

Football Associations and Development of Football Leagues in Tanganyika, 1929-1960

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Abstract

This paper explores the history of football development in Tanzania from 1929 to 1960. Specifically, the paper examines the history of football associations and their subsequent contributions in the development of football leagues in Tanzania during that period. This paper significantly focuses on important actors such as the media, sports sponsors, individuals and the government. In order to better achieve this, the study adopts a qualitative research approach which draws its primary information from archives, newspapers and oral interviews. It also consults secondary data from books, theses and journal-articles to understand the ways in which football associations developed football in the period of study. The researchers generally argue that football became popular and took a new shape that completely defined its spread and growth as a more organised sport in the late 1920s. This came after the formation of the first colonial football association in Dar es Salaam district. This stage sparked off the proliferation of football associations that also emerged as voluntary entities to organise and promote football in their respective districts across Tanganyika from the early 1930s to 1950s.

Keywords: Football association, football, tournament, cup

1.0 Introduction

Football has become not only a popular sport but also more attractive to sport scholars in and outside Tanzania.¹ These scholars devote their time to research on its origins, transformation and development. However, their studies have taken different approaches and directions. Ndee and Johnson for example, have studied about football with other forms of sports in a physical education direction. Other scholars such as Kaduguda have solely studied football through the lens of Simba Sports Club's history. Moreover, despite being significant to the development of football, these scholars have

¹ J. S. Hill, *et.al*, "The Worldwide Diffusion of Football: Temporal and Spatial Perspectives," *In the Global Sport Business Journal* 2, no.2 (2014) , 13; Simon Kuper *Soccer Against the Enemy: How the World's Most Popular Sport Starts and Stops Wars, Fuels Revolutions, and Keeps Dictators in Power*, (2006), 130, and Peter Alegi, *African Soccerescapes: How a continent changed the world's game*, Ohio University Press, (2010) 123; Hikabwa D.Chipande, "Introduction and Development of Competitive Football in Zambia, 1930-1969" (MA Thesis in Sport History, Norwegian School of Sport Sciences, 2009); Mwina Kaduguda, *Historia ya Klabuya Simba, 1920-2014* (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, 2014), 6-30; John S. Hill, *et.al*, (2014), 13; Tadasu Tsuruta (2003) *Popular Music, Sports, and Politics: A Development of Urban Cultural Movements in Dar Salaam, 1930s-1960s*, *African Study Monograph*, 24(3): 195-222; Hamad S. Ndee, "Modern Sport in Independent Tanzania: Agents and Agencies of Cultural Diffusion and the Use of Adapted Sport in the Process of Modernization", *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 27, no.5 (2010): 937-959.

hardly explored the history of football associations in Tanzania. The major weakness of these studies is that they have taken episodic form missing trends which tell us better about changes and continuities. Therefore, this study filled the void and provided an elaborate historical account about the development of football in Tanganyika. It employed a historical perspective to study its longer period of progress through the lens of football associations in order to understand changes and continuities from 1929 to 1960. More importantly, the study also involved other actors such as the state, the media, and sports sponsors and outside sport bodies in the development of football.

In the late 1920s, football associations (FAs) rose to prominence in Tanganyika. Football took on a distinct shape outside of government and mission schools. These bodies were registered by the provincial authorities to organise and promote football in their respective districts. They also established leagues and selected provincial teams to play against other provinces' teams. As an integral part of making football a public spectacle, FAs across the nation organised district and national leagues despite racism. In 1929, Dar es Salaam formed its FA. Following in its footsteps, other districts followed from 1930 to the mid-1950s. It is therefore worthwhile to first examine the Dar es Salaam FA to better understand the significance of its role in promoting football

in the district. This provides a background for discussing other district FAs.

2.0 The Dar es Salaam Football Association and its Leagues

Dar es Salaam, whose history dates back to the 1860s, was one of the districts in the Eastern Province and the colonial capital city of Tanganyika.² During the 1920s, football competitions were more common in this district than elsewhere in Tanganyika. This was mainly facilitated by the colonial officials who permanently lived in the town. They formed a number of teams run by colonial institutions.³ With the complexity of football growing in the late 1920s, early league competitions were difficult to organise under the informal league committee. This is because the league committee lacked the strength to develop the game and spread it throughout the town. This challenge prompted European football clubs' leaders to form the Dar es Salaam Football Association (DFA) in 1929. This FA took the model of the British FA in England.⁴ The emergence of the DFA marked the

² James Brennan *et al.* eds., *Dar es Salaam: Histories from an Emerging African Metropolis*, (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2007), 1–3.

³ *Tanganyika Times*, "A letter to the Editor of Tanganyika Times," March 25, 1929, 8; also, *Tanganyika Times*, May 22, 1929, 8; TNA, *Mbeya District Book*, 1955, 13; Interview with Ally Samatta Paziati Dar es Salaam on 10.3.2020.

⁴ Mwina Kaduguda *Historia ya Klabu ya Simba*, (2014) 10; Interview with Ali S. Jembeat Dar es Salaam on 21.3.2020, also Tsuruta Tadasu (2003)

beginning of the first organised league in Dar es Salaam on June 1st, 1929.⁵ Under European officials' control, the DFA, led by its first Chief Executive Officer A.B. Humphrey, released a league fixture on the editor's page of the *Tanganyika Times*. This was two months before the Dar es Salaam League began.⁶ Using the same page, he notified fans in and outside Dar es Salaam of the body and league foundation. Humphrey wrote:

As all soccer enthusiasts know, the above league has now been formed and a cup and medals will be presented to the champions. Therefore, non-players should officiate at league matches. If any of your leaders who are old soccer players would care to officiate at some of the matches, I would be glad if they let me have their names, as soon as possible. The league matches begin on June 1st 1929.⁷

The league began as announced in the newspaper and had a home and away format. The six registered clubs included King's African Rifles Club (K.A.R), Government School, Police, Railways, Gymkhana and Government Service. These teams

Popular Music, Sports, and Politics, 221; Hamad S. Ndee, *Modern Sport in Independent Tanzania*, 938-941.

⁵ *Tanganyika Times*, "Dar es Salaam League-Fixture: June 1 to September 25, 1929" March 25, 1929, 7; *Tanganyika Times*, "Dar es Salaam Soccer League" March 25, 1929, 8; also, Kaduguda, (2014), 10.

⁶ *Tanganyika Times*, "Dar es Salaam Football League-Fixture List", May 25, 1929, 5.

