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NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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EDITORS' NOTE

This is the closing issue for *Tanzania Zamani*. Following a decision made to adopt a new title, the journal will hereafter be published under the title *Zamani: A Journal of African Historical Studies*. The new title is adopted in order to widen the journal's geographical scope in order to attract scholarly contributions from historians working on other parts of Africa. The decision was also driven by the need to attract thematic contributions on issues in African history that cut across country borders.

The five articles comprising this issue are typically diverse in terms of thematic, geographical and temporal coverage. Thematically, they range from methodological issues and communication infrastructure to the often-topical themes of gender, culture, and anti-colonial struggles. In terms of geography, the issue carries an exceptional article based on a study done in Zimbabwe, which was accepted due to its obvious relevance to historical experience in Tanzania. Regarding the temporal scope, three articles focus on the colonial period, one examines a phenomenon extending from the colonial to the colonial period, while the last presents an historical archaeological study of the late pre-colonial period.

In the first article, Lorne Larson addresses efforts at establishing telecommunication in German East Africa. He outlines the processes and circumstances under which the

Germans established a system of telegraphic communication in this colony, and links these processes with developments in the broader world of postal and telegraphic communication. Having shown how the Germans initially established telecommunication infrastructures between their early coastal administrative centres and eventually extending them to some of the interior stations, Larson explains how these infrastructures ultimately influenced the encounters between the German administration and insurgent local people's reactions against colonial political authority. Although it focusses specifically on telecommunications, the article shows that this was only part of the broader effort by the German administration to develop a functional system of communication and transportation that would serve as vital administrative instruments in both the times of peace and conflict.

The second article by Iddi Magoti addresses an aspect of East African history that historians have seldom dwelt on, namely anticolonial movements across borders and their historical outcomes. It specifically examines the ways in which the MAUMAU, a radical anticolonial movement in Kenya, impacted on Tanzania societies both in the colonial past and at present. Using information from archival and oral sources, the article convincingly argues that the MAUMAU insurgence had significant consequences on neighbouring countries, including Tanzania. Besides causing tensions to the people

and colonial administration in Tanganyika, such impacts manifested in the migration of some Kenyans to the neighbouring colony; occasional overspills of the insurgence into Tanganyika; arrest, detention and repatriation of the Kenyan Kikuyus who lived in Tanganyika before the rise of MAUMAU; and creation of minority Kikuyu communities in Tanganyika who would come to experience unique historical circumstances as emigrant groups.

In the third article, Sibongile Mauye and co-authors address a theme that seldom finds a place in African historiography-white women and gender-based violence. Using colonial southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) as a window, the authors go beyond the familiar class and race as analytic categories by investigating gender-based violence as yet another aspect of historical dynamics that shaped the colonial society in white dominated settler territories. Based on court and other archival sources, the article unveils historical realities about white women in colonial Zimbabwe as both victims and perpetrators of domestic violence. It identifies desertion, adultery and cruelty as "subjective" forms of violence, and structural inequalities ingrained in the colonial state's gender ideologies of marriage, divorce and property and wage laws as "objective forms." The authors' ultimate submission is that white women's involvement in gender-based violence in the context of settler colonialism contradicts the myth of racial superiority and purity propagated by the ideologues of the

colonial state and society. It therefore opens up a window for seeking a deeper understanding of the intricate overlaps between class, race and gender in settler-dominated colonial societies in Africa.

The fourth article by Thomas Biginagwa makes a case for the need to make careful use of oral narratives as source of information for historical archaeological research. Using a case study of a site in South-eastern Tanzania, the author shows how collection of oral historical information serves as an important starting point for archaeological research and how misleading the information can sometimes be. The author therefore underscores the necessity to handle local people's oral narratives cautiously while exploiting their rich potential as source of information. He also emphasizes that engaging local people in archaeological research also serves as a strategy for enhancing the security of excavated sites.

The closing article by Twabibu Twaibu and the co-author skims through the evolution of football in colonial Tanganyika using the rise, development and dynamics of football associations in the colony as a focal point. Based on information from archival and oral sources, the authors discuss circumstances under which a football association was first established in Dar es Salaam, and the manner in which similar institutions were subsequently developed in other parts of the colony. They also provide details on how the work

of these associations helped popularise football throughout colonial Tanganyika despite racially and politically driven obstacles against African participants. In analysing the dynamic forces involved in the process, the authors acknowledge and explain the different roles played by media, league sponsors, individual sports enthusiasts and the colonial government.

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Telecommunications and Conflict in German East Africa: 1891-1907

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Abstract

In modern Tanzania the ability to connect people and institutions within the context of the Internet and, even more specifically, via the mobile telephone network, would be considered an integral component of daily life. Yet there is almost no consideration by modern historians of the development of telecommunications within the country, a process that extends back well over a century. Within the entity that became known as German East Africa a telegraph line ran 791 kilometres from Tanga in the north to Mikindani in the south. It was created between 1891 and 1897. It was the 'unbroken cable' that literally tied together an initial strip of coastal territory under tentative control by the German colonial authorities. This essay looks at the circumstances in which this earliest physical infrastructure was constructed and used, and how it fit into a more pervasive postal framework. It also considers that there was an early public awareness of the functionality of such infrastructure, an awareness that led to it being dynamically targeted and then protected during several periods of internal insurgency. Since such insurgency primarily occurred south of the Rufiji, there is a particular emphasis on providing context for that geographical area.

1.0 The Context: Moving Goods and Information

From the middle of the nineteenth century to at least the middle of the twentieth century, the telegraph was arguably the most significant medium of global real-time communication, critical to contractual commerce, diplomacy and military operations.[1] Continents (and important islands) were connected by submarine cables. Zanzibar entered the global network in 1879 as part of the submarine cable network that had connected Durban to Aden. Another submarine cable was laid across the channel from Zanzibar to Bagamoyo in 1890 and then to the new territorial capital of Dar es Salaam. By the beginning of the First World War there were 32 telegraph transmission points across German East Africa. It is suggested that 308,400 telegrams were registered in German East Africa in 1913.[2] Slightly earlier statistics from the whole of 1912 suggest a total of 315,970 -- of which 97,000

[1] A global view of the development of the telegraph is contained in Roland Wenzlhuemer. *Connecting the Nineteenth-Century World: The Telegraph and Globalization.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). This otherwise useful study has almost no reference to Africa. For an older analysis specific to Germany colonialism and published on the eve of the Second World War, see D. Thilo, "Die Reichspost, ein Grundstein der Kolonien und der deutschen Niederlassungen im Ausland" and "Deutsch-Ostafrika," in *Geschichte der Deutschen Post in den Kolonien und in Ausland*, eds. W. Schmidt and Hans Werner (Leipzig: Konkordia Verlag, 1939), 1-10 and 229–79 respectively. Starting in 1892, Daniel Thilo spent three years in East Africa engaged in the construction of the colonial postal infrastructure. This Schmidt and Werner publication also contains one of the best cartographic overviews of the infrastructure considered.

[2] Thilo, "Reichspost", 9.

originated in the colony, 96,560 were received, and 122,410 were in transit to another territory.[3]

On a global perspective, the transmission of a telegram was usually linked to the physical infrastructure of a post office or postal agency. And such sites were often associated with other forms of communication. They might facilitate telephony (both local and long-distance). They certainly handled significant volumes of physical communication (postcards, letters, newspapers, parcels). Where appropriate across the globe, such postal agencies were physically located in close proximity to rail stations and harbours to facilitate wider regional transmission. They would often manifest themselves as significant architectural edifices, drawing attention to the centrality of the postal framework. The early expansion of a telegraphic network along the coastal hinterland of East Africa would also be paralleled by a significant change in marine transport infrastructure. It is not that forms of coastal marine transport did not already exist. The sailing dhow had

[3] Wilhelm Puche, "Post- und Telegraphwesen," in *Deutsches Kolonial-Lexikon* III, ed. Heinrich Schnee (Leipzig: Quelle and Meyer, 1920), 89-92. The discussion here can be read in conjunction with a contemporary publication by the same author. Wilhelm Puche, "Das Post und Telegraphie in den deutschen Schutzgebieten und bei den deutschen Verkehrsanstalten im Ausland in den Jahren 1903 bis 1914." *Archiv für Post und Telegraphie* [*APT*] 49, no. 10 (1921): 377-414. Puche spent 1891-1896 in the postal service in East Africa. The indicated pagination covers the East African context. For a survey that predates the coverage by Puche, see H. Herzog, "Deutsche Post- und Telegrapheneinrichtungen in den Kolonien und im Auslande." *APT* 31, no.2 (1903): 33-49.

traversed the Indian Ocean and the East African coastal ports for centuries. It was, among other things, particularly suited to small ports with no deep-water anchorage. The period from 1895 to 1900 would be a period of unprecedented usage of this technology in response to a series of local and global demands and this would play out most clearly in the southern coastal ports.[4] Yet transport by sail did not meet the more rigid timetabling criteria desired for the 'postal' function and, starting in 1891 with the launch of the *Deutsche Ost-Afrika Linie* (DOAL) supported by state subvention, a new era of steam transport developed in East Africa.[5] Steamships of various sizes and ownership would connect major European ports with the East African coast. The smaller East African ports (Tanga, Kilwa, Lindi, Mikindani) would be connected to Dar es Salaam and also further south to the major Mozambican ports and then to Durban in South Africa. Dar es Salaam would have scheduled connections with Zanzibar and farther across the ocean to Bombay.

Although the initial capital costs of marine transport supported the idea of state subventions for commercial

[4] The most detailed analysis of the dhow traffic, and coastal trade in general, is contained in Patrick Krajewski, *Kautschuk, Quarantäne, Krieg: Dhauhandel in Ostafrika 1880-1914*. (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2006.)
[5] For a more immediate (and detailed) example of shipping activity connected to the 'postal' function, one might consult the locally published shipping schedules. An example for March 1905 details 31 shipping events from Dar es Salaam (and Zanzibar) that have postal implications. *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* VII, no. 9 (March 1905).

companies, it is important to consider the particular line of imperial authority involved specifically with telegraphic construction. In 1893 the Nyassa Company, heavily involved in the administration of northern Mozambique, contacted Berlin about the possibility of connecting their own proposed coastal line at the Ruvuma boundary. The letter expressed some uncertainty concerning the German institution with authority to negotiate.[6] In fact, the relevant metropolitan authority was the *Reichspostamt* (created in 1876). It coordinated the demands of other government departments and led the lobbying for financial underpinning in the colonies. It saw the telegraph construction within German East Africa as an integral component of the metropolitan infrastructure, not something that would be assigned to a commercial entity.

2.0 Building the First Coastal Line: the North

The first major telegraph line in German East Africa linked into Bagamoyo and extended northwards 184 kilometres to Tanga.[7] It is much simpler to indicate a completion date than

[6] *Bundesarchiv* [BArch] R 1001/1060 p. 49

[7] The construction of this initial line is described in [Rudolf Krause], "Die erste oberirdische Telegraphenlinie in Deutsch-Ostafrika," *APT* 20, no.16 (August 1892):547-52. The entire article was reproduced in the government records in Berlin, giving it an official imprimatur. BArch, R 1001/1060. p.33. An extensive summary of the same article was published shortly afterwards in Max Wildemann, "Die erste oberirdische Telegraphenlinie in Deutsch-Ostafrika," *Jahrbuch der Naturwissenschaften* 8 (1893):437-9. The original article is reproduced again with analytical commentary in Herbert Leclerc, "Die erste

to indicate an exact initiation date for a pioneering project of this technical nature. During early 1891 every opportunity was taken by local colonial authorities (Bagamoyo, Sadani, Pangani, Tanga) to explain the imminent construction project; warnings were also given against interference with that process. In fact, an armed escort was only assigned to the initial survey team and there were no discernible attempts to subsequently interfere with the construction of the line. Construction began in Bagamoyo but the project headquarters and primary supply depot were located in Tanga with its better harbour facilities, the depot function administered by a local German commercial firm. The first shipment of materials from Germany arrived in Tanga on 16 November 1891. Secondary distribution by dhow to coastal intermediate positions was coordinated by a German commercial firm based in Zanzibar. Besides obvious depot destinations at Bagamoyo, Sadani and Pangani, there were three other temporary depots established at intermediate positions along the coast between Bagamoyo and Pangani. The key initial shipment arrived in Bagamoyo on 25 November

oberirdische Telegraphenlinie in Deutsch-Ostafrika," *Archiv für deutsche Postgeschichte* 2 (1980): 21-31. Although it adds original diary information to the discussion, Leclerc does not say where that archival data resides. What is omitted in any modern discussion is the extensive retrospective by Krause written several years after he was repatriated to Germany on medical grounds. Rudolf Krause, "Erlebnisse beim Telegraphen-bau in Ost-Afrika," *Deutsche Verkehrs-Zeitung* vol. 17, nos. 27/28 (1893): 258-60, 268-70.

of that year. Like most economic activities in the interior, work was done in seasonal cycles determined by the rainy season; the first season of construction of work was halted at the end of March 1892 having pushed north of Sadani. It was officially completed on 10 December 1892.

The over-arching imperative to construct the line as quickly as possible inevitably led to certain *ad hoc* decisions being made at the metropolitan level before substantive initial ground surveys were available.[8] It was decided in Berlin that the transmission poles (*Stangen*) would be hollow metal structures manufactured in Germany; there was no certainty how wooden poles would react to local weather conditions or whether local insects would do substantive damage to wood. There was even less certainty about the availability and suitability of local timber supplies. There appears to be no exact figure of how many metal poles were shipped but given the stated mathematics of construction—roughly 12 poles per kilometre in straight-line construction or 15 poles in a curved line—it would not be unreasonable to posit that at least 2500 poles were shipped to East Africa just for the northern phase. Each of those posts was transported from intermediate coastal

[8] In a more 'autoethnographic' context the author would also admit to having significant experience of some of the technical issues discussed in this article. In his undergraduate years he spent the academic holidays over three years building high-voltage electrical transmission lines across remote areas of western Canada. He has done every role described in this essay with the exception of postal stevedore. He has been threatened with violence by local farmers.

depots into their final positions by being carried by two African porters. Coils of cable as well as insulators also needed to be transported by porters. Indeed, it is instructive to look at the question of cables. At the factory level, transmission cables were wound on large wooden reels, efficient to ship and designed to be finally placed on a special cart pulled by animal or steam locomotion along the surveyed route. This final distribution environment could not be emulated in East Africa. And the weight and size of the cable reels meant that they were cumbersome and dangerous articles for dhow transport. Consequently, these large objects had to be reduced into smaller coils of wire in Tanga, suitable for dhow and porterage transport. There were downstream consequences of downsizing; it increased the incidence of splicing/soldering operations needed to reconstruct the longer lengths of cable used in the ultimate construction process.

