanage gradually

78. Ndala D., 9.12.97, TBA.

79. Ndala D., 2.4.05, TBA.

80. Ndala D., 16.9.10 and 27.7.11, TBA.

81. Ndala D., 11.2.01, TBA.

changed into a little boarding school for boys whose relatives lived too far from the mission for daily travel.⁸² By 1909 there were only eleven boys in the orphanage and the mission village comprised twenty-four adults and fourteen children. The village does not seem to have been regarded by the local population as being much different from other villages. There was no particular stigma attached to being an ex-slave: the status of slaves at Ndala had always been higher than in western and northern Unyamwezi for they had been able to own cattle and property like free members of society.⁸³ The village was too small to be a rival to the ikulu and it neither monopolised the attention of the missionaries nor proved an obstacle to relations with other villages in the chiefdom.

The mission at Ndala was not built up materially on the same scale as the earlier foundations. It was established after the German conquest of Unyamwezi and no need was felt for the tight physical security which influenced the constructions at Msalala and Ushiroombo. A tembe was eventually built with a courtyard surrounded by a mud brick wall, but the wall was merely a protection against wild animals, still common enough to be a danger at night.⁸⁴ The buildings were built rather shoddily if their frequent collapse is any indication: workshops and classrooms are constantly reported in the diary

82. Ndala Council Book, Nyegezi archives.

83. Fieldnotes: Adelhard Nhunde, Ndala. Pio Ndilanha, Ndala.

84. Ndala D., 8.7.01, TBA.

to be collapsing. A church with two towers was built in 1900 but ten years later it was in an unsafe condition and could not be used.⁸⁵ In 1913 Léonard visited Ndala and remarked on the 'pitiful state of the buildings'.⁸⁶ It was not uncommon for missions to try to impress the people with large and permanent buildings, and at Ndala a more permanent church with walls lined with backed brick was begun shortly before the first world war, 'one which would show to the eyes of all, natives and foreigners, the prosperity of the gospel.'⁸⁷ It was begun in January 1914 and with no financial help from Europe, the people of Ndala built it themselves refusing to take any payment.⁸⁸ A permanent house for the fathers was not started until 1928 - over thirty years after the foundation of the mission.

Before the missionaries could be accepted as religious leaders, they had to find an active and recognisable role in Nyamwezi society, either replacing an agency in traditional society or supplying some need created by Nyamwezi contact with European culture and administration. The social works of protecting slaves and those accused of witchcraft reached only a few people and aroused hostility in others. Medical work - between three and four thousand sick were treated each year⁸⁹ - reached a broader cross-section but the personal

85. Müller to MM, Ndala, 6.1.1900, MG.

86. Léonard to Livinhac, Tabora, 27.11.13, TBA 310.001.

87. Simon to anon., Ndala, 1.12.13, TBA 355.108.

88. Leonard to Voillard, Tabora, 24.4.17, TBA 310.001.

89. R.A.Ndala, 1904-14, M.G.

contacts it provided were fleeting. Schooling was in many parts of East Africa the means by which a permanent community of interest could be identified and Christianity came to be closely associated with education in many areas. Not that the missionaries' interest in education was confined to proselytising: with schooling went a whole range of new attitudes towards the outside world, health, literacy and manual skills. Interest in school varied widely from place to place. It was less in Unyamwezi than in certain other parts of East Africa such as Ufipa, Buganda, or Bukoba.⁹⁰ Within Unyamwezi, there was no school at Msalala for many years; at Ushirombo it contained only a dwindling number of pupils after its short popularity. Only a handful of children attended it in Ndala until 1912 when their number passed three figures for the first time. Thenceforth the number grew steadily year by year. In view of the correlation between interest in schooling and in Christianity, and the importance of the catechist who taught both, the development of literary education at Ndala is of some interest.

In Buganda the popularity of education in mission schools is a well-known fact. In part the phenomenon can be attributed to the system of traditional education in which the educators

90. In 1913, seven missions in Bukoba had 1,816 pupils enrolled. In Buganda, 29 White Fathers' missions had 24,544 pupils. In Ufipa and the Lake Tanganyika missions, there were 11,582 pupils in 12 missions. In Unyamwezi, there were 717 pupils at six missions. The figures are from the Rappports Annuels for the Vicariates of North Nyanza, South Nyanza, Tanganyika and Unyanycembe, MG. Not all the pupils were regular in attendance and the accuracy of the figures is not mathematical. The smaller the number, the more likely it was to be exaggerated. Even making due allowances, the figures show a marked difference in the pursuit of literacy in Unyamwezi and the other areas named at that time.

were not part of the family of the pupil. It was the ambition of every Muganda boy to be raised at the court of the chief and, ideally, to move on to the Kabaka's court. During his adolescence a boy underwent a long training away from home within a tightly disciplined group of contemporaries. Such was his only chance of promotion to responsible office. The prestige of a chief was related to the number of children at his court and the behaviour of those he sent to the Kabaka's court reflected directly on him. In Bukoba, there was a system of traditional education in age-groups (Omuteko) controlled by the chiefs.⁹¹ Although this practice caused the Bukoba chiefs to oppose attendance at mission schools for some years, in the long run it established a precedent for education by professional teachers of groups of boys away from home, and mission schools first rivalled and later outstripped the chiefs' courts as popular sources of education. In Ufipa, the slave trade may have caused a more serious breakdown of society than it did in Unyamwezi. The missions which were set up there provided protection and security and exercised a certain amount of civil jurisdiction. Literacy was made easily available and systematically encouraged, and there was less competition during the dry season from employment as porters. Girls in particular were attracted by Christianity when it encouraged them to refuse to marry polygamous husbands as extra wives. Many girls attended the schools, a remarkable

91. R.A. South Nyanza passim, M.G. Hellberg, C.J., Missions on a colonial frontier (Lund 1965), p. 75; Oded, A., Islam in Uganda (Jerusalem 1974), p.133; oral communication, Fr John Waliggo.

feature at the turn of the century.⁹²

In Unyamwezi, the mission schools had no such precedent in the chief's court. The attendants on the chief were mainly slaves and relations. In Matolu's time, even the Mgabe, Kitambi, who acted as the principal adviser to both her and her successor, was a Tusi slave and at her death there was considerable competition among her relatives to inherit his services.^{92a} The traditional education of Nyamwezi youths was imparted mainly in the family. Here they learnt the strict rules of courtesy and behaviour so highly valued in traditional society. From their parents they acquired domestic and agricultural knowledge. The experience and strength to take part in the strenuous work of portage was acquired over several years of training. While hardly in their teens, boys went off to the coast with other members of the kaya, initially carrying cooking vessels or acting as a relief porter from time to time. They were coached in hunting skills and trained in the use of weapons by mock fights. There are numerous descriptions in Southon's correspondence of Mirambo handling his state business in the presence of his young sons. The knowledge of the mfumu was often passed on from father to son: when another youth was the apprentice and assistant of a mfumu, he was addressed as his son. The inheritance of folklore and history was handed on around the fire after the evening meal. Even such a simple activity was

92. In 1912 there were 5,938 boys and 3,602 girls enrolled there. Full figures were provided each year in the Rappports Annuels, M.G.

92a. Ndala D., 30.12.10, TBA.

bound by strict rules of behaviour: the youths had to listen without distracting their elders by questions or discussion.⁹³

Another means of education were certain societies into which a formal initiation was required before secrets were shared. Many have now fallen into disuse. Kupelaifumba taught its members how to behave sociably without fighting or wife-beating.⁹⁴ Participants in Kupelambuga learnt how to interpret the future from the insides of a hen.⁹⁵ In the society of Bunamhala initiates learnt how to recognise a witch. Bacong'yangi learnt the natural history of snakes. Other societies taught warlike skills; the Basambo, for instance, knew how to slip silently through enemy lines.⁹⁶ Within a small-scale communal society, specialised knowledge was both prestigious and profitable. It was shared only under strict conditions and within certain limits. Secrecy was difficult to maintain and so was reinforced by ritual initiation and oath-taking. Deliberately fabricated exaggeration enhanced the respect paid to possessors of a secret. Thus the Basambo were reputed to have medicines which made them invisible to the naked eye. Such restrictiveness in the dissemination of specialised knowledge was a great obstacle to its development in any systematic or scientific form. One of the revolutionary characteristics of missions schools, which in part explained

93. Fieldnotes: Pio Ndilanha, Ndala. Justino Kiluma, Ndala. Fr Ambrozi Kaxeka, Ndala. Adolfu Talu, Bukombe.

94. Fieldnotes: M. Kasundwa, Mhugo.

95. Fieldnotes: Mlisho Magaka, Mhugo.

96. Singleton, M., 'Why was Giesecke killed?' Cultures et Développement 3(1976), pp.657-60.

their eventual popularity, was their availability to any pupil without conditions of kinship or initiatory tests, and their open explanation of new skills.

Customs and traditions influenced the early judgements on literary skills. Before popular education became available, reading was regarded as some kind of magical divination. At Tabora, certain Arab diviners predicted the future by drawing random series of lines on pieces of paper.⁹⁷ Mackay found that this produced an odd preconception about writing. 'When they see me reading a book, they say that I am divining. When I write they say I am working witchcraft. One day I told them that my bible is full of the words of God and they only remarked to each other that it was true what they had supposed, that I was really a medicine man.'⁹⁸ A pupil told a White Sister that to know the future, all the Sister had to do was to write it down in her book and read it.⁹⁹ News of far off places was rapidly associated with the seemingly magical knowledge coming from books and letters carried from the coast by mail runners. The early Protestant missionaries particularly emphasised the link between reading and the Christian religion. Mackay told Lukonge of Ukerewe that he 'had a book containing all the words (God) taught and whoever would learn to read could know himself what God had taught.'¹⁰⁰ The Nyamwezi

97. Mackay to CMS, Kagei, 9.7.78, CM Intelligencer May 1879, p.287.

98. Mackay to CMS, Makolo, 22.8.83, G3/A6/O/1883/120.

99. WSD Ushiroambo, 23.2.96, WSA.

100. Mackay to CMS, Ukerewe, 28.7.79, CM Intelligencer Feb 1879, p.90.

however, were looking for practical lessons. They were by disposition more inclined to seek profit in trade and manual labour. Mirambo told Southon he wanted him to teach his people to make guns, powder and cloth, and the Washirombo expected the White Sisters on their arrival to teach them spinning, weaving and sewing. There was plenty of interest in the acquisition of manual skills but there were few local resources available for development because of the high cost of transport. A vast variety of crops were tried at different missions - coffee, rubber, vines, kapok, cotton among them. But none repaid more than a fraction of the investment.¹⁰¹ They created a few paid jobs for a time, but there were even fewer openings, and therefore fewer incentives, for people who could read and write. Everyone lived close to his family and friends and if an official message had to be sent to another chiefdom, it could easily be delivered viva voce. A few chiefs and Arabs had secretaries to write and receive letters for them. Stokes' former assistant Moses Willing of Freretown acted on occasion as the secretary of Mtinginya of Ussongo. The wali of Tabora, Abdullah ibn Nassib, sent a letter in French to the first White Fathers'

101. R.A. Unyanyembe 1910-11. H.G. During the first world war, the naval blockade prevented any imports of cotton goods and the resulting inflation in the price of cloth made local production economical for a brief time. Even then, it took twenty hours work to produce enough cotton thread for a single cloth of two square yards, and four days to earn a rupee (then about two shillings). Léonard to Goarnisson, Tabora, 14.10.15. TBA 310.001. See also Byckaert, A., 'Fileurs et tisserands - Tanganyika', Missions Catholiques (1927), pp.355-8 and 367-70.

caravan.¹⁰² At Ujiji Rimaliza had a letter reader in his service called Julian: the Kibanga diary refers to him rather unkindly as Julian the Apostate.¹⁰³ On a number of occasions missionaries wrote letters for Isike and Mirambo, but such occasional needs did not provide any incentive for mass education. Mirambo learnt to write his name but thought he was too old to learn the craft thoroughly.¹⁰⁴ Children of school age had by custom the time-consuming jobs of herding goats and cattle, and until sorghum was replaced by maize, they were responsible for protecting the ripening grain from birds. Reading was a mysterious activity and provoked a certain fear and awe. There were suspicions of the schools' purpose; the children would forget about their parents and families and become children of the fathers, refusing to travel and work for their own kin. Even worse, they might be sent away to Europe.¹⁰⁵ There was no tradition of education outside the kaya. The only precedent was the custom of bafumu (diviners and medicine men) sometimes collecting

102. Nyanza D., 20.4.79, M.G.

103. Kibanga D., 10.3.90, M.G.

104. Southon J., 22.10.80, LMS CA Journals 3/23.

105. Several informants mentioned this fear but none could account for it. Perhaps it came from analogy to the Arab slave trade. Europe or Ulaya was a very indeterminate designation associated with the coast. The slave trade inspired extreme protectiveness towards children and universal suspicion of strangers. A few of the orphans from the early mission at Kipalapala had gone to Europe for training as medical catechists and their memories have been handed on in terms which are very curious indeed. Fieldnotes: Adofu Nyamiti, Ndala, a nephew of Leopold Kizibao.

a little group of two or three apprentices who acted as their servants and assistants while learning their secrets. In these circumstances, it was up to the mfumu to feed and clothe them. The missionaries found they could attract pupils if they were willing to pay them wages, but they lacked the resources to do so and after the first year or two rejected the principle of running a mission on mercenary lines.

Until the last few years before the first world war, literacy in Unyamwezi was associated only with religious teaching. The purpose and end of education began and ended in the schoolroom and the church. Literacy was useful for reading the scriptures, prayers, and services. There was no chance for pupils to use their knowledge for a career except as catechists, and they were few in number and less well paid than men in wage-earning manual employment. Financial advancement was the least of the inducements to become a catechist. But as catechists were to become important religious and social leaders in Ndala when education grew in popularity, something must be said of their early modest beginnings and their development from schoolroom assistants of the missionary to leadership of religious and social groupings in Nyamwezi society.

The first group of Christians to arrive at Ndala included a number of Africans who assisted in the work of teaching, notably the two Maltese-trained medical catechists, Leopold Kizibao and Jean-Baptiste Limongo, and a certain Francisco.¹⁰⁶ But foreign catechists turned out to have a limited acceptability and after the first few years they did not show any

106. Ndala D., Jan 1898, TBA.

inclination to continue in that function. Instead, they were for many years in the employ of the mission as foreman and cook. Their local successors were to develop the role of catechist considerably. Initially, much of their work consisted of interpreting. Linguistic features unknown in European languages easily went unrecognised by the missionaries. The subtleties of a tonal language were intensely difficult to master for Europeans with no linguistic training and no grammars to follow. Only a few acquired a real mastery of Kinyamwezi and only a Mnyamwezi experienced in the mistaken tonalities of pioneering efforts at pronunciation could understand what the missionaries were trying to say.¹⁰⁷ A catechist's earliest function was often to translate from one form of kinyamwezi into another. They were also interpreters of ideas and concepts, devising and advising on Kinyamwezi terms to communicate entirely novel ideas.

One of the first local catechists was Kasha, a blind man but nevertheless the influential leader of a ngoma or dance society. He played the manju, a kind of one stringed fiddle. Ngoma leaders have always been highly influential people: people cultivate their fields so that they can distribute food and beer to their followers. (They were a particular target of TANU recruiters fifty years later when the nationalist movement was building up a broad popular base). Within a few days, Kasha had a class of more than

107. Livinhac to Léonard, Algiers, 10.12.22. TEA 310.001. Fr Ambrozi Kaseka in the Introduction to his Kinyamwezi Grammar, a duplicated book, TBA.

two hundred people at Mhuge, though the numbers may not have remained at that level for long.¹⁰⁸ But for the first decade or so of the mission, most of the catechists were young teenage boys who had had some schooling at the mission school. They were not regarded primarily as teachers but were general employees of the mission and might alternate teaching with cooking, building, or leading a caravan.¹⁰⁹ As catechists they worked in pairs, teaching groups of children in the dry season. Their number was variable depending on the policy of the mission superior. Bedbéder replaced van den Wee in December 1908. He had previously been stationed at Msalala where few catechists were employed. At Ndala he reduced the active number from fourteen to two.¹¹⁰ He concentrated work entirely at the mission itself and rebuilt various parts of the property. It was only on the insistence of the Regional Visitor, Léonard, that he employed any catechists at all. His policy was not popular and he was given the nickname Janga, an insect which bodes ill-fortune. The people asked for the return of their local catechists¹¹¹ and at one village, Wita, began to build their own chapel.¹¹² Certainly, the attempt to reconcentrate all the activity of the mission at the mission itself was a failure and with the

108. Fieldnotes: J.Kaluma and J.Nsubi, Ndala, both members of his ngoma or dance group. Ndala D., 22 and 27.5.98, TBA.

109. Ndala Council Book, 22.9.07, Nyegezi archives.

110. R.A. Ndala, 1906-9, M.G.

111. Ndala D., 4.8.10, TBA.

112. Ndala D., 25.8.10, TBA.

transfer of Bodbéder in 1910, the system was reorganised.

His successor, Slegers, put the catechists on a more regular basis. By 1910, some of the catechists had had several years experience. They were no longer youths and were given extra training and instruction weekly. A modest salary of four rupees a month was provided and their pupils provided help with cultivating their fields. In the early years they had been based within an hour's walk of the mission,¹¹³ they now spread out over the surrounding countryside. Local groups of would-be pupils built classroom: chapels to attract a catechist.¹¹⁴ Some catechists started on their own independently. Jabobo Ngata, for example, was an ex-soldier who insisted on setting up as a catechist in his own village at Lyombo, writing to the bishop to get his support when he felt he was not given sufficient help by the Ndala missionaries.¹¹⁵ Lukas Kitambi went off to Uyui, the neighbouring chiefdom, on his own, and Joseph Luziga to Butuja.¹¹⁶ The popularisation of the bicycle as a means of transport after 1910 made it possible for the widely scattered groups of Christians to keep in touch with the central mission through regular visits by the missionaries.¹¹⁷ In more isolated and independent situations, a catechist might have

113. v.d. Wee to MM, Ndala, 26.-1.03, M.G.

114. Simon to MM, Ndala, 22.11.13, M.G.

115. Ndala D., 14.5.13, TBA.

116. Ndala D., 23.1.14 and 24.11.24, TBA.

117. The first bicycle in the vicariate was introduced by Van Aken in 1909.

a potential audience of one or two thousand people living around him. His first task was to find himself pupils and to this end the catechist visited kayas, explaining the rudiments of Christianity and the value of reading and writing. He argued that the teachings of the bafumu were misleading and deceptive and that the mizimu were unable to help anyone who was sick. (Christianity was proposed as a direct competitive alternative to traditional religion with little scope for accommodation to traditional beliefs). Sometimes one pupil brought his friends. Girls came to learn about religion but did not attend classes of reading and writing.¹¹⁸

The growth in the number of schools and catechists was obviously not due simply to initiatives by the catechists: it coincided with a popular demand for education. In the early years of German East Africa, the civil administration's main source of clerks was the coastal schools. For almost a decade, the mission school at Tabora remained empty except for a few children from the Christian families living round the mission.¹¹⁹ Porterage as the main source of cash income was replaced by migrant work in the new plantations at the coast and word began to filter back to Unyamwezi that there were chances of promotion and increased wages for those who could read and write.¹²⁰ When the central railway finally arrived at Tabora in 1912, the town became, after twenty years of decline, once more an important transport centre and men

118. Fieldnotes: J. Nsubi, Ndala.

119. Tabora D., 1.10.08, TBA.

120. R.A. Ndala 1907-8, M.G.

flocked there in droves looking for work.¹²¹ The demands of the Nyamwezi for schooling grew with the opportunities and as the catechists' schools were the first step on the ladder, their services drew pupils and won them a certain status and prestige in local society.

By the eve of the first world war, the scene was set for the emergence of catechists as the principal agents of religious and social change around Ndala. Its background and history made it a fluid, non-authoritarian, open society. The people were independently disposed, both economically and politically. Catechists were founding and running schools several hours journey from the mission and providing opportunities for social advantage to their pupils. Yet their influence would have been much less but for their emergence as rivals and critics of the increasing traditionalism of the colonially appointed chiefs. As well as being religious leaders, they came to represent the aspirations of a changing society frustrated by the rigidity of existing institutions. The catechists had roles in two overlapping societies, in the community of the Christian Church which was being built up at the village level, and within the traditional Nyamwezi chiefdom. His role in the former was to produce tensions in the latter for it gave him influence and leadership which cut across ties of political allegiance. The district outstation rather than the central mission was to most Christians the focus of Church activity. They had physically built the schoolroom-prayerhouse.

121. MPA 10.9.14, p.145.

It was there that they assembled for instruction in religion, for schooling, for Mass on Sundays if there was a visiting priest, or, if not, for the catechist's bible and prayer service. The catechist educated their children, assisted the dying, taught the practices of a universal church. He gave an example in agricultural methods, planting trees and new vegetables, and showed the dignity of his office by his ample kanzu or robe, and his large well-built house. While the missionaries arrived from Europe, were transferred or died young, the catechist was the permanent element who acted as their local representative, assistant and confident. Only on major feast days did the parish as a whole assemble at the mission church as a single unit. The work of the mission came to depend very largely on the catechists and the steady increase in Christians at Ndala compared to Ushiroombo and Msalala corresponded to the large number of catechists. The Catholic Church, hierarchical in organisation as it is, consists of a very flat pyramid: bishop, clergy and laity. The catechist came to represent, if not by ordination and canon law, then in the ordinary practice of the Church in Africa, another level between clergy and laity. The fathers remained ritual leaders, representatives of the canonical Church, the standard of orthodox teaching and belief. The catechist had the complementary role of permanent local leader, substituting for the priest in non-ritual assemblies, representing the people to the missionary on his regular visits.

As the leader of a group, the character of the catechist's post could not be entirely apolitical. During the German colonial period, there was a split between those willing to

co-operate with the colonial government in order to maintain the outward forms at least of traditional authority while rejecting cultural and religious innovation, and those less inclined to accept the impositions of the colonial government through the traditional authorities and who aspired after the new economic and cultural alternatives becoming available. There were also differences in the degree of co-operation on the one hand with the chiefs who had held their office before the establishment of colonial overrule, and, on the other, with those appointed by colonial officers. At Ndala, the defeat of Isike and the punitive force of 1894 was sufficient to make Matalu realise the impossibility of resisting German military strength in a full-scale war. But she retained the prestige and respect due to a traditional chief in spite of her enforced and reluctant agency in the collection of taxes and the building of roads by forced labour, the latter being intensely unpopular in Unyamwezi. Her successor was much more dependent on the colonial government and even his accession depended on its support.

When Ntabo died in 1910, there were two candidates for the succession: one was Mtungira, the son of a subsidiary wife of a former ntemi, not of royal blood, a former employee of Nhumbi, Luziga. According to the traditional rules of succession, Luziga of Nhumbi had a better claim and a larger party of supporters. But Mtungira had the support of the banaikulu led by Kitambi, mgabe and right hand man of Ntabo. He stole a march on his rival by going to Tabora and securing the approval of the German officials there, and presented the assembled electors with a fait accompli, confusingly assuming

Luziga as his chiefly name. It is not clear why he could secure German support so easily. Possibly he took advantage of a confusion of identities. Perhaps he misrepresented his case, claiming the majority support which he lacked, or possibly the German official objected to the mission supporting his rival. More likely, his previous employment at the boma told in his favour.¹²² The unsuccessful claimant, Luziga of Nhumbi, was obliged to leave the country and over the next few years, other members of the royal family (who were not numerous), were eased out of positions of authority.¹²³ By the end of 1911, the kaya of Mwanangwa Luziga at Nhumbi was almost deserted.¹²⁴

Over the years that followed, the new ntemi was to make a fairly successful ruler. He was more able than Ntabo and kept tight control on the banaikulu, not letting them claim the privileges to which they had been accustomed. Yet it seems that the new ntemi who had lacked broad majority support for his his election, became increasingly dependent on Tusi and Moslem factions in his chiefdom and on the German (and later British) colonial officers. In May 1914 he distributed empty sacks to collect the grain tribute. Some of his subjects only accepted them on condition that the Tusi also were given their share of the sacks to fill.¹²⁵ A Tusi, Mtunda,

122. Cottino, J., 'Au royaume de Ndala: mort de la reine', Missions Catholiques (1911) pp.323-4 and 335; Slegers, Memorandum of June 1914, ms. in Ndala mission archives; Fieldnotes: Nyamizi Kihumbi and Masele Kihumbi of Iyombo (both are Batusi); Mhamedi Hamisi, Ndala.