⁷ *Tanganyika Times*, "Dar es Salaam Soccer: The Editor, *Tanganyika Times*", May 22, 1929; Interview with Mzee Saleh at Kigamboni on 22.10.2020.

competed to win the Browne Cup, sponsored by the then colonial police commissioner, Mr. Percy F. Browne. The Gymkhana and Government African Boys Secondary School grounds hosted the competitions that saw K.A.R. Club become the first champions of the Dar es Salaam League in Tanganyika.⁸ However, despite their passion in football since the mid-1920s, the Africans were denied representation at club level in the first Dar es Salaam League. Many of them participated as spectators, while a few played as players in armed forces club.⁹ Although the DFA had effectively organised the first league, marginalization denied Africans an equal chance to participate in the league.

Racist practices did not emerge accidentally, but were evident in schools in the early 1920s. Because of this, there were complaints about the league committee's unfairness in organising fixtures under European control. DFA's deficiencies undermined its credibility among Africans. In the early 1930s, the DFA responded by forming the Football League Management Committee (MCFL) that increased the

⁸ *Tanganyika Times*, March 25, 1929, 7; *Mambo Leo*, December 1929, .118; Tsuruta Tadasu, (2003), 219; Hamad S. Ndee, (2010), 938-94; also Interviews with Ali S. Jembe and Ali S. Jembe in Dar es Salaam on 21.03.2020.

⁹ Interview with Ally Samatta Paziati Temeke on 10.03.2020; also, *Tanganyika Times*, March 25, 1929, 7.

number of clubs from six to seven¹⁰ in 1930. Despite the increase, Africans still lacked representation, the same scenario in the 1931 league. The only club with African players was the Old Boys Club formed by former schoolmates from public and mission schools. However, Africans on the streets wanted their own team such as Jangwani SC to participate in the league.¹¹

Being able to effectively run leagues in 1929, 1930, the DFA was one of the African associations that were recognised by FIFA that had played a major role in organising leagues under the England FA.¹² The recognition attracted sports journalists and editors to start writing about it in sports columns that usually reported English sports news. *The Tanganyika Times* and *The Tanganyika Standard* were among the earliest newspapers to report and post-football news in the late 1920s and the 1930s.¹³ Newspapers such as *Mambo Leo* introduced a weekly column about *Mpirawa Teke*, a Kiswahili word for football in 1931. It regularly reported in its *Habari za Miji* (News of Towns) section about local competitions covering various districts

¹⁰ Clubs were Tanganyika Police Sports Club, Gymkhana Sports Club, Public Works Department and Survey Team, Tanganyika Railways Sports Club, Old Boys, Government School and Khalsa Sports Club.

¹¹ Tsuruta Tadasu, (2003), 207; Interviews with Mzee Saleh and Ali S. Jembe.

¹² Paul Dietschy, (2013) Making football global? In *Journal of Global History*, 8, 292.

¹³ *Mambo Leo*, 1930s-1955, *The Tanganyika Standard*, 1930s-1950s; also, *Tanganyika Times*, 1920s, 7.

that had also begun playing football in the early 1930s. This promoted football in and outside Dar es Salaam.¹⁴

In 1932, the DFA sought the support of colonial individuals such as Kassum Sunderji Samji¹⁵ who established a 2nd division league called the Kassum Cup. The Browne Cup became the 1st Division League. J. E. Higgins, the colonial major general, sponsored a third cup, known as the Higginson Cup. This cup involved provincial representative teams.¹⁶ A meeting was held at the Gymkhana Hall on January 10, 1932, at which a joining fee of 15 shillings was set for the 1st Division League and 10 shillings for the 2nd Division League. It also drew eight clubs for the 1st Division League and seven for the 2nd Division League. For the first time in football history in Dar es Salaam and Tanganyika at large, there were three leagues played in one year with 15 clubs.¹⁷ This remarkable transformation was attained under the MCFL's chairperson, Giffard and his Deputy Secretary, E. H. Riches. The league ended with two

¹⁴ Martin Sturmer, (1998) *The Media History of Tanzania*, (Ndanda: Ndanda Mission Press), 62-63.

¹⁵ Kassum Sunderji Samji was an official member of the Legislature Council in Tanganyika and sponsor of the Kassum Cup from 1932 to the 1940s. The cup was also sponsored by Indian merchants.

¹⁶ *The Tanganyika Standard*, November 1935, 14; *The Tanganyika Standard*, May 9, 1930, 9; see also, *The Tanganyika Standard*, May 2-August 22, 1936, 3.

¹⁷ Hamad S. Ndee, (2010), 940; also, Kaduguda, (2014), 10-14; also, *The Tanganyika Standard*, January 25, 1930, 17, also Interview with Mzee Saleh.

cups (Browne Cup and Higginson Cup) awarded to the Arab Sports Club whilst the New Strong "A" won the Kassum Cup.¹⁸ In the wake of the two leagues, as well as the Higginson Cup, football in Tanganyika was revolutionised. Table 1 presents the detailed league standings, except for the Higginson Cup league that employed knockout system

Table 1: Dar es Salaam Football League Standings in 1932

1st Division League	Won	Lost	Drawn	Points
<i>Arab Sports Club</i>	12	1	1	25
<i>Railway Sports Club</i>	12	2	0	24
<i>Gymkhana Sports Club</i>	8	4	2	18
<i>Police Sports Club</i>	7	3	4	18
<i>Central School</i>	4	5	5	13
<i>Chumus F.C</i>	3	9	2	8
<i>Turkish Defence</i>	2	10	2	6
<i>Cosmopolitans</i>	0	14	0	0

Source: *Mambo Leo*, December 1932, 261.

2nd Division League	Won	Lost	Drawn	Points
<i>New Strong "A"</i>	10	1	1	21
<i>Goan Sports</i>	6	5	1	13
<i>New Union</i>	5	5	2	12
<i>Sudanese</i>	4	5	3	11
<i>United Services</i>	4	5	2	10
<i>New Strong "B"</i>	3	6	4	10
<i>International</i>	2	7	3	7

¹⁸ *Mambo Leo*, "Football Results of the Football League of Dar es Salaam in 1932", December 1932, 261.