The recruitment of workers was initially hampered by the choice of Bagamoyo as start-point and the competitive environment for labour generated by major caravan routes extending into the interior; two large caravans were to depart Bagamoyo just as the construction team was initializing. There was often also a cultural bias to recruitment; porters preferred to sign up to contracts that returned them to their

home territory in the interior.[9] The telegraph project in the first instance had to rely on a secondment of African soldiers from the Bagamoyo *Schutztruppe* detachment to shift an initial tranche of 70 poles. The project also pulled in a temporary secondment of porters from the postal agency in Dar es Salaam as well 32 slaves brought from Pangani.[10] It made use of the local technical knowledge of the Holy Ghost Fathers missionaries near Bagamoyo as well as their tools; it also seconded a team of 10 African craftsmen out of the mission workshops. A core team of approximately 80 workers eventually came into being, either as members of the constituent specialized teams or as porters shifting supplies along the line; close to 200 labourers were involved at some point in the construction. The core workers were paid a monthly wage of 12 rupees, in addition to a food ration.[11] The latter supplement was necessitated by the sparse population along the line of construction and the uncertainty of

[9] The authoritative study of trans-territorial porterage is Stephen Rockel, *Carriers of Culture: Labor on the Road in Nineteenth-Century East Africa (*Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2006*)*

[10] The institution of slavery was still legal at this point; its immediate abolition was considered to be economically disruptive to the coastal plantation economy. See Jan-George Deutsch, Emancipation Without Abolition in German East Africa c.1884–1914. (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2006).

[11] Just over a decade later this was still the average monthly wage around Bagamoyo, although it is noted that Nyamwezi porters also commanded an additional premium of 25%. See table entitled "Zusammenstellung der an der Küste üblichen Lohnsätze" dated 31 March 1903. BArch, R 1001/118, pgs.145-46.

guaranteeing a local supply source. There was also a line of thinking that suggested a centralized food supply lessened the possibility of petty local disputes by labourers with local agriculturalists. As with many economic activities in East Africa, construction was temporarily halted during the rainy season. This seasonal interlude could have signified difficulties in reconstituting experienced workers for the following season, but this does not appear to be the case here.

There was no significant overland transport infrastructure between Bagamoyo and Tanga that could substantively facilitate the construction of the telegraph line, nothing that resembled the well-established routes heading into the interior from Bagamoyo. The only maps available were British admiralty maps that detailed the shape of the coast; a detailed grid map of the terrain leading northwards to Tanga was not actually published until 1911. It was necessary to have survey theodolites and compasses to chart the progress of the line yet some of this key equipment was damaged in transit from Germany and only by a fluke of luck were missing components locally sourced in Bagamoyo. At best, surveyors could make opportunistic use of smaller paths and recognized crossing points of smaller streams as guidelines. An initial route survey lasting 45 days took place as materials were being placed into intermediate depots along the coast. As much as possible, the construction tried to maintain a straight line but deviations were inevitable given the exigencies of local terrain. There were even discussions during the survey of the extent to which

existing cultivated land should be used or avoided. A clearance team of 25 African workers used machetes and axes to clear a right-of-way measuring from 10 - 20 metres across. At one of the most difficult locations, it took three days to progress 480 metres. The clearance width had two functions: to facilitate maintenance access and to prevent the growth of tall vegetation that might compromise the transmission cable during periods of extreme weather. There were other localized threats to the cable infrastructure that were completely unforeseen by metropolitan planners! In subsequent years, there would be occasional incidents where it appeared that giraffe herds brought down cables and poles, probably moving at a speed triggered by a predatory threat.[12]

In addition to dangers to the physical line, there were health dangers to the teams constructing it. When clearing wooded areas there were frequent attacks by bees and other stinging insects as well as vegetative material that irritated the skin and eyes.[13] There was always an issue during the dry season of ensuring potable water and the potential of dysentery. However, the primary health danger in this northern stretch

[12] This type of disruption is confirmed by Wilhelm Methner from his tenure at Moshi in 1906-7. Wilhelm Methner, *Unter Drei Gouverneuren; 16 Jahren Dienst in deutschen Tropen* (Breslau [Wroclaw]: W.G. Korn Verlag, 1938), p. 118. But Methner also sees such destruction in a more metaphorical positive sense, that it hampered the detailed interference by the central administration in local district affairs!

[13] The probable culprits (along the entire coastal hinterland) were members of the *Euphorbiae* family.

appeared to be malaria. The contemporary report indicates that "…. all the Europeans and many of the Africans became ill from malaria. More than half of the 5 Europeans involved were incapacitated at any point in time."[14] The precise cause of malaria – specifically its linkages with transmission by mosquito—would only be proved later by Ronald Ross in India in 1897, for which he received a Nobel Prize in 1902. Yet there was a contemporary academic interest in malaria by individuals who were resident at either end of the northern line.[15] *Oberstabarzt* Emil Steudel had just accepted a secondment to the Bagamoyo detachment of the *Schutztruppe* in 1891. He would have had medical responsibility for the African soldiers who gave initial aid to

[14] *APT 20,* 551. Krause would also remark later that "The health condition of the construction officials was less than favourable. Of the five white overseers, at least one was afflicted with malaria at any point in time, often two or three." Krause, "Erlebnisse", 269.

[15] We concentrate on the figure of Emil Steudel in this discussion, but Friederich Plehn had been a colonial government doctor since 1893, first in the Kamerun and then at Tanga in 1894-5. During his African sojourn Plehn had studied malaria extensively and published several scientific articles on the subject. His practical guide to dealing with health issues in the field was published in 1902. Friedrich Plehn, *Tropenhygiene mit specieller Berücksichtigung der deutschen Kolonien: Ärztliche Ratschläge für Kolonialbeamte, Offiziere, Missionare, Expeditionsführer, Pflanzer und Faktoristen.* (Jena: G. Fischer, 1902). This publication was, of course, too late to be advisory to our telegraph expeditions. The same would also be true of the German edition of another targeted field guide. Ronald Ross, *Das Malariafieber, dessen Ursachen, Verhütung und Behandlung. Winke für Reisende, Jäger, Militärs und Bewohner von Malariagegenden*. (Berlin: W. Süsserott, 1904).

the telegraph project. His early academic focus was on the medical condition of the African porters who terminated their journey in Bagamoyo.[16] Yet by 1894, after his return to Germany, he would publish a detailed monograph on his experience of malaria in East Africa.[17] That monograph used sixteen anonymized German individuals that had come under Steudel's care in Bagamoyo as a result of severe malarial attacks. Individual 'K' is almost certainly Krause, the most senior administrator of the telegraph project. Exploring that case record provides considerably more detail for the health risks mentioned very briefly above. Suffering from an increasing cycle of malarial attacks in early 1892, Krause was finally brought to Bagamoyo and received hospital treatment for the last week of February. He was strongly advised to take recovery leave and left by sea for Durban in South Africa where he stayed for the month of June. He returned to the field in early July, largely in response to illness among his immediate subordinates. He only lasted a month before he was forced back to Bagamoyo for further treatment, followed by a permanent transfer back to Europe. He was not to see the completion of the northern phase while in Africa.

[16] Emil Steudel, "Die ansteckenden Krankheiten der Karawanen Deutsch-Ostafrikas, ihre Verbreitung unter der übrigen Bevolkerung und ihre Bekampfung." *Koloniales Jahrbuch* VII (1895): 171-202. This article concentrated on dysentery and smallpox and said little about malaria.
[17] Emil Steudel, *Die perniziöse Malaria in Deutsch-Ostafrika (*Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1894)

As the telegraph progressed towards its northern terminus, it had to deal with one of its most formidable obstacles, the passing of the Pangani river. The accepted technical approach was to use a submarine cable designed for rivers, but two obstacles existed, one specific and the other generic. The special fluvial cable shipped from Germany proved to be marginally short, forcing the construction of special platforms on either side of the river to eliminate the length deficiency. Fluvial cables were most secure in stretches of a river at some distance from its exit into a larger ocean, but this also was not the case here. In addition to seasonal fluctuations in this location, the cable had to withstand tidal surges that dynamically created sandbanks and small islets. The manipulation of the fluvial cable into position across the Pangani employed three dhows, 10 canoes and the efforts of 200 labourers. The northern line reached its northern terminus at Tanga on 8 October 1892.

From its initial construction across the difficult landscape of the lower Pangani, the maintenance of the riverine cable became problematic. Indeterminate breaks in the cable at this crossing led to a decision in 1900 to bring the cable out of the river. The makeshift aerial structure that was immediately erected had to deal with a sharply differential elevation between the southern and northern banks of the river, a condition that brought the cable uncomfortably close to the northern surface of the river at high tide. The interim solution was to ban categories of riverine traffic through the northern

channel. The eventual long-term solution was to manufacture a 23m steel tower in Germany that would equalize the elevation issue. It was shipped in three sections to East Africa in early 1905, specifically to Tanga. Each of these sections was then towed on barges to a new designated crossing point on the Pangani. Its final installation was delayed by circumstances discussed later in the essay.

3.0 Building the Coastal Line: the South

The physical construction of the southern line was begun in August 1893. Leclerc's assertion that it was completed quicker than the northern line, despite its greater length, is substantially inaccurate![18] The southern extension of the telegraph can be seen as two consecutive projects, one to connect Dar es Salaam with Kilwa and the second to continue to Lindi and Mikindani. Each stage would incorporate modifications based on the previous stage.

Arguably the southern extension began even earlier than August.[19] An advance survey was carried out from 1 May 1893 to 17 June 1893 and that survey incorporated a deliberate intention to observe the potential alteration of physical conditions during a period of the rainy season. Because it was an isolated survey team operating in an area still seen as not

[18] Leclerc, "Telegraphenlinie", 31.
[19] The Dar es Salaam-Kilwa construction is considered in Scheunemann, "Erweiterung der Telegraphenanlagen in Deutsch-Ostafrika," *APT* 22, no. 22 (November,1894): 694-700.

entirely under tight colonial control, it was accompanied by a military detachment. The survey team again accessed historical experience by attempting to utilize an older caravan route that had existed between Dar es Salaam and Kilwa.

Although the technical construction documentation pays little historical attention to this route and its immediate environment, it is instructive for us to do so. This is the region that produced gum copal, the second most valuable export product in the Zanzibari trade network during the nineteenth century other than ivory.[20] And the complex local commercial structure that controlled production and trade was notoriously suspicious of strangers passing through the region.[21] More immediately relevant to our study is that the wider Rufiji basin was the primary focal point of mangrove forestry, of which a primary product was the 'pole' highly desired for construction purposes, shipped by dhow to Aden

[20] See Thaddeus Sunseri. "The Political Ecology of the Copal Trade in the Tanzanian Coastal Hinterland, c. 1820 – 1905" *The Journal of African History* 48 no.2, (2007):201-220.

[21] The diplomat Richard Elton is generally credited with providing the first detailed description of this route in the 1870s. See the summary in Thaddeus Sunseri, *Wielding the Ax: State Forestry and Social Conflict in Tanzania, 1820-2000* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009), 12-17. Usually forgotten by historians is the still earlier journey by Albrecht Roscher. See J. W. Heldring, *The Killing of Dr. Albrecht Roscher: The Story of a Young German Explorer in East Africa, 1858-1860* Kibworth: Upfront Publishing, 2003), 161-8.

to be distributed in the Gulf and even further to India.[22] In short, the technical process used to distribute German metal poles along the coast emulated a process long established in East Africa to shift mangrove poles.

The primary technical change to material components on this first southern stage had been an extension of length to the standard poles, specifically triggered by the experience with giraffes on the northern line. Those same poles were also given enhancements to reduce the speed of corrosion over time. Again, in light of previous giraffe damage, the isolators were weakened so that they would fall away from the pole under pressure and be less likely to prejudice the integrity of multiple poles. And the last change was to introduce a slightly lighter cable, lessening costs but also easing local porterage transport.

The construction team was led by *Telegraphenassistent* Preuss assisted by four other German technicians. The African component of the team grew from an initial 35 men to start the clearance cycle, growing to 92 as the other construction tasks were enabled. Virtually all of the local labour was recruited in either Bagamoyo or Dar es Salaam. A small group of workers that were identified as "notably capable and reliable" were assigned to the 'stringing' team to learn

[22] Sunseri indicates a figure of twenty thousand poles shipped from Zanzibari territory in 1859, a figure that he considers an underestimate. Sunseri, *Ax,* 30.

specialized skills like soldering the smaller cable coils into longer lengths.[23] Seventeen temporary camps were progressively established as the team proceeded along the survey line southwards, with local labour hired to progressively shift material from one camp to another. Localized arrangements were periodically made with African leaders to supervise small stores of material that could be quickly accessed to make repairs in a post-construction period.

There was considerable physical stress brought to bear on the construction team as it proceeded southwards and this stress mirrored that experienced on the northern route. The advance 'clearance' team, as always, took the brunt of the punishment. In addition to the privations of adverse weather, they were regularly attacked by bees and wasps housed in hollow trees that the workers were attempting to clear, as well as being afflicted by stinging material issued by other plants. The African workers were again impacted early in the project by malarial attacks which led to nearly ten per cent of the workforce being incapacitated and was instrumental in the deaths of two local workers. By October the malarial threat to

[23] The term 'stringing' is derived from the author's construction experience. It refers to the team that distributes the cable (the 'string') between the poles and then ascends the poles to permanently attach the cable to the insulators. The 'stringing' team is generally considered to comprise the elite technical workers (the 'linemen') within the whole technical crew.

African workers appeared to be receding, just as it began to impact the European supervisory staff. One German supervisor was removed to Kilwa for treatment and there were times when only two German supervisors were capable of working. There was retrospective praise for the African workforce faced with a variety of privations. "The fact that the construction progressed relatively quickly must be in part attributed to the diligence of the workers." [24]

The crossing of the Rufiji river was the equivalent of the passage of the Pangani in the north. It was approached in two phases. A temporary aerial construct had been established across the Rufiji some considerable distance from the delta area just to facilitate a rapid connection to Mohoro and then to Kilwa. Then, at the end of the main construction, a replacement fluvial cable was nudged up the Rufiji, initially by government steamer, then by a shallow draft sailing pinnace and finally by canoe and human intervention into its final resting place. The telegraph line at Kilwa was fully operational on 21 February 1894.