123. Ndala D., 1.4.11 and 23.7.11, TBA.

124. Ndala D., 10.10.11, TBA.

125. Fieldnotes: Fuloriani Doto, Ndala. Ndala D., 8.5.14.

bought the office of mwanangwa formerly held by Unana, one of Ntabo's family, who had been chased away by the ntemi. Kitambi, the Tusi mgabe of Ntabo, secured Iyombo and another Tusi, Mwana Ijala, was appointed a mwanangwa. 'Little by little', wrote Slegers, 'the members of the royal family are being replaced by Tusi who buy districts with their cattle.'¹²⁶ The Christians accused Luziga of favouring the Moslems, not requiring them to do their share of the road building, and remitting their taxes. The favouritism does not seem to have been unexpected: a chief normally shared the benefits of office with his friends. But divisiveness on tribal and religious lines was unknown in the reign of his predecessor. In pre-colonial times, it would have caused considerable emigration from his chiefdom.

Because Luziga owed his position to his appointment by the colonial officials at Tabora, he had every reason to preserve as many of the traditional institutions and symbols of power as he could, for they represented the signs of continuity. The German administration required the chiefs to collect comparatively heavy taxes and organise forced labour. In the process, an essential part of their character was lost. The chiefs became more dependent on colonial authority to provide police support and courts and on salaries or shares in tax farming to preserve the outward symbols and exercise of traditional authority. The chiefs in many cases became suspicious of attempts of any of their subjects to acquire educational skills, religious ideas, or cultural

126. Slegers, Memo of June 1914, ms. in Ndala mission archives.

novelties, which were outside the control of their authority. One result in Ndala was a polarisation and degree of opposition between chiefs and catechists, expressed in localised and specific quarrels over the new impositions of forced labour and taxation. The exercise of these duties was open to abuse; some forced labour was paid for by the government but the cash was not passed on to the workers. Chiefs were paid by planters for recruiting workers and used their authority to oblige people to go to the coast.¹²⁷ When cash was short, taxes might be collected in kind at a low valuation; the goods were sold by the chief at a higher price and he pocketed the difference. There was no machinery within the chiefdoms to protest against such abuses. Recourse to the colonial officers at Tabora was possible but unpopular; the complainant was betraying his chief to an alien unwanted power; it was difficult to find witnesses, and reprisal was possible by the chief and his officers.¹²⁸

The break-up and dispersal of the kayas during the first decade of the century reduced the mzenga kaya as a notable figure in local politics: he could no longer act as a buffer between chiefly authority and the individual subject. But the catechist was emerging in his place as an alternative focus of opposition. Several of the catechists at Ndala were men of considerable intelligence and leadership. They had earned respect by their education. They were protected from

127. Cottino to MM, Ndala, 28.11.11, M.G.

128. Slegers, C., 'L'Affaire d'Uyui', ms., Ndala archives.

victimisation by their close association with the mission, and had the support of witnesses among their pupils. A considerable number of them were the sons or grandsons of chiefs.¹²⁹ But while the chiefs were taking up a position halfway between traditional society and the colonial government, the catechists represented aspirations away from the colonialisised traditional structure towards new opportunities outside it.

At Ndala, there were no signs of serious disputes between the ntemi and the Christians before the death of Matolu, either in the written sources, or in the memories of people today. But the succession of Luziga was to lead to accusation and counter-accusation between chiefs and catechists, and subsequent appeals to the German administration at Tabora by both parties. Similarly, the chiefs of Uyui and Mhuge kept on good personal terms with the mission at Ndala but quarrelled on a number of occasions with the catechists and their pupils. In 1911, Luziga arrested Joseph Nsubi, Lukas Kitambi and Adriano Kinyagi and had them taken to Tabora by

129. Of the more prominent catechists at Ndala, Adelhard Nhundi was the son of a mwanangwa of Ussongo, a favourite of Mtinginya, as was his brother Benedikto Inega. Mkonde was the son of Ntemi Ngelenge I. Luziga, the unsuccessful claimant for the Ndala ntemiship, became a catechist at Itaga mission; Gaspari Sunhwa was the son of Mwanangwa Nzuki and refused the office for himself because it was incompatible with his work of catechist; Lukas Kitambi and Joseph Nsubi were the grandsons of a sub-chief (ntemi ndogo), Nsubi, in Uyui; Melkior Kazinya, was a son of Mirambo; Jacobo Ngata was the grandson of the ntemi of Luhumbo. According to the mission diary, Gregori Shijela was the son of an ntemi but enquiries failed to identify his origin.

an askari of the Germans on the charge that they were preventing Christians doing work for the government. But he was more concerned with his own chiefdom than with the administration's problems: 'they will destroy the chiefdom - wataharibu nchi' he complained. After being examined by the district officer, the catechists were released with his express dispensation from work on the roads. 'I don't want the catechists to do work on the barabara (road)' he said, 'they have their own job like a doctor or district officer'.¹³⁰

The ntemi of Uyui, Kapigawashi, also arrested a group of catechists. He accused them of bringing the wafaransa (Frenchmen) into the country but they were released after appearing at Tabora.¹³¹ Although the catechists themselves were not harassed afterwards, men turning up for classes were seized by a policeman of the ntemi of Mhuga and sent to work at Tabora.¹³² At Chabutwa, the ntemi was alleged to be imposing an extra share of taxes on kayas where catechists were working and defended himself to the mission superior by the claim that 'if everyone goes to religious instruction, I will no longer have anyone'.¹³³ At Uyui, the ntemi tried a different approach: he attempted to persuade the catechists to send people to work for him and to pay their taxes and use

130. Fieldnotes: Joseph Nsubi, Ndala, one of those arrested. Ndala D. 29.6.12, TBA.

131. Fieldnotes: Adelhard Nhundi, Ndala; Mshata Maganga, Magiri. Slegers, 'L'affaire d'Uyui', ms. in Ndala mission archives.

132. Ndala D. 29.2.13, TBA.

133. Ndala D., 19.8.13 and 14.12.13. TBA.

his drum to call people to build at the ikulu. But it was clearly not in the interest of the catechist to get involved with unpopular measures.¹³⁴

The Christians countered by various complaints against the batemi, that their tax assessments were excessive or they forced people to sell cattle to European buyers paying a percentage to the ntemi.¹³⁵ In the latter case, D.P.O. Bell intervened and the cattle were returned. Frequently the catechists were the spokesmen for the subjects, Christian or not, who had complaints. Slegers observed that since the arrival of the colonial government, corvées had greatly increased: people in the past would have revolted against the chief but 'now they feel they are supported by a strong power and give out orders as if from the government which they could never do from their own power.'¹³⁶ Officially, people were supposed to work only two days for the chief each year, but in fact some people were made to work for a whole month building a royal house. In such cases, the catechists were the spokesmen in voicing the objections of both Christians and non-Christians and acted with the support of their pupils.¹³⁷ It is significant that these complaints against the chief were directed against power exercised by the chiefs as agents of the colonial government. They objected not to the strictly traditional rights of the chief, but to the impositions of colonial rule.

134. Ndala D., 10.5.14 and 28.5.14, TBA.

135. Ndala D., 7.10.18 TBA. Fieldnotes: A. Nhunde, Ndala. P. Nkingwa, Ndala.

136. Slegers, C., 'L'affaire d'Uyui', ms. in Ndala mission archives.

137. Fieldnotes: A Nhunde, Ndala.

Catechists thus acquired an increasingly active role and status in Ndala. Through them, the mission became absorbed into local interests, government and education. The influence of the mission was to be almost entirely exercised through and with the catechists. Years before, Lavigerie had said the durable work of the mission would be accomplished by the Africans themselves; the missionaries were only the initiators,¹³⁸ but he had not foreseen how this would take place. The early attempts to penetrate Nyamwezi society in partnership with the chiefs had been a failure and became outmoded with the establishment of a colonial government. Instead, the new leadership within Unyamwezi was to be with a new educated group. The education was still rudimentary, but it represented a development from traditional society. Why this should happen at Ndala when it had signally failed to occur at Ushirombo and Msalala was due mainly to the more rapidly changing social context which featured growth rather than recession. Ndala was a more heterogeneous society and lacked the rigid relationships of free people and slaves which existed in the north of Unyamwezi and which had been threatened by the arrival of the mission. The Wandala, by origin, grouping and economic opportunity, were more independent of the chief and less inclined to accept the instinctive traditionalism of the older settled chiefdoms. The continuing social and economic development in the early colonial period created the opportunity to choose between

138. Lavigerie, Ecrits d'Afrique p.256.

a defensive traditionalism and the creation of a new type of society having a mixed cultural and economic genesis. Education was an attractive means to social betterment and it gave the catechist a broadly social role - he was far more than a religious teacher. Thus the mission discovered local leadership, secured a foothold in local society, and established a means of communication within the common interest in schooling.

The experience of Ndala would suggest that the social and economic factors there were more compatible with Christianity than those operative in northern Unyamwezi. But such factors do not constitute a full explanation for the spread of Christianity. Christianity is a religion, not a political, economic or social system and ultimately the decision of some people at Ndala to become Christians was entirely personal. Undoubtedly, motives were often mixed and hopes of material gain were sometimes present. Some believed that by becoming Christians they were doing the missionaries a favour and expected gratitude and material recompense for following catechetical instructions. Others regarded Christianity as a chama or society to be joined and left when they were tired of it. Some are said to have hoped to avoid conscription in work parties by attendance at catechism classes. After the disillusioning experiences of Msalala and Ushirombo, a more discriminating policy towards potential recruits was taken. Payments for attendance were never introduced at Ndala. Requests to the chiefs to send groups of people were not made. At Ushirombo and Msalala, many of the Christians were freed slaves but no such system

operated at Ndala as a system of proselytising. Most of the catechumens were young people of either sex, belonging to the farming families in the area. Polygamists and bhang smokers were excluded. Few people over thirty-five became catechumens. Attendance at three catechism classes each week as well as on Sundays was required for several months a year. The time and inconvenience such a programme involved for four years before baptism discouraged casual interest or short-term enthusiasm.¹³⁹

If people who became Christians near the beginning of the century are asked for their reasons, they give very uncomplicated answers: to hear the word of God, to be saved, to learn how to pray. They were attracted to Christianity because they saw it was good, because it was nice, because the fathers were not cross (kali) like the Germans. People were free to go or not and they enjoyed going. Often there was an element of conscious revolt against the traditional rites: one informant said becoming a Christian meant to despise the religion of the mizimu, yet he found the hardest part of being a Christian was to abandon the old rites. Rejection of the mizimu cult was often accompanied by a certain amount of resentment against it for its being misleading and deceitful. 'When I was about twenty years old, I began to

139. Hirth, Bishop, Directoire pour le catéchumenat, Algiers 1908. Slegers, C., 'Le catéchumenat', ms. in Ndala mission archives. Léonard, Bishop, 'Directoire pour le Vicariat de l'Unyanyembe', duplicated typescript 1916, TBA; Fieldnotes: Joseph Nsubi, Ndala, and others.

see the stupidity of divination (ufumu) and its many lies. I began to listen to the words of God. I bought a catechism and I read who created me and put me in the world.' This is fairly typical. Some old catechists were asked what most impressed their pupils in the new teaching. They all included the cult of Mungu (God), the stories of the creation and of Adam. The early chapters of Genesis are in a literary form close to Nyamwezi oral traditions and myths and are highly significant to them. The religious teaching they contain, the uniqueness of God's creative power, the unity of mankind, the moral quality of the social order, contrasted very markedly with the traditional beliefs in a multiplicity of independent spiritual powers, the restricted loyalties of clan and chiefdom, and the ethically neutral character of the mizimu cult.¹⁴⁰

Within the broad context of Nyamwezi religion, the spread of Christianity represented a revival of the cult of the traditional Nyamwezi God. The Nyamwezi names were not used very frequently in catechetical instruction but the identity of Mungu with Livelelo or Lyuba was explicitly made. Customarily Livelelo was invoked on certain occasions, for instance, in the early morning or before an offering to the ancestors, but he was generally supposed to be too remote to concern himself with human beings. Offerings were very rarely made. Fr. V.

140. Fieldnotes: Numerous interviews including Mpenbe Ilagila, Kisuka, Nicolas Mhozia, Tabora, Mshata Maganga, Uyui, Terezia Mbuga, Ndono, Paulo Kasagenya, Ndono, Gerardo Mwandamila, Mbogwe, Joseph Nsubi, Chabutwa. Danieli Katuga, 'Autobiography', ms. in Ushirombo archives.

Martin noted their revival during the first world war, a disaster of such magnitude that it was beyond the powers of the mizimu to control. At Ushirombo, some heads of family whose sons had been enlisted by the army, made promises of offerings on their safe return. The offering was then made without any mention of ancestors at any stage and the mfumu played no part in the promise or ceremony.¹⁴¹ Becoming a Christian involved the rejection of many traditional practices designed to allay anxieties. The Nyamwezi expected from religion the manipulation of forces and powers beyond their control relating to fertility of crops, the procreation of children, their health and safety in war or travel. Christianity made no attempt to replace traditional cults by copying these functions, out-divining the bafumu, or guaranteeing health, children and good crops. Instead, it distinguished between religion and the secular, between physical sciences and spiritual power. The missionaries were concerned with the general physical welfare of Unyamwezi and introduced new food crops, taught health education and hygiene, provided medical attention and gave a lead in improved agricultural methods. Such innovations indirectly reduced the powers and influence of the diviners who prepared medicines to protect the crops, but there was no attempt to make them out to be religious.

Christianity thus fitted into a society where horizons were larger than the small scale clan and chiefdom in which disorder was attributed to localised ancestors. As Nyamwezi

141. Martin, V. 'Coutumes et moeurs des Basumbwa', ms., TEA 361.000.

experience expanded and the political institutions were secularised by involvement with colonial government, the inter-dependent small units of pre-colonial Unyamwezi were weakened and the pressures for local uniformity lessened. Becoming a Christian involved the rejection of many traditional practices. Christian medals and insignia replaced customary charms and emblems. The larger scale of society produced a certain amount of security from starvation, supplies of food in the event of crop failure. The bafumu used to tell the people of Bulungwa, 'What will Christianity profit you? You will die.'¹⁴² Yet in 1913 the crops did fail and the mission at Bulungwa provided a great deal of food to save from starvation people whose *nizimu* had failed to protect them. As a consequence many subsequently became catechumens.¹⁴³

The number of Christians in Ndala on the eve of the first world war was not large: there were some five hundred baptised and two-thirds that number of catechumens. But unlike at the missions of Ushirombo and Msalala, the level of practice was high and the numbers showed every sign of continuing to grow in the future. They had become Christians without political pressures or promises of material profit. A few left to seek work elsewhere and some had employment as catechists, but this was not particularly remunerative. Some in fact were worse off: they lived many miles from their families in much poorer circumstances than those to which they had been accustomed.¹⁴⁴

142. Fieldnotes: Ntemi Bulungwa and elders of Bulungwa.

143. Bulungwa Diary *passim* 1913-14. TBA.

144. Leonard to De Louw, Bussongo, 26.8.24, TBA 310.001.

It would seem that in a group of chiefdoms growing in size, near long distance routes of communication, politically less authoritarian and conservative, there was more fluidity in local society and an altogether greater interest in the Christian message. The increasing secularisation of the traditional chiefdom reduced the loyalties it could call on. In marked contrast to the conservatism at Msalala, growth and social change at Ndala facilitated religious innovation.

CHAPTER SEVENTABORA - THE URBAN FACTOR

Some of the circumstances which favoured social and religious change in Ndala were also to be found in much of southern Unyamwezi. Immigration from the north and west, contact with irrupting new ideas from the direction of the coast, opportunities for employment of men with educational skills, demilitarisation and the decline in prestige of the batemi, were all present in the chiefdoms of the south. Between Ndala and Tabora the countryside came increasingly within the orbit of the town of Tabora with its distinctively Moslem character. While there was a similar disintegration of certain traditional institutions, the recombination of the elements in new compounds was more varied. Islam presented an alternative model to Christianity for social harmonisation of old and new. Initially it was limited to the coastal settlers and Manyema slaves who constituted the town population. When circumstances required some adaptation to the colonial superstructure, the town of Tabora maintained its separateness from the surrounding Nyamwezi countryside and townsmen became for a time a sub-colonial group with a particular prestige and influence. The mission was therefore able to make little impact on the town itself, but competed for adherents outside it. It was only after the first world war that the cultural insularity of Tabora broke down.

Shortly after the defeat of Isike, ntemi of Unyanyembe, Lieutenant Sigl invited Gerboin to reopen the mission at Kipalapala.¹ The invitation was refused. The experience of the old missions at Tabora and Kipalapala had been of constricted and unsuccessful activity. The dominant element in Tabora was still Arab and the character of the town entirely Moslem. Moreover, as a matter of policy, the White Fathers avoided opening missions in the neighbourhood of colonial military posts.² Most of the missionaries at that time originated in the rural areas of France and the Netherlands and were more at home in peasant farming areas than in urban conglomerations.³ Another factor was Tabora's reputation for being physically unhealthy. Much of the town at that time was badly drained, parts being flooded throughout the wet season.⁴ The local strain of malaria was particularly virulent, remaining a mysterious and often fatal disease to Europeans

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1. Gerboin to MM, Ushirombo, 6.5.93, M.G.
 2. Livinhac to Gerboin, Algiers, 9.11.93, TBA 465.465.
 3. Brard to MM, Kipalapala, -.1.89, CT 42 (1889) p. 278.
 4. Grün to Mda, Tabora, 19.1.01, Mda 152 (1901) p. 254.

until the turn of the century.⁵ So the massive old boma at Kipalapala gradually fell into ruins, the process accelerating when the deserted buildings were taken over by the colonial military forces for use as a shooting range.⁶ The surrounding land, unpopulated and uncultivated, relapsed into bush and only the eucalyptus trees planted by Hauttecoeur were a reminder of the past.⁷

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5. Until the end of the nineteenth century, malarial attacks were accepted as a dangerous but inevitable 'tribute' to the climate. The association between malaria and mosquitoes has long ago been perceived at the coast. Burton recorded Somali observations on this point. Boteler and Owen describe similar beliefs of mariners. But travellers inland, supported by medical opinion in Europe, generally believed the cause of malaria was the noxious exhalations of damp earth. The results of the clinical studies of Laveran, Manson and Ross into methods of transmission and control reached the colonial station at Tabora in booklet form by 1903. By that time, the most effective dosage of quinine as a preventative and cure had been learnt by trial and error. See Burton, R.F., 'A trip to Harrar' in Selected papers on anthropology, travel and exploration, (ed. N.H. Fenzer) (London 1924), p. 73; Boteler, T., Narrative of a voyage of discovery to Africa and Arabia from 1821-5 under the command of Captain F.J. Owen (London 1935) i, p. 208; Owen, W.F.W., Narrative of voyages to explore the coast of Arabia, Africa and Madagascar (London 1855) i, pp. 223-4; Mackay of Uganda by his Sister (London 1891) p. 63; Nicolas, A., Lacaze, H., and others, Guide Hygiénique et médical des voyageurs dans l'Afrique Intertropicale (Paris 1885), pp. 111-7; Tabora D., 2.6.03, TBA.
6. Capus to MM, Ishirombo, 12.6.95, M.G; Tabora D., 27.3.09, TBA.
7. Fieldnotes: Josef Nguno, Kipalapala.

But after the foundation of Ndala in 1896, the next link in the chain of missions along the routes to the coast could only be Tabora. Despite the decline in the traditional trade in ivory and slaves, or perhaps even because of it, Tabora was of increasing importance in Unyamwezi. Wage porterage in government and G.E.A. Company caravans organised at Tabora dominated the routes once shared with Sumbwa and northern Nyamwezi groups of traders. Tabora was chosen as the military and administrative centre of a large part of western German East Africa. In fact, the German district of Tabora was to be the only approximation the hundred odd chiefdoms of Unyamwezi ever had to existence as a centralised political unit. Tabora was also the most convenient base for organising supplies going to missions on both shores of Lake Tanganyika. When the Jewish doctor and traveller, Kandt offered as a gift to Gerboin an Arab tembe for the foundation of a dispensary and school, Gerboin accepted it.⁸ The tembe, called Baharini, was one of the largest in Tabora.⁹ Its massive outer wall still bore the battle scars left by Mirambo in his unsuccessful second raid on Tabora at a time when its occupant had been Abdullah ibn Nassib.¹⁰ Surrounding it were some twenty-eight hectares of gardens and fruit trees and a little village of forty families.

8. Kandt to Gerboin, Kivu, 6.3.1900, TBA 324.820.

9. The tembe is described by Stanley, How I found Livingstone, p. 271 and Guillet who stayed in it briefly. F.B., A l'assaut des pays nègres (Algiers 1884) appendix. Only a finely carved doorway remains today of the original building which was demolished in 1919.

10. Grün to Bazin, Tabora 17.9.01, Afrika Bote 8 (1901) p. 229.

The first decade of colonial rule has made little difference to the appearance of Tabora, which was still dominated by twenty or thirty Arab tembes, each surrounded by a cluster of missonge, circular grass-roofed huts, within and without a vast walled courtyard.¹¹ The tembes were disposed in no discernible pattern about a vast clearing centred on the present-day market place. There were no planned streets or roads. The larger Arab households contained two or three hundred people. There were also several hundred smaller households scattered between the Arabs' settlements. Until the arrival of the railway, Tabora was not so much a town as a concentrated agricultural settlement fragmented in an area of intense cultivation. A number of the trees and food crops were not indigenous and needed particular care. Wheat, for example, was a dry season crop sown in clumps of three grains at a time and watered entirely by hand.¹² Its cultivation was made possible only by the large numbers of slaves available. With its deep green groves of bananas and the shade offered by its hundreds of mango trees,¹³ Tabora seemed an oasis of fertile restfulness to travellers who had just crossed the parched plains of Ugogo and the monotonous flat bush country of the Mgunda Mgali. Its market seemed a hive of activity,

11. Heudebert, L., Vers les Grands Lacs de l'Afrique Orientale d'après les notes de l'explorateur Arvoil (Paris 1900), p. 349; Jabr ibn Zaid, 'Historical notes' in Tabora DB.

12. Kipalapala D., May to Sept. 1886, TBA; Mackay's J., 13.5.78, CMS C/AG/O/16/52.

13. Thomson, J., To the Central African Lakes and back (London 1881), p. 254; Gleerup, E.J., 'A journey across Tanganyika in 1886', EMR 58/9 (1952), p. 137.

and prompted Capus to describe Tabora as the Paris of Unyamwezi.¹⁴ The expectations of others, however, were not always fulfilled.