As Dar es Salaam's clubs increased, so did football passion. The Higginson Cup, for instance, involved eight clubs in the 1930s. This allowed more African players to show off their talents at clubs such as New Strong SC, a club that recognised African players' potential.¹⁹ Their presence in New Strong SC aided its qualification for the 1st Division League in 1933, after winning the 2nd Division League in 1932.²⁰ Notwithstanding being involved in New Strong SC, Africans' desire was to have their own club in a league dominated by European and institutional clubs. Nonetheless, African players' reputation in New Strong SC were not the same in 1934 as in 1932 during the 2nd Division League. The club's poor performance led to its demise in 1934. This incident annoyed Africans in Dar-es-Salaam. As New Strong SC's captain, A. E. Selemani said, the club, whose foundation and toughness dated back to 1921, was scared following its tendencies to incorporate many African players. This led to the club's fall and ultimately its split in the mid-1930s due to tricks and racist practices by football leaders.²¹ Consequently, as time passed by, football was spoiled by racist practices not confronted by the government. This

¹⁹ *Tanganyika Standard*, "Gymkhana Heads the League", July 6, 1935, 22.

²⁰ *Mambo Leo*, December 1932, 261; also, Soccer Data, "Historia yaKlabunaJina 'Simba SC' Kuanzia Jangwani SC hadi leo Simba" in <https://youtu.be/97hjXOpAvdg> (Accessed on July 21, 2020); also Interview with Ali S. Jembe, at Dar es Salaam on 21.03.2020.

²¹ *Mambo Leo*, "New Strong Team Sports Club, Dar es Salaam", (March 1935), 48.

opened doors to a radical underground movement against the government and DFA racism.²²

Despite these changes in the early 1930s, one notable change occurred on August 12th, 1934. This was when J. R. Harvey became DFA's president, H. Mcleven became Vice-President and Hall became Secretary-General. To address African grievances about having their own club in the league, the elected leadership adopted an inclusive strategy. Through a newly elected financial officer, Vynne, it was planned to help African clubs financially.²³ The MCFL became more inclusive as every club participating in both leagues could send one representative to the league committee. E. G. Blight was also appointed to join the MCFL as a referees' representative to effectively deal with refereeing problems.²⁴ These changes apparently encouraged Africans to contribute funds to support New Young's (former Jangwani SC). As a result, the club became the first African club to win the 2nd Division League title in 1934. The victory was the ticket to joining the 1st Division League in 1935. This can be termed as the fruit of the new DFA leadership. However, it was short-lived because until the end of the league in November 1936, the New Young's

²² Interview with Bakari Mzuraat Temeke on 15.03.2020.

²³ Interview with Ali S. Jembe.

²⁴ *Tanganyika Standard*, "Higginson Cup Finals", November 1935, 14; also, Kaduguda, (2014), 15.

had managed to collect only seven points that saw the team dropping to 2nd Division²⁵

The drop out of New Young's was a clear manifestation of DFA racism against African clubs. The lack of will to help African clubs led to New Young's splitting into two sides. One side pinned the failure on the DFA's racist practices. The other side claimed that the club's leadership had mismanaged members' contributions leading to the club's suffering. The latter also asked the club's leadership to resign.²⁶ Consequently, these internal conflicts of interest led to the birth of two other African clubs, namely the Young Africans and the Stanley Football Club²⁷ in 1936. Generally, the conflict was secretly supported by Europeans who did not want Africans in the league.

Africans complained of unfair refereeing. They argued that the trusted referees were not fair on the field, favouring European

²⁵ Interview with Kaduguda at Dar es Salaam on 24.01.2020.

²⁶ *Tanganyika Standard*, October 3, 1936, 17; also, *Mwanaspoti*, "Hii ndio tofauti ya Simba na Yanga Kimataifa", <https://www.mwanaspoti.com.tz/soka> accessed on February 1, 2020); also, *Tanganyika Standard*, November 1936, 14.

²⁷ Stanley Football Club was renamed Sunderland in 1939 after amalgamating with the Arab Sports Club. From 1936 up to 1943 unlike their fellow Young Africans, Sunderland's first priority was to build their team and make it strong in the league.

and Asian clubs.²⁸ To resolve these issues, the DFA held a meeting at the Palm Court of the New African Hotel in April 1936 to discuss the possibility of an association of referees as a means of ending complaints from Africans.²⁹ On July 7th, 1937 another meeting was organised at the Splendid Hotel in Dar es Salaam to discuss the proposed referee association. Major R.C. Higgins, Ling Bennett and some European referees, welcomed the formation of the first Association of Football Referees (AFR) in 1937 to address refereeing issues. Dar es Salaam's football league, as well as Tanganyika as a whole, felt the effects of it. Due to the AFR's role in the 1937 Sunlight Cup³⁰, the first territorial tournament became fair and feasible.³¹

The AFR was also expected to bring new hope to African clubs that had lost trust in European referees. One it can be argued that this is what motivated Young Africans to return to the 1st Division League in 1938, expecting a better performance than Young Africans were among the top three

²⁸ *Tanganyika Standard*, November 1935, 14; also, *Tanganyika Standard*, "Soccer League Season", May 2, 1936, 3; also, *Tanganyika Standard*, "Railways defeats 8-0 New Young", August 1936, 17.

²⁹ *Tanganyika Standard*, "Dar es Salaam Football", April 18, 1936, 3.

³⁰ The Sunlight Cup was the first territorial cup soccer league that put Tanganyika on the football map. Under the sponsorship of the Messrs. Lever Brothers Company of Britain. This cap helped to advertise a soap known as Sunlight soap, produced by Messrs.' branch in East Africa.

³¹ *Tanganyika Standard*, "Move for Referees' Association", (July 10, 1937), 3.

clubs in the league, but the victory was awarded to the Gymkhana Club.³² Despite this biggest achievement, Africans still needed more than one African club in the league. The DFA's leadership failed to achieve this desire and it was therefore no longer trusted. Thus, Africans started thinking about managing their own independent leagues.

In early 1939, African clubs were increasingly loud about racism to the extent of organising a meeting at the Kariakoo United Club Hall to form their own African Football Association (AFA). They appointed the then-mayor of Dar es Salaam, Ahmed Bin Saleh, as the AFA's chairperson, Mwinyi Tambwe, as Secretary-General and Yahya Hassan as Treasurer. Other officials were Sheikh Ally bin Saleh, Masoud Mwinchande and Mohamed Ally.³³ The AFA declared that the first independent African league would commence on February 27th, 1939. It was believed that the proposed league would slowly disrupt the European-oriented league.³⁴ However, these Africans' attempts did not last long due to the strong hand of the colonial state, which was on the DFA side. It was feared that the proposed league would attract

³² Interview with Mzee Saleh; Tsuruta Tadasu, (2003), 219; see also Kaduguda (2014), 21-25; *Tanganyika Standard*, "Local Football", (September 9, 1937), 14; also *Mambo Leo*, "Mashindano ya Lever kwa Kuandika", January 1932, 64.

³³ Kaduguda, (2014), 25-26; Interview with Bakari Mzura at Temeke on 15.03.2020.