Approximately six months later, in September 1894, Kilwa came under pressure from a Yao warlord called Hassani bin Omari Makunganya.[25] The initial indication of hostility was

[24] *Ibid.,* 698

[25] An early recognition of the Mavuji Yao context is given in Gwassa, *Outbreak,* 80-1. An immediate description is contained in "Über den Verlauf der Expedition gegen Hassan bin Omari" *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* (*DKB)* 7, no.1 (1896): 6-8. The dynamic expansion of Yao entities in

an attack on the telegraph infrastructure stretching 20 km north of Kilwa. "Poles were uprooted, insulators were shattered, and the cable was cut in many places."[26] On 7 September 1894, under the leadership of Makunganya, a large force attacked the German fortifications at Kilwa itself but were beaten off after a fierce battle. Yet the over-extended resources of the *Schutztruppe* meant there was little possibility of an immediate counter-offensive. It took more than year before a coordinated campaign along the southern coast was launched against Makunganya. The Yao leader was finally captured on the November 1895. He was among sixteen individuals subsequently executed in Kilwa. This was not just a 'Yao' event. Prominent members of the local Kilwa administration and the local trading community were also implicated. Four prominent Indian traders were also

considered more widely in Edward A. Alpers, "Trade, State, and Society among the Yao in the Nineteenth Century." *The Journal of African History* 10, no. 3 (1969): 405–20; Terence Ranger, "European Attitudes and African Realities: The Rise and Fall of the Matola Chiefs of South-East Tanzania." *The Journal of African History* 20, no. 1 (1979): 63–82; Gwyn Campbell, "The East African Slave Trade, 1861-1895: The 'Southern' Complex." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 22, no. 1 (1989): 1–26; Felicitas Becker, 'Traders, "Big Men" and Prophets: Political Continuity and Crisis in the Maji Maji Rebellion in Southeast Tanzania', *The Journal of African History* 45, no.1 (2004): 7.

[26] Wilhelm Puche, "Das Post- und Telegraphenwesen in Deutsch-Ostafrika vom Jahre 1890 bis 1899." *Mitteilungen des Sminars for Orientalische Sprachen* IV (1901): 11

condemned to death but their sentence was eventually commuted and they were deported in chains to Aden.

The Yao disruption emphasized the importance of having instant military communications along coast, yet there were other idiosyncratic reminders of telegraphic utility. On 3 May 1895 the President of the German Colonial Society arrived unannounced in Lindi, deciding on an impulsive whim to catch the coastal steamer on a touristic peregrination southward from Dar es Salaam. His arrival caught the local administration off balance.

> "It was an unexpected event for a small settlement, at that time off the global beaten path, and not yet connected by telegraph—called *Sim* by the Swahili—to Dar es Salaam."[27]

Given the various military and political developments unfolding in the immediate southern interior, that local administration might be forgiven for having its attention focussed elsewhere. In the immediate aftermath of the capture of the Yao leaders, a detachment of the Lindi *Schutztruppe* force marched northwards to Dar es Salaam

[27] Heinrich Fonck, *Deutsch-Ost-Afrika: eine Schilderung deutscher Tropen nach 10 Wanderjahren* (Berlin: Vossische Buchhandlung, 1907), 137. See "Besuch des Schutzgebietes durch Seine Hoheit Herzog Johann Albrecht von Mecklenburg-Schwerin," *DKB* 6 (1895): 296,320. The earlier elaborate preparations for royal entertainment in Tanga are documented in F. Mismahl, "Hoher Besuch in Tanga," *Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* 8, no.20 (18. May 1895):156-7.

specifically to demonstrate to local leaders the "inviolability" (*Unantastbarkeit*) of the telegraph infrastructure. [28]

The next (and final) stage of telegraphic construction was only initiated from Kilwa in April 1897 and was operational at its terminus in Mikandani on 24 September of that year.[29] Predictably, the format of construction in this final stage broadly reflected the format of the previous years, yet adjustments continued to be made based on past experience and local conditions. A slightly heavier cable was re-introduced to enhance resiliency. Wooden (mangrove) poles were occasionally substituted in conditions where saline deposits might possibly corrode the standard metal constructions. The hippopotamus rather than the giraffe was now seen as the probable animal threat to construction, and poles received extra reinforcement in known grazing areas. The river crossing for Lindi, based on fluvial cables, was simplified by taking the crossing point 4 km inland, dividing the cable across a well-established island.

The size and composition of the construction crew was similar to the first southern stage; a total of almost 90 people were deployed. Six European personnel were engaged, led again by *Obertelegraphenassistent* Preuss. The mention of three

[28] "Marsch der Schutztruppe" *DKB* VII, no. 2 (1896): 45
[29] The Kilwa-Mikindani construction is detailed in "Erweiterung der Telegraphenanlagen in Deutsch-Ostafrika," *APT* 26, no. 5 (March, 1898): 142-3.

African overseers introduces for the first time an intermediate layer of local management. The remaining 82 African personnel were again split across specialized operational teams. The largest proportion (45) were assigned to the advance 'clearance' team, a higher proportion than that deployed in the northern section. Some twelve were assigned to the 'setting' team that raised the poles and they were followed by a 'stringing' team of eight that deployed the cable between poles and then brought it into its final aerial position.[30] The remaining personnel were engaged in a continual shifting of components along the line of construction.

On the northern Tanga section, the question of food provisioning had been paramount. In the final construction southwards from Kilwa, drinking water was the most significant issue. The availability of potable water during the dry season was a powerful factor in the economic life of the South.[31] The considerable caravan traffic that arrived and departed from Kilwa had to factor in a proportion of water carriers to survive the journey westwards across the colony. Many villages in the hinterland of Lindi routinely fetched

[30] The team designations in apostrophes derive from the author's personal construction experience. See n.15.

[31] The ubiquitous concern with water in the Lindi hinterland is considered more generally in Lorne Larson, "Conversations on the Mbwemkuru: Foreign Itinerants and Local Agents in German East Africa," *Itinerario* 46, no. 1 (2022): 61-83.

clean water during the dry season from known springs in more elevated areas. This was considered the work of women and children locally and it was this institutionally recognized procedure that was adopted by the telegraph crew. Teams of women and children were hired to deliver up to 40 loads of water to

the crew on a daily basis, sometimes shifted over a distance of four hours on foot.

The impact of malaria was as severe on the Europeans was as it had been on the previous stages. Preuss contracted malaria of a severity that eventually had him sent on an ocean convalescent trip, probably to South Africa like his predecessor. His subsequent return was considered operationally critical since it was agreed that only two of the six European supervisors were fit for service at any point in time; the rest were side-lined with malarial attacks. All survived to see the operational implementation of the telegraph operation.

4.0 Cultural Continuities and Adjustments

The completion of the telegraph along the coastal strip led to a change of communication culture, but that change was not immediate nor was it uniform. Fanny Dufétel-Viste has considered some of those differential issues of usage across

the entire German colonial terrain.[32] From the perspective of Dar es Salaam, there was considerable interest in the culture of ethnic usage in the immediate months following the opening of the northern line on 8 October 1892. The use of the telegraph was assumed among the European population, not only by the military and administrative cadres but also by the European trading houses; it was a commonplace feature of the metropolitan communications landscape. The northern line, almost coincidentally, connected the greatest concentration of European inhabitants.[33] However, it was actually the parallel telephonic capabilities of the coastal line that initially most excited the Arab and Indian inhabitants along the East African coast.

> Most of the Indian and Arabic merchants lack the knowledge of a latinized script, essential for the composition of telegrams. They prefer to avoid potential confusion surrounding the construction and delivery of the telegram, and they do so by using the alternative of the telephone. This instrument also facilitates the more interactive form of

[32] Fanny Dufétel-Viste, "Télégraphe et telephone dans les colonies allemandes: entre concurrence et complémentarité." *Flux* 78, no.4 (2009): 76-83. For a slightly wider postal perspective by the same author see Fanny Dufétel-Viste, "Maîtriser l'espace: l'action de la Reichspost dans les colonies allemandes", *Revue de l'IFHA* 1 (2009): 187-93.
[33] Jürgen Becher, *Dar-es-Salaam, Tanga and Tabora: Stadtentwicklung in Tansania unter deutsche Kolonialherrschaft (1885-1914)* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1997): 163.

> commercial negotiation favoured by coloured participants, one which is not restricted to a few precise words.[34]

The set cost of one rupie for five minutes conversation was considered economically viable in the commercial sector and in the first months of 1893 non-European usage in Dar es Salaam started at 90 telephonic conversations in January, climbed to 131 in March and then 147 in April. For the year 1913 the number of localized telephone calls being made (304,170) roughly equated to the number of localized telegrams. There was also a wider financial conservatism at work among the non-European trading community. The sending of written messages by dhow (around the Indian Ocean) was estimated to be roughly half the cost of the new maritime methods now provided by the German colonial postal system. It took a number of years before the advantages of speed and guaranteed regularity started to shift usage patterns.

The Swahili language is sometimes mentioned in the context of non-latinized scripts. This may indeed have been the case among groups of African coastal traders. This should not detract from the fact that Swahili was being made available in a latinized form as early as the 1870s, initially for purposes of Christian proselytization but then for a general German

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34 For this immediate northern post-implementation perspective see "Benutzung der Telegraphenleitung Bagamoyo-Tanga zum unmittelbaren Verkehr des Publikums," *APT* 21, no. 13 (1893): 469-70. For a similar perspective on cultural usage see Scheunemann, "Erweiterung", 700

audience that needed to communicate with the local population. There was an early educated African cadre that could communicate in latinized scripts and they were quite quickly inducted into the postal service as telegraph operators; they are certainly operative in Kilwa in 1901.[35] There is a frustrating lack of written knowledge about where African employees received their education; the probable avenue would be through the government educational network that was inaugurated in Tanga in 1892. There were eventually government schools at all the coastal locations mentioned in this essay, with the exception of Mikindani. Additionally, Lindi had a highly respected technical school. By mid-1911 there just over 4,000 students in schools under direct government control.[36] In addition to the more centralized position of telegraph operator, there existed other African roles. Special stevedores (*Ruderer*) moved postal objects off and on steamers across coastal beaches. And the position of maintenance lineman (*Leitungsaufseher)*, routinely patrolling the line, rapidly became a solely African function.[37]

In addition to the line of cable communication and coastal steamer connections, a third stream of postal communication

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[35] An important visual coverage is presented in *Der unterbrochene Draht: Die Deutsche Post in Ostafrika – Historische Fotografien* (Heidelberg: Schenk, 1989). The Kilwa photograph is located at pg. 109.
[36] Martin Schlunk, *Das Schulwesen in den deutschen Schutzgebieten* (Hamburg: L. Friedrichsen & Co, 1914), 34.
[37] These functions are again illustrated in *Historische Fotografien* on pgs. 85,113,115,129-131.

developed. It was a system that could be both structured and unstructured. It materialized in an environment where there were initially no railways or maintained roads that could be used by animal-drawn carriages. It drew on an existing long tradition of human porterage. A *Postboten* (or *Feldboten*) unit typically consisted of an armed uniformed individual accompanied by approximately five porters.[38] It was an African unit. From the perspective of Kilwa, such delivery units were useful for shifting material between Kilwa and Mohoro, the latter an administrative centre that did not have easy access to a coastal port. But they also offered an operational flexibility that complemented the rigidity of coastal steamer departures and arrivals. Consequently, Lindi might also shift postal objects by land to Mikindani as the need arose.

There were also structured lines of communication between the coast and the interior that had existed long before the German period, linkages that had no obvious economic rationale. Christian missionary societies were an obvious example. Although the earliest missionary societies in German East Africa were largely French or British in origin, the gradual emergence of German missionary societies started to provide a subtle metropolitan impetus to the way communication services were deployed in the colony. In 1891

[38] For a photograph of arguably the first trans-territorial *Postboten* initiative in 1892, see *Historische Fotografien,* 110.

the first German evangelical missionaries arrived to establish services in the densely populated African communities at the northern end of Lake Nyasa.[39] They travelled there via the circuitous Zambezi-Shire route that ran through Portuguese and British territory. In the following year the components of a lake steamer (financed by public subscription and christened the 'Hermann von Wissmann') were transported by the same route to Lake Nyasa and re-assembled in British territory in early 1893; the maiden arrival of the ship at the northern end of the lake took place on 21 September 1893. To facilitate postal services to these more remote early German settlements, reciprocal service arrangements were made were made with both British and Portuguese colonial authorities from the middle of 1894. The average delivery time for outward postal shipments from Dar es Salaam to Langenburg (current Matema) at the northern end of Lake Nyasa took 50 days, the reverse journey 62 days. Steamships of the DOAL would drop mail at the coastal port of Chinde at the mouth of the Zambezi. River steamers of the African Lakes Company would then take responsibility for transport up the Zambezi and Shire rivers then transfer responsibility to the land postal services of British Central Africa, who would provide land-based transport to the southern end of Lake Nyasa. The

[39] The classic study of the Protestant evangelical initiative in this region is Marcia Wright, *The German Missions in Tanganyika, 1891-1941: Lutherans and Moravians in the Southern Highlands* (Oxford: OUP, 1971).

German steamer 'Herman von Wissmann' would then enable transport to German jurisdiction northwards.

This arrangement was always seen at the metropolitan level as interim, if for no other reason than it was not under complete German control. In 1898 a replacement structure was put in place that was primarily land-based. It reflected the increased confidence of a colonial administration that considered it had now consolidated its civil and military power in the area assigned to it. Kilwa rather than Chinde was now the pivotal transfer point on the Indian Ocean, inaugurating a scheduled monthly *Postboten* transfer that crossed by land to Songea, then to the Lake Nyasa deepwater port of Wiedhafen (today called Manda) to connect with a steamer connection to Langenburg. The outward route was scheduled to take 33 days, the reverse journey 26 days. In short, it sought to halve the transmission time of postal products across the southern interior. This increased importance of Kilwa can be seen in the telegram statistics for 1898/99. Kilwa received 1,891 telegrams, sent 1,997 telegrams but it also acted as a transit point for 1,527 telegrams destined for points further westwards, third only to Dar es Salaam and Bagamoyo. The same source of statistics indicates that the destination of Langenburg was second only to Tabora in terms of letter turnover for inland postal agencies and rated first in

terms of unregistered packages.[40] Within the space of two years the function of Kilwa as a southern transit hub to the southern interior was transferred to Dar es Salaam. The trigger event for this change was most probably the creation of the Mahenge military district in 1899 and the establishment of a district headquarters in the Mahenge Highlands. The new route moved in a diagonal line through Kisaki to Mahenge and Songea before following the previous route to Langenburg. The outward delivery duration was a comparable 30 days.[41] This southern delivery route would change yet again as the construction of the Central Railway progressed across the colony; Kilosa would then become the key transit point for postal objects moving southwards.