'There is literally nothing to write about in this uninteresting country', wrote Speke.¹⁵ Disappointment led successive visitors to suppose it had declined from a golden past. The Arabs' "power as well as their profits gradually declines", (sic) remarked Burton.¹⁶ Mrs. Hore remarked: "Tabora has lost much of its former glory."¹⁷ Declé, passing in 1894, thought it had been in decline since before the arrival of the Germans and found only half a dozen Arabs still there.¹⁸ A number of Arabs did leave at this time.¹⁹ The Congolese and Uganda frontiers were closed to Arab ivory hunters from German East Africa although much of the ivory itself continued to be taken to the coast through Tabora from both those countries.²⁰ There remained at Tabora a small number of Arabs who relied largely on extensive plantations for their source of income, living as they did a seigneurial existence with hundreds of slaves working their lands.²¹ Moreover the departure of a number of

14. Capus, A., 'De l'Ushiroombo à Tabora', CT 70 (1896), p.324.
15. Speke correspondence, letter 2, Unyanyembe, 2.7.58, RGS.
16. Burton, R.F., 'Field book', ms, RGS.
17. Hore, A., To Lake Tanganyika in a bath chair (London 1886), p. 130.
18. Declé, Three years, p. 252; similarly, Moloney, J.A., With Captain Stairs to Katanga (London 1893) p. 75.
19. Ushiroombo D., 27.7.93, TBA; Draper to LMS, Urambo, 11.12.93, CA 9/1/D.
20. Oded, A., Islam in Uganda, p.29; Meyer, Das Deutsche Kolonialreich, p.278.
21. Kandt, who stayed at Tabora in 1897, believed that stories of decline were untrue and simply due to Tabora's exaggerated reputation in the past. Kandt, R., Caput (contd. over.)

Arabs does not seem to have reduced the size of the population which had been steadily growing since the original development of Tabora from the little village of Chemchem. At his first visit, Stanley had estimated the population of Tabora (separately from Kwihara and the ikulu) as five thousand.²² It was much higher than that - between twenty and thirty thousand when the ivory and internal slave trade were at their peak.²³ Despite the departure of some Arabs and some shrinkage in the large plantations noted by Mwenya Chande near the turn of the century,²⁴ the population was estimated at 30,000 in 1902.²⁵ It continued to grow to a peak of some 35,000 during the next decade and remained about that level for the next twenty years.²⁶ In the early years of the Mandate, there was a great exodus into the surrounding countryside, mainly owing to the increase of taxation on town housing so that almost overnight the town population was halved.²⁷

Although Tabora was territorially a part of Unyanyembe, in practice the ntemi had limited jurisdiction or influence over

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21. (contd.) Nili (Berlin 1919) i, pp. 179-180. Hutley estimated the number of slaves owned by each of the wealthier Arabs as from two hundred to a thousand. Hutley, W., 'Mohammedanism in Central Africa', ms., IMS CA 4/2/D.
22. Stanley, How I found Livingstone, p. 544.
23. Brard to MM, Kipalapala, --.1.89, CT 42 (1889) p. 279.
24. Harries, Swahili prose texts, p. 99.
25. R.A. Tabora 1902, M.G.
26. R.A. Tabora 1919-20, quoting Ntemi Msabira of Unyanyembe.
27. Hennig, Bishop, 'Through East Central Africa', Moravian Missions, 4 (1906) p. 31; MPA Sept. 1909, 395; R.A. Tabora 1925-6, M.G.; Tabora DB, NAT.

many of the inhabitants. 'The Arabs are there like little kings, almost independent and absolute masters in their own households'.²⁸ The establishment of German overrule increased if anything the Arab independence of Isike as he himself was quick to realise at the time of Emin Pasha's visit.²⁹ The wali had originally been an appointee of the Sultan of Zanzibar to settle disputes among the Arabs but the office had fallen into disuse after the death of Kisesa. Emin Pasha revived it and appointed a wali to represent the German administration in the town.³⁰ Below him was a hierarchical structure of a handful of wealthy Arab planters and many hundred coastal freemen. The vast majority of the populace were slaves, but even among them there was a hierarchy. The principal slaves of the Arabs were often given considerable responsibilities, being placed in charge of caravans and working groups of coastal or Nyamwezi freemen. Their own servile status did not preclude them from owning slaves themselves: some might own as many as a hundred, who in turn might also be slave owners on a smaller scale. 'I have known instances too where the Arabs' ^{slaves} slaves have also had a slave in the person of some little boy or girl'.³¹ The whole population structure of Tabora

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28. Guillet, A., 'Fondation de la mission du Tabora', 8.10.91, C 20-62.
29. Langheld, W., Zwanzig Jahre in Deutschen Kolonien (Berlin 1909), pp. 48-9.
30. Schweitzer, G., Emin Pasha - his life and work (Westminster 1898) ii, p. 86.
31. Hutley, W., letter to the Times, 30.5.82. See also Coulbois, F., Dix années au Tanganyika (Limoges 1901) p.159.

constituted an elaborate pyramid of people owning and owing personal services. Many of those who were themselves slaves had a strong interest in preserving the institution and right up to the abolition in 1922 Tabora retained its predominantly paternalistic character.

Very few of the inhabitants were Nyanwezi.³² The dominant group was composed almost entirely of wangwana from the coast and a few Arabs. (The term Arabs was usually taken to include people of mixed origins who called themselves Arabs by virtue of patrilineal descent.) Most of the slaves were of Congolese origin and a smaller number from Burundi and the west lake kingdoms. Proably two thirds of the population of Tabora and the surrounding district were slaves.³³ It is very unlikely that there was a similar proportion in any chiefdom other than Unyanyembe, but in Tabora itself it was probably higher.³⁴ The large slave colony was not simply a residue of the old trade with the Indian ocean: it had grown after the Frere Treaty banning the export of slaves from Zanzibar.³⁵

32. Fieldnotes: Mama Odilia, Itaga.

33. According to a survey organised by Governor Schnee, of 165,000 slaves in German East Africa, 70,000 were living in Tabora district. I am grateful to Dr. Iliffe for these figures from Weidner, F., Die Haussklaverei in Ostafrika (Jena 1915) p. 41.

34. R.A. Tabora, 1900-01, M.G.; Tetzlaff, R. Koloniale Entwicklung und Ausbeutung (Berlin 1967), p. 260.

35. When large numbers of certificates were issued to freed slaves in 1922, few were found to have been born in Tabora. Since the movement of slaves had been controlled with some degree of success since the beginning of the century, they may be taken to be representative of the last large consignments reaching Tabora.

In the Congo, the slave raids of Rumaliza and others continued long after 1873 and many of the victims, instead of being taken to the coast, were diverted into the plantation colonies of the mainland. Holmwood observed the development of plantations manned by slaves inland from Lindi.³⁶ There the crop was mainly rubber. Arabs as far inland as Ujiji were on the look out for similar opportunities although no cash crops were found which would repay the heavy cost of their transport to the coast. An Arab told Hore: "If the white man will come and buy, we will grow as much sugar, rice and spice and oil as they want, and would much rather get our money that way than in dangerous and illegal slave hunting."³⁷ Apart from Sukuma and Nyamwezi cattle which were herded by way of Tabora to the coast, food products were not exported to other parts of German East Africa in any quantity before the railway was built. Dutrieux observed at Tabora how, after the Frere Treaty and the increase of hongoes on the ivory trade, some Arabs turned to the cultivation of vast plantations, using slave labour to provide themselves with a life of luxury.³⁸ If Wissmann is to be believed, a working slave at Ujiji was said not to stand the climate more than a year.³⁹ Conditions at Tabora seem to have been healthier. But an Arab who would

36. Holmwood to F.O., Lindi, 30.1.80, FO 82/1574, pp. 190-213; Kirk to F.O., Zanzibar, 23.2.80, FO 82/1574 No. 20.

37. Hore to LMS, Kavala, 25.2.79, CA 2/1/A.

38. Dutrieux, P.J., La question africaine (Brussels 1880) p. 25. See also Langheld, W., Zwanzig Jahre in Deutschen Kolonien, p. 49.

39. Wissmann, H., Meine Zweite Durchquerung Aequatoriale Afrikas wahrend der Jahre 1886 und 1887 (Frankfurt a/O. p. 192.

have been reduced to poverty if he returned to the coast to pay his debts, lived in Tabora like a lord. Profits from the ivory trade were used to build up plantations of exotic crops from the middle east. The tembe of Baharini, which Kandt gave to the White Fathers, had in its garden dates, pomegranates, almonds, coconuts, citrus fruits, with a hundred acres of cereal crops.⁴⁰ Large estates represented prestige and local influence. When the collapse of the Congolese ivory trade caused some of the more commercially active Arabs to leave Tabora, the landowning type remained, Sef ibn Saad being the most conspicuously wealthy.

Gradually the largest households broke up by inheritance and sale, and the cultivation of luxury labour-intensive crops diminished. Local wheat became unobtainable in 1910.⁴¹ Yet Tabora remained an island within Unyamwezi, separated linguistically and culturally. Trade still flourished as a result of German tax-collecting and administration. In 1902, trade through Tabora amounted to one and a quarter million rupees (about £83,333).⁴² Beeswax became a new source of wealth.⁴³ Annual taxes led to the collection and sale of

40. Grün to Bazin, Tabora, 17.9.01, Afrika Bote 8 (1901) p.230.

41. R.A. Unyanyembe 1909-10, M.G.

42. Tabora D., 14.4.02, TBA.

43. Several oral sources suggest that Charisius (Tumbondani), the longest serving of the German officers at Tabora, was responsible for the introduction of hives making honey and beeswax collection a viable commercial activity. But the manufacture of hives from hollowed logs was certainly not introduced by him. Grant observed beehives all along his route across Unyamwezi. (Grant, 'Summary of observations', JRGS 42 (1872), p. 305). Speke provides an illustration of one. (Speke, Journal of discovery, p.36) At the present time, the region produces some four hundred tons of beeswax a year.

cattle and livestock all over Unyamwezi, a proportion of which found its way through Tabora to the coast. The trade remained in the hands of Arabs and wangwana with a number of Indians beginning to acquire a share.⁴⁴ Attempts by a few European businessmen were unsuccessful. For a time, a certain Schulmann bought cattle by selecting the best animals from local herds and throwing cloth to the owner who had no say in either the sale or the prices.⁴⁵ Another, Neissen, was refused porters by Ntemi Ntabo at Ndala who was beaten for her pains.⁴⁶ When the trader Nicholas was accused by Kandt of charging double the value of goods, he replied, "Well, what do you expect? A gentleman would not be trading in Tabora."⁴⁷ Such unscrupulous trading was unbusinesslike and short-sighted. The G.E.A. Company abandoned its post in Tabora after losing too much money⁴⁸ and the only surviving European trader, Weinberger, twice had his house burned down.⁴⁹ Unyamwezi was not considered suitable for European settlement and apart from a plantation some miles to the south of Kahama, there were no European farmers. The district did not come under civilian control until 1905. In the meantime, military officers served brief appointments there. (There were fourteen successively in the post of bezirkschef between 1891 and 1905.) A mobile military force did not generate the social and material needs of a resident European

44. Meyer, *Das Deutsche Kolonialreich*, p. 278; Fonck, H., *Deutsch-Ostafrika* (Berlin 1910), p.282.

45. Ndala D., 24.1.97, TBA.

46. Ndala D., 6 and 10.11.96, TBA.

47. Kandt, *Caput Nili* i, p.177

48. Tabora D., 11.9.02, TBA.

49. Tabora D., 13.8.05, TBA.

civil administration. Apart from a massive military fortress built on a low hill a mile from the Arab town, only a few buildings were put up before the approach of the railway. The European presence thus sat lightly on the town and twenty years were to pass before the working relationships of personal servitude had to meet and compete with a capitalistic system of contractual employment.

Although colonial rule limited the growth of the slave population by brigandage, in other ways the system of personal servitude was strengthened by the force of colonial law. Slave raids were stopped and kidnapping was gradually brought under control although travel in small groups of less than ten or twelve remained a risky enterprise for a time.⁵⁰ As late as 1900 Pfeffermann met a caravan of slaves in the Mgunda Ngali.⁵¹ The military officer in charge of the district, Langheld, had slaves, or at least his five wives did, according to two young female slaves who ran away from them.⁵² Buying and selling within Tabora continued uninterruptedly.⁵³ Influential men such as the wali could sell slaves outside Tabora for cattle in totally illegal transactions without fear of official interference even if their activities

50. Fieldnotes: Kamsekwa Hulange and Philippo Kuloga, Itaga.

51. Pfeffermann to MM, Tabora, 23.11.1900, M.G.

52. Ndala, D., 15.8.98, TBA. He also gave a slave to an ex-Christian (Tabora D., 6.6.03) and allowed the Ngoni who helped him in an expedition in Ufipa to enslave large numbers of prisoners. But he did ask the fathers at Ushiroombo to keep an eye on the Ngoni and see they did not sell them off.

53. Leonard to MM, Tabora, 18.3.13, TBA 310.001; Fieldnotes: Kululinda and others, Uyui.

were drawn to the notice of the administration.⁵⁴ Some of the earlier military officers had often released slaves in considerable numbers.⁵⁵ They had the discretionary power to free anyone whom they considered badly treated, and since the whole system of involuntary servitude was alien to them, they were disposed to grant freedom in individual cases fairly easily, often sending the victims of illegitimate slave trading to the nearest mission for shelter and protection. Von Bülow's decree gave slaves the right to work for themselves on two days a week, to be cared for in old age and sickness, and to be sold only with their consent.⁵⁶ A further decree issued at the end of 1904 declared free all children born after 1905. A slave could buy his freedom and the White Sisters at Tabora provided work for some townspeople so they could earn money to redeem themselves.⁵⁷ All the same, while the rights of slaves were codified and written into the civil law, so too were the rights of masters to own slaves, and the machinery of the law was used to support their rights. After the decrees had been enacted, there were numerous instances of soldiers and askaris being sent to collect runaway slaves at Ndala which until then had been at a safe enough distance from Tabora to provide protection.⁵⁸ In some cases the people had been free for several years, had married and settled there. A certain Kitunashi was arrested after seven years of freedom. After

54. Ndala D., 29.7.01, TBA.

55. Ushirombo D., 18.5.95; Tabora D., 15.2.01, TBA.

56. The text is in Beachey, R.W., A collection of documents on the slave trade of Eastern Africa (London 1976) pp.129-31.

57. WSD Tabora, 23.1.09, WSA.

58. Ndala D., 28.4.05, 5.5.05, 15.5.05, 8.3.06, 24.3.07, TBA.

the transfer of the district to civil government, the price of freedom was raised considerably. At the beginning of the century, the sum of seven rupees or two cattle was recognised by the military officers as adequate compensation for the owners.⁵⁹ After 1907, twenty or thirty rupees was common,⁶⁰ and by the outbreak of the first world war, the price of redemption might be as high as forty.⁶¹ Thus, although the number of certificates of freedom increased from a hundred and fifty in 1900 to five hundred and ninety one in 1912,^{61a} it is arguable that the regulation and support which the administration provided to slavery, stabilised and reinforced it as a social system.

Thus while the penalty of capital punishment controlled the worst abuses of slave raiding, the servile relationship between master and slave was reinforced. It would have been a simple matter to undermine the whole system of involuntary servitude by making ransoms easy to obtain and keeping the amount low, as the missionaries frequently proposed.⁶² Instead, the policy of the government was to maintain an easy working relationship with the ruling class of towns such as Tabora. Governor Schnee believed that freedom would produce an economic revolution which would not only ruin a large number of the African coastal plantation owners, but create all manner of social problems, especially poverty and unemployment, which

59. Tabora D., 12.6.02; Ndala D., 19.5.05, TBA.

60. Ndala D., 2.6.07, TBA.

61. 'Histoire et difficultés de Ndala', ms. Nyegezi archives.

61a. Weidner, Die Haussklaverei, p. 140.

62. Slegers, C., 'Rapport sur esclavage', 15.6.12, ms. Ndala archives.

Zanzibar had encountered after abolition.⁶³ Colonial Secretary, Dernburg, declared himself opposed to the abolition of slavery by the exercise of his government's authority. There was some fear that the abolition of slavery would cause an insurrection. Simple abolition was, of course, only one half of the problem of integrating a slave population into a free society. No doubt formidable problems would have been raised and an estimated 8.4 million marks would have been the price of compensation. Slaves were occasionally requisitioned by the administration for public works and it may have been more convenient to enforce this service than the much resented levies on free labour in the Nyamwezi chiefdoms. The government's fear of insurrection in the event of abolition was almost certainly exaggerated. Slaves accounted for only a tiny percentage of the population of the colony as a whole (less than three per cent⁶⁴) and the armed forces of the owners consisted mainly of slaves. Yet as late as 1912 the government made a widespread enquiry into the likelihood of insurrection in the event of abolition⁶⁵ and the proposed date for ending slavery, originally fixed for 1920, was postponed to 1930.

The reluctance of the government to disrupt or antagonise the ruling element in Tabora was due to dependence on it for the ordinary administration of the area. Like their colonial masters, the group was an intrusive minority into

63. Tetzlaff, Koloniale Entwicklung, p. 269; King, N., 'Domestic slavery in German East Africa', Morogoro RB, NZT.

64. Tetzlaff, Koloniale Entwicklung, p. 239.

65. Léonard, Circular letter, 14.12.12, TBA.

Unyamwezi exercising special powers and privileges. Control of the town was largely through the agency of the wali who had been given a salary, a secretary and twelve soldiers for the mail and market police.⁶⁶ The wali Sef ibn Saad was the leader of a group of plantation owners which was ready to co-operate with the Germans rather than resist them as many of the trading Arabs, especially those of Kwihara, would have preferred. Emin Pasha was received by them 'with open arms'.⁶⁷ In the war between von Prince and Isike, Sef ibn Saad remained loyal to the Germans and was later immensely proud of the German decoration he received.⁶⁸ In 1898 the Moslems of Uganda involved in the civil war there sent a letter to him proposing 'shauri moja - a united plan' for the setting up of a Moslem kingdom. He took the letter to the boma and the plot came to nothing.⁶⁹ Such a policy was dictated by expedience rather than principle. By co-operating with German rule, the ruling group at Tabora was less dependent on the ntemi of Unyanyembe and secured German protection for their rights and status which were closely linked with the institution of slavery. There were opportunities for financial reward and positions of authority within the still loosely structured colonial service. An official after the first world war remarked how the prestige of the Arabs was fostered by the German government employing none but Swahili clerks.⁷⁰ The advice of clerks at the boma

66. Schweitzer, Emin Pasha ii, p.85. Achte and Schynse, J., 4.8.90, CT 49 (1891) p. 96.

67. Schweitzer, Emin Pasha, ii, p.76.

68. Tabora D., 9.2.03, TBA.

69. v.d. Burgt to MM, Ndala, 20.6.98, M.G.

70. Ufipa District Annual Report 1919/20, Early Secretariat Files 1733/4-12, NAT.

was said to have been a determining factor in the choice of the ntemi of Karunde in 1912 and probably also in the selection of Luziga of Ndala the same year. In the competition for a vacant chiefdom, employees in government positions had a distinct advantage. Msabira of Unyanyembe and Luziga of Ndala are just two examples.

Yet there was an underlying hostility of the Arab and Moslem group to the colonial rulers not far below the surface. The theocratic nature of Moslem political ideas requires a country to unify civil and religious authority according to Koranic law. The pragmatic policy of the wali did not please all the Arabs. Some of them regarded him as a renegade.⁷¹ The tension showed itself in occasional rumours of revolt or in millenarian ideas. The Emperor's birthday in 1902 was marked by a riot in which two people died. It was rumoured to have been promoted by the Arabs to drive out the Europeans.⁷² Three years later, at the time of the Maji-maji risings, the telegraph wires to Dar es Salaam and Mwanza were cut.^{72a} Charisius claimed to have information of a planned rising of the Manyema of Tabora⁷³ and similar rumours circulated the following year.⁷⁴ In actual fact, however, there was no serious incident and hostility continued to be repressed.

71. Moloney, J.A., With Captain Stairs to Katanga (London 1901), p.71.

72. Tabora D., 26-8, 1.02, TBA.

72a. Tabora D., 23.10.05, TBA.

73. van Aken to MM, Tabora, 17.9.05, M.G.

74. Tabora D., 24.6.06, TBA.

Tabora was, in short, a concentrated settlement of immigrants, in a web of servile relationships. It had recently become a centre of trade for the whole of Unyamwezi and was the administrative headquarters. It had come to terms with colonial rule despite a certain unease, by providing the civil servants, officials and peace-keeping military forces. Some literacy in Arabic was imparted by the Koranic schools: until 1902 literacy in Asian alphabets was acceptable in communications with the government. It was isolated from Unyamwezi by language, origins and culture. As well as religious differences, there were important differences of custom and dress. Initiation practices adopted from the Zaramo at the coast were commonly practised in the town but were unknown in Unyamwezi. The townsmen often wore a kanzu (long robe) and small round hat although the womenfolk had not yet adopted the black cloak or buibui which has since become typical.

Within the context of a Moslem town, the activity of the mission was somewhat constricted. There were however, a certain number of Christians already living there: some from Bagamoyo, others from Uganda, the lakeside missions of Victoria and Tanganyika, and some came from other parts of Unyamwezi. They included Gabriel Mujasi, a former Catholic military leader in Buganda, and Ferhani, a former companion of Livingstone.⁷⁵ Estimates of their number varies in the diary and letters, but there may have been about fifty baptised Christians of whom some had become Moslems and others had ceased any religious practice. When a number of freed slaves settled at the mission, a little village of Christians was set up, so that, to outward appearance, it was similar to any of the large Arab

75. Egede to MM, Tabora, 22.2.01, M.G.

households. The Christians, however, were free and farmed their own crops. Otherwise the activity of the mission was interstitial among the few scattered non-Islamic freemen in the town, mostly Nyamwezi staying a comparatively short time. Medical attention was given to the sick, but not on a very large scale and certainly less expertly than the professional services of the medical doctor at the German station. All the same, some twenty people a day⁷⁶ preferred the attentions of the fathers and when the White Sisters took over the medical work of the mission after their arrival in 1907, it expanded considerably. The traditional belief that medicine is joined with spiritual power persuaded some patients to prefer mission potions and bandages to treatment at a spiritually neutral source. There was also a small number of catechumens, but at this time, before any substantial Nyamwezi migration into Tabora started, the mission was associated mainly with strangers and the less fortunate members of local society, ex-slaves, the poor and socially excluded, and the sick.

A school was opened and attracted very few pupils. At the opening ceremony, Gansser, the chief of the military station, invited parents to send their children, promising them lucrative places in the administration's offices when their studies were completed.⁷⁷ However, not a single pupil from the town presented himself at the school for enrolment in response. The opening classes were attended only by four boys of army officers. Although thirty pupils joined during the

76. Tabora D., 18.8.02, TBA.

77. Tabora D., 6.12.1900, TBA.

next year or two, attendance was irregular and shortlived. There were usually only six or eight pupils and they were not always the same ones: the teacher found himself perpetually teaching the ABC to newcomers.⁷⁸ The school had one session a day lasting two or three hours. Most of the time was spent in basic literacy, but the last half hour was for the catechism. Pupils were accepted only if they agreed to attend the religious classes. In the meantime Koranic schools in the town appear to have been well attended. The Waalimu or teachers there were supposed to be spreading rumours hostile to the mission school: that pupils would be killed or sent away to the coast.⁷⁹ Rumours of this nature were fairly widespread in Unyamwezi at the time, according to many informants.⁸⁰ In the streets of Tabora, when a father approached, children were whisked inside their homes with parental cries of "Juma, Hamisi, come here: the mfransa will eat you".⁸¹ The Arabs did not permit the children of their household and servants to attend the school.⁸² Small gifts of money or fruit were given now and again: they would attract a few boys from the market place for a few days but that was all. When Gansser's successor, von Beringe, visited the school with the wali, he deplored the small attendance

78. R.A. Tabora 1902, M.G.

79. Fischer to MM, Tabora, 15.11.03, M.G.; Tabora D, 7.3.03, TBA

80. Fieldnotes: Nikolas Nhozia, Tabora.

81. R.A. Tabora 1911-12. This is a very old form of disparagement in East Africa. The Portuguese told the Zanzibarians in the sixteenth century that the English would eat them. Hakluyt Society, The voyages of Sir James Lancaster to the East Indies in 1592 (London 1866) p. 7.