³⁴ Interview with Ali S. Jembe.

more fans, killing the infamous DFA. The new league was also feared that it could be a vehicle for African protests against colonialism.³⁵

Consequently, as fear increased, the government took ferocious measures to stop the proposed league. Sources reveal that the plans to stop the African League began earlier with the removal of the then-mayor of Dar es Salaam, Gulam Rasul, who was replaced by the former Tabora mayor, Ahmed Bin Saleh, on July 15th, 1938.³⁶ Among other reasons for the measure, was the goal to use the new mayor's leadership to abolish the league before it began as planned. Still the mission failed because since in Tabora the mayor had sided with Africans. He continued even after being appointed to lead the AFA. As a result, the government replaced him with Mr. Muksin, whose weapon was not too distant from that dissolved clubs such as New Young's. Subsequently, Stanley FC got trapped into his trap after being persuaded to join Arab Sports Club to play in the Dar es Salaam League for the first time.³⁷ In late 1939, Stanley FC merged with Arab SC to become Sunderland SC (now Simba SC) and, as promised, the

³⁵ Interview with Mzee Saleh; Hamad S. Ndee, (2005), 672.

³⁶ *Mambo Leo*, "Kuaganana Liwali Gulam Rasuul na Kumpokea Liwali Ahemed Saleh Kutoka Tabora", (October, 1938), 159.

³⁷ *MwanaSpoti* "Hii ndio tofauti ya Simba na Yanga Kimataifa", also Interview with Mbaraka Hashimuat Dar es Salaam on 22.10.2020.

merged club took an active role in the DFA leagues from the early 1940s onwards.

This attempt finally buried the Africans' proposed league and furthered disunity among African clubs as clubs such as Young Africans considered themselves true patriotic clubs unlike Sunderland SC, which was seen as an unpatriotic squad consisting of foreigners.³⁸ The rise of this rivalry was possibly the first sign of the extent to which football in Tanganyika could create identities. However, despite this opposition, the two clubs became more influential and powerful. Besides, it is plausible to argue that the struggle for justice in football though the suppressed sent a message to the DFA and the colonial government. As Perkin, Horton and Tomlinson argue, African clubs also showed how the British relied on their sports to simplify cultural control and influence.³⁹

From 1939 to 1945, the Second World War (WWII) directly affected football prosperity worldwide, including the suspension of World Cup events in 1942 and 1946 and several other games.⁴⁰ While the war was on, football in Tanganyika

³⁸ *Ibid.*; Hamad S. Ndee, (2005), 672; also, Kaduguda, (2014), 25-26.

³⁹ Peter Alan Horton (2014) *Imperialism, Race and the History of Sport*, (PhD Thesis: Australian Catholic University), 173; also, John Tomlinson (1991) *Cultural Imperialism: A Critical Introduction*, London, (Continuum), 3-10.

⁴⁰ Alliance Kubayi, *et al.*, (2019) *Differentiating African Teams from European Teams: Identifying the Key Performance Indicators in the FIFA World Cup 2018*, *Journal of Human Kinetics*, 73, 203; see also Jorge Tovar,

continued being played by the majority of African clubs rather than European clubs, whose players were recruited to join the frontline in the war. As a result, the football landscape in Tanganyika significantly improved with the predominance of Sunderland SC and Young Africans. Moreover, several other African clubs rose and participated in the league, especially from the 1940s onward. This reduced European clubs' dominance in the Dar es Salaam League.⁴¹ After the war, British officials in Dar es Salaam and Tanganyika at large promoted more football and other sports than before. As part of the colonial authorities' orders, all-district FAs were to work with area commissioners to promote sports.⁴²

In the late 1940s the colonial government under the financial support of the Colonial Welfare and Development Act began to build social-welfare centres in almost all district headquarters in Tanganyika. For example, such centres were opened in Dar es Salaam and Arusha in 1947 and 1953 respectively.⁴³ In the early 1950s, the King George VI Memorial

(2020) Soccer, World War II, and Coronavirus: A Comparative Analysis of How the Sport Shut Down, *Soccer & Society*, 2–3; also, FIFA (2007) History of the World Cup Preliminary Competitions, 7.

⁴¹ Interviews with Mzee Saleh and Mbaraka Hashimu.

⁴² TNA, *Mbeya District Book III (1952-1960)*, “Annual Report for 1954”, pp.6-7; also, TNA, *Mbeya District Book*, “Annual Report for 1955”, 13.

⁴³ John S. Hill, *et al.* (2014) The Worldwide Diffusion of Football: Temporal and Spatial Perspectives, *International Global Sports Business Journal*, 2(2), 165; also, Earle E. Seaton (1966) The Political System of

Centre in Mbeya district was also built to allow sports such as tennis for all races.⁴⁴The goal for opening these centres was to assist Africans in making proper use of their leisure time for healthy recreation and positive citizenship. Clearly, these sports centres and stadiums⁴⁵attempted to reduce racist practices, but they were strategically used, as Banham argues, to give colonialists a sense of identity and consolidate their myth of superiority.⁴⁶ It can be argued that the British, who had begun to associate African clubs' movements with early nationalist struggles, sought to create grounds for future influence by implementing the Act. In addition, the DFA's efforts were exemplified in the Sunlight Cup founded in 1937. Due to its experience, the DFA was entrusted to host this annual territorial cup that involved strong teams formed out of district leagues to represent their provinces. The DFA also selected a team for the Eastern Province. In managing the Sunlight Cup, the colonial leaders, led by Governor Sir Edward F. Twining and his wife, Lady Twining, were more involved in

Tanganyika: Origin, Characteristics, and Evolutionary Development, (PhD Dissertation: University of Southern California), 118–136.

⁴⁴ TNA, *Mbeya District Book*, Annual Report for 1956, "Social Development", 5; also, Annual Report for 1957, "Social Development", 5-6; also, Martin Banham (ed.), (2004), 237.

⁴⁵ Such as Nyamagana ground in Mwanza Region (1945), Ilulu ground in Lindi Region (1957), King George Memorial ground in Kilimanjaro Region (1957), Sheikh Amri Abeid Kaluta ground in the Arusha (1957).

⁴⁶ John S. Hill, *et al*, (2014), 164; also Interviews with Mzee Saleh and Bakari Hamis Mzura.

sports, especially between the late 1940s and 1950s⁴⁷ as Figure 1 indicates.