The extension of *Postboten* units from opportunistic coastal devices to scheduled trans-territorial services was not just a question of dealing with distance. The seasonality of the rainy season affected not only the physical terrain but also the supply of food and water.[42] The number of people attached to a postal delivery unit could dynamically expand and contract

[40] Wilhelm Puche, "Das Post- und Telegraphenwesen in Deutsch-Ostafrika vom Jahre 1890 bis 1899." *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 4, no. 3 (1901): 1-36. This analysis is one of the best territorial coverages for the 1890s. The statistical tables are on pg. 25.
[41] Herzog, "Deutsche Post", 37. Also see map on previous page.
[42] The accelerated acquisition of topographical knowledge by Germans in the 1890s is discussed in Lorne Larson, "Conversations along the Mbwemkuru. Foreign Itinerants and Local Agents in German East Africa," *Intinerario* 46, no. 1 (2022):62-8.

during a journey. At certain times of the year, it might attach itself synergistically to a commercial caravan. Waterproof packaging had to be designed for the rainy season. The duration difference in delivery schedules eastwards and westwards stated above may seem puzzling but it has to be partially understood in the knowledge that bulkier packages only flowed westwards. Units bound for the coast could therefore move faster with lighter loads and also shed auxiliary support personnel.

Communication across the colony also needs to be seen in terms of the long-term development of what Greiner has called a 'vernacular infrastructure', in other words the expansion of roads with animal-drawn transport.[43] In 1894 a German merchant called Wehlan was given a government subvention to improve the road surface from Kilwa to Lake Nyasa. His initial emphasis was on the section that ran from Kilwa to the military post at Barikiwa (later Liwale) on the western border of that district and it was in that western outpost that he established his operational base. The

[43] Andreas Greiner, "Colonial Schemes and African Realities: Vernacular Infrastructure and the Limits of Road Building in German East Africa." *The Journal of African History* 63, no. 3 (2022):328-347. Greiner's coverage is somewhat incomplete for the southern part of the colony. In a general circular in mid-1900 Governor von Götzen names Alfred Pfüller as one of the key contractors undertaking investigative work on animal-driven transport infrastructure. The governor stresses to his subordinates that these investigations are in an "experimental stage". BArch, R 1001/48, pg. 120.

additional component of his contract was to experiment with the introduction of oxcarts based on the South African model. He was said to have improved the road to Kilwa from a narrow path to a 10m wide thoroughfare. His draught animals died of disease, he died of severe malaria in 1898 and his abandoned oxcarts were acquired by the military post at Barikiwa.[44] His work was taken up around 1900 by a young entrepreneur called Alfred Pfüller, who acquired his initial experience trying (unsuccessfully) to establish an all-weather road surface for animal-drawn vehicles stretching from Dar es Salaam to Kilosa.[45] He then shifted his attention southwards trying to build on the legacy of Wehlan, largely by expanding the repertoire of draught animals, including camels. He was equally unsuccessful. A proposed government initiative to build a railway across the same terrain then prompted his decision to become a settler at the exact centre of that proposed route, in order to potentially exploit a variety of supply opportunities.

In June 1904 a group of German evangelical missionaries left Kilwa heading for their base at the northern end of Lake Nyasa.[46] It was the first time that this organization felt that

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[44] Kurt Pfund, *Kreuz und quer durch Deutsch-Ostafrika* (Dresden: Privately published, 1912): 65. Pfund was in Barikiwa in 1899 en route to Songea.

[45] *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* III, 16 (28 April 1901): 3.

[46] "Zum erstenmal von Kilwa nach Wiedhafen: Ein neuer Zugang zum Nyassagebiet," *Missionblatt aus der Brüdergemeinde* (February, 1905): 49-54.

the conditions were adequate to navigate personnel across the direct route from Kilwa. They acquired a mule in Kilwa that accompanied them on their journey. To that animal they added an oxcart in Liwale that had been abandoned years previously by Wehlan. They passed a military officer riding a bicycle from Songea to Kilwa. They talked to Alfred Pfüller and visited his new settlement several days eastwards of Liwale. They completed the journey to Langenburg without any major incident in 36 days. Their departure from Kilwa had been on 10 June 1904. Some five weeks later, another expedition departed Kilwa, financed by the Colonial Economic Committee, and headed by Paul Fuchs.[47] It was tasked with constructing a feasibility study for the construction of a southern railroad running from Kilwa to the lake port of Wiedhafen. Fuchs also spent some time talking to Alfred Pfüller. At that time, he noted that: "Talk about the possibility of wagon traffic on this route must be considered as idle fantasy; all previous attempts in this direction have failed miserably."[48] His technical assessment was probably broadly correct but it ignored the fact that, weeks previously, a crew of missionaries had haphazardly done exactly that! [49]

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[47] Paul Fuchs (with John Booth), *Die wirtschaftliche Erkundung einer ostafrikanische Südbahn* (Berlin, E.S. Mittler, 1905). John Booth, a prominent Songea settler, contributed five out of the twenty chapters.
[48] *Ibid*., 30
[49] The military doctor in Songea, Otto Panse, was so astonished to see the arrival of the missionary mule that he insisted on taking blood samples for his tsetse-related research. A relevant academic article would appear

Both of these 1904 journeys also demonstrated a measured response to the changes in technical knowledge regarding the malaria that had plagued the telegraph construction crews. The missionaries specifically reference the recent travel guidance of Friedrich Plehn and were taking prophylactic doses of quinine for the entirety of their journey; they had no medical incidents for the duration of the trip. Paul Fuchs also specifically referenced new malarial knowledge and took similar ameliorative action in his longer and more circular route. He also had no problem with malaria. The question may also be asked why the evangelical missionaries were not taking the more diagonal route to the interior now utilized by the *Postboten*. The answer to that is partly logistical (more rugged terrain and river crossings) but it may well involve the longstanding reputation of the Kisaki route for malarial infection. Indeed, one of their observations in Liwale was the death by malaria of a young woman who had just arrived to join her merchant husband, a woman who appears to have travelled by that more diagonal route.

5.0 Attacking the Line (Again): 1905-07

This essay has led to the point where we might consider (again) the impact of conflict on communications.[50] The

in December of that year. Otto Panse, "Trypanosoma Theileri (?) in Deutsch-Ostafrika." *Zeitschrift für Hygiene und Infektionskrankheiten* 46 (1904): 376–8.

[50] This section relies heavily on "Einwirkung des Aufstandes in Deutsch-Ostafrika auf die Betriebsfahigkeit der Telegraphenlinie." *APT* 34, no.23

armed uprising in the south of the colony known as Maji Maji had no centralized leadership and no single geographical focus.[51] It could not be stemmed by sending troops to apprehend one individual as had happened with Hassan bin Omari Makunganya. Hard decisions had to be made by the colonial government concerning the allocation of the technical and military resources under their control.

Almost exactly a year after the uneventful promenade of evangelical missionaries across the southern landscape, the situation changed abruptly. A Roman Catholic missionary caravan was destroyed by local insurgents as it approached Liwale. The commercial and military individuals mentioned in the 1904 missionary publication also died in a subsequent attack on Liwale. An exception was Alfred Pfüller, whose more westerly position gave him sufficient warning to escape to Songea. He subsequently returned to Germany via the Zambezi route to meet his family who had been on holiday. His escape route was indicative of the temporary

(1906):740-44. Also consider Thilo, "Deutsch-Ostafrika," 256, as well as additional details in *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Zeitung* VIII, 26 (30 June 1906): 2.

[51] The modern scholarship surrounding Maji Maji is extensive. For a representative sample that cuts across our area of geographical interest see Lorne Larson, 'The Ngindo: Exploring the Center of the Maji Maji Rebellion' in J. Giblin and J. Monson (eds.). *Maji Maji: Lifting the Fog of War* (Leiden: Brill, 2010): 71-116; Thaddeus Sunseri, 'Reinterpreting a Colonial Rebellion: Forestry and Social Control in German East Africa 1874-1915," *Environmental History* 8, no.3 (2003): 430-51; as well as Becker, "Traders", 1-22.

reinstatement of the flow of people and postal objects through British and Portuguese territory.

A technical telegraph team consisting of two individuals arrived in Kilwa on 4 August 1905. One technician headed northwards with a military escort finding evidence of cut cables, uprooted poles and shattered insulators. Basic repairs were done quickly to bring the Kilwa-Dar es Salaam connection back into operation by 7 August. A technician was based at the temporary military post of Samanga, opposite the Matumbi Hills, and made daily inspections for damage and relaying telegraphic messages to and from troops in the field. Samanga was progressively reinforced with military personnel, as well as being connected to the main telegraphic line and a heliograph unit in the Matumbi Hills. Although this segment of the line was kept operative, it was under continuous insurgency pressure for months. The removal of the temporary telegraph extension to Samanga on 29 January 1906 signalled a dramatic reduction of military pressure. Gilbert Gwassa was to conduct field research in this geographical area in 1967. He collected oral evidence of the development of specialist messenger units on the insurgency side delivering intelligence reports known as *simu za midomo* (mouth telegrams).[52] This description may have been seen by later historians as an isolated curiosity but in the context of

[52] Gilbert Gwassa, *The Outbreak and Development of the Maji Maji War 1905-1907* (Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe, 2005), 130-1.

the discussion in this essay, it now arguably assumes a more integrated significance, a local imitative response to the colonial communications structure.

It became immediately clear in Kilwa that even more extensive damage was being inflicted southwards. A team was sent in that direction under the supervision of the second technician. An area was immediately repaired, roughly comparable to the distance between Kilwa and Samanga but it soon became obvious that protecting (and repairing) the entire length to Lindi would require six times the military resources deployed north of Kilwa. The decision was rapidly made to temporarily abandon maintenance of the line and assign existing military resources to a more general offensive role. As a result, that particular section became inoperative for ten months between 27 August 1905 and 26 June 1906. Communication functions between Kilwa and Lindi reverted to a government steamer.

Requisite repairs south of Kilwa were resumed in May and June 1906. Technicians encountered destruction that "exceeded all expectations".[53] There were fourteen discernible sections of damage, the most significant covering fifty kilometres. Insulators had been comprehensively shattered in these areas; 459 poles had been uprooted of which 359 were soon located. Over a longer period, poles were eventually found in a variety of locations at a variety of distances from

[53] Thilo, "Deutsch-Ostafrika," 256.

the line, at times revealed by seasonal bush fires. Metal components had often been fashioned into weapons, although the core metal pole structure remained impervious to manipulation.

At some point we may want to speculate on why telegraph lines were seen as strategic targets by African insurgents. In the absence of contemporary explanations from those who did the destruction, we may want to engage in some speculation, and start that by looking at another global environment. In 1872 the British satirical magazine *Punch* published a cartoon of two farmers perusing a newly erected telegraphic line in a rural area of England.[54] The first farmer asks his companion about the purpose of the poles. His companion suggests the poles are there to carry the wires. The first farmer then asks about the purpose of the wires, which elicits the reply that the wires are there to support the poles! What is absent from the British scene, and very evident in the East African milieu, is the repetitive public lecturing about the "inviolability" of the telegraph infrastructure. It is not necessary for insurgents to know the precise functionality of the poles and wires. It is only necessary to know that the colonial administration publicly affirms it to be critical infrastructure!

Coincidentally, the attacks on the telegraph infrastructure of the southern line also had consequences for the structure of the northern line. The experienced telegraph maintenance

[54] Wenzlhuener, *Connecting*, 249-51.

crews, waiting to put the new tower structure into place on the Pangani crossing, were abruptly called southwards to help with the maintenance of the line south of Dar es Salaam. This northern erection work on the Pangani was only revisited and completed in February 1906 and, even then, depleted technical teams had to be supplemented with local police personnel and prison labour.[55]

6.0 Conclusions

This essay has attempted to publicize an important early component of communications infrastructure, the telegraph. It has further explored its connection to military insurgency, a connection that would make perfect sense to metropolitan military planners of the time. The earliest survey of Maji Maji, published in 1909 would make forty-nine distinct references to the telegraph. It would even imply that the telecommunications infrastructure (particularly the telephone) may have been actively used on occasion to initially plan and coordinate the insurgency.[56] John Iliffe's comprehensive coverage of the Tanzanian historical space published in 1979 has a single textual reference to telegraph

[55] These later architectural changes are discussed in "Schwierigkeiten bei Umlegung der Telegraphenlinie bei Pangani," *APT* 34, no. 17 (September 1906): 545-9.

[56] G. A. von Götzen, *Deutsch-Ostafrika im Aufstand (*Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1909). The claim for counter-intelligence usage is proposed on pg. 249.

construction.[57] This essay has made a targeted attempt to negotiate between those two observational positions, an attempt that hopefully offers some understanding of the initial development of the Tanzanian communications infrastructure.

[57] John Iliffe, *A History of Modern Tanganyika* (Cambridge: CUP, 1979), 119. There is a second general mention of the telegraph (pg. 181) in a paragraph that invokes the generally chaotic aspect of information transfer during the Maji Maji conflict.

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The Impacts of MAUMAU in Tanzania, 1940s - 2022

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Abstract

This paper examines the impacts of MAUMAU in Tanzania. MAUMAU is a popular concept which has been widely used to denote nationalistic movements in Kenya in the period from the early 1940s to the late 1950s. However, scholars who have studied MAUMAU confined their thought to what actually happened in Kenya and hardly thought that MAUMAU transcended the borders of Kenya, and were felt in neighbouring territories such as Tanzania. Using secondary, archival, newspapers and oral sources collected from different parts of Tanzania, I argue that MAUMAU movement created tensions in Tanzania as well, and manifested into relocation of some Kenyans, creation of new histories, identities and developments into Tanzania. Such history can help to understand the presence of some Kenyans in Tanzania and strengthen inter-community relations among members of Tanzania and Kenya states.

Keywords: MAUMAU, History, Identities, Community relations, Tanzania, Kenya.