82. Fieldnotes: Mzee Hassani, Tabora.

had remarked to Capus that wherever a mission was established, the land was peaceful,⁸⁸ and in the years that followed, the numerous punitive expeditions which were sent out from Tabora into Usukuma, Mbulu, and Masailand were rarely sent to areas where missions had been established.⁸⁹ This does not appear to have been because the missionaries persuaded the chiefs to be more pacific: they conspicuously failed to gain any significant influence in local politics in Unyamwezi. But there was a connection between peacefulness and proximity of a mission. The chiefs in those areas which accepted installation of a mission were more disposed than most to co-operate with Europeans for purposes of immediate local advantage. This seems to be true of Ngaya, Ushirombo and Ndala, and of the successors of Isike in Unyanyembe. In general, there also seems to have been less armed resistance in accessible areas near trade routes where missions were settled. The fathers also often acted as intermediaries between chiefs and government, preserving a channel of communication which provided an outlet for grievances. On numerous occasions, the messengers of the chief to the German offices were equipped with letters written by a missionary to explain their case.

Since they had been operating in Unyamwezi for fifteen years before the German conquest, the missionaries did not regard themselves as beholden to the administration. When

88. Capus, DKB 1.1.96.

89. Diaries of Tabora and Ndala, passim, occasionally referring to passage of German punitive expeditions. Kiyumbi, 'History of European settlement', Mwanza DB.

Bulungwa mission was founded, the consent of the ntemi was requested,⁹⁰ but the colonial authority was simply informed of the decision.⁹¹ At Tabora relations between mission and administration deteriorated rapidly. The missionaries were nearly all French, critical of certain aspects of the administration, particularly the maintenance of slavery, and of the continuous use of Unyamwezi as a labour pool for the benefit of the planters at the coast. An invitation to contribute to a fund for the erection of a statue to Wissmann was refused.⁹² By that time, communication at Tabora had almost broken down, and was carried out only by formal letters although less than a mile separated the mission from the boma.⁹³ When Secretary of State for Colonies Dernburg visited Tabora in his tour of German East Africa in 1907, he did not visit the mission. A year later, accusations were made against the fathers at Ushirombo that they were protecting Kihumbi of Uha, then in revolt,⁹⁴ and although it was not in fact true, it is an indication of the degree of distrust. Thus, while willing to take advantage of the physical security of residence and travel created by the colonial military presence, the mission neither expected nor received patronage or support. Concurrently there was a much greater degree of co-operation between the government and the ruling element at Tabora. It has been suggested that the colonial government favoured Islam partly to counterbalance the influence of the missionaries, but there

90. Bulungwa D., 4.11.02, TBA.

91. Gerboin to Charisius, Ushirombo, 9.9.02, TBA 355.104.

92. Bulungwa D., 15.12.05, TBA.

93. Sweets, Visitation report, Tabora 1905, M.G.

94. Ushirombo D., 2.6.08, TBA.

was possibly another reason. Colonial officials considered it appropriate as a ruling class to keep a social distance from their subjects. It was more difficult to maintain a distance from Christians, if they worshipped indiscriminately and lined up together outside the confessional, than from Moslem coastal immigrants who attended a local mosque. When, in the years immediately before the first world war, a substantial number of Europeans took up residence in Tabora and there was for the first time a small European churchgoing population, they requested separate seats in the Church, much to the annoyance and embarrassment of Bishop Léonard.⁹⁵ On the other hand, the attitude to Islam was that it was, in the words of one administrator, 'a religion particularly well suited to the native provided the pan-Islamic element of fanaticism is not introduced'.⁹⁶

Many things changed at Tabora with the arrival of the railway which provided a fast, cheap means of bulk transport to the coast five hundred and thirty miles away. Tabora was designated as a junction for lines running westward to Kigoma on Lake Tanganyika, and northwards to Rwanda and Lake Victoria.⁹⁷ Apart from railway workshops and offices, new houses, shops and hotels were built to accommodate the hundred and forty Europeans who arrived. Bezirksamtman Zingel built a complex of all-

95. Léonard to MM, Ushirombo, 18.3.13, TBA 310.001.

96. Tabora District Annual Report 1920-1, Early Secretariate Files 1733/4-12, NAT.

97. Only twenty-five miles of the northern line had been laid when the war stopped further construction. The greater part of it was removed by the invading Belgian army to the Katanga railway in 1916. Although the line to Mwanza was eventually completed in 1928, the link between Rwanda and a junction near Kahama was never made.

weather roads lined with mango and blossoming trees to replace the old tracks which had hardly been passable by wheeled transport in the wet season.⁹⁸ Drainage was improved and the hospital and other public services enlarged. In 1914 the first edition of the Tabora Post appeared: a weekly newsheet typed and duplicated. Indian shopkeepers grew in number,⁹⁹ and the new residents provided jobs for houseservants and tradesmen. Building and construction work also created employment for large numbers of Nyamwezi. Thus Tabora assumed an urban character with an increased proportion of its inhabitants dependent on wages and salaries for livelihood rather than on agriculture. The insularity of the town was reduced by immigration on a substantial scale of Nyamwezi from the surrounding areas.

The increasing manifestation of European wealth and technology in a predominantly Moslem context was to lead to an extension of Moslem influence into Unyamwezi. During pre-colonial times, Islam had been confined to the Arab and Swahili immigrants and their retainers from the Congo. A variety of visitors remarked on the lack of attempts by the Moslems to propagate their religious beliefs outside Tabora.¹⁰⁰ Few Nyamwezi became Moslem: they co-existed with the Arabs without sharing non-commercial interests. Hutley suggested that the Arabs did not want to convert the Nyamwezi to Islam as this

98. Tabora D., 21.3.14, TBA.

99. Indian shopkeepers had already taken over much of the local commerce from the Arabs some years before the approach of the railway. Fonck, Deutsch-Ostafrika, p.382.

100. Livingstone to Granville, Unyanyembe, 20.2.72, British Parliamentary Papers, Colonies, Africa 66 (Shannon 1971) pp. 54-5; Guillet to MM, Tabora, 20.6.81, Mda 3 (1882) pp. 466-8.

would have put them on equal terms with themselves.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, a slave of the Arabs who became a Moslem would not be received back by his own family.¹⁰² Some attempt does seem to have been made to interest the more important chiefs in Islam. Isike and his brother Swetu had Moslem names and sometimes dressed in coastal style.¹⁰³ There is insufficient evidence to judge how assiduously they followed Moslem practices. An attempt to persuade Mirambo to adopt Islam failed and he remained rather hostile to it,¹⁰⁴ but Mpandoshalo his successor surrounded himself with advisers from the coast, his principal secretary and agent being a certain Rubea ibn Halfan el Harthi.¹⁰⁵ Relations between Mpandoshalo and these men deteriorated, however, when Bushiri seized a ton and a half of his ivory at the coast.¹⁰⁶ Apart from the ntemi of Uyui, Majembe Igana seems to have been the only ntemi who became a Moslem before the turn of the century. But their number increased gradually. At Karunde, Nzila Ndihu, a close associate of the Wali of Tabora, succeeded in 1903. The succession of Luziga at Ndala has been mentioned in the previous chapter. At the chiefdom of Ugunda, to the

101. Hutley, 'Mohammedenism in Central Africa', ms., LMS CA/4/4/D

102. Speke, Journal of discovery, p. 110.

103. Thomson, To the Central African Lakes ii, p. 257; Capt. Joubert's J., 4.3.85, C10-132; Fieldnotes, Petro Mkumilwa, Ndono.

104. Hutley, 'Mohammedanism in Central Africa' ms., LMS CA 4/3/D

105. Lourdel, J., 27.3.1885, M.G.; Gleerup, 'A journey across Tanganyika in 1886', p. 135.

106. Zanzibar, J. 15.12.88, M.G., Bonstead Ridley to LMS, Zanzibar, 14.1.89 CA 7/4/A.

south of Tabora, the chief (a woman, Ndisya) married a Moslem. At Unyambewa, the ntemi copied the Arab practice of putting all his wives in the same house.¹⁰⁷ In the ikulus of all of there were to be found Swahili or Arab advisers and children from their households were sent to be initiated at the Iunyago ceremonies in Tabora.¹⁰⁸

The arrival of the railway at Tabora provided directly and indirectly a great deal of work for Nyamwezi immigrants. There Islamic society presented an attractive context for men who were for a time out of touch with their own families and background. Lodging, feastsdays and celebrations, help with bride prices, mutual aid or the arrangement of funerals, all expressed a communal spirit which were attractive to the lonely or homesick urban immigrant.¹⁰⁹ Other Nyamwezi had similar experiences when working at the coast. The role of women was another factor: they refused to sleep with the uncircumcised.¹¹⁰ Success and advancement are possibly of exceptional importance to any immigrant. In Tabora, success was personified in the wealthier trading element, minor government officials and employees of the Europeans who were mostly Moslem.¹¹¹ Proselytes could draw on the status and privileges of their mentors. Moslem

107. Pfeffermann to MM, Kipalapala, 1.12.11, M.G.

108. Josef Kaswaya, 'Uislamu', 1.2.13, ms., TBA 715,000.

109. Fieldnotes: Mzee Hassani, Tabora.

110. Kaswaya, 'Uislamu', ms. TBA 715.000. Raum mentions a similar situation at Bukobi. Harlow and Chilver, History of East Africa ii, p. 167.

111. Cottino to MM, Ndala, 21.3.11, M.G.

freemen liked to call themselves wangwana (which means 'gentlemen' rather than 'freemen', as it is often translated) and referred to the unconverted Nyamwezi by the opprobrious term of washenzi.¹¹² Grün noted that a man wearing recognizably Moslem dress was accorded more respect by European officials.¹¹³

In the early years of the government school at Tabora, large numbers of the pupils became Moslems. To chiefs in the area around Tabora, who owed their appointment to government rather than to traditional rights and inheritance, the enhancement of status was a confirmation in power, strengthening links with an influential group. Christianity, which required chiefs to maintain the humble state of monogamy, was of less political value throughout the colonial period. Although among the ordinary Nyamwezi, Christians have outnumbered Moslems certainly since the beginning of the century, a large proportion of chiefs have been adherents of Islam.¹¹⁴ The strict observance of Islam with its regular prayers and severe fasting is undoubtedly demanding on the strict observer. In Tabora, the Arabs did little to spread Islam: most of the

112. For instance, Selemani bin Mwenye Chande, 'Safari yangu ya bara Afrika', in Harries, Swahili Prose Texts, p.98

113. Grün to Bazin, Tabora, 17.9.01, Afrika Bote 8 (1901) p.230

114. Abrahams, Political Organisation, p.105. According to Trimingham, Ntemi Saidi Fundikira of Unyanyembe persuaded other chiefs to become Moslems so that they might eat together. Trimingham, Islam in East Africa (Oxford 1964) p. 44.

proselytising was done by the craftsmen and skilled workers who were generally Swahili belonging to the less rigid Sunni sect.¹¹⁵ Doctrinal beliefs and, even, traditional practices were less important than the general acceptance of the teaching of the Prophet and belonging to the umma or community of Islam. In Tabora, it took the form of an inter-tribal religion, linked with the artisan life of the town. It provided a distinguishing social life with a certain solidarity of thought and action, certain taboos relating to food, and a separate calendar. Certain practices enjoined were difficult or impossible for an individual to maintain independently. For example, an important source of meat for the Nyamwezi was hunting, and hunters did not kill animals in the manner prescribed by Moslem traditions. Islam spread in the town and roadside trading villages where the cattle were butchered to provide meat and the problem did not arise.¹¹⁶ Islam was tolerant of traditional beliefs in divination and did not enjoin strict monogamy. It began to spread among the Nyamwezi in the years immediately before the first world war and more rapidly during the early years of British rule.¹¹⁷

The approach of the railway also changed attitudes towards educational opportunity in Tabora. Children from

115. Stuhlmann, F., Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika (Berlin 1894), p.59.

116. Fieldnotes: Hamisi Maganga, Uyui.

117. MPA 8 (Sept.1912), p.360; R.A. Tabora 1921-2, 1925-6, 1927-8. Forsythe noticed a similar spread of mosques along the railway in Kenya. Forsythe to CMS G3/A8/92/1910 qb. Holway, J.D., 'CMS contact with Islam in East Africa before 1914', Journal of Religions in Africa, 4 (1972), p.200; Fonck, DDA, p.581, thought Islam was spreading much more than generally realised.

the large Moslem households were permitted to attend school for the first time. The change was quite sudden. The mission schoolroom, once almost deserted, was suddenly swamped by large numbers of pupils at the beginning of 1909. Seventy enrolled and daily attendance remained at about half of this level. The pupils themselves said they were attending to prepare for the jobs the arrival of the railway would create.¹¹⁸ Other children attended the Moravian school founded at this time. However, the enthusiasm for education at the mission schools lasted for only a couple of years and did not revive again until after the first world war.

In spite of the new economic opportunities the growing colonial presence brought, attitudes in Tabora towards the colonial government remained ambiguous or grew more uneasy. The arrival of the first steam train caused a minor sensation but rumours soon circulated in the town that the railway had been built to ease the flight of Europeans fleeing from a great Moslem revolt. It was to be led by a certain Said Musurumina who would come from Turkey to lead it. The German cannon would fire only water and after he had conquered the colony, a Moslem kingdom would be set up.¹¹⁹ After quantities of arms had been found at Kilosa, and customs officials discovered barrels of gunpowder labelled as paraffin, the Governor instigated extensive

118. Gerboin to MM, Ushirombo, 8.9.09, M.G.

119. Petit Echo 1 (1910) p. 10.

enquiries.¹²⁰ No rising materialised but the government decided to offer more educational opportunities specifically to Christian children. Von Rechenberg requested government schools to incorporate religious classes in their timetables and various missions were asked to furnish promising Christian pupils to the school of Tanga. A policy of diversification thus favoured the missions for a brief time in the last year of German colonial rule but the war closed all the government schools in the colony.¹²¹ When the British arrived to take over the administration, most of the experienced and literate officials were still from the Moslem and coastal group, and they continued to dominate government employment at Tabora for some years after the war. The entry of Turkey into the war on the side of Germany caused the millenarian sublimation of hostile feelings towards a colonial government to be channelled into an actual conflict on the side of the German government. Large numbers of men from Tabora were conscripted into the army as soldiers whereas the Nyamwezi were enlisted mainly as porters.¹²² When the Sultan of Constantinople declared the war to be a jihad, the full text of his proclamation was widely circulated in German East Africa.¹²³ Even afterwards, millenarian expectations surfaced from time to

120. Grün to MM, Ushiroambo, 30.9.12, M.G.

121. Tabora D., 9.8.12, summarising government circular received, TBA. Hennig, Bishop, Report in MPA 8 (Dec.1912), p.434.

122. Léonard to Bulungwa Mission, Tabora, 1.9.14, TBA 310.001.

123. The text is in the Ushiroambo D., 7.4.15, TBA.

time. Léonard reported prophecies that only the great Sultan of Constantinople would retain his throne at the end of the war and that all would come under Moslem sway.¹²⁴ This was after the German troops had evacuated Tabora. After the war, rumours circulated in Tabora that the Kronprinz, son of the Kaiser, had invented a new cannon capable of firing shells of poison gas killing everyone in a radius of many miles, and he would return to drive out the British and set up a Moslem state.¹²⁵

Given the narrow scope left to the mission in the town of Tabora, the fathers devoted a fair amount of their energies to the surrounding countryside from the beginning. In the case of Ndala, a local group of Christians had been built up in the chiefdom of Ndala itself before a serious attempt had been made to extend activities into other chiefdoms. There, early outstations progressively diffused from the mission. At first they were local points of assembly for pupils of a catechist making regular visits. Later they became more permanent groups of baptised adult Christians with a resident catechist. But the Nyamwezi countryside around Tabora constituted a different and separate society from the Swahili speaking townspeople at the turn of the century. The people of Tabora, Kwihara and the ikulu of Unyanyembe farmed a surrounding belt of land. Some distance of open land then lay between the town and other centres of population, which, to the north, were in the chiefdoms of

124. R.A. Unyanyembe 1916-7, M.G.

125. Itaga D., 13.6.19, TBA.

Uyui and Karunde. The missionaries thus had to create the initial nucleus of Christians in areas linguistically, culturally, and politically distinct from Tabora, as well as being several hours march distant. For a time, the village of the exiled ntemi of Ushirombo, Constantine Mabubu some three miles east of Tabora was visited, but Mabubu had headed the traditionalist interest hostile to the mission at Ushirombo in direct opposition to the reigning ntemi, Robert Munesi, a protégé of Gerboin. His retinue were in any case strangers in Unyanyembe. At the village of Kazima, people ran away when a father visited their kayas. The diarist remarked on the need for ambassadorial catechists to create an atmosphere of trust and goodwill, and in their absence visiting ceased.¹²⁶ The old mission of Kipalapala was of little value as an outstation. Much of the population at the ikulu had dispersed after von Prinz's campaign and no-one was living nearby. Moreover, the ownership of the property was disputed by Ntemi Nyaso and only after years of discussion was the issue settled by the government making a grant of part of the old plot to the vicariate. A group of Christians from Tabora settled there but it was less an outpost in Unyamwezi than a sub-settlement from the Tabora mission village inhabited in the beginning by comparative newcomers to Unyanyembe.¹²⁷

At Makenenya, eight miles north-west of Tabora, another attempt to make a beginning failed at first. Catechist classes were started at the kaya of a certain

126. Tabora D., 4.9.02, TBA.

127. Fieldnotes: Joseph Nguno, Kipalapala; Tabora D., 8.3.07, TBA; WSD, Tabora 2.10.11, WSA; van Aken to MM, Tabora, 12.3.07, M.G.

Kanyate, but when he fell ill shortly afterwards, he was advised by a mfumu that his ancestral spirits were discontented at a mfransa coming to the village. At his next arrival, Gass found the kaya deserted, as it was for five subsequent visits. On the last occasion, after appearing to leave, he came back quietly to find doors opening and people circulating once more. However, other kayas near by were more receptive. In one was a Christian called Ibrahimu Kisagela who had been a trader in Toro where he had been imprisoned for trading without a permit. While in Uganda, he had become a Christian. Although his style of life was described as 'hardly exemplary', he was nonetheless anxious for his family to become Christian. He brought all his relations to be instructed, standing guard meanwhile to see they did not leave, and encouraging the slower learners with a few 'stinging words'.¹²⁸ A catechist, Philippo, from Ndala was appointed to work at his kaya, visiting at first once or twice a week. Later he settled nearby and was joined by four other catechists in the neighbourhood. The number of pupils grew but the diarist remarked that their motives were not only religious. Some wanted to avoid being sent to the coast by the ntemi to work on the railway,¹²⁹ and when at nearby Masagala the mwanangwa Mkulume was replaced by one who disapproved of the catechists, numbers dwindled.¹³⁰ At another village a sick

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128. Itaga D. 9.3.03, TBA; Fieldnotes: Stephano Bundala Chalali and Anatoli Shilinde, Itaga, grandsons of Ibrahimu.
129. Tabora D., 31.3.05, TBA.
130. Tabora D., 17.5.05 and 24.5.05, TBA.

man to whom Gass had given medicine failed to recover and the father was blamed for bewitching him. As a result, the catechist had to be withdrawn. However, a start had been made and in a few years some three hundred Christians and six hundred catechumens had collected around the original nucleus at Makenenya. A permanent foundation was made at Itaga in 1913.

Experience in the environs of Tabora would suggest that the most difficult stage of an outstation's development was simply getting it started; afterwards it had to be maintained free of interference or obstruction by the chief. Ibrahimu, perhaps because of his independent life as a travelling trader, and that on a not inconsiderable scale to judge from his household, was willing to act independently and was not easily intimidated. He had a sharp tongue which he was not slow to use. Several times he had to run for safety after offending the representatives of the ntemi.¹³¹ Subsequently the outstation depended largely on the individual character and ability of the catechist. Experience at a number of missions suggested that catechists were often more effective when operating at some distance from the mission.¹³² On the other hand, catechists, particularly if they had been introduced from another chiefdom, had much difficulty from local political officials and needed frequent visits from the fathers to support them by some show of authority. Here the introduction of bicycles was of considerable importance,

131. Itaga D., 1903, TBA.

132. Léonard to Présidente Générale de l'Oeuvre Apostolique, Tabora, 22.12.19, TBA 310.001.

facilitating frequent short visits without inhibiting the catechists by close supervision.

There was a rapid increase in the number of catechists at this time both in the Tabora area and throughout Unyamwezi.¹³³ This was due not only to local initiative, but also to a change in episcopal directives. Gerboin died in 1912 after twenty-one years at the head of the vicariate. He was a man of expansive kindness and generosity who inspired much affection and loyalty by his charm and unfailing cheerfulness in circumstances which were often physically very trying. His creation of a great freed slave settlement at Ushirombo may have been extremely paternalist, but his personal concern and sympathy for all the villagers there was genuine and reciprocated. His arrival at any mission caused crowds to rush out to meet him and occasioned celebrations and dancing. On the other hand, his administrative abilities were somewhat limited. In a missionary society which was highly centralised and expected an organised uniformity of pastoral methods within a vicariate to provide newcomers with the benefit of accumulated experience, he failed to provide much advice or decisiveness. The sites he chose for the mission in Unyamwezi were selected primarily with a view to convenience of communication with Burundi where his main hopes for the future of the vicariate were concentrated. 'Burundi has

133. From 29 catechists in 1911, of whom 12 were at Ushirombo alone, the number rose to 59, including 13 at Ushirombo, in 1915; almost a threefold increase in the rest of Unyamwezi.

killed Unyanyembe' remarked a later regional superior.¹³⁴ Without a great deal of knowledge or experiment in the surrounding areas, foundations were built up into expensive material plant which did not take into account the continuous slow drift and redistribution of Nyamwezi settlement. The style of the early missions was very monastic in character with buildings, workshops, farm and schools concentrated at the mission. This might have been appropriate if the concentrations of population had continued at Ushirombo and the northern Nyamwezi missions, but they did not in fact do so. Later his successors were left with the problem of either maintaining structures which were disproportionately large, or abandoning them. (Msalala and Bulungwa were in fact closed in 1922 and replaced by a mission at Kahama.)

Gerboin also failed to train and encourage the use of resident catechists at a time when the neighbouring vicariates to the north and south were employing large numbers with considerable success.¹³⁵ Gerboin was sceptical about their value unless they were closely supervised, and in practice this meant that most catechists had to live within two to three miles of a mission.¹³⁶ All the same, despite

134. Bientz to Livinhac, Tabora 12.3.22, M.G. On Gerboin's death in 1912, the six missions of the Vicariate in Burundi were separated to form a new Vicariate. They included forty per cent of the Christians and seventy-one per cent of the catechumens of Unyanyembe Vicariate.

135. In 1909, the vicariates of the White Fathers around the great lakes had the following numbers of catechists: South Nyanza 1901, Tanganyika 83 (there were fewer mission stations there and the catechists were trained in a special school), Nyasa 160, Northern Nyanza over a thousand. Unyanyembe had 56.

136. Gerboin to MM, Ushirombo, 30.11.05, M.G.

his limitations in organising his wicariate, his memory at Ushirombo is still venerated by the descendants of the people he befriended and protected. Perhaps he corresponded to the traditional ideals of a chief: conciliatory, generous and able to 'live well' with his people. In a pioneering and foundation laying career, this was no small achievement for a man who was already in his middle forties when he arrived in East Africa. He did not take his vicariate out of the pioneering stage but left it ready for rapid change and development. Goarnisson, the superior at Ushirombo, announced the end of his benevolent ways in a phrase that has become a Sumbwa proverb: "Musenyela alfwile bwila bulamazile: Monseigneur is dead, there is no more mercy."