Figure 1: Sir Twining inspecting the Eastern and Central Province Teams' Line-ups



Source: *Mambo Leo*, November 1954, 170

Sir Twining can be seen in the photo above inspecting the starting line-ups for the Central and Eastern provinces before kick-off in the 1954 Sunlight Cup final match at Dar es Salaam's Ilala Stadium (now Karume Memorial Stadium). The spectators in the middle zone show how football became a

⁴⁷ *Mambo Leo*, "Kilosa Football Competitions", April, 1946, 41, also *Mambo Leo*, "Mashindano ya Sunlight Cup in Tanganyika", October 1954, 147.

real spectacle with African players on both teams. In the centre of the pitch, the European officials can be seen ready to officiate the match. There was an increasing shift in British racist practises in sports since the post-war era due to the new governor who was a bit inclusive in approach. In the end, however, the Eastern Province claimed victory. The Tanganyika's Eastern Province won most Sunlight titles until the late 1950s.

3.0 The Development of Football Associations in the Countryside

Football became widespread in the 1930s due to the proliferation of FAs across Tanganyika their blueprint being the DFA as elucidated in the previous section. After the DFA, the Iringa Football Association (IFA) followed in 1931 operating in Iringa district with the aim of spreading football throughout Iringa Province. The IFA organised its first league on May 9th, 1931.⁴⁸ However, the body, just such as the DFA, was characterised by a racist tendency during its first league. It issued fixtures for only five teams⁴⁹ run by Europeans and colonial institutions, leaving Africans as spectators. It was not until the late 1930s that African clubs such as Iringa SC, Kalenga FC and Ifunda FC joined the league. This time around, the government, at the provincial and

⁴⁸ Tsuruta Tadasu, (2003), 221; also, Hamad S. Ndee, (2010), 938-941; also Interview with Kaduguda and Mbaraka Hashimu.

⁴⁹ Involved the Europeans SC, Iringa Police SC, Goans SC, Indian SC, and Malangali School.

district levels also supported IFA. For example, the Provincial Commissioner, Hatchell and some other individuals led by Colonel Hawkins, supported the body with cups and medals for the champions.⁵⁰

The Iringa League became more organised, just such as Dar es Salaam in the 1940s and it was played home and away. This made participation grow year after year and more African clubs joined.⁵¹ Racism declined following the Colonial Welfare and Development Act after the WWII because the colonial state, through District Commissioners, supported sports such as football in Iringa Province. Until the early 1950s, the Iringa League in the hands of IFA officials was one of the most competitive and outstanding leagues in Tanganyika, with a total of nine clubs as Table 2 indicates.

Table 2: The Standing of the Iringa Football Association League in 1951

Team	P	W	L	D	GF	GA	Pts
<i>Ifunda FC</i>	7	5	2	0	14	3	10
<i>Victoria FC</i>	7	5	2	0	13	9	10
<i>Govt. School</i>	7	4	2	0	12	9	8
<i>Railway FC</i>	5	4	1	0	4	1	8
<i>Welfare SC</i>	6	3	2	1	10	9	7
<i>P.W.D SC</i>	8	3	4	1	6	13	7
<i>Kalenga FC</i>	5	2	1	2	6	4	6
<i>Daresco FC</i>	5	1	4	0	5	13	2

⁵⁰ Mambo Leo, "Football in Iringa", January 1946, 112-114.

⁵¹ TNA, 24/39/13A/Miscellaneous Football-Referees' Reports.

Iringa SC	8	0	8	0	4	13	0
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(P-Played, W-Win, D-Draw, L-Loss, GF-Goals For, GA-Goals Against, Pts-Points, P.W.D-Public Works Department)

Source: TNA, 24/39/13A/Miscellaneous Football Referees' Reports.

The above table shows how competitive the Iringa League was. Points are very close between teams. These IFA's achievements attracted football fans in other districts in the province to form their own FAs. For instance, in 1946 the Rungwe district formed the Rungwe Football Association (RFA). Unlike DFA and IFA, the body had an inclusive leadership such as the President, Dr. D. W. Ellis-Jones (European), Vice-President, Makanji B. Patel (Asian) and K. S. Mwambe (African). Other officials were the body's Secretary-General, R. G. Scott (European) and Treasurer, Williard Mwakatika (African).⁵²This was partly influenced by the Act of 1939 whose implementation began after the WWII. During its first organised league in 1946, the RFA employed knockout league system that attracted many spectators, including colonial leaders such as the Rungwe District Commissioner, Z. Kingdon, whose wife presented the title to the winners-Royal Marines.⁵³

⁵² Mambo Leo, "Football Association League of Tukuyu", January, 1946, 112-113.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

Furthermore, RFA officials were very cooperative in Iringa Province. They helped organise the first league in the Tukuyu sub-district in 1947. Drawing from the Dar es Salaam League, football officials encouraged players and spectators to love football in Tukuyu. This is testified by the following quotation: "Football has attained special respect from many people in the world. Moreover, if you get the chance to meet your fellow footballers in Dar es Salaam, you will agree with what we say. This is just because of the huge number of spectators attending the ground to watch that sport's competitions."⁵⁴ These words of inspiration led to an increase in love of football. This was more evident in the 1947 league, which attracted about 300 spectators per day. During the final match between Tukuyu School and Rungwe School, the District Commissioner's wife, as guest of honour, presented the cup to Tukuyu School as champions.⁵⁵

In the same spirit of collaboration, RFA, with some football officials from Lindi in the Southern Province, organised the first league cup. This league involved eight clubs from Rungwe and Lindi districts from 1946 to 1947. Juma Abbas reports that the first league in 1946 preceded by a match between Africans and Europeans in Lindi to celebrate King George VI's birthday in the late 1930s was very significant in making football a

⁵⁴TNA, 24/39/13A/Miscellaneous Football-Referees' Reports.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, also *The Tanganyika Standard*, "Tukuyu Football", December 27, 1947, 20.

public spectacle.⁵⁶ In the mid-1950s, the Chunya sub-district, under its Assistant District Officer, L. E. Pickett, got inspired by Tukuyu and Rungwe's leagues and formed the Chunya Football Association (CFA). The CFA was also led by inclusive leadership that included Chairperson, S. D. Murji (Asian); General-Secretary, Gibson Mwakabonja (African); and Treasurer, Rev. Fr. V. Dwea (European).⁵⁷ By 1954, football was very popular in Mbeya Province following the formation of the Mbeya Football Association (MFA). The body formed a Secretariat, which organised leagues and inter-district competitions. Up until the late 1950s, football in Mbeya and Iringa Provinces was popular and widely played by schools and government institutions.⁵⁸

Organised football in Tanga Province dates back to the mid-1920s. The Tanga School and street competitions by school boys remain the basis for later big clubs such as Coastal Union in the late 1940s preceded by Arab Boys in the 1930s.⁵⁹ They also invoked the idea of forming the Tanga Football

⁵⁶ *Mambo Leo*, "Football Competitions in Lindi," October, 1938, 132-163; also *Mambo Leo*, January, 1946, 112-113; also Interview with Juma Abbas at Arusha on 4.01.2020.