1.0 Introduction

After the Second World War, African nationalism gained momentum in unprecedented scale. One way of explaining the growing momentum of nationalism is by examining MAUMAU movement which developed in Kenya from early 1940s to the late 1950s. Frank Furedi, for example, shows that by the 1950s MAUMAU members, who used to operate secretly, had emerged as a radical force combining some characteristics of militant and an underground peasant movement. The movement began deploying force and sabotage against Europeans and Asians as well as Africans who supported them.[1] Similarly, Barnett and Njama show that MAUMAU was a lineal descendant of Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) which underwent a dramatic shift in the 1950s from being a highly selective, elite organization to underground mass movement characterised by oath taking and clandestine sabotage of European properties including killing them.[2]

However, with the exception of Kara Moskowitz[3] who discusses resettlement of some Kikuyu at Katuma in Mpanda district in the wesetern part of Tanzania, and Stephanie

[1] Frank Furedi, *The Mau Mau War in Perspective* (London: James Currey, 1989), 109 -110.
[2] Donald L. Barnett and Karari Njama, *Mau Mau From Within* (London & New York: Modern Reader, 1966), 55-58.
[3] Kara Moskowitz, "Sons and Daughters of the Soil: Politics and Protest of Kenyan Resettlement to Tanzania, 1961 – 1968", *Past and Present*, No. 253 (Nov.2021).

Lammert[4], Saumu Jumbe[5] and Andrew Mhina[6] who all together provide narratives of Osale Otango and Paulo Hamisi who were criminals associated with MAUMAU and caused insecurity and fear in Usambara in Tanga in the eastern part of Tanzania; majority of the scholars who have studied MAUMAU confined their thought to what actually happened in Kenya.[7] Their main foci were on the genesis and conditions which shaped the emergence of MAUMAU as well as analysis and interpretation of MAUMAU from Eurocentric, liberal, Marxist, nationalistic, sociological and anthropological perspectives. Those works have also sufficiently addressed

[4] Stephanie Lammert, "Fear and Mockery: The Story of Osale and Paulo in Tanganyika", *Jounal of Eastern African Studies* 14, No. 4 (2020).
[5] Saumu Jumbe, *Osale Otango* (Tanga: Saumu K. Jumbe, 2015).
[6] Andrew C. Mhina, *Harakati za Osale Otango na Paulo Hamisi* (Dar es Salaam: Mhina and Imaney Publishing Company, 2015).
[7] See for example, Tabita Kanogo, *Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau* (London: James Currey, 1987); David Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: The Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire* (New York & London: W. W. Norton and Company, 2005); Peter Worsley (1957), "The Anatomy of MauMau", *New Reasoner*, No. 1; Amanda Elizabeth Lewis (2007), "A Kenyan Revolution: Mau Mau, Land, Women and Nation", Electronic Theses and Dissertation, Paper 2134, at http://dc.etsu.edu/etd/2134, Accessed on 25th November 2020. S. M. Shamsul Alam, *Rethinking the Mau Mau in Colonial Kenya* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa –book two* (Oxford: James Currey, 1992); Julius Gathogo (2016), "Women , Come and Roast your Own Ram: Recollection on Mau-Mau General Chui wa Mararo (1927-1956)", at https://www.reserachgate.net/publication/299408136, accessed on 25th November 2020; Furedi, *The Mau Mau War in Perspective*.; Barnett and Njama, *Mau Mau From Within*.

issues of oath, the link between MAUMAU and KCA and, the impacts of MAUMAU in Kenya at large. Although I highly acknowledge the contribution of those scholars in understanding MAUMAU, I argue that such scholars hardly thought that MAUMAU transcended the borders of Kenya and created adverse impacts in neighbouring territories such as Tanzania. Even Moskowitz (2021) does not adequately discuss the various categories of Kenyans who settled in Tanzania as a result of MAUMAU. Rather, Moskowitz concentrates on the politics and protest against Kikuyu restllement at Katuma alone after the heyday of MAUMAU, specifically, in the period between 1961 and 1968. As a result, a lot of information related to the influence of MAUMAU in shaping history and identities in Tanzania is still unearthed. In most cases, the impacts of MAUMAU is hardly considered when analysing Tanzanian and Kenyan local community relations as well as diplomatic relations between Tanzania and Kenya states. Kenyans who settled in Tanzania as a result of MAUMAU are sometimes considered illegal immigrants. Using both secondary and primary sources collected from different parts of Tanzania, this paper attempts to shed lights on that rarely written history.

Although there is no doubt that MAUMAU was dominant in Kenya and is one of the renowned nationalistic movements in Africa, the origin and meaning of the term MAUMAU is debated. With the exception of Barnett and Njama's work, majority of the research which I have come across suffer a

conceptual analysis of the term MAUMAU[8]. Barnett and Njama's research indicate that MAUMAU meant *uma uma* which was a sound derived from traditional children's game. *Uma uma* was loosely translated 'out, out', and thus the term was used to refer to African desire for Europeans to get out of or leave Kenya. Sometimes, the term was used to refer to the expression *mumumumu* which referred to the voice whispered during oath taking in the dark huts and, thus, Europeans recorded 'Mau Mau' after they failed to pronounce *mumumumu*. Barnett and Njama (1966) also indicate that the origin of the term MAUMAU was associated with indigenous Kikuyu concept of *muma* which refers to an oath. It was also suggested that MAUMAU was used as an acronym of the Swahili phrase '*Mzungu Arudi Uingereza, Mwafrika Apate Uhuru*' loosely translated 'Europeans return to England and Africans obtain Freedom'.[9] Some sources indicate that MAUMAU was often used to refer to *dini* – that is a powerful indigenous religious sect controlled by KCA.[10] Sometimes, MAUMAU was used to refer to people who fought for independence in Kenya as justified by Berman(1992) who

[8] See for example, Kanogo, *Squatters*; Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged*; Worsley, "The Anatomy of MauMau"; Lewis, "A Kenyan Revolution"; Berman and Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley*; Gathogo, "Women, Come and Roast your Own Ram"; Furedi, *The Mau Mau War in Perspective*.
[9] Barnett and Njama, *Mau Mau From Within*, 53 – 54.
[10] Bruce Berman, "Bureaucracy and Incumbent Violence: Colonial Administration and the Origin of the 'Mau Mau' Emergency" in Berman and Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley,* 250; Furedi, *The Mau Mau War in Perspective*, 109.

indicate that in the period between the end of 1952 and 1956, as a way of rejoicing the outcome of the declaration of state of emergency of 1952, the Provincial Commissioner of Central Province in Kenya remarked "…we are really beating the Maumau…."[11] Shamsul Alam also shows that sometimes colonial officials in Kenya identified MAUMAU as a 'gang of terrorists' full of savagery, barbaric and primitive behaviour.[12] Such remarks signify that there were diverse meaning of MAUMAU but most often, the term referred to people than to a religious sect.

Lack of a clear meaning and origin of the term MAUMAU made Barnett and Njama to conclude that the term is a misnomer and there is no generally accepted meaning or origin of it. Although I subscribe to Barnett and Njama's conclusion, a clear survey of literature on MAUMAU proves that it was an anti-European movement organized by Africans and characterised by a revolutionary spirit, the need to regain freedom, oath taking and brutality or assassination. Notwithstanding other meaning of MAUMAU mentioned here, this paper uses MAUMAU as an acronym of the Swahili phrase given above i.e. '*Mzungu Arudi Uingereza, Mwafrika Apate Uhuru*' loosely translated 'Europeans return to England and Africans obtain Freedom'. Thus, the term appears in capitals throughout the paper to signify that it is an acronym.

[11] Bruce Berman, "Bureaucracy and Incumbent Violence", 254.
[12] S. M. Shamsul Alam, *Rethinking the Mau Mau in Colonial Kenya* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 23.

The decision to use the acronym is based on the fact that it contains both elements of anti-Europeans and the need to regain freedom or independence which has been stressed by several scholars who have written on MAUMAU. The second reason is to avoid the bias that some of the concepts used in Africa today including names of places, rivers and mountains, to mention just a few, were a result of failure of the Europeans to pronounce African words or names correctly.

As noted above, oath taking and brutality or assassination of people characterised MAUMAU and consequently shaped its history in Tanzania. Frank Furedi noted that MAUMAU manifested out of oath taking campaign which started in 1947 and became more prevalent in 1948 and 1949 when individuals were forced to take the oath.[13] There were three major types of oath which were administered to MAUMAU members. The first was the oath of unity which was taken by all MAUMAU initiates and other members of the society. This oath emphasized unity and solidarity of the members throughout the struggle. The second was *mbatoni* sometimes called *batuni* oath (platoon or warrior oath). This oath was administered to MAUMAU members who were going to take up arms against the colonial state. It emphasized consecration of one's life to the cause of liberating Kenya and redeeming the alienated land. The third was leaders' oath which was administered to leaders of the movement of all levels. This oath emphasized

[13] Furedi, *The Mau Mau War in Perspective*, 105.

loyalty to the struggle and the people in it. It stressed secrecy and courage. Oaths were a stronger bond than commands from leaders. Counselling was undertaken when the oath was administered. A code of conduct was also issued. Anyone who refused to take the oath was killed. The vows of the oath which was uttered by the oath administrator and repeated seven times by the oath taker also insisted that the oath taker would die if he/ she failed to fulfil the code of conduct and conditions stated in the oath.[14]

Oaths taking accelerated MAUMAU operations because those who have taken the oath feared violating its code of conduct which would lead them into death but also be labelled as betrayers of their society. As a result, brutality and assassination done by MAUMAU followers increased. The assassination of Chief Waruhiu on 9th October 1952 and the execution of African elite Reuben Kinyua in 1953 have been mainly cited as the most brutal actions done by MAUMAU followers. Chief Waruhiu was a known sympathizer and collaborator with the colonial government. He was assassinated by MAUMAU activists on the mentioned date. Reuben Kinyua was an African nurse and laboratory technician who worked at Mutira local dispensary. In 1953, a group of MAUMAU radicals broke the Mutira Anglican

[14]For details on types of oath and how it was administered see Barnett and Njama, *Mau Mau From Within*, 57 -59; Gathogo, "Women, Come and Roast your Own Ram"; Worsley, "The Anatomy of MauMau"; Lewis, "A Kenyan Revolution."

church and took church records; then they broke Mutira dispensary and took some medicine; thereafter entered the house of Reuben Kinyua, dragged him out, accused him of being a betrayer and for failing to take the oath and refusing to treat MAUMAU fighters. Reuben was shot to death and then slashed across the stomach.[15]

Increasing MAUMAU brutality in Kenya, especially after the assassination of chief Waruhiu, made the colonial government in Kenya to declared a state of emergency in the 'colony' in 1952. It was this state of emergency together with forceful oath taking accompanied with brutality which shaped the history of MAUMAU in Tanzania which has seldomly been written, but is the main concern of this paper. To simplify the discussion, the paper is organized into four main parts. The first is this introduction. The second section is about the pre-MAUMAU setting in Tanzania. The section examines the interconnection between Kenyans (especially those who were labelled as MAUMAU followers) and Tanzanians before MAUMAU started. The third section deals with MAUMAU and its implication in Tanzania. This section aims at examining how forceful oath taking, rampant assassination of people and declaration of state of emergence in Kenya impacted on Tanzanian communities. The fourth section explores the Post-MAUMAU period in Tanzania to the present. It delineates how the remnants of MAUMAU who

[15] *Ibid.*

still live in Tanzania have continued to struggle with their lives, the challenges they have encountered and how they maintain their identities. The last section is the conclusion which synthesizes the whole story narrated here and provides critical comments.

2.0 The Pre-MAUMAU Setting in Tanzania

First of all, it should be known that the United Republic of Tanzania was formed in 1964 comprising of two major parts, Tanzania Mainland and Zanzibar. Tanzania Mainland refers to Tanganyika which was part of German East Africa. After the First World War, Tanganyika was colonized by the British as a Mandate Territory from 1919 to 1947 and, Trusteeship Territory from 1947 to the time of independence in 1961. Therefore, the discussion in this paper focuses on the operations and influences of MAUMAU in the Tanzania Mainland where research was conducted. The description given above also shows clearly that at the time of the outbreak of MAUMAU, both Kenya and Tanganyika were all controlled by the same colonial administrators. Thus, the issue of maintaining colonial hegemony and power which has been stressed by some scholars that it influenced the emergence and, control of MAUMAU,[16] never ended in Kenya alone. Colonial officials in Tanganyika, like their counterparts in Kenya, had to ensure that they contained African pressure,

[16]Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged*; Alam, *Rethinking the Mau Mau*; Furedi, *The Mau Mau War in Perspective*; Berman and Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley*.

and were all required to report matters to the British Secretary General of Colonies in London. When MAUMAU started early in the 1940s and became more pronounced in the 1950s, the main actors were Kenyans, specifically, members of Kikuyu, Meru and Embu ethnic groups. Consequently, after the declaration of the state of emergence in Kenya in October 1952, members of those ethnic groups became the main victims who were targeted by the colonial state.

However, several Kenyans including members of Kikuyu, Meru, Embu, Kamba and Luo had already developed connections with the people of Tanzania, then Tanganyika. Several companies, institutions, individuals, farms and ranch estates including government officials based in the northern province[17] of Tanganyika had employed Kikuyu, Kamba, Meru and Luo people from Kenya. Best examples were the Bushiri, Makinyumbi, Kigombe, Mwera and Pangani Rivers estates in Pangani district; The Mkwaja ranch in pangani district; an individual called G. L. O. Grundy who was running a small manufacturing industry in Pangani district; The Tanganyika Electric supply Co. L.t.d in Pangani district; The Tanganyika Forest Department at Ngare Mtoni in Arusha; The Overseas

[17]The Northern Province of Tanganyika by then comprised of Arusha, Moshi and Tanga districts which today constitutes Manyara, Arusha, Kilimanjaro and Tanga regions.

Touring Company (East Africa) L.t.d and; the Grey and Green Line Bus service company.[18]

A letter written by the station superintendent of the Tanganyika Electric Supply Company at Pangani to the Pangani District Commissioner indicated that some of those Kenyans were employed at the station in the early 1940s. For example, Wambua Wanya (Mkamba) was employed in 1943. Onyango Aguyo and Kassim Opana (all Luo) were employed in 1945 and 1947 respectively. Other Kenyans were employed in 1950 while a few of them were employed in 1953. In his letter to Pangani District Commissioner dated 17th November 1958, G. L. O. Grundy stated that he had employed a Kenyan called Peter Kamau (Kikuyu) for more than thirty years before the declaration of state of emergency in Kenya and subsequent arrest of Peter Kamau. In his view, Grundy considered Peter Kamau a loyalist Kikuyu who had exceptional skills and experience of internal combustion engines and machinery, and thus could be set free to continue assisting the small emerging manufacturing industry in Pangani.[19] During her testimony to the government and police officers, Munyui Githirua (Kikuyu) stated that she had lived at Ngongongare in

[18]Tanzania National Archives (TNA), Acc. No. 467, File No. A4 - Aliens: Registration of Kenya Africans, 1954 – 1960; TNA, Acc. No. 471, File No. 80 – Registration of Wakikuyu – General, 1952 – 1958.