His successor, Léonard was a man of completely different temperament and character. He gave a low priority to the orphanages and freed slave villages which had been the chief concern of Gerboin. He preferred to encourage the foundation of large numbers of outstations as sub-parishes, under the day to day control and leadership of catechists. The fathers were to keep in touch with them by the more extensive use of bicycles. 'I should like to put everyone on a bicycle - it is more necessary than bread.'¹³⁷ If his terminology seems extravagant, he had to overcome a residual prejudice against them among his fellow White Fathers. CMS missionaries had used them for a decade or more. Ashe was the first cyclist in the interior of East Africa: he accompanied a caravan to Buganda in 1891 and other CMS

137. Léonard, circular letter, 30.12.16, TBA 310.001.

missionaries followed suit.¹³⁸ The White Fathers were much slower to take advantage of mechanical means of transport, the first cyclist being van Aken in 1909,¹³⁹ after the use of bicycles had been grudgingly authorised by the Superior General, Livinhac.¹⁴⁰ In the neighbouring vicariate of South Nyanza, Barthélemy had introduced a bicycle only to be told by Bishop Hirth to relegate it to the loft. 'God blesses those who go on foot,' he said.¹⁴¹ Léonard was himself a cyclist of considerable stamina who, at the age of fifty-three, cycled from Tabora to Masaka in Uganda, a distance of nearly five hundred miles. Unlike Gerboin, who, as he grew old, travelled in a litter with a large retinue, Leonard normally rode with a single African companion, carrying a .45 revolver in his episcopal belt as a safeguard against wild animals.¹⁴² With his mitré draped across the handlebars as though a coat of arms, he undoubtedly cut a singular figure as he pedalled through the limitless bush country of Unyamwezi.

Gerboin had thought in pioneering terms, creating monastic-like structures with extensive material plant and a mission-centred style of apostolate. In the early years of the mission, hazards of unrecognised diseases and insecurity of travel, and concentrations of population had

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138. Ashe, R.P., *Chronicles of Uganda* (London 1894), p.13; Wright, A., 'The bicycle in East Africa', ms, CMS Acc.64 F2.
139. Itaga D., May 1909, TBA.
140. Livinhac, Réponse aux questions posées par le R.P. Visitcur, Algiers, 5.7.07, TBA 465.465.
141. Personal communication of Fr. van de Schans.
142. Léonard, Memo on the future clergy of Unyanyembe, 30.9.21, TBA. The danger was real enough; more than two hundred people were reported killed by lions in the course of 1919 alone. Tabora District Annual Report 1919/20, NAT, Early Secretariat files 1753/4-12.

made this a practical style of organisation. But as Léonard pointed out, the older missions with the biggest material plant progressed the least.¹⁴³ The dispersal and movement of population made them anachronistic. Organising on a smaller local basis required the lay catechists to exercise much of the leadership hitherto expected of the cleric. The outstation rather than the mission was becoming for most Christians the centre of their local community. Many of the early converts, attracted as children, were now adults and Léonard urged a concentration on working with older people: wazenga kaya and their families. A closer study of language and customs was encouraged, Bösch's ethnographic study of the Banyamwezi being one incidental result. Methods of teaching religion were improved. Rote learning of the catechism, a common method of teaching most subjects in European schools at the turn of the century, was replaced by more explanatory methods. The catechists themselves were given regular training at their own missions though the lack of numbers still prevented the formation of a catechist school.

The emphasis on building outstations and employing catechists required the reduction of orphanages, mission villages and the discontinuance of wage labour on building projects to maintain them. In any case, economies in building were necessitated by the decline of the franc and the rise in food prices during the first world war. From the equivalent of £2,500 in 1914, the vicariate's income fell to £400 in 1919^{143a} - a sum which had to support nine mission stations,

143. Léonard to Livinhac, Tabora, 12.3.21, TBA 310.001.

143a. Léonard, Ep. 'Comment assurer le présent et l'avenir de nos missions', ms., TBA, 310.001.

five convents of sisters, some sixty catechists, a seminary, schools, and medical work. The financial straits of the vicariate demonstrated the uncertainty of depending on income from abroad. Cardinal Ledochowski, heading the principal funding source of the vicariate, had long been emphasising the need for financial self-sufficiency.¹⁴⁴ Gerboin had attempted to achieve it by extending farms and experimenting with all manner of cash crops: sisal, kapok, rubber, coffee, vines, but none had proved profitable. Léonard reduced work in agriculture. "I would prefer you to busy yourself less with cows and more with souls", he wrote to Gass.¹⁴⁵ Instead, the Christians were requested to support the missions themselves. Those who had money were asked to contribute financially even one cent (a hundredth of a shilling) remembers one informant; "Gerboin was rich, I am poor," Léonard said, and earned the name 'askofu mnofu' - the poor bishop.¹⁴⁶ Those who had no money contributed work: a day or two of shamba work each year.¹⁴⁷ A new church was built at Ndala of baked brick during the first world war almost entirely by free voluntary labour.

Increasing dependence on local resources identified the interest of the vicariate more closely with the prosperity of the region. Léonard was critical of the continuous drain

144. Ledochowski to Gerboin, Rome, 15.10.1900, TBA 129.000.

145. Léonard to Gass, Tabora, 20.1.13, TBA 310.001.

146. Fieldnotes: Gerardo Kwandamila, Mbogwe.

147. Fieldnotes: Terezia Mbuga, Ndono.

of Nyamwezi manpower to enrich the plantation owners of the coast to the detriment of Unyamwezi. Within the political structures of the time, there was little he could do to influence matters of colonial policy, but at a practical level, the development of local agriculture on a household basis was stimulated by the introduction of new crops and trees and a modest element of health education in village schools.¹⁴⁸ For a time during the war, when no other supplies were obtainable, the local production of cloth by traditional methods was organised at Bulungwa mission but it proved uneconomical.

Léonard had only a limited success in putting his plans into operation. He had been bishop for only two years when the war broke out and his movements around the vicariate were limited by order of the government. In the final year of the war, a series of deaths reduced his staff of missionaries by a fifth, requiring the closure of Bulungwa and Msalala. Other missions were understaffed and an expansionist policy was difficult to follow. Not all his ideas were immediately acceptable to his missionaries. He was more intelligent than Gerboin but more impersonal in his dealings with people. His early experience had been in Buganda and while this gave him a broader experience and outlook, it made him something of an outsider in Unyanyembe. He spoke only Swahili whereas the usual languages outside Tabora were kinyamwezi and kisumbwa. During the war he was under a

148. Léonard, 'Comment assurer le Présent et l'avenir de nos missions, ms., TBA 310.001.

double strain. By origin he was a native of Lorraine, and although French by first language and inclination, he was legally a German subject. Moreover, although his personal sympathies were with France and her allies, he was a bishop in a German colony and had the German governor billeted in his house for several months. The personal strain was considerable and appears to have undermined his health. When the war finished, he found himself in a British territory, though he had a very limited command of the language. A combination of stresses with personnel and circumstances reduced his vitality and he resigned in 1927 after several years of limited activity. But his memoranda and letters outlined the policies of the vicariate for the next forty years.

His development of the catechist and outstation system heralded important changes in the church in Unyamwezi. But in the years immediately before the first world war, there was no foreboding of the traumatic and disruptive effect the war was to have on Nyamwezi society. The first two decades of colonial rule had perhaps had a less disturbing effect on Unyamwezi than on some other peoples in East Africa. The Nyamwezi had for long been in contact with the coast and entertained commercial relationships with surrounding peoples. They had consciously controlled intrusion and used its imported strengths to prop up existing institutions. While opportunities for trade declined, work as contract porters and in coastal plantations provided an alternative source of income. Work also removed many of the younger men from

Unyamwezi for years at a time leaving the older men's influence unchallenged. The chiefs had rules as their predecessors had done. The prevention of serious inter-chiefly wars had entrenched them in power. In the town of Tabora, the opportunities for employment and influence within the colonial system maintained the privileges and insularity of pre-colonial times. The number of European officials in the area was small until 1912 and the railway was only beginning to have a serious impact when the war broke out. Whatever changes were taking place elsewhere in German East Africa (and it was in many respects more advanced educationally and economically in 1914 than any of the adjoining colonial territories), Unyamwezi remained primarily a reservoir for the provision of labour. This arrangement suited both the European financial interests in the colony and the traditional forces in Unyamwezi. Social change had meant adaptation of old institutions, not innovation. The first world war was to cause a radical realignment of conservative and innovative forces.

CHAPTER EIGHTTHE IMPACT OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

It has been suggested in previous chapters that Unyamwezi adapted to the early colonial period without a great deal of disruption in local society. What change there was appears to have been of a defensive nature as new forces or opportunities such as European political support for chiefs or wage employment in caravans and plantations, were utilised to consolidate existing structures. It would seem that the limit of adaptability had been reached by 1914. The first world war was extremely destructive in Unyamwezi. It was followed by a change of colonial government which initially made little impact, but in the period of peace after the war, the loss of traditional economic outlets weakened the traditional structure and encouraged innovation, especially literary education through the agency of mission schools. Traditional cults had only limited adaptability and gradually declined in variety and influence.

In the campaigns of the first world war, Tabora was of considerable strategic importance. It controlled the railway and caravan routes of the western portion of German East Africa and after the evacuation of Dar es Salaam, it was the administrative capital of the parts remaining in German hands, the bishop's house being appropriated for the Governor. During September 1916, two Belgian brigades advanced from Burundi, one

along the railway line from Kigoma in the west, the other overland from the north-west, passing Ushirombo and Msalala before turning south against Tabora. The German forces defended the northern and western approaches to the town from the rocky hills at Mabama and Itaga. Heavy fighting took place involving the use of 105 mm. guns which were dragged around by great teams of up to thirty pairs of oxen. At the battle of Itaga some one hundred and thirty shells exploded around the mission as the local people crowded into the Church without food or water for twenty-four hours. Having lost control of the hills, and threatened by an additional column of two thousand African and Indian troops under the command of General Crewe which was approaching from the north east, the German forces withdrew from Tabora to avoid encirclement. The actual fighting had lasted only a few days but the campaigns were disproportionately destructive. The Belgian troops left a terrifying reputation right across Unyamwezi. They fell on the civilian population of Unyamwezi as if it, rather than the opposing colonial forces, was the enemy. There may have been an element of revenge for past Nyamwezi involvement in the Congolese slave trade. Both oral sources and mission diaries contain accounts of numerous indiscriminate killings, the destruction of villages, and flights of populations into the bush. The capital of Uyui was set on fire and its people fled, never regrouping there again in significant numbers.¹

1. Fieldnotes: Kululinda and others, Uyui.

The Bulamatari, or Wambulumbu, as the Belgian troops were known, destroyed houses for firewood, kidnapped women, and took men and boys as porters. Food, cattle, tools, sacks, anything of value was requisitioned. There was a good harvest that year but most of it was destroyed. The Bulamatari disclaimed the responsibility for the damage saying the fault was on those who sent them and permitted them to do as they pleased.² When, after five months, they withdrew from Unyamwezi, they left behind them empty kayas, starvation and epidemics of dysentery. Some indemnity was later paid but it was only a fraction of the cost of the material damage, even the modest estimates being reduced by pricing the cloth at five times its real value for purposes of compensation.³

The effects of the campaign were not limited to the capture of Tabora. Whichever side controlled

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2. Fieldnotes: Marco Malusa, Ngaya, who was taken away as a porter.
 3. Msalala D., 6.2.17, TBA. Other sources for material on the campaign in Unyamwezi include Laude, N. 'La prise de Tabora', Le Mouvement Géographique 33(1920), col.493-8; the diaries of Ushirombo, August 1916 to January 1917, Msalala, August 1916 to April 1917, Ndala, August 1916 to August 1917, Bulungwa, Itaga and Tabora September 1916, TBA; Fieldnotes: Teresia Mbuga, Ndono, (taken prisoner at Itaga in 1916), Kamsckwa Hulange, Filipo Kuloga, Stefano Bundala, and Anatoli Shilinde, Itaga, Mlisho Magaka, Mhuge, Herman Masoni, Ushirombo, (a former soldier in the Belgian army), Marco Malusa, Ngaya (conscripted as a porter by the Belgians), and many others. Not surprisingly, this period is one of the best remembered in recent Nyamwezi history.

Unyamwezi, there was an inexhaustible demand for porters. At the outbreak of the war, five thousand men were taken away to carry soldiers' equipment.⁴ Pay was small and desertion punished by hanging.⁵ Men hid at night, not daring to sleep at home where they might be conscripted.⁶ Leonard complained to the Governor at Tabora but without effect.⁷ The change of occupying forces made no difference. In 1917 the British were employing one hundred and fifty thousand porters of whom a large proportion were Nyamwezi. Even men of sixty and seventy years of age were forced to enroll.⁸ One method of recruitment was to organise a dance during which the army picked out those who appeared to be the strongest and marched them off.⁹ The Ndala diarist deplored methods of conscripting people which would have caused great resentment in the occupied countries of Europe.¹⁰ When a catechist some six miles from Itaga clashed with the Mwanangwa Shabani over methods and numbers of porters from his locality, the catechist was taken before the District Political Officer, Bagenal, at Tabora. The mission superior Delon supported

4. Tabora D., 30.8.14, TBA.

5. Fieldnotes: Johanni Kayogela, Ndekeli.

6. Léonard to MM, Bulungwa, 1.9.14, TBA 310.001.

7. Léonard to Msalala mission, Tabora, 29.2.16, Kahama-Mbulu mission archives.

8. Ndala D., 6.8.17, TBA.

9. Ndala D., 19.5.17, TBA.

10. Ibid.

his case which was upheld. But Delon was requested to stay at Tabora because his presence made the recruiting of porters 'difficult'. The death rate among the porters was tragically high. Carpenter, the Medical Officer at Lulangwa (17 miles west of Tabora), thought it reached 15,000 a month at one period. Ford who quotes this figure¹¹ regards it as too high to be credible but it is by no means inconsistent with oral accounts. The Itaga diarist recorded an unofficial estimate of the death rate reaching sixty per cent¹² and later a historian estimated the total African casualties (not all Nyamwezi) at a hundred and seventy-five thousand.¹³ Whatever the precise figures of Nyamwezi casualties in the war, substantial losses were sustained by the adult male population.

The economic life of Unyamwezi suffered in other ways. The internment of coastal plantation owners removed the principal source of cash in Unyamwezi. While Tabora remained under German occupation, it was cut off from the Indian Ocean ports and many goods such as sugar, soap, and paraffin disappeared from the trading scene. By the end of 1915, there was no cloth for sale anywhere in Tabora.¹⁴ Agricultural products too lost their commercial value. People refused to work for wages as

11. Ford, The role of trypanosomiasis, p.193.

12. Itaga, D., 2.5.16, TBA.

13. Bates, M., 'Tanganyika under British Administration, 1920-55', University of Oxford Ph.D. thesis, 1957, p.175.

14. Léonard to Bedbéder, Tabora, 4.11.15, TBA 310.001.

there was nothing to buy.¹⁵ The petty commerce which in the past had helped to provide money for taxes and cloth collapsed. The first reaction of one citizen to the news that the war was ended was to say, "Good, we are happy, for now the supply of cloth will be restored."¹⁶ For him, peace and trade were synonymous and cloth in particular represented the whole economic life of the country: without it there was only a bare subsistence living to be had, and even then the failure of the rains at the end of 1918 and 1919 led to poor harvests. Deficiencies in the material sphere led to the breakdown of other forms of social behaviour. Crop stealing spread in the countryside and there were raids on the stores in the town as people sought the means of staying alive.¹⁷ When the worldwide epidemic of Spanish influenza arrived, it struck a people whose health had in many cases been undermined by famine, and the mortality was even higher than it would otherwise have been. Thus the first world war was a far more disruptive experience in terms of material destructiveness and loss of life than the colonial conquest had been. Moreover, whereas Unyamwezi had, on the whole, reacted defensively to the first phase of colonialism by reinforcing existing institutions, it was far more difficult after the first world war to revert to the ideals of a pre-colonial society

15. Léonard, circular letter, 29.9.15, TBA 310.001.

16. R.A. Unyanyembe, 1918-19, M.G.

17. Itaga D., 24.8.19, TBA.

which was becoming a continually diminishing memory.

Some effects of the war were not repaired in the 1920s. Paid portorage, for instance, was not to recover. The railway builders had reached Tabora two years before the war but the immediate effects of stimulating trade to the north and west, and the creation of work constructing the Kigoma-Tabora line, disguised the reduction of portorage until after the war. By then, transport by lorry was being introduced and was quite simply cheaper than portorage. A load could be transported between Kahama and Tabora by lorry for four shillings against a cost of four shillings and fifty cents by porter.¹⁸ The money which had once been earned to bring cloth and goods to the scattered homesteads of Unyamwezi now went to the owners of lorries and to the oil and industrial producers overseas. The construction of a railway from Tabora to Lake Victoria was to reduce freight charges further still. For a year or two after the war, there was a booming trade in groundnuts.¹⁹ But the price fell before crops were developed on a large scale.²⁰ The constant drain of manpower to plantations nearer the coast had removed much of the incentive and opportunity to develop the agricultural resources of the area. The single plantation near

18. Kahama Subdistrict Annual Report 1925, NAT, 1733/20:105.

19. Tabora District Annual Report 1920-1, NAT, 1733/5/5(3).

20. From seven rupees to one and a half rupees a load. Ndala D., 19.6.21, TBA.

Kahama was closed, the German planters repatriated, and their house pulled down to provide construction materials for government offices at Kahama. Traditional crafts and trades had been in decline for decades and showed no sign of revival. Salt production at Bulungwa could not compete with mass production at Uvinza with the railway transporting it cheaply into Unyamwezi. The last traces of local cloth production disappeared. It had survived at a very few places and even revived during the war around the mission of Bulungwa. But traditional methods required several weeks' work to produce a single cloth²¹ and even in the depressed post-war days the incentive to provide it was insufficient. Iron hoes were still made and traded across Unyamwezi²² but iron smelting at Ukuni declined and increasingly craftsmen and metalworkers used imported goods as their raw materials: scrap iron for axes, tin cans for making spoons and other small domestic objects.²³ The improved transport which brought in imported goods also took out the slender returns of emigrant workers. The frustration of traditional skills and enterprise left few alternatives to unskilled labour.

There is an apparent contradiction between the poverty resulting from the loss of employment opportunities outside Unyamwezi and the decline of local crafts and

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21. Ashe, R.P. Two kings of Uganda (London 1890), p.26, writing of Nyamwezi cloth. Levêsque J., 20.2.83, M.G.
22. Kahama sub-district annual report 1925, NAT,1733/20:105.
23. Fieldnotes: Herman Masoni, Ushirombo.

skills, for it might be expected that diminishing cash would stimulate local productivity. A generation earlier, many Nyamwezi had preferred local cloth to foreign kinds and local hoes were more highly valued than imported.²⁴ But since then, imported cloth, being light and colourful had caught the popular imagination and became the measure of earning power and status. The postwar depression did not turn people's attention backwards to an earlier economy. Goods were available and cheaply: the problem was to gain the money and no temporary recession was going to cause people to revert to the tastes and preferences of their grandfathers. Thus in the decade or so after the first world war, some avenues of economic growth were closed off, exposing the principal weakness of the traditional and early colonial economies of Unyamwezi. In the nineteenth century, many European visitors to East Africa had forecast an outstanding future for the enterprising and industrious Nyamwezi. But their energies had been channelled mainly into the development of trade for short term profits in consumer goods, and work in distant plantations to the detriment of their homeland. The drain of manpower had removed the means to develop local agricultural resources. In fact, for a combination of reasons, the pastoral wealth of northern Unyamwezi had declined.

There had always been a certain amount of movement of tsetse infested areas as populations dispersed and regrouped, evacuating some settlements, clearing sites

24. Deniaud J., 3.12.78; M.G.; Guillet to MM, 8.10.81, C20-62; Dr. Kandt to Gerboin, Kivu, 6.3.1900, TBA 324.820.

for others. The presence of cattle, which kept the grass too short for the flies to find shelter, maintained belts of tsetse free land around inhabited settlements. But a whole series of epidemics, coinciding with the colonial period, reduced the number of cattle, and enabled tsetse infestation to spread at the beginning of the century as the recovering game reoccupied the old grazing grounds of the cattle. The greatest epidemic of cattle disease was the plague of rinderpest which swept across most of East Africa in 1891. But it was not the only one. There were new outbreaks of rinderpest from time to time: in 1913 at Ndala and Sumve, two years later at Mhugé. Other cattle diseases appeared from time to time, notably east coast fever. The movement of men and cattle during the war, often in unaccustomed directions, may have spread disease. The ban on grass burning (an old device of hunters) may have made the habitat more favourable to tsetse. The emigration of population from Usumbwa and the dispersal of the remainder into smaller settlements reduced the occupied blocs of land below a size which could be kept free of tsetse. In any case, the number of cattle continued to dwindle, particularly in Usumbwa. The Tusi drove off their surviving herds to Kahama. Since about 1930, there have been no cattle in Usumbwa. To the loss of cattle was added the hazard of sleeping sickness. The first case was reported in Unyamwezi in January 1928, and within a year 948 had been identified.^{24a} It is probable that

hundreds of others were not traced. Some of the older Sumbwa kingdoms were wiped out, partly by the disease, partly by the forced evacuation of people to consolidated settlements. A similar fate overtook Urambo, the old capitals of Mirambo being abandoned. The older chiefdoms of the west and north west of Unyamwezi appear to have suffered most in the loss of population, cattle and resources. Inpoverishment reduced the power of the elders, and young men were impelled to seek new opportunities to replace traditional incomes.

A generation earlier the Nyamwezi economy had adapted to colonial rule with singular ease. The manpower formerly used by locally organised caravans found employment in paid portorage. The ivory and slave trades were replaced by work in plantation agriculture. Frequent contact with the coast was maintained as before, and the materials of international trade to which people had become accustomed were still accessible. The old way of life was preserved within Unyamwezi itself substantially intact and traditional institutions were not suddenly overthrown, possibly reinforced by a deliberate conservatism. Certain foundations were being eroded as chiefs alienated their subjects by continuous demands for taxes and labour for their colonial masters. The loss of cattle weakened the power of the elders. The war greatly accelerated economic disintegration. The heavy casualties, the material destructiveness, the loss of opportunities to earn money outside Unyamwezi, impoverished the region. For the younger generation, more adaptable to changing circumstances

there was an evident need to discover alternative avenues of economic and social advancement within the colonial structure and a definite change of attitude towards it can be discerned.

Up to the outbreak of war, acceptance of German rule had been reluctant, and quite probably, to many of the chiefs, it seemed a temporary bridle. Unyamwezi had the character of a conquered country and was not reconciled to indefinite subjection. It is true that only two chiefdoms, Unyanyembe and the Ngoni, had resisted the Germans by force of arms immediately on their arrival. However, Isike of Unyanyembe represented the hopes of many. He had appealed for support from all over Unyamwezi. Some chiefs sent it, others decided to await the outcome of Isike's war before declaring themselves. Ushirombo diplomatically sent forces which would arrive too late to take active part in the conflict. If Isike had defeated von Prince, he would undoubtedly have been joined immediately by many other chiefs and his defeat was theirs too.²⁵ Two other chiefs, Nkandi of Kahama and Tugamoto of Urambo, later rebelled against German interference in their chiefdoms and were deposed. Elsewhere, demonstrations of force were made to overawe potential resistance: showground bayonet charges by von Gotzen's men, demonstration canon shots by Langheld.²⁶ Although Unyamwezi was subdued,

25. Fieldnotes: Mlisho Magaka, Mhuge; Ali Waziri, Bugabe; Caroli Maywili, Ndala; Shaw to LMS, Urambo, 30.7.92, C.A. 8/6/A.