⁵⁷ Kaduguda, (2014), 34.

⁵⁸ TNA, *Mbeya District Book III* (1952-1960), "Annual Report for 1954," 6-7; also, TNA, *Mbeya District Book*, "Annual Report for 1955", 13.

⁵⁹ David G. McComb, (2004) *Sports in World History*, (New York, London: Taylor and Francis Group); TNA, *Tanga Provincial Book*, "Districts of Tanga"; also, interview with Haruna Mohammed at Dar es Salaam on 15.01.2020.

Association in 1931. Some of its key founders were C. M. Baker as Chairperson, C. E. Ellaby as Secretary-General and G. H. Postlethwaite as Treasurer. The body also formed a Secretariat consisting of five members, namely J. Meredith, J. Ghioco, J. Lobos, S. Limo and Shabani Salim.⁶⁰ These officials as Kaduguda argues, drew Abdulla Karimjee, Desouza, Bencett and Hamid to support the first league in 1931. This marked the beginning of competitive football as football leagues spread to the rest of the province during the post-WWII period. For instance, the formation of the Korogwe Football Association (KFA) in the early 1950s significantly helped the game to spread in the province. This is as reflected in the performance of the provincial team in the Sunlight Cup series between 1940 and 1960. It only lost to the Western Province in 1941 in its historical final match in these inter-provincial finals.⁶¹

During the early 1930s, football had already gained popularity in Central Tanganyika. School-based leagues that attracted up to 3,000 spectators drew students from the Dodoma and Mpwapwa districts.⁶² The Football Association of Dodoma (FAD) was dominated by Europeans and Asians. While this body had racist tendencies at the time, it nevertheless managed to influence colonial leaders such as Abdulla Jivraj

⁶⁰ *Mambo Leo*, January, 1932, 14; also, Kaduguda, (2014), 12.

⁶¹ Interviews with Ally Samatta Pazi; Ally F. Khamis at Dar es Salaam on 18.07.2019; and Juma Abbas.

⁶² *Mambo Leo*, "Mpwapwa Mashindano ya Mpira", March, 1932, 49-64; also *Mambo Leo*, "The Central Province", January, 1932, 27.

Bhojani (the leader of the Dodoma Township Board) to sponsor the Bhojani Cup. It began on November 23rd, 1935, with the Kikuyu Mission and Asiatic clubs. It was also a popular event, with spectators such as H. Hignell, Central Provincial Commissioner, attending. The title was given to the Asiatic Club⁶³ Other districts in Tanganyika's central regions such as Singida, Kondoa, Manyoni and Mkalama, adopted football in the late 1950s.

Another key role of the FAD, just such as other associations, was to help its clubs organise friendlies with clubs outside the province. Among the notable ones was the match between Dodoma SC and the African Sports Union Club from Dar es Salaam in 1939. The Dar es Salaam team played the match with seven players due to Indian players' refusal to travel with the team. Mr. Weeks (the match referee) changed his decision to suspend the game after lengthy discussions with Norman, the captain of the African Sports Union Club. Up until the last whistle, Dodoma SC won 10-0, making it a historical friendly game of its own kind.⁶⁴In the early 1940s, football in the Central Province had tremendously changed. For example,

⁶³ *Tanganyika Standard*, "Dodoma Township Authority", November 30, 1935, 19. Note: Abdula Jivraj Bhojan was among colonial leaders interested in sports and public life; also, *Tanganyika Standard*, "Bhojani Cup won by Asiatics", November 1935, 19.

⁶⁴ *Mambo Leo*, "Football in Dodoma", 1939, 93.

the Dodoma League, had grown to seven clubs⁶⁵, making it one of the more competitive leagues in Tanganyika. Its provincial team was also one of the toughest Sunlight Cup teams. For example, in 1954 it became the second winner after the Eastern Province's defeat.⁶⁶

In Tanganyika's Northern Province, Arusha and Moshi districts football culture existed since the early 1930s due to the presence of the Gymkhana Club grounds that allowed school-based competitions.⁶⁷In 1937 the Arusha District formed the Arusha Football Association (AFA) to organise a league. Its league was initially dominated by non-African clubs⁶⁸ only and even its leadership was dominated by Europeans.⁶⁹ However, this discrimination was short-lived after a joint league that began on November 28th, 1938. This was an inclusive league of both African and non-African clubs from Arusha and Moshi districts. Clubs such as the European Moshi Club, Singa-Chini School, Simba Club, Old Moshi Club,

⁶⁵ Clubs involved were Dodoma 1st Club, Government Official Club, Dodoma 2nd Club, Young Ismailis Club, C.M.S, Kikuyu School Club and Prisons Club.

⁶⁶ *Mambo Leo*, "The Final Kick of the Sunlight Cup", October 1954, 167-170; also Interview with Mussa Mrisho, Arusha, January 7, 2020.

⁶⁷ David Clive Nettelbeck (1974), *A History of Arusha School, Tanzania*, (MA Dissertation: University of Adelaide), 1-6.

⁶⁸ The teams involved were the Roman Catholic Mission, the German Sports Club, the Hellenic Sports Club, the Indian Sports Club, and the Gymkhana Sports Club.

⁶⁹ *Tanganyika Standard*, "Arusha Centre for Games: Football and Golf", August 14, 1937, 14.

Government School Club, 1st Battalion K.A.R, United Team SC and Moshi Township Club participated. Its opening was marked by a community shield match, typical of modern league openings. Mrisho admits that the league not only eradicated racist practises but also enthused football passion in other districts of Mbulu, Ngare-Nairo, Loibene and Longido in the late 1940s.⁷⁰ By the early 1950s, the Northern Province had developed an African football model (continental soccer system), unlike the standard British system⁷¹ played in other provinces. This style of play improved clubs such as the Tanzania Plantation Company FC (TPC), which in turn improved its provincial team in the Sunlight Cup finals. Tanganyika Gossage Cup squads were heavily reliant on talent from this province in the late 1950s and early 1960s.⁷²

In the Lake Province, Mwanza and Bukoba districts were the first to play football in the early 1930s. By the mid-1930s,

⁷⁰ Mambo Leo, "Football in Moshi" February 1939–1955, 23, also Interview with Mussa Mrisho, a former player of Arusha FC at Arusha on 7.01.2020.