[19] TNA, Acc. No. 467, File No. A4, Aliens: Registration of Kenya Africans, 1954 – 1960.

Arusha for several years before she was arrested as MAUMAU suspect in November 1952.[20]

During the interview which I conducted at Ilamba village, Anthony Francis Mlekia (Kikuyu) testified that his father, Francis Mlekia, was employed by the colonial government as a Forest Officer in Arusha District where he worked for a long time before he was transferred to Mufindi in Iringa District in the Southern Province of Tanganyika. Although Anthony was not certain of the year when his father was transferred to Iringa, he was aware that his father was transferred to Iringa earlier before the MAUMAU war because his brothers and sisters were all born in Iringa in the 1950s.[21] Charles James Mungai (Kikuyu) provided another testimony that his father, James Mungai, arrived at Mufindi in Iringa in 1932 as an employee of Europeans who had established tea plantations at Mufindi. James Mungai was an expert in operating various machines.[22] Both Anthony Francis Mlekia and Charles James Mungai are remnants of Kikuyu people who settled in Tanganyika before the MAUMAU war and they are still living in Tanzania to date.

[20] TNA, Acc. No. 471, File No. 80 – Registration of Wakikuyu – General, 1952 – 1958.
[21] Interview with Anthony Francis Mlekia, Ilamba Village – Kilolo District in Iringa Region, 11th August 2020.
[22] Interview with Charles James Mungai, Iringa Town, Iringa District in Iringa Region, 30th August 2019.

There are several testimonies of that nature but it suffices to say that before the declaration of the state of mergence in Kenya in October 1952, several Kenyans including the Kikuyu had already settled in Tanzania as labourers in various sectors, businessmen and businesswomen, tourist operators, drivers and individuals able to do whatever they could for their own living. As G. L. O. Grundy testified, some of those Kenyans were considered to be loyal both to the government and their employers. There was no sign for such Kenyans to have threatened peace in Tanganyika Territory and thus it would be wrong to label them as instigators or followers of MAUMAU who ran to Tanganyika as their hideout. The declaration of State of Emergency in Kenya changed the status of those Kenyans in Tanganyika significantly. In the section which follows, I attempt to show how the increasing MAUMAU insurgencies in Kenya paralysed the situation in Tanganyika and created a new history.

3.0 MAUMAU and Its implication in Tanzania

Following the increasing MAUMAU insurgencies in Kenya, the newly appointed Governor of Kenya, Sir Evelyn Baring, instituted extreme emergency laws and regulations between January and April 1952. Such laws and regulations included communal punishment, curfews, influx control, the confiscation of property and land, the imposition of special taxes, the issuance of special documentation and passes, the censorship and banning of publication, the disbanding of all African political organization, the control and disposition of

labour, the suspension of due processes and, detention without trial. In addition, emergency legislation controlled African Markets, shops, hotels, and all public transport including buses, taxis and bicycles.[23] The Registration of Persons Ordinance (No. 48 of 1952) was also passed.[24] Eventually, a state of emergency was declared in Kenya on 20th October 1952.

The British Secretary General of colonies in London, governors of East African colonies and other colonial officials at provincial and district levels, all saw MAUMAU as a threat to their hegemony. In Tanganyika, some natives were drafted in the Kings African Rifles (KAR) for the anti-MAUMAU War in Kenya.[25] This was just one evidence indicating the regional nature of MAUMAU War. Secondly, the consequent declaration of state of emergency was implemented not only in Kenya but also in Tanganyika. For example, the Registration of Kenyan Person Ordinance of 1952 was still applicable in Tanganyika even in 1960. In accordance to the provisions of this Ordinance, all male adult Kenya Africans entering or living in Tanganyika were required to register

[23] Gathogo, "Women, Come and Roast your Own Ram", 105 – 106.
[24]TNA, Acc. No. 467, File No. A4, Aliens: Registration of Kenya Africans, 1954 – 1960; TNA, Acc. No. 471, File No. 80 – Registration of Wakikuyu – General, 1952 – 1958.
[25] Bettina Brockmeyer, Frank Edward and Holger Stoecker, "The Mkwawa Complex: A Tanzanian-European history about provenance, restitution and politics", *Journal of Modern European History* 18, no.2 (2020), 123-124.

themselves to the Provincial Commissioners' offices where they could be given registration certificates. Any Kenyan failing to do so was liable to a fine not exceeding Shs. 3,000/- or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding one year or both – fine and imprisonment. In 1953, it was also ordered that all Kikuyu women of sixteen years or over living in Tanganyika must be registered and put into the same restriction as the male Kikuyu.[26]

The Governor of Tanganyika was almost confused by MAUMAU. He thought that MAUMAU had many points of similarities with Maji Maji war which took place in Tanganyika from 1905 to 1907, probably, the same movement would also happen to his territory. With that thinking, in 1953 the Governor of Tanganyika ordered government sociologists and anthropologists, particularly Fosbrooke and Gulliver, to research on MAUMAU and collect every kind of information available which would help to explain the similarity and thereafter create a better understanding of MAUMAU. The report of the research indicated that Maji Maji and MAUMAU resembled on the fact that all utilized African cults such as the use of *maji* (water) as a way of cleansing the fighters in Maji Maji war and, oath taking ceremonies which dominated in MAUMAU War. Similarly, Maji Maji and MAUMAU resembled because they were all characterised by hatred of all non-Africans especially Europeans, Indians and Arabs. The

[26] *Ibid*.

report also stressed that although there was a large number of Kikuyu in the Northern Province of Tanganyika, their presence was not considered to have caused any trouble to the Tanganyika government. As a matter of conclusion, the report stated that it was unlikely for members of Kikuyu ethnic group who were available in Tanganyika to join an open resistance just to support their relatives in Kenya.[27]

In spite of the clarification provided in the report cited above, the Governor and other colonial officials in Tanganyika continued to collaborate with the Kenya Government in implementing the emergence legislations which were enacted in Kenya. For example, registration of Kenyans in Tanganyika targeted the Kikuyu who were mainly thought to be the main actors in MAUMAU. From 1952 to early 1960, all employers in Tanganyika, especially in the Northern Province, were requested, from time to time, to submit list of their employees who were of Kenyan origin. The list indicated the ethnic group, the village and district from which those employees came from. However, following the declaration of state of emergency, many Kenyans were denied permission into Tanganyika territory. Other Kenyans, especially the Kikuyu who were in Tanganyika for several years, were arrested regardless of whether they hard permits / registration certificates or not. Some of those Kikuyu were transferred to Kenya immediately after arrest even before it has been proved

[27] TNA, Acc. No. 468, File No. MM/ 16 – Majimaji/ MAUMAU, 1953.

that they were criminals or they were engaging into MAUMAU. Others were jailed in Arusha and Karanga prison in Moshi and, thereafter, they were repatriated to their original home in Kenya under police escort.[28]

Throughout the 1950s, several media were reporting about evacuation of Kikuyu from Tanganyika to Kenya. Early January 1954, it was reported that 650 Kikuyu suspected to be MAUMAU followers were arrested by the police in Arusha and Moshi. It was further reported that during night on the 24th December 1953, a group of 15-armed Kikuyu broke the house of one Mkikuyu who was living in Arusha and slashed him with 'pangas' together with his wife and the two children who were under ten years old. That Kikuyu was suspected to have betrayed his fellow kikuyu by calling himself a Christian who did not want to participate in MAUMAU.[29] On 28th January 1954, Mr. A. M. Bruce Hutt, the Chief Secretary in Tanganyika told the Tanganyika Legislature that it was the ultimate aim of the Tanganyika government to evacuate all Kikuyu as soon as possible.[30] In February 1954, it was reported that about 1,500 kikuyu suspected to be MAUMAU followers were repatriated from Northern Province of Tanganyika back to Kenya and, it

[28]TNA, Acc. No 9, File No. P.P. – Kikuyu Evacuation, 1954; TNA, Acc. No. 467, File No. A4. - Aliens: Registration of Kenya Africans, 1954 – 1960; TNA, Acc. No. 471, File No. 80 – Registration of Wakikuyu – General, 1952 – 1958.

[29] *Maarifa*, 7th January 1954.

[30] *East Africa and Rhodesia*, 28th January 1954.

was estimated that 6000 kikuyu were still under detention in the Northern province.[31] In July 1954, Judge Justice Mahon of the High Court in Arusha imposed sentences of life imprisonment on six Kikuyu MAUMAU followers who were found guilty of offences arising from implementation of emergence legislation in the Northern Province, including attempted murder of Assistant Superintendent John Drury.[32] In the same month, about 700 Kikuyu who were detained at Miombo camps in the Western province of Tanganyika were first transported by train to Dar es Salaam then taken by a ship to Mombasa.[33]

Testimonies of some Kikuyu evacuees show that they were highly traumatized. At the time of evacuation, they left their property including money and members of their families. For example, Wanjira Mutua who had registration number 6757 claimed that she was arrested at Monduli and thereafter sent back to Kiambu district in Kenya on the 7th June 1954 but she left her son at Monduli. Thabita Muthoni Njorege (Reg. no. 7591), Mbaire Kamau (Reg. no. 6772) and Mugure Mugua (Reg. no. 6773) all claimed that they were arrested at Monduli and thereafter sent back to Githunguri division in Kiambu district in Kenya on the 14th June 1954 but they left their baggage, personal and other household belongings at Monduli. Njorege Kimani and Kahura Muhiru left their wages

[31] *Mambo Leo*, February 1954.
[32] *Tanganyika Standard*, 3rd July 1954.
[33] *Tanganyika Standard*, 17th July 1954

to W.de. Beer of Oldonyo Sambu in Arusha and North Meru Pyrethrum Company in Arusha respectively. Kimani Mugo and Wamama Njuhi stated that they left their money for bags of Irish-potatoes they had sold to J. J. Malan of Kisimiri Estate situated at Ngare-Nanyuki in Arusha.[34] Several testimonies of this nature exist and all would suggest that colonial officials did so deliberately as part of implementation of emergency legislation related to punishment and confiscation of African property.

The presence of an organized armed group of MAUMAU in Arusha and attempted murder of John Drury by a group of six Kikuyu suggests that MAUMAU members in Kenya had crossed the border to Tanganyika where they organized a guerrilla warfare but also fought physically with the white men and other individuals whom they thought hindered them to get independence. Two publications from Tanga also show that one of the Kikuyu MAUMAU members called Osale Otango fled from Kenya and went to Amboni in Tanga in Tanganyika where he continued the struggle but targeting Indians, Asians and Europeans settlers living in Amboni in Tanga.[35] Although Lammert (2020) herself seem to be sceptical of the connection between the stories of Osale and Paulo, and MAUMAU, testimonies from her respondents

[34] TNA, Acc. No 9, File No. P.P. – Kikuyu Evacuation, 1954.
[35] Saumu Jumbe, *Osale Otango* (Tanga: Saumu K. Jumbe, 2015), 3-5; Andrew C. Mhina, *Harakati za Osale Otango na Paulo Hamisi* (Dar es Salaam: Mhina and Imaney Publishing Company, 2015), 4-7.

suggests that there was a link between Osale Otango and MAUMAU.[36] Description from Lammert(2020) shows that Osale Otango was a Kenyan while Paulo Hamisi was a Shambaa of Tanga in Tanzania. That, depending on the perspective, the story of Osale and Paulo was often associetd with MAUMAU and, generally, MAUMAU created fear in settler's home in Tanga in Tanzania.[37] The fact that MAUMAU created fear among settlers was also reported in Kilosa district in Morogoro in Tanzania when settles at Kimamba objected re-settlement of the Kikuyu in their area in 1954.[38] A reflection from the organized MAUMAU bandit in Arusha and Tanga shows that MAUMAU nationalist fighters were so unique as they fought physically in Tanganyika unlike other nationalist fighters from Mozambique, South Africa, Angola and Namibia who established their camps in Tanzania but never fought in Tanzania.

Other prominent issues related to MAUMAU were creation of Kikuyu detention camps, re-settlement of some Kikuyu and emerging new identities of the Kikuyu in Tanganyika in the period between 1952 and 1963. Despite the fact that several Kikuyu were arrested in Tanganyika and repatriated back to Kenya, there were also several Kikuyu who were detained in

[36] Stephanie Lammert, "Fear and Mockery: The Story of Osale and Paulo in Tanganyika", *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 14, No. 4 (2020), 633 - 638.
[37] *Ibid*.
[38] *Tanganyika Standard*, 8th May 1954.

Tanganyika after being arrested from various areas of Kenya and Tanganyika. Available archival documents show that there were more than one thousand ninety-nine Kikuyu male detention camps in the Miombo forest in Urambo in Tabora in Tanganyika. Of 15th May 1954, there were a total of 674 male Kikuyu detained in those Miombo camps.[39] Another famous Kikuyu detention camp was located at Tamota in Handeni district in Tanga.[40] However, today Tamota is located in Tamota Ward in Bumbuli Town Council in Lushoto District in Tanga Region. Although it is very difficult to establish the exact number of Kikuyu who were detained at Tamota, some highlights can be given. On 11th March 1954, approximately 80 Kikuyu women and 160 children were transported from Arusha and Moshi to Korogwe by a special train, then by road to Tamota where they joined their husbands and fathers respectively. Another list shows that in April 1954, about 76 kikuyu men, their wives and approximately 150 children were also moved from Arusha and Moshi to Tamota and; 25 men together with their wives and approximately 53 children were transferred from Miombo camps to Tamota.[41] Although several Kikuyu detained at Tamota were later on repatriated back to Kenya, still there were about 533 Kikuyu (163 – men and 370 women) at Tamota in November 1955.[42] The most

[39]TNA, Acc. No 9, File No. P.P. – Kikuyu Evacuation, 1954
[40]TNA, Acc. No 9, File No. P.P. – Kikuyu Evacuation, 1954; *Tanganyika Standard*, 17th July 1954; Tanganyika *Standard*, 4th November 1955.
[41]TNA, Acc. No 9, File No. P.P. – Kikuyu Evacuation, 1954.
[42]*Tanganyika Standard*, 4th November 1955.

paining fact regarding those detainees is that majority of them left their families (wives and children) where they were arrested and arrangement to send them was done while male detainees had stayed in the camps for quite a long time suffering from loneliness.