26. Msalala D., 11.3.94; Ushirombo D., 2.3.98, TBA.

there are occasional signs in the mission diaries of underlying discontent: a description of Hwimu and his principal men sitting round the fire of an evening looking forward to the day when the Europeans would be driven out; excitement in Tabora and shouted threats under the cover of darkness at the time of the Maji-maji rising.²⁷ The massive German bomas in the major centres of East Africa were built not from timidity but with reason for apprehension. Numerous expeditions left Tabora for surrounding regions on punitive expeditions.²⁸ The first world war, however, put paid to any hope of ever driving out the Europeans by force. The thousands of soldiers under European control, the armaments of machine and field guns, cars and planes, were a demonstration of seemingly invincible power. One old man seeing a plane remarked, "You Europeans were made to rule".²⁹ The experienced warrior generation was growing old. Peace between neighbouring chiefdoms had become established and past wars had become the subject of nostalgia and romanticism. After the first world war, there were no more punitive expeditions against recalcitrant chiefs.

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27. "We Wanyema are strong. We have a hard skin and Europe is a long way off." The military officer at the fort, Charisius, warned the wali that he would raze Tabora to the ground at the first sign of revolt. Tabora D., 28.9.05 and 23.10.05, TBA.
28. Tabora and Ndala diaries passim, TBA; Kiyumbi, 'History of European settlement', Mwanza RB, NAT.
29. Sumve, D., 26.6.17, Nyegezi archives.

Yet the younger generation which had grown up during the colonial period were no more reconciled to indefinite colonial rule than their fathers had been in the past. The system had built-in tensions and humiliations which were bound to provoke a reaction. Europeans had generally adopted an aggressive form of behaviour which was bitterly resented, even if the resentment was concealed. Before 1890, Europeans had sought the favour of chiefs and often received friendly patronage in return. After the military conquest of Unyamwezi, chiefs were liable to be abused and even beaten in public and the European had become a figure of fear. Everyone had to rise and bid him 'Morgen'; anyone failing to do so would have his face slapped.³⁰ A man seeing the prints of shoes on a footpath would turn off it to avoid overtaking or meeting the European whose presence they indicated. Ashe noted at Nassa in 1894 that the people were "apt to be somewhat cringing, owing to their great dread of the Germans who have a military station at no great distance".³¹ Such incidents and observations were signs of a profoundly humiliating relationship which reached deep into the political and economic life of the country. To those involved in the war campaigns as porters or askaris, it was perhaps inevitable that the causes of self-determination professed in Europe should have been

30. Fieldnotes: Kululinda and others, Uyui; Capus to MdA, Ushiroambo, 12.6.95, MdA.

31. Ashe, Chronicles of Uganda, p.419.

applied to themselves. Leonard noted how the Nyamezi 'are fascinated by the new spirit that every race should govern itself. That would please them greatly and they would gladly escape from European masters.'³²

New social ambitions were therefore taking shape in Unyamwezi in the years immediately after the first world war. One avenue of future betterment was the acquisition, through education, of the skills and knowledge which were the basis of European power. In the past, they had sometimes been regarded as magical: they were now being perceived increasingly as techniques which could be learnt and imitated. Moreover, reading and writing skills had a usefulness of their own: a cheap mail service made written communication possible to anyone with relatives at the coast or in another neighbourhood. With hindsight, the connection between education and embryonic nationalism can be perceived.³³ But at the time, no clear path could be seen leading into the future. For the potential pupil, there was no self-proclaimed charismatic leadership to follow, no sophisticated African model to imitate. The pioneering steps towards liberation both from colonial subjection and from the inhibitions of a tightly integrated traditional society were short and instinctive. At the end of the first world

32. Leonard to Livinhac, Tabora, 15.5.19, TBA 310,001.

33. Rodney, W., How Europe underdeveloped Africa, (Dar es Salaam, 1972,)p.295.

war, there was no consultation of Africans in the creation of educational policies by the government. There were still no spokesmen, no African newspapers or associations, and therefore, there are today almost no written records of prevailing moods except for chance observations like that of Leonard quoted above. Memories projecting backwards do not clearly identify changes in social aims or associate them with a particular time. Yet in the years after the first world war, there certainly was an interest in learning and incorporating new ideas, both secular and religious, into Nyamwezi society and it is shown mainly by the growth of certain types of school and a rapid increase in school membership. There is added significance in the new social ambitions taking shape in the years immediately after the first world war when the British colonial authority under Byatt was new to the territory, short of resources in finance and personnel, and doing little or nothing for the economy and education of the region. The post-war lull in economic life momentarily relieved the pressures from outside and facilitated local initiative and innovation.

Changes in appreciation of education and Christianity were shown most dramatically by the phenomenon of volunteer catechists. Van Aken was one day visiting a district some twenty miles west of Tabora which was outside the range of his usual travels when he was invited to visit a catechism class in session. To his knowledge, there was no catechist working in the area. However, at the village

of Usungu he found a school being operated by a young man called Mlewa. Equipped with a few books from the mission at Tabora, he had collected a group of pupils and built a schoolroom and there he was teaching the regular catechism course, a series of classes which normally lasted four years.³⁴ It was found that Mlewa's candidates were of a higher standard than those of any of the regular catechists. Within the first year he had brought a hundred and fifty pupils, youths and adults, men and women, to Tabora for the regular annual examination so they could be officially admitted as catechumens. Mlewa told van Aken that he had himself learned to read and write from the catechist in Tabora and was now teaching what he had learned to others. In fact, this was not the whole truth. Some years before, he had attended the Moravian mission at Usoke, although not long enough to be baptised. During the war, all but two of the Moravian missionaries, who were German, had been deported. Mlewa wanted to open a school himself, but since there was no longer a Moravian missionary at Usoke, he went to the White Fathers mission at Tabora for books. His school was simply organised, but apparently a model of its kind and soon copied. Other volunteer catechists followed suit. They were not paid, having "no reward save the honour of being a mwalimu".³⁵

34. Tabora D., 14.10.21, TBA; WSD Tabora, 15-17, 10.22, WSA; Bishop's Gaarde's reports for 1921 [MPA 10(1922), p.135] and for 1922 [MPA 11(1923), p.210]; Fieldnotes: Petro Kapuga, Ndonu, Daudi Mpandashalo, Ndonu.

35. R.A. Tabora 1922-3, M.G.

They obtained books from the mission at Tabora and enrolled groups of pupils. One made a writing table for himself (not a traditional item of furniture), another dug a well, others built classrooms at their own expense and helped by their pupils. While imitating the pre-war German primary schools to a degree, they were also consciously different. "Everyone wants to learn how to read and write; groups of young people come asking for books but they do not want regular courses," noted Léonard.³⁶ The catechists' schools preserved an informality which permitted some adaptation to the traditional way of life. At Igalula, the teacher of the government school tried to use force to fill his school. He was eventually dismissed, but in the meantime, most of the boys in the area enrolled at the catechist's school instead.³⁷ One group of catechists at Ndala devised their own alphabet and corresponded with each other in a quite original script. (Unfortunately none of their writings appear to have survived the passage of years.) The growth of local schools of this type fitted easily into the school system of the missions. The volunteer catechists made no attempt to found new local churches. They presented their pupils for the regular examinations at the mission and wished only to be placed on the same footing as the regular catechists.³⁸ They invited the

36. R.A. Unyanyembe 1920-1, N.G.

37. Tabora D., 4.12.23, TBA.

38. Léonard, 'Ounyanyembe 1922-3', ms., TBA 310.001.

bishop and fathers to visit them, building chapels and constructing paths to facilitate travel by motorcycles. After a trial period, some of them were employed as official mission catechists.

At one stage there were a thousand catechumens in the area along the railway line to the west of Tabora. At Mawele, some twenty-five miles to the south, no missionary visited the outstation for four years, but the catechist continued his classes and the catechumens there were joined by forty new ones.³⁹ At Igalula, to the east, there was another group of five volunteer catechists. The increase in the numbers of catechumens was by no means the result of any lowering of standards of instruction. On the contrary, Léonard had insisted on much more than the old system of rote learning. He placed great emphasis on good teaching, careful examination, and discriminate admission to baptism. It was only after four years of regular classes and tests, and of living a regular Christian life, that candidates were admitted. At Pentecost 1918, more than half of the three hundred who applied for baptism were refused.⁴⁰ The enthusiasm for schools was not restricted to the Tabora area: it was felt throughout the whole of Unyamwezi. At Ushirombo the diarist wrote: 'The wind is blowing towards the schools; people speak only of schools; there is no salvation outside school'.⁴¹ In Msalala there had been

39. Tabora D., 23.11.22, TBA.

40. R.A. Tabora 1919-20, M.G.

41. Ushirombo D., 11.1.28, TBA.

no catechists in 1912; in 1923 there were twenty-one.

In the meantime, the catechist had become a figure of considerable prestige and influence. On occasion there were complaints by the chiefs about how they ^(the catechists) used their position. Sometimes they prevented their pupils working for the chiefs, confiscated the tools of non-Christians who worked on Sunday, or administered corporal punishment.⁴² One was accused by some Tusi cattle owners of taking away their children; (they turned out to have been slaves acquired in Urundi during the previous two or three years.) The fathers did not encourage such an excess of zeal but were sometimes powerless to stop it. As catechists grew in number and importance, they were given more pastoral and religious duties, visiting the sick, assisting the dying, maintaining good relations among the Christians of their areas. Training of catechists was increased. The amount varied from mission to mission; at some missions it was one day a week, at other places for longer but more infrequent periods. A special school to train catechists was not opened until 1928 by which time both government primary schools and government-inspected mission schools had been set up, and the professions of catechist and village schoolmaster were clearly distinguished.

The pupils' desire for education was not motivated simply to escape from their traditional environment by preparing for a career elsewhere. The general standard

42. Ndala D., 2.3.25, TBA; Fieldnotes: Kapandabumela, Tongi.

of literacy in the catechists' schools was not very high and very few pupils ever put their knowledge to mercenary use. The number of clerks, chief's secretaries and shop assistants was very limited and usually required considerably more literacy than the simplest village schools provided. If the pupils of that post-war period are asked today why they were so keen to learn how to read and write, the answers they give are very simple and matter-of-fact. "We wanted to know", "we wanted to understand religion", "we wanted to write and read letters", "we were attracted by the idea". The typical Nyamwezi of that generation is not very introspective or articulate about his motives. Schooling was seen as something desirable and closely associated with religious teaching. Christianity is, after all, a literary religion in which traditions and beliefs are closely tied to written sources. Literacy was also basic to the transmission of western culture, even more so half a century ago, before the popularisation of radio. The Nyamwezi had always seemed to appreciate that the ability to read and write was a good and desirable thing, but until then few had been prepared to take the trouble to learn. Mirambo had learned to write his name but thought schooling was best left to children.⁴³ The Bashirombo trading in Buganda had, at an early date, been impressed

43. Copplestone's J., 3.4.81, G3/A6/O/1881/50.

by the Baganda's enthusiasm for book learning but few wished to emulate it for long.⁴⁴ The children had other duties: to herd goats and cattle, to chase birds out of the sorghum and millet crops towards harvest time, to learn the adult skills such as hunting and preparing food. There were other ways of earning cloth: trading, porterage, smithing and other crafts. It was commonly thought that children would grow up without the strength to work if they spent their time studying⁴⁵ - a reflection of the high importance the Nyamwezi attributed to physical strength and fitness. The girls had work at home, and apart from the catechists' own daughters, it was rare for a girl to attend school.

Apart from catechists and pupils, the third element concerned with village schools were the missionaries. For the missionary, the village schools were not simply a means of proselytising with educational advantages as a sideline, as is sometimes suggested.⁴⁶ Schools, especially the boarding middle and secondary schools set up later, did provide a transfer mechanism in which young people at an impressionable age, could be taught about Christianity in a broad context of intellectual development. But the missionaries were also concerned with imparting education in practical spheres for the general welfare of their pupils.

44. Gerboin to MM, Ushirombo, 15.6.93, M.G.

45. Fieldnotes: Stephano Bundalo, Itaga.

46. Ehrlich, C., 'Economic and Social Development before Independence', in Ogot, B.A. and Kieran J. (eds), Zamani, (Nairobi 1968) p.346.

Even at the elementary level of the village catechist's schoolroom, some knowledge of hygiene and agricultural methods, and a rudimentary knowledge of geography and history, could be imparted. With the gradual breakdown of traditional sanctions on behaviour, Christianity provided new idealistic standards of conduct. Earlier attempts to teach Christian doctrine in the context of a non-literary setting had tended to lead to the monotonous memorising of the catechism and the rote learning of hymns and prayers expressed in terms which could hardly be understood. With the spread of literacy and the discovery of new concepts and a larger world outside the kaya, more explanatory methods of teaching religion were possible. On the obverse side of the coin, schooling meant the rejection of many traditional beliefs and practices and the more advanced the learning, the greater the gap was to become. However, the early catechist schools, with no uniforms or elaborate furniture, gathering in a simple mud brick house or beside a tree, under the guidance of a familiar and trusted local figure, was perhaps the least disruptive way of blending the new and the old.

It is probable that the movement favouring schooling and Christianity was encouraged by the abolition of slavery. Abolition was proclaimed in the Tanganyika Territory Gazette of 16 June 1922 but the news was not promulgated in Tabora for more than three months. Even then, for reasons it has not been possible to discover,

the government officials at Tabora decided that certificates of freedom should be given individually upon personal application at the boma. Ntemi Saidi of Unyanyembe claimed not to know of any decree of liberation as late as August although the chiefs had, apparently, been informed of it and had decided to keep it secret.⁴⁷ But as the news got round, hundreds of people still in domestic servitude arrived daily to claim their certificates. In the end, the supply of printed forms ran out and instead papers were given out bearing simply the name and domicile of the holder. On the first of September, with several hundred people waiting patiently in the queue for a paper, the decree was finally announced publicly. The freedom from ownership created a new fluidity and competitiveness in Unyamwezi, particularly in Tabora. No one born during the last twenty years was legally a slave, but even if theoretically free, the children of slaves had been indirectly under the authority of their parents' owners. Now ex-slaves could aspire to quite a different way of life for their children: ambition and opportunity naturally encouraged the pursuit of education. The vast majority of newly liberated slaves were not Nyamwezi. Many hundreds of certificates were written at the mission, for any paper bearing the name of the holder was regarded as sufficient to be used as a title of freedom. When they were written, it was found that the majority came from Ruanda, Urundi, Ubembe and Manyema.

47. Tabora D., -.8.22, TBA.

Many remained Moslems and continued to work for their former masters. Others, having no way of tracing their places of origin, settled near the missions, and others left the Tabora area altogether. Whatever they did, the change of status caused an increased fluidity and competitiveness in the town and its surrounding areas. The number of pupils in Unyamwezi was not large in comparison to some other parts of Tanganyika, or as a proportion of the total number of children of school age. The number enrolled in the mission schools of the White Fathers in 1925 was 2,583 of whom three-quarters were boys. The Moravian schools had suffered from staffing problems since the campaign of 1916 but by 1925 the daily attendance averaged 418, which would suggest that at least double that number was enrolled. There were also three government schools with a total attendance of over two hundred, two Indian schools, and a number of Koranic schools in Tabora town.⁴⁸

The promotion of a large number of small mission schools did not accord with the policy of the colonial government. Byatt, at first Administrator, later Governor of Tanganyika Territory, regarded education as entirely a government responsibility.⁴⁹ He may have been influenced by records of German distrust of mission schools. Governor von Soden had believed that they kept the best pupils as

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48. Tabora District Annual Report, 1925, NAT 1733/20:105; R.A. Unyamwezi 1924-5, M.G.
49. Tanganyika Territory Annual Report 1923, NAT, Early Secretariate file 1733/4-12. Morrison, D.R., Education and politics in Africa (London 1976), p.48.

teachers themselves and sent the rest to government schools.⁵⁰ He was fearful also of a repetition of sectarian rivalries which had flourished in Buganda. In German times the administration had been vulnerable to criticism by missionary organisations in Germany as there was a substantial opposition group to any form of colonial policies in the Reichstag.⁵¹ The missionaries were aware of this and acted fairly independently. After the first world war, the British administration had less to fear from unfavourable reactions in Britain to the pursuit of its policies, especially as the vast majority of missionaries in Tanganyika were not of British origin. In local matters such as exemption from tributary labour which had become customary in some areas, any privileges of mission villages were abolished. An arrangement for the White Fathers to replace the government school in Tabora was cancelled.⁵² Byatt gave instructions that no mission schools were to be opened without the express permission of the Provincial Commissioner. A school at Ushetu which was opened without advance permission in writing had to be closed.⁵³ Authorisation to open a school was given only with the prior agreement of the chief and people. Some chiefs were by no means anxious for the children in their

50. Furley, C.W., 'Education and the chiefs in East Africa in the inter-war period', TAJH 1(1971) p.61.

51. Roussiez to Gass, Tabora, 16.3.22, Ushiroombo archives.

52. Lt-Col. Towse to Assist. Adjutant General, Tabora 16.9.17, TBA 732.001. Tabora D., 26.5.21, TBA.

53. Cottino to MM, Bulungwa, 6.2.20, M.G.

areas to attend a mission school. It was a matter of common experience that school pupils were less ready to accept traditional authority and customs than their less literate companions. The processes of gauging public opinion were so informal that the enquiry might easily reflect the wishes of the questioner.

At Mwakarunde, near Kahama, the chief Nhumba was opposed to the foundation of a village school with a catechist. Appeals to the government to overrule him brought the reply that the chief and people had "one and all, in emphatic and unmistakable terms, declared that they did not want a mission of any kind in the area."⁵⁴ After much insistence by van Aken that the consultation represented only the opinion of 'Nhumba and his bafumu', Isherwood made further enquiries and conceded that "it would seem that the members of your flock... in some mysterious way were deterred from showing their wishes and the government has thereby been gravely misled."⁵⁵ A School was eventually opened but only after the project had been delayed for a year and a half while the position was clarified. Given the policy of discouraging village schools and the reluctance of some chiefs either to permit their children to attend school or to have a catechist in their territory, an identity of interest grew between, on the one hand the mission and those Nyamwezi who wanted

54. Isherwood to van Aken, Tabora, 18.12.23, TBA 310.001.

55. Isherwood to van Aken, Tabora, 2.1.24, TBA 310.001.

to acquire education, and on the other, the more conservatively minded chiefs and the colonial government. Not all officials approved of the policy they were required to follow and the Tabora District Annual Report for 1920-21 called it "unfortunate".⁵⁶

A further restriction on the opening of village schools was the maintenance of the religious spheres of influence: the activities of different missionary societies were restricted to areas exclusive of each other. As a short-term arrangement it had been accepted by Gerboin,⁵⁷ and Léonard came to an informal agreement with the Moravian Bishop Gaarde over boundaries.⁵⁸ It was not practical to maintain such boundaries rigidly or permanently in view of the frequent movement of people, including Christians from one part of Unyamwezi to another. The Moravians had set up a mission in Tabora not far from the Catholic mission in 1912 and after the war, the lack of Moravian personnel caused a vacuum which drew in catechists from the Catholic mission of Tabora. The spheres of influence, as far as Léonard was concerned, were a friendly and practical arrangement at a time when there was insufficient manpower to work beyond quite small areas. At Karema, Bishop Lechaptois had been rebuked by the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in Rome for making a similar agreement in his vicariate: he was told it was against the laws and

56. NAT, Early Secretariate files 1733/5/5(3).

57. Charisius to Gerboin, Tabora 19.1.03 and 26.10.02; Gerboin to Charisius, Ushirombo, 15.11.01, TBA 355.104.

58. Tabora D., 25.5.14 and 13.4.28, TBA.

rights of the Church.⁵⁹ However, the government intended to impose narrower restrictions than before. Part of Unyamwezi was to be reserved for the possible entry of new missionary societies in the future.⁶⁰ Such a restriction was of doubtful legality under the terms of the Mandate and claims that they were for the "maintenance of good order"⁶¹ were strongly challenged. While sectarian competition had been highly unedifying and destructive in some regions, in others it had stimulated a great deal of activity and the development of educational opportunities which had been largely beneficial. The Ormsby-Gore Commission recommended the abolition of the system and in administrative practice it was finally laid to rest in 1927.⁶²

After Byatt was transferred to Trinidad, Cameron was appointed Governor with instructions to put into effect the recommendations of the White Paper based on the findings of the Ormsby-Gore Commission.⁶³ From 1928 onwards, most

59. 'Quoad vero conventionem cum Protestantibus initam, illam improbandam at omnino irritam censeo, utpote contra Ecclesiae leges atque jura.' The full text is in Livinhac to Gerboin, 12.5.12, TBA 465.465.

60. Stack to all Administrative Officers in charge of Districts, Dar es Salaam, 10.5.22, TBA 732.001.

61. Tanganyika Territory Annual Report 1922, NAT, Early Secretariate file 1733/4-12.

62. R.A. Tabora 1927-8, M.G.

63. Education in British Tropical Africa, Command paper 2371 (HMSO 1925). Cameron, D., My Tanganyika Service and some Nigeria (London 1939), p.127.

primary and secondary schools were established in partnership with the various missionary organisations in Tanganyika, following the standard practice in other British colonies. The Catholic Bishops displayed a good deal of reluctance before deciding to accept aid and a measure of government control, as did Bishop Birley and the UMCA.⁶⁴ Financial support for voluntary aided schools enabled government money to go much further; most of the capital and administration was provided by the various Churches, and teachers in aided schools received lower salaries. The programme was not designed primarily to satisfy local demands for education: the proportion of revenue devoted to education was quite small.⁶⁵ J.W.C. Dougall complained that partnership in education represented the use of the Church to build up schools.⁶⁶ Apart from educating the future chiefs, one purpose of the government programme was to create a body of minor civil servants and clerks to support the existing system of administration under European leadership. Even this limited aim was reduced in the 1930's when government expenditure on education was cut despite a continuing rise in revenue.

64. Minutes of Bishops' meeting 1924, TBA 230.005; Blood, A.G., History of the UMCA (London 1955), ii, pp.244-8.

65. £15,754 in 1924-5, or 1.18 per cent of revenue. (£59,))) in 1926-7, or 4 per cent of revenue.

66. Thompson, A.R. 'Partnership in Education in Tanganyika, 1919-61', University of London M.A. Thesis, 1965, p.109.

Central schools were reduced from eight to three and a larger number of clerks were brought in from abroad.⁶⁷

Despite the partnership, there was an underlying conflict of principle between the government and the mission. As only a small proportion of mission schools received government recognition, there remained a large number, poorly equipped and staffed by untrained teachers, which did not qualify for subsidies. The question of their continuance was not an issue only in Unyamwezi. The village schools there were only a fraction of those in Tanganyika as a whole. The long controversy which developed revolved around the question whether they contributed to the welfare of the country or constituted an actual threat to good order. Differences of national origin and sectarian prejudices added an element of acerbity to the debate. The government policy was to create a class of educated people incorporated in a subsidiary role into the colonial government. It was taken for granted that even the limited number planned for were regarded as a potential threat to traditional authority,⁶⁸ and Cameron undertook to guard the position of the chiefs against "assaults that may be made against it by Europeanised natives seeking to obtain political

67. Cameron, My Tanganyika Service, p.127.

68. Education in British Tropical Africa, p.4.

control of the country."⁶⁹ Preservation of the tribal community was essential for the maintenance of government through the agency of the re-organised chiefly system.⁷⁰ Popular political interest was to be directed into local affairs within the pseudo-traditionalism of indirect rule,⁷¹ or indirect administration as Cameron preferred to call it. Indiscriminate education was seen as a threat to public order and stability.⁷² At an educational conference at Kipalapala, Sir Philip Mitchell warned the missionaries against educating "an army of jobless men open to bolshevik and xenophobic ideas; the first social quality was absolute loyalty to authority, especially to European authority".⁷³ The large number of village, or bush schools as they were deprecatingly called, had no obvious place in government planning. They put larger numbers of pupils than could be absorbed by the administration within reach of skills and ideas which had nothing to do with traditional society. The Director of Education in 1925 referred to "The sinister danger of the multitude of bush schools conducted by teachers without training and

69. Cameron, D., 'Address to European Parliamentary Association', London 1927, qb Furley, 'Education and chiefs', p.62.

70. Memorandum on Native Policy in East Africa, Command paper 3573 (HMSO 1930).

71. Education in British Tropical Africa, p.4.

72. 'Registration of Bush Schools', NAT Secretariat file 22463.