⁷¹ Continental soccer is a style of play with talented passers and collectivists. Attacks are generated with creativity, composure, and communication. Players can move through different positions to accommodate the football style. Players pressurise the attacking team to regain the ball. The standard British system emphasises speed, directness, and physicality. A fast attack is set up with long balls over the defense, usually passing the midfielders. This fast-paced style leads to 50/50 fights for the ball and many crosses sent in from all over the pitch.

⁷² Uganda *Argus*, "The Review of Tanganyika Gossage Cup Squad", September 25, 1963, 8; also Interview with Ally F. Khamis, Dar es Salaam, 18.08 .2019.

organised leagues had started in Mwanza under the Mwanza Football Association (MFA). On the other hand, the presence of Gymkhana grounds, adjacent to the European residence, helped Bukoba play football earlier before 1938 when the Bukoba Football Association (BFA) was formed to organise the first league.⁷³ The body was among a few FAs in Tanganyika whose leadership had initially recognised African potential in football supervision.⁷⁴ For instance, Joel Kibira was its first African general secretary. He was also one of the earliest African referees who educated his fellow officials. In most of his articles, published in *Mambo Leo* newspaper from October 1938 onwards, he informed them about 17 football rules and the responsibilities of referees. Kibira's leadership and articles were also helpful in generating interest in the game in and outside Bukoba. For example, in some Bukoba villages such as Kitendaguro, young players were coached into local competitive teams from the 1940s on.⁷⁵

In the Western Province football was popular in Tabora and Kigoma districts in the late 1930s. It spread to Mpanda, Urambo and Kasulu districts from 1940 on. Both mission and

⁷³ *Tanganyika Standard*, "School Football Matches," May 16, 1936, 22; also Interview with Justine Stanislaus Ndyetambula at Kagera on 30.03.2020.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, also *Mambo Leo*, "Utaratibu Unaotakiwa kwenye Viwanja vya Michezo ya Mpira by Joel Kibira, Hon. Secretary of the Bukoba Football Association", October 1938, 156.

⁷⁵ Francesca Declich (ed.) (2018) *Trans-local Connections across the Indian Ocean: Swahili Speaking Networks on the Move*, (Boston: Brill-Leiden), 175-176.

government schools such as the White Fathers' Training School, Ujiji Mission, Tabora School and the Roman Catholic Mission School, were the epicentres of football in the province.⁷⁶ In 1937, the first league started with the Tabora Football Association (TFA). It moved football out of schools and under M. A. Molloy, a colonial officer the TFA ran its league through its League Representative Council (LRC), which allowed each club one representative. Its first chairperson was L. J. Martin from Tabora Railways SC whereas M. A. Molloy became Secretary-General. Other members included King's African Rifles team captains, J. B. Vans-Agnew and P. E. W. Williams from the Government Central School Club.⁷⁷ The LRC organised the Ismailia Cup, which consisted of ten clubs⁷⁸ from Tabora and Kigoma. Martin promised clubs that "a year-to-year champion deserves a Silver Cup", this increased competitiveness.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Mambo Leo, "Tabora Furaha ya King George VI's Birthday Tarehe 9/6/38", August, 1938, 131; see also Godfrey Mwakikagile (2010) *Life in Tanganyika in the Fifties*, (Dar es Salaam: New Africa), 19.

⁷⁷ *The Tanganyika Standard*, "Soccer's Progress Up-Country-New League Formed at Tabora," February 27, 1937, 14; also, *The Tanganyika Standard*, "Tabora Football", November 13, 1937, 14; Mambo Leo, "Tabora Sports", March 1939, 92.

⁷⁸ The Catholic Mission, KAR. SC, Government Schoolboys, Tabora Club, Shambaboy's Club, Prison Warders, Police, Wales, New Strong and Asian Club.

⁷⁹ *The Tanganyika Standard*, "Soccer's Progress Up-Country-New League Formed at Tabora", February 27, 1937, 14; also, *The Tanganyika Standard*,

The Kigoma District, on the other hand, had developed into a competitive football area long before the early 1930s. However, its first organised league officially began after the arrival of the newly appointed Ujiji Assistant District Officer, Said M. W. R. Arab Elhabsy (Mr ADO) in 1938. This was a colonial officer transferred from Tanga to Ujiji who testified about football development in the district. He was quoted in 1938 as saying:

Ujiji has football. There are also many teams here that play football every day. With the exception of the Homeboys team, who play brilliant football, all teams are physically fit. Since I came here from Korogwe-Tanga on 7/7/38, I have never seen them fall under their leader, Sefu Mohamed Elafify Arab.⁸⁰

This account implies that football was very competitive in Kigoma. Like Tabora, this district had a few racist practises probably because of the province's lower number of Europeans than other provinces, as it was a labour reserve centre. The Afro-Arab communities developed before colonialism might have also been a factor. For instance, the Lions Club was formed in 1932 by Arabs and Africans, which reduced racism in this community. As part of their passion for football, some of the Lions' players, such as Sefu bin Mohamed

"Tabora Football", November 13th, 1937, 14; also *Mambo Leo*, "Tabora Sports", March 1939, 92.

⁸⁰*Mambo Leo*, "MpiraUjiji", November 1938, 179-180.

el-Busaid, captain of the Lions, bought jerseys for their teammates out of their pockets.⁸¹ On August 1st, 1938, Mr. ADO introduced the first league under the Kigoma Football Association (KFA). Played home and away, the ADO Cup involved seven teams, namely Home Boys, New King, New Strong, Government School, Wireless, Royal and White Fathers School. White Fathers School emerged as the first champions on November 26th, 1938.⁸²

Regarding Sunlight Cup, the TFA and KFA prepared the Tabora Boys School team as their provincial representative whereby it won the Sunlight Cup in 1939. It won it again in 1941 against Tanga Province. In 1945, it became the second winner, but became the champion in 1946 after defeating Eastern Province. This was one of the biggest victories celebrated by football fans according to Yunge Mwanasali.⁸³ They gathered at Tabora train station to welcome the team from Dar es Salaam.⁸⁴ The KFA and TFA, with the ambition of promoting football throughout the province, established the Bhatia Cup from 1950 on. It involved all districts in the

⁸¹*Mambo Leo*, January 1932, 98; also *Mambo Leo*, "Ujijimpira," November 1939, 179.

⁸²*Mambo Leo*, August, 1938, 131; see also September 1932, 173 and February, 1939-1955, 26.