Evidence shows that apart from having detention camps, there was also special 'Kikuyu Resettlement Schemes in Tanganyika.' Those schemes can be divided into two broad categories. The first type aimed at resettling landless Kikuyu people from Kenya into Tanganyika. Under this scheme, about 4000 – 5000 Kikuyu were to be moved from Kenya to Tanganyika. In attempt to implement the proposed scheme, about 3000 Kikuyu people from Kenya were first re-settled at Katuma village in Mpanda District in 1962.[43] Those people were transported in 1962 in batches of 600 to 800 people. First, they were transported by a steamer from Kisumu through Lake Victoria to Mwanza port and, thereafter, they were entrained to Mpanda via Tabora.[44] From Katuma, some of those Kikuyu moved into Mwese, Mpembe, Kapanga, Mpanda

[43]Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service (TCRS), "20th Anniversary -1964 to 1984, (June 1984)." Accessed 15th August 2019 at http:// repository.forcedmigration.org; Tanzania National Archives – Mwanza (TNA –Mwanza), Accession No. 1, File No. R1/2 – Registration and Settlement of Kikuyu; *Tanganyika Standard* – 4th October 1962, 2; Interviews with Mnyihunga Jumanne Mwelela and Aldolf Seleman Katuli, Katuma Village – 21st August 2019.

[44] TNA –Mwanza, Accession No. 1, File No. R1/2 – Registration and Settlement of Kikuyu.

ndogo, Kibo, Manga and Kasokola villages of Mpanda district which today is divided into Mpanda Municipal and Tanganyika District of Katavi region. Although the Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service (TCRS) report considered those Kenyans as refugees who were given asylum in Tanganyika pending full independence of their own country,[45] a document obtained from Kenya National Archives proves that those Kikuyu were resettled in Tanganyika in accordance to emergency legislation titled 'Restriction of Residence and Removal Ordinance of 1955.' The ordinance targeted members of Kikuyu, Embu and Meru who were considered instigators and supporters of MAUMAU war. Those Kikuyu were landless because their land had been already confiscated under the 'Confiscation of African Property and Land' emergence legislation. As way of finding a living, those people were willing to move anywhere. The Kenyan government assisted them by finding a place where they could settle far away from Kenya so as to weaken MAUMAU. In addition to assisting them to get where to settle, the government also gave them transport as well as travel and residence permits.[46]

The second type of special resettlement scheme involved those who were called the 'loyalist' Kikuyu. MAUMAU divided

[45] TCRS (1984), Op. cit.
[46] Kenya National Archives (KNA), DP/1/65 – Movement of Kikuyu, Embu and Meru 1959 – 1961.

the Kikuyu along two major lines – those who were ready to take oaths and fight the Whiteman (*Mzungu*) and; those who were not ready to take oaths and participate in MAUMAU- the "loyalists". The 'loyalist' Kikuyu, therefore, rejected to take oath and continued to collaborate with *Mzungu* in different ways. Some were already squatters in the land which has been taken by white settlers. 'Loyalist' Kikuyu were considered by their fellows as betrayers while colonial officials considered them 'good Africans' who should be safeguarded against the MAUMAU assaults. Many Kikuyu 'loyalists' were, therefore, resettled in Tanganyika as a means of giving them protection. One newspaper published in May 1954 indicated that 85 of loyalist Kikuyu families comprising of 350 persons were resettled from Northern Province of Tanganyika to Kimamba areas in Kilosa district in Tanganyika. However, a group of 100 settlers who had already established themselves at Kimamba protested against such re-settlement for two main reasons. First, they feared that those Kikuyu were not loyal as the government said, thus, would spread MAUMAU to their areas. Second, they were worried that their re-settlement would result into competition for the few available labourers in the area because those Kikuyu were also said to be good agriculturalist. The Eastern Provincial Commissioner, Mr. E. G. Rowe was sent to try to allay the misgivings of those settlers but could not succeed. Kilosa District Commissioner, Mr. L. M. Manson also met with those Kimamba settlers several

times but yet they were not ready to accept the re-settlement of the 'loyalist' Kikuyu.[47]

The continued protest of Kimamba settlers against the re-settlement of Kikuyu in their area made the Governor of Tanganyika, Sir Edward Twining to visit Kilosa and Morogoro districts in late June 1954. During his visit in Kilosa, the Governor met with Kimamba settlers and informed them that the government had an obligation to the band of loyalist Kikuyu who had assisted in resisting the spread of MAUMAU to the Tanganyika territory. The Governor explained why it was necessary to remove them from areas contiguous to the Kenya border, where there was a danger of reprisals. The Governor insisted that all those Kikuyu had been thoroughly vetted by the special branch of police. Land would be given to them on which to re-establish their homes, and to prevent their spreading to other parts they would be given a specific title to the areas they would occupy. Certain restriction on movement would remain, and if that hospitality were abused they would receive short shrift. After meeting with Kimamba settlers, the governor proceeded to the Kikuyu camp which was situated at the foot of the Ukaguru Mountain where he met with 70 loyal Kikuyu families together with their local authority elders. The governor told them that, for their loyalty, they would be accepted as citizens of Tanganyika but

[47] *Tanganyika Standard*, 8th May 1954.

exemplary behaviour was also expected from them.[48] One archival document shows that those 85 loyalist Kikuyu families were thoroughly compensated before they were moved from Northern Province to Kilosa.[49]

Minutes of the Provincial Commissioners' Conference held in Dar es Salaam in January 1955 shows that provincial commissioners agreed to transfer the 85 loyalist Kikuyu families which were resettled in Kilosa in 1954 to different parts of Tanganyika except in Lake, Northern and Tanga Provinces because they would be close to the Kenya borders, thus, prone to MAUMAU followers' reprisals. The Eastern Province Provincial Commissioner explained to members of the conference that those Kikuyu families were of good character and were not a security risk. The conference also recommended that a small part of Kikuyu leaders in Kilosa should be selected to conduct a survey to check if they would be interested with the proposed areas where they would be re-settled again. The proposed areas were those found South of Tunduru, Mpwapwa (South of the central line), Kasulu district, and the forest reserve squatter scheme at Lubembe.[50]

[48] *East Africa and Rhodesia*, 1st July 1954.
[49]See "Provincial Commissioner –Northern Province to Arusha, Moshi, Masai and Mbulu District Commisioners, 12 February 1954" in TNA, Acc. No. 9, File No. P. P., Kikuyu Evacuation, 1954.
[50] University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) Archives, Minutes of Provincial Commissioner' Conference held in Dar es Salaam, January 1955.

Interview with Joseph Mwangi Kafaiya, a Kikuyu living at Kipande village in Nkasi district, justifies that recommendation of the Provincial Commissioners conference regarding the transfer of the loyalist Kikuyu from Kilosa to various parts of Tanganyika was implemented significantly. Joseph Kafaiya stated that his father was one of those Kikuyu who rejected to take the MAUMAU oath. Thus, the Kenya colonial government first took them to Arusha, and then the Tanganyika government re-settled them at Kilosa. Thereafter, they were transferred from Kilosa and re-settled at Kilangala which today is one of the suburbs of Kipande village in Nkasi district in Rukwa region.

Furthermore, Kafaiya stated that the government appointed several teams of Kikuyu who were at Kilosa. Every team which comprised of two Kikuyu elders was sent in different areas. One team went in Tukuyu in Mbeya, some went to Kipande and Katuma, and others went to different areas. Each team submitted a report to the government that the area they visited was good for them and they shared the same message with their fellow Kikuyu. Thus, on the day of transfer from Kilosa, heads of the family were told to choose a team which they would like to go with. Upon arrival, they were registered by immigration officers and given certificates of residence. Thereafter, they were allocated land and given title of occupancy. Kafaiya estimated that about 200 families comprising of approximately 1000 persons were re-settled at Kipande in 1955. Although Kafaiya was still young at the time

of re-settlement, he remembers that their population was too big to the extent that they could not be accommodated in several huts which were prepared for them. [51] Charles James Mungai also stated that there were several Kikuyu families which were re-settled in Tukuyu and Mbeya during the colonial period.[52]

The foregone narratives suggest that Moskowitz's argument for the resettlement of the Kikuyu at Katuma in Mpanda might be wrong. Moskowitz indicate that the first Kikuyu to be resettled at Katuma were those who lived in the northern province of Tanzania during the inter-war and post-war years but were forcefully transferred to the western part of Tanzania by the newly independent government of Tanzania in 1961. According to Moskowitz, the second group of the Kikuyu who were resettled at Katuma in 1962 did not flee colonial rule but were a product of a program sponsored jointly by the Tanzania and Kenya goverments.[53] Evidence given above proves that the Kikuyu who lived in the northern province of Tanzania during the inter-war and post-war periods were arrested after the declaration of state of emergency in Kenya and Tanzania in 1952. Some of those who were arrested were repatriated back to Kenya while others were detained in

[51] Interview with Joseph Mwangi Kafaiya, Kipande Village, Nkasi District – Rukwa Region, 12th October 2020.
[52] Interview with Charles James Mungai, Iringa Town, Iringa District – Iringa Region, 30th August 2019.
[53] Moskowitz, "Sons and Daughters of the Soil," 301 – 303.

detention camps found in Tanzania. Those who remained in the northern part of Tanzania as 'loyalist Kikuyu' were the ones who were transferred by the colonial state and resettled first at Kilosa, and then in various places of southern and western part of Tanzania in the 1950s. The argument that Kikuyu who were resettled in Katuma in 1962 did not flee colonial rule is likely to suggest the denial of the link between land problem caused by the colonial state in Kenya, and the rise of MAUMAU movement which aimed at gaining independence and re-storing their lost land. In my view, the resettlement of the Kikuyu in Tanzania was directly connected to MAUMAU which was a movement responding to injustice, oppression and exploitation caused by the colonial state in Kenya. The Tanzanian Government was determined to give protection and support to liberation struggles all over Africa, thus, accepting Kikuyu resettlement in the 1960s was a way towards accomplishing her goal.

As regard to identities, archival document shows that in addition to their known identities such as being members of Kikuyu ethnic group, speaking Kikuyu language and observing all Kikuyu culture and traditions; such Kikuyu were also categorised differently, a fact which assigned them new identities in Tanzania. We have already seen that there are those who were called 'loyalist' Kikuyu thus distinguished from those who were called 'non-loyal' Kikuyu who, in most cases, were considered criminals liable for arrest, punishment,

detention and imprisonment. Yet there are those who were called 'Black', 'Red', 'White', and 'Grey' Kikuyu.[54] It is hard to understand this classification because there is no direct translation of what they meant. Rashid Mfaume Kawawa, who worked at Urambo and Tamota Kikuyu detention camps in the 1950s, stated that 'Red' represented the most bad and notorious Kikuyu who had records of engaging in killing of people. 'Grey' was used to refer to those who, to some extent, were not notorious, had good character and did not have any record related to killing of people.[55] A thorough scrutiny of lists of Kikuyu who were labelled so suggests that colonial administrators identified and categorised them that way based on observation of their behaviours. According to those lists, 'Black' represented the most problematic Kikuyu who should be watched carefully. For example, in January 1953, about six 'Black' Kikuyu who were living at Mbulu in Arusha were vetted for being returned in Kenya because they were seen to be a threat to security in the area. 'Grey' represented the Kikuyu who were in transition of changing their behaviour from 'Black' to 'white'. It seems that majority of those people, had been jailed and where about to accomplish their sentenced period. In early February 1953 there were about 139 families of 'Grey' Kikuyu in Tanzania with approximately 295

[54] TNA, Acc. 9, File No. P. P. – Kikuyu Evacuation, 1954.
[55] Rashid Mfaume Kawawa's narratives are found in Arnold J. Temu and Joel das N. Tembe (eds), *Southern African Liberation Struggles: Contemporaneous Documents, 1960 – 1994*, Vol. 6 (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2014), 182,

children. Some of those families were screened from detainees of Urambo detention camps in Tabora and thereafter, they were transported to Tamota camp in Tanga. Between June and July 1954, a total of 277 male 'Grey' Kikuyu who had been imprisoned at Karanga prison in Mosh in Tanganyika were evacuated from Moshi to Manyani camp found near Voi in Kenya. The 'White' Kikuyu represented those who had somehow changed their behaviour so that they can be accepted as good people who could be integrated into the society.[56] By April 1954, there were about 35 and 66 families of 'White' Kikuyu living in Arusha and Tamota respectively.[57]

The foregone paragraphs have sufficiently proved that the impacts of MAUMAU were not felt in Kenya alone, they transcended into the neighbouring countries. Despite the fact that several Kikuyu who were in Tanganyika as a result of MAUMAU were later on evacuated back into Kenya, there are those who remained in Tanzania even after Kenya attained her independence in 1963. In the section which follows below, I am trying to show how remnants of MAUMAU in Tanzania continued to struggle for their survival, the challenges they have encountered, changes or continuities in their identities, and the way they have influenced the socio-economic development of the areas where they settled to date.

[56] *Ibid.*
[57] *Ibid.*

4.0 The Post-MAUMAU Period in Tanzania to the present

At the time of Tanganyika independence in 1961, several Kikuyu who came in Tanganyika as a result of MAUMAU movement including those who had already settled in Tanzania before MAUMAU were already recognized as official citizens of Tanganyika. We have seen that in June 1954 when the Governor of Tanganyika, Sir Edward Twining visited the 'loyalist; Kikuyu in Kilosa, he exemplary stated that those loyal Kikuyu who were re-settled in Tanganyika were accepted as legal and rightful citizens of Tanganyika.[58] In 1962, the Minister for Home Affairs in Tanzania, Hon. Osca S. Kambona, reported in the Tanzanian parliament that a total of 4,624 immigration certificates were granted to Kenyan Africans who were living in Tanzania. Out of those 4,624 certificates, 1,105 were issued to the Luo and 2, 935 to the Kikuyus.[59] Immigration certificates given to those immigrants qualified them to live in Tanganyika as legal and rightful citizens. Section two of the Tanganyika Citizenship Act of 1961 also qualified several people born outside Tanganyika to be citizens of Tanganyika. The section states:

> Every person who, having been born outside Tanganyika, is on the eighth day of December 1961, a citizen of the United Kingdom and colonies or a British protected person shall, if his

[58] *East Africa and Rhodesia*, 1st July 1954.
[59] Tanzania Parliamentary Debates (Hansard), First Session – Third meeting, 25th - 27th September 1962, 8.