73. Conference report in Petit Echo (1928) pp.91-2.

inadequately supervised."⁷⁴ The administration would have liked to have limited them by refusing registration but lacked the power to do so.⁷⁵

A good deal of feeling went into the dispute over the survival of village schools. Rather illogically, their defenders, whose surest ground was freedom of religion, based their case largely on their secular educational value, and tended to depict them as making available a liberal range of knowledge while teaching a respect for traditions and customs.⁷⁶ This picture was, to say the least, flattering, as the Director of Education was quick to point out.⁷⁷ On the other hand, the Educational Department wrote them off a little too easily: "Nearly all... can be classed as evangelistic meeting places often only staffed by a peripatetic mission catechist sometimes unable to read and write."⁷⁸ It might have been more logical of the critics to claim civil control of them by emphasising the teaching of secular subjects. The fear of the government was that they would disturb the rather static traditionalist society they needed to underpin indirect rule. Certainly the missionaries were less worried that schools might be a disruptive element in local society. They regarded the

74. 'Memo of Heads of Catholic Mission' NAT Secretariat file 23787.

75. 'Registration of Bush Schools', NAT Secretariat file 22463.

76. Byrne's memo, NAT Secretariat file 23787.

77. Ibid., Comments of Isherwood.

78. Isherwood to Chief Secretary, 15.11.34, NAT Secretariat file 22463.

spread of education and Christian ideals as desirable to replace traditional sanctions on behaviour which were gradually weakening in any case. If the school speeded up the process, so much the better. They did not separate secular and religious learning. To them a developing Christian society needed both religious beliefs and educated literary skills. They had little interest in helping to preserve and institutionalise, within a colonial system of administration, the influence of chiefs who had in many cases been unreceptive or hostile to their work. Thus they consistently opposed any limitation on the number of schools by the government. At the educational conference at Tabora in 1928, van Aken stated: "We (missionaries) cannot agree with the suggestion that the ideal for a system of African education should be based on employment censuses and forecast of economic development." While conceding that places in central schools and in higher education might be limited "that is not the case with village schools. We cannot withhold from the native that elementary school teaching which he wants absolutely for his all-round training."⁷⁹ The terms of the Mandate had nothing to say on education: they made only a few general references to social and economic development. All the same, the government lacked the legal power to limit bush schools.⁸⁰ In 1936 Governor MacMichael consulted the

79. Tabora, DB. NAT.

80. NAT, Secretariat file 22463.

Colonial Office on whose advice a new definition of the term 'school' was drawn up to exclude bush schools from the jurisdiction of the Educational Department. They were simply to be left to the agency of the missions though it was recognised that a proportion had been initiated by local village communities, even where the teacher was supplied by the mission.⁸¹

In the decade after the first world war, the local demands for popular elementary education went far beyond the facilities made available by the plans of the colonial government. There was no adequate machinery by which the demand could be articulated in political terms, by Africans, whether in Unyamwezi or elsewhere in Tanganyika. It was expressed by the foundation of village schools, the requests for catechists and the enthusiasm of the pupils. The missions had an identity of interest with the movement beyond the limited projects of the government. For the missionaries, secular and religious education were not separate but aspects of an integral training for the emergent society of the future. While the Christian innovative element in Unyamwezi was not large numerically, it was a group of special social significance, representing many of the leaders of the future. With the development of schooling, some of the impetus was to be incorporated into the government programme and eventually the professionalism of government

81. Ibid.

and voluntary aided schools set them apart as the prime model for popular educational ambition. The village schools, remaining largely unchanged, were overshadowed and appeared very rudimentary in standard. The passage of time has obscured the revolutionary change they originally represented in local Nyamwezi society.

While the educational system slowly developed, there was a corresponding decline in the respect paid to traditional authority. Despite the attempts of the colonial government to maintain traditional institutions, there was a fundamental incompatibility between the role of the chiefship ritually expressing the requirements of a small agricultural community, and its representation of a secular centralised bureaucracy. This was true from the very beginning of colonial rule even if the practical implications were realised in practice over a longer period of time. Shortly after the arrival of Emin Pasha with the first German groups in Unyamwezi, a group of Ngoni were visiting Bukombe, where they had once been settled, in order to make offerings on the graves of their ancestors. They met with a very unfriendly reception and the Nkosi, Mpangalala, decided to teach the Bakombe a lesson. From Tabora, the German Bezirkschef wrote to the Fathers at Ushiroambo asking them to warn the Ngoni that he would send an expedition against the Ngoni if the peace were broken. Lombard found that Mpangalala was not to be deterred easily: the Ngoni had been deeply offended and the diviners assured them of ancestral encouragement. Lombard eventually dissuaded Mpangalala from war by describing the political

interest and military power of the Germans, concluding with the telling phrase, 'Ce sont eux les manes - they are the ancestors now'.⁸² Even at a time when the cultural, fiscal and administrative machinery of colonial rule had not yet been set up, it had become more important to please a German officer a hundred and sixty miles away than to satisfy the expectations of the chief's own mizimu.

Military conquest was only a starting point. Overruling decisions of distant officers developed into regular visits of inspection. Interference in the relationships between chiefs was followed by the appointment of chiefs with slender rights of succession and the imposition of taxation and work under the guise of customary levies. The introduction of indirect rule by Governor Cameron caused boundaries to be redrawn, and old established orders of precedence to be inverted. Magengati, the senior of the Sagali chiefdoms, was absorbed into Mhuge; the ntemi of Unyanyembe was placed over the mother chiefdom of Ngulu; wanangwa were made chiefs in Msalala and some chiefdoms eliminated. The ntemi's counsel from military leaders, diviners and court officials had to take second place to the advice he received from the district officer. In German times, the word ntemi was sometimes translated roi or king - a title which seemed to the colonial rulers not to impinge on the supreme claims of the Kaiser. But when Tanganyika became British,

82. Ushirombo D., 7.6.91, TBA.

and George the Fifth's title took precedence, the secular title of chief, implying appointed authority over people, replaced the mystical title of king, symbolising supreme hereditary rights over the land. Only the most traditionally minded of his subjects preserved an undiminished view of divine kingship as a variety of factors combined to reduce his prestige.

Disputed succession, especially that of a candidate who has not in the strict line of matrilineal succession, might cause numbers of people to leave the area. At Ndala, for instance, most of the royal family left after Luziga became chief. When caravans and trade were the main source of income from outside, their participants still maintained a close connection with their chiefdom of origin. They organised themselves in local groups and on their return gave presents to the chief. But plantation contracts were for many months, work was organised in inter-tribal units, and the common language was Swahili. Work at the coast might very well lessen the individual's identity with his chiefdom. Having the support of an outside agency of government, a chief could use his power at the expense of his subjects in ways which had not previously been possible, notably in the imposition of taxes and extra work such as house-building. In pre-colonial Unyamwezi, the chief levied only a small tribute of a few kilograms of grain on his subjects, although impositions on visitors and traders might be comparatively heavy. At Ushiroombo a kilanda or

bark basket of sorghum was presented to the chief each year in a ceremonial procession. A comparable amount was paid in other chiefdoms. The amount was quite small, being used by the chief for brewing beer and offering hospitality. A reserve was kept in case of a bad year but this was never enough to feed more than a small part of the chiefdom. In addition, each adult undertook a couple of days work each year on the chief's fields.⁸³ The taxes of the colonial government were many times that amount. The taxes for Tabora district rupees levied at the rate of at first one, later three rupees per house. In addition, the collection was merciless. A day's lateness in payment could result in the subject being chained up and forced to pay an extra rupee.⁸⁴ One tax collector arrived at Ushirombo with a hundred and fifty women and old people in his caravan whom he had taken as hostages against their relatives' debts.⁸⁵ In 1910 when a severe famine in Bulungwa forced people to eat leaves and fungus growths, the tax demands were not mitigated: those unable to pay were obliged to leave home to work on the railway even though it was the season for planting new crops.⁸⁶

83. Van Aken, A., 'Enquiry into traditional methods of taxation', ms., 17.6.24 and Grun to Leonard, Itaga, 17.6.24, both being in response to a request by an administrative officer, Donne, TBA 324.010. Fieldnotes: Fuloriani Doto, Ndala, Augustine Ndega, Ushirombo.

84. Tabora D., 14.4.02, TBA.

85. Ushirombo D., 29.11.11, TBA.

86. Pfeffermann to MM, Bulungwa, -.12.09. MdA 202(1910), p.364; Bulungwa D., 10.1.10, TBA.

After the first world war, the administration was no less harsh. In 1920 the tax collector set fire to a hundred homes in Lunzewe, and in Bulungwa, finding no one about at his arrival, he burnt down many more.⁸⁷

In German times, chiefs had only partial responsibility for collecting taxes, but after the first world war they were fully responsible for those taxes due to the Native Authority. In Unyanyembe the head tax was made payable in groundnuts, twenty-two kilos being the nominal levy. Unlike the traditional levy, the groundnuts were not for the personal use of the chief but were sold and there was an obvious temptation to use inaccurate measures in collecting the tax or levy taxes on people not strictly obliged to pay, such as unmarried women or youths.⁸⁸ The exaction of a few surplus kilos was an injustice the individual could do little about and complaints might bring victimisation in the form of extra labour. The catechists were almost the only people in a strong enough position to make formal charges at the boma without fear of reprisal. The construction of roads and government demands for porters required the services of men often for many weeks at a time, and chiefs were frequently required to provide them. When the traditional obligations of service had been light, the exemption of the chief's

87. Ushirombo D., 7.11.20, TBA.

88. There are numerous references in the diaries during the early 1920s to over-zealous tax collecting. See also R.A. Ndala 1921-2, M.G.; Gass to MM, Ushirombo 4.2.22, M.G.; Tabora D., 30.8.24, TBA.

favourites had been a minor inequality, but in colonial times the selective exemption of certain sections of the chiefdom, especially religious groups, became a source of considerable discontent to other members of the chiefdom. There were numerous complaints that the Moslem associates of the chiefs received favoured treatment.⁸⁹ On the other hand, Christians seem to have done a smaller share than those who had no spokesmen.⁹⁰ The end result was disharmony and divisive resentments.

To what degree the authority and prestige of the chiefs declined varied from place to place. But it is clear that the involvement of the chief with a colonial administration reduced the unity and community of purpose which he symbolised. The religious position of the chief depended on his being a symbol of common welfare and increasingly the control of the environment was seen to be patently beyond him. The cult practice of making offerings for rain and protection to his ancestors continued until Independence but there was an increasing element of non-conformity. Certain other practices disappeared more rapidly. Cults attached to specific stones, trees or other inanimate objects faded away earlier than highly personalised cults. Although oral sources and missionary records associate the decline with the spread of Christianity,

89. Slegers' Report on Islam in Ndala, 15.6.13, TBA 715.000; Fieldnotes: Petro Kapuga, Ndono, Paulo Kasagenya, Ndono, and others.

90. Fieldnotes: Philipo Kuloga and others, Itaga.

there were many other factors. At the time the first railway in Unyamwezi was being built, a Moravian missionary noted the changes in the younger generation's beliefs.

'They have built bridges, they have blasted rocks, they have sunk wells. Impressions such as these are overpowering. The past appears almost valueless to them and the young people in many instances make fun of it... When, for example, a member of the household of the local sultan, in accordance with ancient custom, covered his head on beholding the Vupanda, which is the sacred mountain near Ipole, an act of fear or of reverence for the spirits of his ancestors, people laughed at him as a representative of the 'old' religion and called him a fool.'⁹¹

Practices connected with planting and cultivating had depended perhaps less on convinced belief than on unwillingness to risk starvation. The presence of alternative supplies of food, made possible by cheaper transport and government or missionary distribution in the case of famine, reduced the feeling of total dependence from year to year on a particular set of family fields. The cult of mizimu, was weakened by mobility and dispersal, but because the family was still a powerful unit, it was to last longer and show some adaptation. It has been suggested that the cult was highly ritualised and unverbaised.⁹² Modern descriptions can easily give an illusion of systematic belief which may have developed only in response to verbal challenges. Questions raised by catechists were

91. MPA September 1912, p.366.

92. See chapter two.

damaging to the cult of mizimu not simply because of their content, but merely by being asked. How could the mizimu interfere with their descendants and where did they get their power? Why should Livelelo permit them to harm people? The catechists proposed alternative explanations of ill health, failure of crops, and other natural disasters. Nhunde's mother fled with him to Uyui when he was a baby because his father, a favourite mwanangwa of Mtinginya of Bussongo, was accused of bewitching his chief. After repeated accusations, Mtinginya was convinced and had Mhaliga killed. At the time, said Nhunde,⁹³ no one questioned Mhaliga's responsibility for the ruler's illnesses, but after becoming a Christian Nhunde regarded the matter simply as a case of fitina or jealousy on the part of the other wanangwa. Reinterpretations of this nature struck at the roots of traditional beliefs.

Two changes in traditional cults as they sought to readjust to the changing situation are especially significant. One was the spread of the Buswezi, a dance society which meets on the occasion of a member's sickness. Its use of face markings and blindfolds makes it unique in Unyamwezi. Some of its more promiscuous practices and unsociable behaviour arouse a good deal of hostility in Unyamwezi among non-members whether Christian or not, and many men object strongly to their wives or children joining. In eastern Unyamwezi, it used to be

93. Fieldnotes: Adelhardi Nhunde, Ndala.

associated with slaves and membership carried little prestige or political influence.⁹⁴ In Usumbwa, people in positions of authority were members on the same level as anyone else and one of its functions may have been to provide a counterweight to established political power. Buswezi originated in the West Lake kingdoms and spread to Usumbwa at some time which antedates historical memory. In the second half of the nineteenth century it appeared in a few places in Unyamwezi, at Sundi's chiefdom in Msalala where it had been introduced by his mother,⁹⁵ in the Ussongo area where the first members were prisoners of war left by Mirambo,⁹⁶ and in Ndala where Sumwa traders married into the chief's family.⁹⁷ In Uyui, Buswezi became popular in the time of Kapigawashi in the first quarter of the present century.⁹⁸ Previous ntemis there had opposed it, but in colonial times an increasing number of chiefs in southern and eastern Unyamwezi were members, including Kapigawashi of Uyui, Kalunde of Unanyembe, and Luziga of Ndala. Traditionally, membership required descent from a person originating in the west, i.e. Usumbwa or Urundi. After the first world war, restrictions on membership were changed so that people who had no

94. Fieldnotes: Magohe Madinda, Tongi, head of Baswezi there; Mfumu Luziga, Tongi.

95. Gosseau to MM, Msalala, -.10.94, M.G.

96. Fieldnotes: Mfumu Luziga, Tongi.

97. Fieldnotes: Caroli Maywili, Ndala.

98. Fieldnotes: Hamisi Maganga, Isenguzya.

ancestral connection with the west could join.⁹⁹ The spread of Buswezi in the south and east of Unyamwezi reflected a number of changes in society: the decline of chiefly authority which had opposed it, the defiant assertion of certain practices which were condemned by missionaries, and the decline of the mizimu cult in families where it was proving increasingly difficult to maintain a unanimous adherence to traditional cults. Buswezi's inter-chiefdom character perhaps helped it to survive and flourish when societies and cults organised on a more local basis were declining.

Another defensive change in traditional cults was the development of a more theoretical content and apologetic. Many of the early visitors to Unyamwezi asked questions and wrote descriptions of traditional beliefs. Although quite detailed descriptions were made of the rites, little verbalised belief was recorded. While the writers had not been there for long and were not trying to be comprehensive, it was at a time when rites and cults were practised publicly without inhibition or interference. The cult may well have been less verbalised. The development of one particular concept can be traced, namely, the mizimu's intercessory power, which seems to have been developed to explain and justify their role to Christians. None of the earliest prayers recorded by the

99. Northcote, Notes on Baswezi in Tabora. DB. NAT. Itaga D., 20.10.25; Mlisho Magaka, Mhuge; M. Kasundwa, Mhuge.

LMS at Urambo, the Moravians before the first world war, or the early White Fathers contain any idea of mediation.¹⁰⁰ Yet after forty years of missionary activity in Unyamwezi, Bosch writes of the mizimu 'praying for the living' and Blohm records a prayer, 'My ancestors, ask a favour of Mulungu for me'.¹⁰¹ A few present-day informants also stated that the mizimu pray to Liwelelo for rain and good health for their descendants. All of them, however, live in the neighbourhood of a mission and informants living further away never gave this explanation.

'Paganism is sick.... it is to be hoped that the Banyamwezi do not mummify themselves in their old superstitions', remarked Trudel in 1927.¹⁰² While such a remark is hardly sympathetic to traditional cults, it does suggest that, in one observer's view, traditional practices were dying out at a time when schooling was beginning to spread. Arguably, religious change has come less by people adopting new ideas and practices than by younger generations growing up with different aims and opportunities. In the past, caravan porterage and trade appears to have been the principal outlet for youthful energies and enterprise

100. For instance, Hutley D., 1.11.81, Mitchell library; Lobner, Seibt and Buttner, 'Fragebogenbeantwortung', in Gottberg, *Unyamwezi, Quellensammlung*, pp.126-225; Levesque to MM., Ukune, p.12.83 in *MDA* 51 (1884) pp.174-5; Bukune D., 12.5.84 CT 2374 (1883) p.267; Hauttecoeur to MM, Kipalapala 1.1.86, C20-149.

101. Bösch, *Les Banyamwezi*, p.45. Blohm,^W*Die Nyamwezi* (Hamburg 1933) ii, p.192.

102. Reichard, *Deutsch Ost Afrika*, p.365.

and enabled many young people to escape for months at a time from the tight small world of subsistence farming dominated by the elders. Reichard thought that the Nyamwezi paid less regard to old people than did other peoples he had come across.¹⁰² Such a judgement is impressionistic but may not have been entirely without foundation. Movement of population is characterised especially by the younger people moving away and setting up their homes elsewhere and a common feature of Unyamwezi in recent times has been the predominance of old people in some localities and the predominance of the young in others. Travel and emigration was indulged in especially by the young. It would be reasonable to suppose that the practice of travelling to or working at the coast implied or created an unusual independence of family elders. One informant ran away to the coast at the age of twelve because he was bored with minding the goats. (It was not uncommon for boys of that age to travel in the caravans carrying the cooking pots and other small burdens.) Children who attend school are said to be 'unable to understand the idea of mizimu'. The reduction of mizimu offerings was to make children less familiar with what they represented. Young people being healthier had less fear of illness than the elderly and were more difficult to convince that magical measures were necessary for their protection. They were less likely

102. Reichard, Deutsch Ost Afrika, p.365.

to be involved in canonically irregular marriage situations. It was among the younger generation that most of the early converts to Christianity were found.

1928 marked the fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of the first White Fathers' caravan at Tabora and of the first mission building in Unyamwezi, that of Uyui, by the CMS. The Church had established a permanent place in Unyamwezi. There were ten thousand Catholics and most of Unyamwezi was within reach of one of the seven mission stations of the White Fathers. In addition, there were four Moravian missions with some two thousand more Christians. A number of events make 1928 a convenient point at which to leave off this account. A new bishop, Michaud, was appointed to succeed Léonard, and the first Nyamwez : priests were ordained. From the first, it had been the policy of the White Fathers to provide African priests with an education equivalent to that of their European counterparts and they had started their schooling at Ushirombo twenty years before, completing their final years of theology in the new seminary of Kipalapala on the site of Hauteceur's mission. The same year a catechist school was opened to provide a full-time two years course. A new impetus was given to education policies by the visit of Archbishop Hinsley as Apostolic Visitor, a Central school being opened on the first day of 1929. In a male-dominated history, little has been said about the work of either

the White Sisters or of the groups of women catechists. Gerboin remarked years before that they made little noise and did much work. Several attempts had been made to establish a congregation of sisters in the vicariate but none succeeded until Trudel established the Daughters of Mary in 1932. In 1928, the future institutional leadership of the Catholic Church was emerging in the persons of catechists, sisters and priests, but their story lies in the next fifty years of Christianity in Unyamwezi.

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3. White Fathers, Paris
4. White Sisters
5. Archdiocese of Tabora
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7. Kahama-Mbulu mission
8. Ndala mission
9. National Archives of Tanzania
10. University of Dar es Salaam library
11. Moravian Church
12. Church Missionary Society
13. Congregational Council for World Mission
14. United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
15. Westminster Archdiocesan archives
16. British Library
17. Public Record Office
18. Rhodes House, Oxford
19. Royal Geographical Society
20. Bibliothèque Africaine, Brussels
21. Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Brussels
22. Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris
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Other unpublished material

Periodicals containing primary source material

Maps containing primary source material

Published books and articles

Oral informants

ARCHIVAL SOURCES1. Archives of the White Fathers, Rome.

Padri Bianchi, via Aurelia 269, Roma.

A. Manuscript material(i) Correspondence

The original headquarters of the White Fathers, known as the Maison Mère (MM), were at Algiers. In the early 1950's, the archives were transferred to a new Generalate in Rome (M.G.). The classification of all the documents according to a new and detailed plan has been proceeding steadily for some years but is not yet complete. At the time I was working on the papers relating to Unyamwezi, the material belonging to the lifetime of Cardinal Lavigerie had been reclassified and the new file numbers are given in the footnotes.

The material belonging to the term of office of Bishop Livinhac as Superior General (1892-1922) is in an older and less complex system. The documents for the succeeding period (1923-31), are all to be found in one very large dossier. References to letters in the footnotes therefore contain details of correspondent, place of origin and date. This information makes it possible to trace any particular document within either the old filing system or the new classification as it is introduced.

(a) 1878-1891

C10 1-73 General

- 1-7 Mémoire secret et documents ayant servi à sa composition.
 8-20 Missions d'Afrique Central et le St. Siège.
 21-73 Lavigerie correspondance aux missionnaires de l'Equateur et Zanzibar.

C10 74-218 General

- 74-114 Auxiliaires.
 115-163. Joubert.
 166-196 Relations avec autorites politiques et consulaires.
 197-218 Questions diverses.

C11 1-32 Caravanes

- 1-4 D'Alger a Zanzibar: journaux de Charmetant, Deniaud, Girault.
 5-15 Equateur caravanes: organisation, itinéraires, notes et avis.
 16-17 Journaux de Livinhac et Girault 1878-9.
 18 Journal de Deniaud 1878-80.
 19-32 Deuxième caravane: journaux et lettres.

C11 33-58 Caravanes

- 33-4 Levêsqe Journal 29.9.79 - 1.8.80.
 35-48 2^eme et 3^eme caravanes: journaux et lettres.
 49-58 4^eme - 10^eme caravanes: journaux et lettres.

C12 1-257 Correspondence de Zanzibar.

C13 1-421 Correspondance de Mgr Livinhac 1878-91.

C14 1-388 Nyanza-Uganda 1879-92

This file includes correspondence of Lourdel, Giraud, Girault, Levesque and Combarieu from Tabora, Ukune, and Bukumbi.

C14-389-593 Nyanza-Uganda, 1879-92.

This file includes correspondence from Blanc, Couillaud, Denoit, Brard, Lombard, Schynse and Barbot from Tabora and Bukumbi.

C16 1-274 Tanganyika, 1879-1892.

This file includes the diary of Deniaud, and letters of Deniaud and Guillet from Tabora.