⁸³The centre-half of the Tabora Boys School team that represented Western Province in the Sunlight Cup.

⁸⁴*Mambo Leo*, "Dar es Salaam won the Sunlight Cup against Tabora," October 1946, 117; also *Mambo Leo*, January 1946, "Tabora Kikombe Kilichotoka Dar es Salaam," 7.

province. Kaduguda argues that the cup was tactically introduced to groom players for the provincial team to play the Sunlight Cup. Their efforts bore fruit in 1953, when the province emerged as the second winner after losing to the Eastern Province.⁸⁵In terms of consistency in winning cups, the Western Province was the second-best in the country until 1960, trailed only by the Eastern Province.

4.0 The Formation of Tanganyika Football Association

Tanganyika's territorial football body has its roots from the Gossage Cup. This is the earliest inter-territory tournament in Africa, which started on May 1st, 1926. The tournament came as a pressure from football fans in British East Africa (Kenya) who asked the William Gossage and Sons Company Limited⁸⁶to host a special event to honour the company's founder, William Gossage.⁸⁷The tournament began instantly with Kenya and Uganda only. Tanganyika did not participate because she lacked a territorial body to oversee a territorial or national team.⁸⁸As argued earlier, football was governed by

⁸⁵Kaduguda, (2014), 23–35; also *Mambo Leo*, 1953, 12.

⁸⁶Soap maker based in United Kingdom. Its soap brand, Gossage, was sold throughout the world, including East African colonies such as Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar.

⁸⁷*The East African Standard*, “Kenya: from the Days of the Gossage Cup to the Challenge Cup”, November 23, 2002; also, *The East African Standard*, “Kenya: Gossage Cup to CECAFA: 76 Years of Regional Soccer”, December 2, 2002; also, “History of the Gossage Cup”, <http://www.international-football.net/com> (Accessed on April 15, 2020).

⁸⁸Interview with Saidi Lukulwe at Kigamboni on 22.02.2020; Kaduguda and Ally F. Khamis.

autonomous district FAs in Tanganyika. Consequently, the idea of having a territory football body emerged to cater for this concern. The earliest efforts to establish the body were made at a meeting on August 26th, 1936 at the New African Hotel in Dar es Salaam. Attended by football fans largely from Dar es Salaam and Tanga districts, the meeting agreed to form the territorial FA before 1940. However, due to ongoing imperialist politics and the outbreak of the WWII, the Tanganyika Football Association (TFA) did not come into effect until 1945. Its headquarters were built near Ilala Stadium in 1947.⁸⁹

The TFA was formed to advise on the Sunlight Cup operation and improve the territorial team. This team was formally formed in 1945 to compete in the Kampala Gossage Cup. In her first final, Tanganyika lost 7-0 to Uganda⁹⁰ due to immaturity and poor preparation. Friendlies against the Nairobi African XI and its participation in the 1946 Nairobi Gossage Cup finals improved the territorial team.⁹¹ As a result, in the 1947 Dar es Salaam finals, Tanganyika became the second winner after Uganda. In the 1948 Kampala finals, Tanganyika, participating for the fourth time, failed to repeat

⁸⁹*The Tanganyika Standard*, "Football Association", August 22nd 1936, 3.

⁹⁰Laura Fair, "Kick in' It: Leisure, Politics and Football in Colonial Zanzibar, 1900s-1950s," *Journal of the International African Institute* 67, no.2 (1997), 232.

⁹¹Roy Gachuhi, "The Gossage Cup", *The Kenya Yearbook Editorial Board Sport Series* 17, no.2 (2020), 12-22.

the 1947's performance by losing 6-0 to Uganda.⁹² Despite shocking football fans, this second defeat served as a wake-up call for TFA officials to provide more support on improving the squad's performance.

In 1949, Sir Edward F. Twining succeeded Sir William D. Battershill as a governor. His rule's capacity-building policies, aimed at integrating Africans into more social and political activities including sports, helped to allocate some financial resources for the team before the Gossage finals in Zanzibar.⁹³ Tanganyika played a final match against Kenya, but the first half ended in a 1-1 tie. Due to a lack of light in the second half of extra time, the game was called off. Tanganyika won its first cup after the second replay the following day.⁹⁴ It was one of the finals marred by witchcraft allegations by Omari, the Kenyan striker. Omari blamed a ball for turning into a snake every time he wanted to kick it and became scared. This claim was, however, refuted by the TFA officials because their squad

⁹²MICAS, "Information, Culture, Arts, and Sports Statistics Report, 2015 Tanzania, Dar es Salaam: (2016)", 42; also Interviews with Ally Samatta Pazi in Dar es Salaam on March 10, 2020.

⁹³"Tanganyika a British Mandate 1939-1961: Tanganyika's", https://ntz.info/gen/boo627.html#ido_3520 (Accessed on June 15, 2020); also, Godfrey Mwakikagile (2010), 51.

⁹⁴CECFA, <http://www.rssf.com.tables/eastcentrafar.html> (Accessed on June 21, 2019); also "Gossage Cup", <https://www.international-football.com> (Accessed on June 18, 2020).

was better than Kenya's. Figure 2 presents a photo of Tanganyika team after winning the Gossage Cup in 1949.

Figure 2: The Tanganyika Gossage Cup Squad with their First Trophy in 1949



Source: John Limo (former national team player in the 1960s)

In 1950 and 1951, Tanganyika won its third championship in a row against Kenya. Obviously, the three consecutive victories disproved Kenyans' witchcraft claims. However, Samatta argues that from the early 1950s on the British were no longer committed to supporting sports in the colony, which had begun to demand her independence.⁹⁵This situation adversely

⁹⁵Interview with Ally Samatta Pazi; see also History of the Gossage Cup in <http://www.international-football.net/com>, accessed on April 15, 2020.

affected Tanganyika's performance. Despite its efforts in improving the national team, the TFA remained toothless behind the district FAs, which, in spite of their efforts in forming leagues, failed to expand the game beyond district headquarters, thereby causing regionalisation of the game in Tanganyika.

5.0 Conclusion

The institutionalisation of football, as this paper enlightens, tremendously transformed football in Tanganyika, particularly from the 1930s to the late 1950s. While exhibiting some racism that favoured Europeans over Africans in their districts, FAs were very supportive of promoting and spreading football. Nevertheless, due to the minimal role of government authorities in these autonomous bodies, African clubs struggled to establish themselves in European-led leagues. It was achieved largely after the WWII. The colonial state's substantial energies, as discussed in this paper, cannot be attributed to its own efforts. The move was a reaction to changing global politics, characterised by external pressures over decolonization.