C20 1-256 Pro-vicariat de l'Unyanyembe, 1881-92

- 1-53 Decreta S. Sedis.
 Rapports de l'Abbe Guyot.
 L'achat d'une maison a Tabora.
 'Histoire de l'orphelinage' par Hauttecoeur.
 Journal de Lourdel avril-juin 1884.
 Correspondance de Girault et Gerboin.
- 54-77 Correspondance de Ndaburu, Tabora et Kipalapala.
 78-202 Correspondance de Hauttecoeur.
 203-255 " des autres pères de Tabora et
 Kipalapala 1881-90.
 256 Correspondance de Ndaburu et Tabora 1881-3;
 Ndaburu journal mars-juin 1881.

C20 257-363 Pro-vicariat de Nyassa, 1881-92.

This file includes 9th caravan diary of Depaillat, Zanzibar to Tabora C20-298, and a letter from van Oost at Kipalapala 17.1.91, C20-299.

(b) 1892-1922

- Dossier 99 Correspondance de Gerboin et Léonard.
- Dossier 100 Rapports Annuels 1893-7, 1900-1, 1906, 1908, 1917.
 Reponse a SCPF questionnaire 1921.
 Quelques questions de pastorale pratique en pays de Noirs. (sic)
 Bafumu: rapport de Mgr. Léonard 1922.
 Remarques sur le rapport de Mgr. Léonard.
- Circulaires de Mgr Gerboin.
 Circulaires de Mgr Leonard.
 Correspondance SCPF.
 Varia.
- Dossier 101 Correspondance: postes B-R.
- Dossier 102 Correspondance: posts S-U.
 Correspondance des Superieurs Regionaux.

(c) 1923-31

Dossier 207 Tabora: Omnia.

(This includes correspondance from individual posts, the SCPF, civil authorities, Bishops Léonard and Michaud, and the bishops' circular letters.)

(ii) Diaries and journals

Most of the early diaries and journals, including the caravan diaries, the diaries of Ndaburu, Tabora, Kipalapala, Mranda-Mweri, Bukune, and Ussambiro, and the personal journals of Hauttecoeur, Joubert, Levêsqe, Lourdel, Moinet and Deniaud, were sent in instalments to Algiers and are classified with the other correspondence. A few early diaries and journals are in continuous form, Zanzibar (1882-1914), Gerboin's manuscript copies of the Tabora and Kipalapala diaries to 1889, Girault's journal (1882-1890). Microfilm copies from the posts founded after 1890 are also available.

(iii) Other manuscript material:

- 'Notes sur Tabora', 1922-4. 911.1
- 'Unyanyembe-Tabora 1886-1940' - a book containing all the appointments and movements of staff.
- v.d.Burgt, P., 'Fondation de Msalala' 1893, 13 pp.
- Capus A., 'Usumbwa et ses habitants', 1898, 40 pp. 803.11
- " 'Essai sur les moeurs et coutumes des Basumbwa', n.d. 244 pp. 803.11
- " 'Ushirombo: une capitale dans l'Usumbwa', 1896, 8 pp.
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- Guilleme, Mgr, 'Souvenirs de Tabora', 1927, 11 pp.
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- " 'Missions des Pères Blancs en Afrique Oriental', 130 pp. 282.11.
- CIPA 'Tables d'enquete sur les moeurs et coutumes indigènes: tribu des Banyamwezi'. 1952. 552 pp.

B. Printed Sources

The Chronique Trimestrielle (CT), was issued quarterly from January 1879 until October 1903 when its name was changed to Chronique. Subsequently issues appeared ten or eleven times a year until 1906. Like the Petit Echo, Rapports Annuels and Notices Nécrologiques, it was a publication for internal circulation in the White Fathers.

The earliest Rapports Annuels (R.A.) have survived only in manuscript form (see Dossier 100 above). Between 1895 and 1905, edited versions were published in the Missions d'Afrique, and from 1903 to 1905 in the Chronique Trimestrielle. From 1905 onwards, the Rapports Annuels was a separate publication.

The Petit Echo began publication in 1912 and still continues.

The Notices Nécrologiques was begun in 1939. Previously obituaries had been included with the Rapports Annuels.

The Missions d'Algiers (MdA) began as a quarterly and became a bi-monthly in January 1887. In January 1895 its name was changed to Missions d'Afrique. The division into volumes is inconsistent as is its pagination. Although not reserved to members of the White Fathers (it was designed primarily for benefactors and subscribers), complete copies outside White Fathers' archives are rare.

A large number of letters were reproduced in the Chronique Trimestrielle and the Missions d'Afrique. Some of the manuscript originals of the letters found there no

longer exist. Where they have survived, comparison shows that editing generally took the form of the selection of long passages. Apart from minor stylistic improvements, few textual changes of any kind were made in the extracts.

A few of the early diaries and letters were published as books without ascription to any particular author. They are listed in the section of the bibliography dealing with publications under the initials P.B. Generally they have been heavily edited, sometimes interpolations being made in important passages.

2. Archives of the White Fathers, Nyegezi.

Regional's House, P.O. Box 1472, Mwanza.

Diaries of Bukumbi and Sumve missions.

Council books of Ndala (1907-1935).
Msala and Kahama. (1907-32).

Cahier de l'Economat pour l'Ouganda 1879-87.

'Histoire et difficultés qui se sont produits a Ndala et dans le pays d'alentour.' ms.

van Vlijmen, F., 'Historical notes on Unyanyembe'.
" " 'Origins of the Archdiocese of Tabora'.

Betbeder, P., 'History of Buzinza,' ms.

3. Archives of the White Fathers, Paris.

Pères Blancs, 11 rue Roger Verlome, Paris.

Avon, 'A propos du cinquantenaire de la mission de Ndala',
ms. 1946.

" 'Le vicariat de Tabora hier et aujourd'hui', ms. 1946.

4. Archives of the White Sisters (WSA)

Frascati, Italy.

- A 5030/1 Visitation reports of Mère Claver 1905 and Mère M. Quodvultdeus 1910.
 /2 Lettre de M. Marie-Salome aux premiers Soeurs partants a l'Equateur, 6.6.94.
 /4 Diary of White Sisters, Ushirombo.
 /5 Ushirombo, Historique 1894-1918.
 /7 Registers of the Orphanage and refuge 1894-1946.
- A 5064/1 Visitation reports of Mère M. Quodvultdeus 1910 and Mère St Jacques 1920, 1922 and 1923.
 /2 Correspondence et documents
 /3 Rapports annuels 1923 and 1924.
 /4 Diary of the White Sisters, Tabora.
 /5 'L'esclavage a Tabora, 1907-22'. ms.
- A 7109/A Correspondence with Gerboin 1901-12
 /B Correspondence with Bishop Leonard 1912-25.

5. Archives of the Archdiocese of Tabora (TBA)

Archbishop's House, Tabora.

A. The correspondence, ethnological studies, memoranda etc. have been classified under an elaborate system having several hundred headings. The most useful material for historical purposes up to 1928 proved to be in the following files:

- 129.000 SCPF, incoming
 230.005 Conferences of the Ordinaries of Tanganyika to 1928
 233.100 Education department
 303.000 Bishops' letters, incoming
 310.000 Bishop Gerboin's letters, outgoing
 310.000.1-2 Bishop Leonard's letters, outgoing
 324.010 Court cases
 325.000 Pastoral

- 325.002 Pastoral books
 .005 Pastoral cases
 355.101 Tabora mission
 .104 Bulungwa mission
 .106 Kipalapala mission
 .107 Lububu mission
 .108 Ndala mission
 .109 Ndonno mission
 .111 Msalala mission
 .112 Usongo mission
 .115 Ushirombo mission
 .120 Itaga mission
 361.000.1-2 Ethnology
 419.000 Itaga Seminary
 .005 Ushirombo Seminary
 465.102 W. F. regional superiors
 .465 W. F. Maison Mere
 715.000 Islam

B. The diaries of the following posts:

Tabora 1882-3, Kipalapala, Ushirombo, Msalala, Ndala,
 Bulungwa, Ussambiro, Tabora 1900 on, Itaga, Kahama,
 Lububu.

C. Other items:

Gerboin, Diary of a journey to the Chapter 1893.
 Cottino, Grammaire de kinyamwezi.
 Turgeon, Vocabulaire kinyamwezi/francais.
 Bösch, Morale des Banyamwezi.

6. Ushirombo mission archives

Coutumier de l'Ushirombo.

Livre de statistiques.

Cartes des visites.

Letters from Vicars apostolic.

Letters from government officials.

V. Martin: 'Moeurs et coutumes des Basumbwa' fascicules
2 et 4 (eight exercise books of notes).

Ussembe, Leon, 'Magambo ge Bashiroambo écrit par un témoin
oculaire'.

7. Kahama-Mbulu mission archives

Livre de statistiques 1897 on.

Delon, Miacho ya Shitambo sha kinyamwezi (Offerings to the
ancestors), kinyamwezi text.

8. Ndalal mission archives

Correspondence of Slegers.

Correspondence with government officers.

Correspondence with Bishop Léonard.

Account books June 1912 - October 1929.

9. National Archives of Tanzania

India St., Dar es Salaam

Regional Books: Tabora, Mwanza, Kigoma, Morogoro.

District Books: of Biharamulo, Kahama, Manyoni, Maswa,
Morogoro, Mpanda, Mwanza, Nzega, Shinyanga, Singida,

Tabora, and Ukerewe.

Both Regional and District books are on microfilm.

German files:

G9/1-78 Kirch und Schulwesen,
 A/ Missionswesen,
 B/ Sonstige, Kirchensachen, Islam.

Early series of Secretariat files 1919-27

Tabora District annual reports 1921 1733/5/5(3)
 1922 1733/21 .
 Kahama District annual report 1925 1733/20/105.
 Shinyanga District annual report 1925 1733/20/105.
 Ufipa District annual report 1919/20 1733/4-12.

Secretariat files

Among a large number consulted, those with relevant material were,

S1 23787 African Communities, Memo by heads of Catholic mission, Education of.
 S2 22463 Survey of sub-grade bush schools.
 V1 19303 Baswezi society.
 V10 42887 Nyamwezi law and custom.
 V11 10829 Traditional rites connected with Sukuma chiefs.

10. University of Dar es Salaam Library

The Cory Papers are well known and much of their content has been used before. Relevant material is contained in the following, Nos. 41) Bantu religion of Tanganyika, 42) Bantu songs, 43) Banyamwezi, 45) Baswezi,

46) Bazambo, 81) The evolution of chieftainship in Usukuma, 84) A few remarks about witchcraft, 105) The initiation and organisation of the Sukuma - Nyamwezi secret societies, 138) Migao, 148) Nyamwezi law and custom, 153) Porters in East Africa, 191) Sukuma secret societies, 226) Unyanyemba chiefdom: report on its political structure, 236) Witchcraft medicines.

Mwami Mkala Ndenga Kizozo's 'Habari za Wasumbwa' proved much more informative.

11. Moravian Church archives, Tabora

Files of correspondence with the government 1917-24.

Extracts from the Moravian Periodical Accounts 1897-1925, being copies from the archives of the Moravian Church at Muswell Hill, London.

12. Archives of the Church Mission Society. (CMS)

157, Waterloo Rd., London S.E.1.

Apart from the mission of Uyui, there were four CMS foundations in Usukuma at Msalala Ndogo, Ussambiro, Kaduma and Nasa. All the letters and reports originating from these foundations were read as were the accounts written by missionaries passing through Unyamwezi en route to Uganda.

The Nyamwezi and Sukuma stations initially belonged to the Nyanza mission and letters dated from before 1885 are

classified with Nyanza mission documents, C/A6 and G3/A6. During 1885, they were transferred to the East Africa mission and subsequent papers are in section G3/A5.

C/A6 Nyanza mission

C/A6/L Letter book.

C/A6/M1&2 Mission books (2 vols) recording letters received.

C/A6/N Nyanza sub-committee book. (This committee sat in London.)

C/A6/O Original letters and papers 1876-88.

G3/A6 Nyanza mission

G3/A6/L Letter book.

G3/A6/O Original papers 1880-5.

G3/A6/P Précis book.

G3/A5 East Africa Mission (later, Kenya mission)

G3/A5/L Letter book.

G3/A5/O Original papers, 1880-1934.

G3/A5/P Précis book.

Numbers added to the class number indicate the year it was received and the number of the letter, e.g. G3/A6/O/1882/27.

Also available at the CMS archives are copies of :

The Church Missionary Intelligencer N.S.1-13 (1876-88)

which contains edited correspondence - in a few cases, the originals of the published letters do not exist;

The Church Missionary Gleaner 3-15 (1876-88);

The Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society (1876-88) containing the annual reports.

13. Archives of the Congregational Council for World
Mission (LMS)

These papers are now kept at the School of
Oriental and African Studies, Malet St., London W.C.1.

All the letters and journals of the LMS missions
at Urambo and near Lake Tanganyika were read.

Central Africa (CA)

Incoming letters Boxes 1-10 (1876 to 1898)

Reports Box 1

Journals boxes 1-3 include the journals of Dodgshun,
Griffith, Hore, Southon, Williams,
Wookey.

Personal box 6 W.C. Willoughby papers.

14. United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel

15 Tufton St, London S. W. 1.

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Archbishop's House, Ambrosden Ave, London S.W.1.

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German East Africa', TNR 63 (1964), pp. 207-12.
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ORAL INFORMANTS

Ali Waziri, Bugabe. His father was an official of Isike. He claims an age far in excess of any other informant and described the passage of Livingstone's body through Tabora to the coast, the construction of the mission of Kipalapala in 1883, and Isike's war with von Prince in which he says he took part. Much of his subsequent life was spent at the coast with the customs and excise department.

Stephano Bundala and Anatoli Shilinde, Itaga. Grandsons of Ibrahimu Kibagulu, the first Christian of the area, who had been baptised in Uganda.

Matias Chasama, Ngaya. As a boy, he was a catechist of Bringuier (i.e. before 1907). He went to the seminary at Ushiroombo in 1908 and was later a catechist for many years.

Fuloriani Doto, Ndala. Two of his brothers were outstanding catechists of Ndala. About seventy-five years old.

Mikaeli Gagwa, Ngaya. A son of the famous mwanangwa of Ngaya. About seventy years old. He was interviewed with his neighbour Msalenge Bundala.

Hasani, Tabora. The son of a trader who brought his mother from Uganda. He was born in the time of Wali Sef ibn Saad. Shortly before the first world war, he attended the Moravian school in Tabora despite the opposition of his father.

Kamsekwa Hulanje and Philipo Kuloga, Itaga. Both elderly farmers.

Joseph Igombe, Ndala. About eighty years of age. He attended the German school at Iyombo and was later a

catechist at Busongo.

Mgabe Kagito, Masimba. As mgabe, he has an important role to play in the ceremonial enthronement of the ntemi of Unyanyembe.

Fr John Kaholwe, Iboja. The son of Matulino, catechist of Namabuye, Ushirombo, mentioned in chapter 4.

Kapandabumela Yegela and his wife, Nyamizi Shija, of Tongi. Both very knowledgeable about the mizimu cult.

Petro Kapuga, Ndonno. Originally from Usimbi, near Urambo, he was trained in the collection of flora for the expedition of Theodore Roosevelt. About ninety years old.

Paulo Kasagenya, Ndonno. He ran off to the coast at the age of about twelve years and became a Christian at Mombasa. After his return some years later, he became a catechist.

Fr Ambrozi Kaseka, Ndala. The grandson of a mwanangwa.

Mikaeli Kasundwa, Mhugo. A son of Ntemi Kaboto, he has filled several exercise books with his stories and traditions. About seventy years of age.

Caroli Kavula, Ushirombo. His father was a trader from Uganda. He spent his childhood in the mission village there and left for the coast after the death of Bishop Gerboin in 1912.

Knosi Stanislaus Kazimula, Mbogwe. The grandson of Mpangalala, he attended the chief's school at Tabora and became chief of the Ngoni in 1927, a position he abdicated in 1935. He was interviewed with Kenge, a Ngoni elder.

Joanni Kayogela, Tongi. Born before the Germans arrived, he was a porter during the first world war for

the Germans and the British armies. Later he became a catechist.

Kibete, the daughter of Mirambo. She was chief herself after the first world war.

Justini Kiluma, Ndala. He travelled three times to the coast as a porter. He was a member of ngoma (dance group) of Antoni Kasha - a blind man who became one of the first catechists at Ndala.

Mtemi Kitebi Mbikirwa of Ushetu.

Mwami Kizozo of Ushiroambo. Born about 1890, he was sent to Tanga school and became a teacher at the German government school at Tabora several years before the first world war. When the British authorities united the whole of Usumbwa into one chiefdom, he was appointed as mwami because of his exceptional abilities rather than the strength of his hereditary claims.

Sophia Koyo, Ndala. About eight-five years of age, she remembers the arrival of the first missionaries at Ndala.

Kululinda, Uyui, with Mtungila Buledi (a former mwanangwa). A recognised expert on Uyui history.

Ntemi Paulo Lembeli of Ulungwa with two elders

Ngayabuguni Mbanya and Clementi Kanyunyuyu, a catechist.

Lugungali Kabuzi, Ngaya. Born in Usui, he came to Ngaya at the age of about 14 years, near the beginning of the century.

Mwami Roberto Lumelezi of Mbogwe. As a small boy he was taken prisoner with his mother to Urambo by Mirambo's brother, Mpandashalo. They escaped to Ushiroambo where he helped make the bricks for the first mission building there in 1891. In the same year, he was chosen to succeed

at Mbogwe, an event recorded in the mission diary.

Andrea Luziga of Ihanga. He looks after the graves of the chiefs of Ndala.

Emile Luziga, Ndala. Born about 1892 in the Congo, he was brought to Unyamwezi as a slave and redeemed by the fathers at the beginning of the century.

Luziga Magagi, Tongi. An elderly mfumu, blind but still receiving clients daily.

Mhumbu Maboja, Simbo. Born before the arrival of the Germans, he went to the coast as a porter several times.

Paulo Madaleka, Buzwala. About seventy-five years old.

Joseph Madiba, Misha. He claims to have seen Isike and Mirambo.

Magohe Madinda, Tongi. Head of the Buswezi in Tongi and Ndala.

Hamisi Maganga, Uyui. A former mwanangwa, about seventy years old.

Paskali Maganga, Kahama-Mbulu. He had paid tax twice when the war started.

Fideli Maige, Ndala. Formerly a mwanangwa.

Mlisho Maige, Ndala. The elder brother of Fideli Maige. They are members of an old-established family in Ndala.

Fr Sylvester Malebusi, Ushetu. Born at Ushirombo in the chiefly family displaced by Shimasongo two centuries ago.

Malububu, Ushetu. Originally from Kilila, one of the earliest Arab settlements in Unyamwezi, now completely abandoned.

Marco Malusa, Ngaya. About eighty years of age; he was conscripted as a porter by the Belgians in the first world war.

Rev. Silasi Masala Kisimi, Ichemba. Now retired, he exercised his ministry for many years at the Moravian mission near Urambo.

Herman Masoni, Ushirombo. Born in Urundi, he joined the Belgian army and marched through Unyamwezi in 1916. He returned later to settle.

Masele Matagiri, Mbogwe. The shiheha, one of the seven principal officials of the chiefdom. About seventy years old.

Mayabele, Kibama. Head of the Bacoyangi - members of the snake guild. He claims to have seen Mirambo.

Raphael Mayunga, Mahama-Mbulu. About eighty years old.

Caroli Maywili, Ndala. Born in 1912, the year the railway arrived at Tabora.

Terezia Mbuga, Ndonu. Born at Igambilo near the Igombe river, she had had her first child when the first world war engulfed the area. She was married to Fideli Nsolo, a catechist of Itaga mission.

Mdira Buhopa, Ngaya. About ninety years old, he has a fund of stories about the chiefs of Msalala.

Melkior Muganda, Ushirombo. About ninety years old. He was taken away as a porter in the first world war.

Cleti Mhozya, Ushirombo. His father was a Congolese slave redeemed by Bishop Gerboin who then engaged him as his cook. He was himself a catechist for a time.

Nicolas Mhozia, Tabora. A Tusi, he worked on a sisal estate at the coast in German times and later lived at Ndonu.

Joseph Mihambo, Ngaya. A former catechist.

Maria Mkola, Tabora. Born in Ugalla as the daughter of

chief Lutenga, she was seized in a raid and taken to Ushirombo where she was redeemed by the White Sisters by whom she was employed for many years.

Antoni Mlezi, Bulungwa. Formerly a catechist, about seventy-five years old.

Mlisho Magaka, Mhuge. He is old enough to remember Ngoni raids.

Mlolwa, son of Ntemi Kapigawashi of Uyui.

Daudi Mpandashalo, Ndono. A descendant of Mirambo's brother, he has an encyclopedic knowledge of Unyanyembe and Urambo.

Mpembe Ilagila, Kisuha. An ex-mwanangwa, nearly ninety years old.

Mshata Maganga, Magiri. A grandson of Isike, ntemi of Unyanyembe.

Simoni Mtanwa, Busondo, a former catechist.

Mohamedi Hamisi Mtemanya, Ndala. Related to the ntemi's family.

Gerardo Mwandamila, Mbogwe. About eighty-five years old, he became a catechist after working for some years at the coast.

Augustino Ndega, Ushirombo. He belongs to the chiefly family of Ushirombo. At the beginning of the century he was an assistant catechist and later worked at Tabora and Mwanza to earn a bride-price.

Pius Ndilanha, Ndala. The grandson of the mzenga kaya of Buhemeli where the first mission of Ndala was built.

Ntemi Constantino Ngelenge, Ndala. He was in the King's African Rifles during the second world war and afterwards succeeded his uncle Luziga as ntemi.

Ngulati Fundikira. A former mwanangwa of Unyanyembe. Although younger than most of the informants, he has a great knowledge of Nyanyembe history.

Adelhard Nhunde, Ndala. Born about 1893 in Usongo, the son of a mwanangwa of Mtinginya. He was a catechist for twenty-nine years at Chapela and Ndala.

Njagi Kasiga, Ngaya. He once lived in Hwimu's ikulu.

Joseph Nguno, Kipalapala. He has lived there since about 1913 and is now the catechist.

Petro Nkingwa Msabulu, Idete. He was born in the time of Ntemi Majembe Igana, about ninety years ago.

Nsolo Mkokella, Bukombe.

Joseph Nsubi, Chabutwa. He became a catechist before the first world war and was an exceptionally able catechist until he retired a few years ago. He is descended from chief Kitambi of Uyui.

Fr Anthony Nyambe, Kahama. Born and brought up in the mission village at Ushirombo, he is now the parish priest of Kahama.

Adolfu Nyamiti, Ndala. A nephew of the Maltese-trained catechist Leopold Kizibao.

Nyamizi Kihumbi and Masele Kihumbi, Iyombo. Two elderly Tusi sisters.

Nyanya binti Ngelenge, Bugabe. She is a descendant of past chief of Ndala.

Petro Nzigula, Ndala. Mwanangwa from 1922 to 1958, he is still remarkably active. Issa former mwanangwa of Wita, Heronymo Kashindye and John Magelele took part in interviews with him on different occasions.

Mama Odilia, Itaga. Born in Urundi, he came to Tabora

as a slave and later became one of Gerboin's woman catechists.

Ntemi Sasamuka of Nkinga, was interviewed with a group of elders including Juma Kadamila.

Solezi Seleli, Ngaya.

Stephano Shija, Ndala. Born in Unyanyembe in the year Isike fought the Germans. (This year is often given as a year of birth.)

Mark Joseph Shilindi, Ndala. Formerly an interpreter in the courts.

Asia Somola, Ngaya. A granddaughter of Hwimu, she looks after his grave.

Mlisho Songoro, Itetemia. He lives near the traditional capital of the Nyanyembe chiefs.

Gaspari Sunhwa, Mhuge. He refused the office of mwanangwa to be a catechist. Now retired.

Adolfu Talu, Bukombe. The son and grandson of bafumu.

Mikaeli Zanzani, Ngaya. An old man.

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