> father becomes, or would but for his death have become, a citizen of Tanganyika in accordance with the provision of subsection (1), become a citizen of Tanganyika on the ninth day of December 1961.[60]

The quotation shows that, several Kikuyu people who registered themselves and those whom the colonial government granted citizenship in Tanganyika in any form together with their offspring qualified to be citizens of Tanganyika on the 9th December 1961. Joseph Mwangi Kafaiya also testified this to me by showing me the Tanganyika Immigration Registration certificate which was granted to his father when he arrived at Kipande in the 1950s as one of the loyalist Kikuyu transferred from Kilosa.[61]

In spite of the existing reality that those Kikuyu people were already recognized as citizens of Tanganyika since 1961, descendants of those people have continued to face a major challenge as regard to their presence in Tanzania today. Several people including some government officials have tended to treat them as illegal immigrants and therefore, deny them some rights such occupancy of land and acquisition of National Identification Cards (NIC). During my field work at Mpanda Town, Haruni John Mlaguri testified that he was a

[60] Tanganyika Territory, *Citizenship Act, 1961*.
[61] Interview with Joseph Mwangi Kafaiya, Kipande Village, Nkasi District – Rukwa Region Tanzania, 12th October 2020.

grandson of Haruni Mlaguri who was one of the 'loyalist' Kikuyu who arrived in Mpanda in the 1950s. His grandfather was given a plot by the government. After his death, his grandfather's plot was left to Haruni's father who also died in the early 2000s. Since then, Haruni John Mlaguri has been living with a lot of fear because village officials reported him to the immigration officers that he was an illegal immigrant simply because he was a Kikuyu and could not provide any written document to justify his precence in Tanzania. But Haruni and his father were born in Tanzania and by that time, birth certificate was not a big deal, thus they did not take trouble to get them.

By virtue of birth, they qualified for Tanzanian citizenship. However, Haruni was denied the right to register and get a Tanzanian NIC because he was reported to be illegal immigrant. The plot which was left by his ancestors was confiscated by some government officials. He bought a new plot, but still they were frequently looking for him. As a result, he decided to abandon his own house. At the time of the research, he was living with one of the followers of Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) church whom they pray together at Kasimba SDA church which is believed to have been first established by his grandfather.[62] Joseph Mwangi Kafaiya also had almost similar stories with that of Haruni. Kafaiya stated

[62] Interview with Haruni John Mlaguri, Ilembo village, Mpanda District - Katavi Region, Tanzania, 11th August 2019.

that his father arrived at Kilangala in Kapande village in the 1950s as one of the 'loyalist' Kikuyu who were re-settled from Kilosa. But after the death of his farther, his life at Kilangala has been characterised by lack of peace because of frequent arrest, trial and jail, only because they consider him illegal immigrant who is not ready to obey the Tanzanian Immigration Laws. Kafaiya has frequently tabled his case to various government officials from the village, district, regional up to the central government in the Tanzania Prime Minister's Office justifying that he is not an illegal immigrant based on the immigration certificate which was granted to his father in the late 1950s. Until the time of this research, no solution was provided regarding Kafaiya's cases.[63] In the right of evidence submitted here, I argue that such Kenyan Kikuyu descendants are mistreated by some government officials because of the ignorance of the history of their existence in Tanzania.

Although remnants of Kikuyu continue to face a lot of challenge including lack of recognition as rightful and legal immigrants of Tanzania, oral accounts show that they have significantly contributed to the socio-economic development of the areas where they settled. For example, the Kikuyu are said to have been the first people to introduce cultivation of *mahole* (yams), *githir* (green peas) and Irish potatoes in areas which today constitute Mpanda and Nkasi districts. Some

[63] Interview, Joseph Mwangi Kafaiya, Kipande Village, Nkasi District – Rukwa region, Tanzanian, 12th October 2020.

remnants of those Kikuyu still engage into business and are main suppliers of Irish potatoes, green peas, avocado, and other vegetables from Kipande, Kantawa and Milundikwa villages. The dominant sellers of Irish potatoes in Mpanda town market are said to be Kikuyu women.[64]

Haruni Mlaguri, who moved from Katuma and settled at Misengereni in Mpanda, is said to be the first person who introduced the Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) church in Mpanda. Mlaguri built SDA church at Misengereni and later on that church was moved at Kasimba in the 1980s where it still flourishes. SDA church owns the first dispensary to be established in Mpanda under the auspicious of Haruni Mlaguri and his followers. The Kikuyu who were resettled at Kilangala in Kapande village in the 1950s are said to have provided both material and moral support for the establishment of Kilangala mission in the 1960s. The mission still exists today and offers various services to the community including medication of various illnesses through its hospital, and education in the so called Kilangala mission vocational training institute. At Katuma, the Kikuyu are also remembered to have contributed significantly for the building

[64]Interviews with Joseph Mwangi Kafaiya, Kipande Village, Nkasi District – Rukwa region, Tanzanian, 12th October 2020; Jacob Peter Ikolola, Kasokola Village – 17th August 2019; Mnyihunga Jumanne Mwelela, Katuma Village – 21st August 2019; Raymond Bilia Kasomfi, Mpembe Village – 22nd August 2019; Haruni John Mlaguri, Ilembo –Mpanda, 11th August 2019.

of Katuma primary school and Katuma Dispensary. The Kikuyu were also the first to initiate the establishment of Katuma Cooperative Society in the 1960s. Katuma Cooperative Society was led by Samwel Wanjihia (Chairman) and Jenga Wainaina (secretary). During that time Chege Mkutiro was the village chairman at Katuma. All those Katuma leaders were Kikuyu.[65]

Francis Mwangi, who came with his parents in the 1950s when he was very young, established the first restaurant and guest house in Mpanda town. That guest house is now called 'Umoja Guest House'. Francis Mwangi also owns another guest house in Mpanda called – 'Kenyatta Lodge'. His son, Yohana Francis Mwangi, is one of the famous contractors who are engaged in the construction of various government projects such as schools and roads in Mpanda.[66]

As regard to identities, there have been changes and some continuity. The Kikuyu have continued to identify themselves as Kikuyu, speak Kikuyu language and observe their culture and tradition such as practice both male and female circumcision, and piercing their ears. They only ceased to practice female circumcision after the government have insisted to stop it and declared that practice illegal. Some

[65] *Ibid*.
[66] Personal conversation with Yohana Francis Mwangi and Francis Mwangi at different intervals.

maintained recognition of their original home country. For example, the Kikuyu who settled in Kasokola in 1965 named a road passing in the vicinity of their settlement as 'Kenya Road'. 'Kenya Road' which was very famous in the 1960s and 1970s started from where there is Kasokola primary school today downwards to Mpanda river. In Mpanda town, Francis Mwangi named his guest house 'Kenyatta Lodge.' In Nkasi district, 'Kipande' village is said to have been named so to reflect the way the Kikuyu people used to direct their fellows where they lived, i.e. 'nakaa kipande ile' in Swahili langauge.[67]

However, Kikuyu identities changed gradually as senior Kikuyu people who first arrived in Tanganyika died slowly. The colonial identification of the Kikuyu such as 'loyal', 'non-loyal', 'Black', 'Grey', and 'White' Kikuyu were no longer applicable in the post-colonial period, neither were they remembered by any of the surviving Kikuyu. Even the Kikuyu who settled at Katuma and Mwese villages in Mpanda district, who formally were considered to be refugees, are no longer called refugees. Although formally the Kikuyu used to marry members of their own ethnic group, such marriage also changed slowly. Kikuyu sons and daughters started marrying members of the host communities and vice versa. We can therefore, say that the Kikuyu have been fully incorporated into the indigenous communities. The indigenous people had

[67] Jacob Peter Ikolola, Kasokola Village – 17th August 2019; and Philip Damas Kalulu, Mpanda Town – 23rd August 2019.

also started learning kikuyu lifestyles, specifically, full engagement into agriculture.

5.0 Conclusion

This paper has attempted to show that the impacts of MAUMAU were not felt in Kenya alone, they transcended into neighbouring countries including Tanzania. Sometimes, MAUMAU fighters operated physically on the Tanzanian soil as was the case in Arusha and Tanga. But such incidences were very rare and did not target Africans of Tanzanian origin, rather it targeted some Europeans and Asians settlers who were the subject of the movement, and some fellow Kikuyu whom they considered to have betrayed their own community.

We have also seen that prior to the emergence of MAUMAU, there were several Kenyan communities including the Kikuyu who were living in Tanganyika. The declaration of state of emergency in Kenya in October 1952 resulted into significant change of the status of residency of Kenyans who were living in Tanganyika before the beginning of MAUMAU. While it is true that the majority of instigators and followers of MAUMAU in Kenya were Kikuyu squatters and landless people who had developed discontent against the colonial government; evidence gathered in this research has proved that a large number of the Kikuyu who lived in Tanganyika did not have land problem. Kikuyu squatters in Tanganyika were allowed to continue with their farming activities in their

small fields without interference. Such Kikuyu also had neither shown sign of expression of dissatisfaction with the Tanganyika government nor were they considered to have caused any trouble to the government. It was in that context that some of the employers of those Kikuyu in Tanganyika defended them as loyalist Kikuyu. In my view, arrest, detention and repatriation of the Kikuyu who lived in Tanganyika before the emergency of MAUMAU in Kenya was not based on real evidence but on fear as well as false generalization that such individuals were also victims of MAUMAU. The opening up of several MAUMAU detention camps in Tanganyika also suggests that the colonial government deliberately made Tanganyika a hideout of the MAUMAU fighters.

Today, we still have some people of Kenyan origin (particularly, the Kikuyu) who settled in Tanzania because of MAUMAU. This implies that MAUMAU resulted into the emergence of a new minority Kikuyu ethnic group in Tanzania whose history and record is not yet known to most of the Tanzanians including some government officials. Such paucity of information has resulted into false interpretation of the status of such Kikuyu whereas some are labelled illegal immigrants, thus, denied land occupancy and obtaining Tanzania National Identification Cards. Evidence have also proved beyond doubt that MAUMAU caused a lot of fear and insecurity in Tanzania during the 1950s. However, lack of clear history on the influence of MAUMAU in Tanzania seem to

continue perpetuating tensions and insecurity among remnants of Kikuyu people who are still living in Tanzania. Testimonies of Joseph Mwangi Kafaiya and Haruni John Mlaguri narrated in this essay can justify tensions and state of insecurity experienced by remnants of Kikuyu people living in Tanzania to day. During my field work at Mwanjelwa (old airport areas) in Mbeya municipality and at Ilamba village in Kilolo district in Iringa region, some remnants of Kikuyu living in the mentioned areas declined to be interviewed on the ground that their security would be jeopardized. It is in that context, I argue that history should be considered when local people and government officials deal with matters pertaining to settlement or presence of people of Kenyan origin in Tanzania. Doing so will help to strengthen unity and inter-community relations among members of Tanzania and Kenya states. Despite the fact that this paper awakens us of the operations and influence of MAUMAU in Tanzania, still there is a need to research more on the same influence in other East African territories such as Uganda.

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'It remains untold'. White women and gender-based violence in colonial Zimbabwe

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Abstract

Gender based violence is a socio-historical phenomenon that affected colonial Indigenous and settler societies in Zimbabwe, Tanzania and elsewhere in Africa. Experiences of indigenous societies have been disproportionately studied by scholars. White settlers' experiences of violence in domestic spaces remain largely silenced. This article fills this lacuna by illuminating one unexplored dimension of white settler women's history: their lived experiences with gender-based

violence in domestic spaces of colonial Zimbabwe. It draws on archival research carried out in court records, in the form of civil, desertion and divorce cases. The paper deploys the concepts of objective and subjective violence as a prism to reconstruct violence. The article argues that despite their privileged status in the colonial state, white women were dually positioned as survivors and perpetrators of violence. It brings up another angle of perceiving colonial society, allowing for greater understanding of intersecting themes of class, gender, and whiteness.

Keywords: Gender based violence, white women, colonial Zimbabwe, subjective and objective violence.

1.0 Introduction and background

Gender-based violence (GBV) is a human rights, health and livelihoods security issue common in many parts of the world. Tanzania like other African countries, exhibits high prevalence of GBV against women. About 40 percent of all women aged between 15-49 years have experienced physical violence, while 17 percent of women have experienced sexual violence from their male partners in their lifetime.[1] Little is known about

[1] World Bank. Tanzania GBV Assessment March 2022, 23; See also Hilde Jakobsen, What's Gendered about Gender-Based Violence? An Empirically Grounded Theoretical Exploration from Tanzania, *Gender and Society*, 2014, 538.

the experiences of colonial white women in Tanzania and most African colonies.

To address this gap, this article focuses on the experiences of white women in colonial Zimbabwe as a privileged class. Such experiences resonate widely with other privileged classes in Tanzania and elsewhere where issues of gender-based violence are not publicly discussed. As a result, they have not received much scholarly attention.

Within the histories of settler-colonialism, gender-based violence remains hidden and relatively silenced in the white settlers' domestic spaces.[2] The silence on private issues such as gender-based violence is not a new phenomenon. Global history of violence in domestic spaces reveal similar trends. For Britain, Elizabeth Foyster's study of the history of spousal violence was not conducted until 2005.[3] For colonial Zimbabwe, the subject was not fully explored in settler society for two main reasons. First, as an expression of gender inequality in metropolitan Britain, gender-based violence has

[2] Antoinette Burton and Dane Kennedy (eds.), 'Introduction' *How Empire Shaped Us*, (Bloomsbury Academic: London, 2016), 9.
[3] Martin J. Wiener, (Review*)* 'Marital Violence, An English Family History, 1660 –1857', *Victorian Studies* 48, no.2, (2006), 375.

been associated with poorer classes.[4] Second, owing to racial misconceptions of the colonial period, GBV was considered as a prerogative of Africans, whereas settlers' houses were seen as exempted from violence and white women as sort of the "personification" of morality and good virtues. For Ane M. Kirkegaard, 'the European self eludes being objectified and studied because it is itself the master of objectification of others.[5]

This article sheds light on a silent dimension of white settler women's past, their lived experiences of gender-based violence in colonial Zimbabwe, not only as victims of male violence but also as perpetrators. The paper draws on archival research conducted on court records in the form of divorce and other civil cases. Of the cases, gender-based violence is hidden in the grounds for divorce. It will therefore analyse four types of cases; desertion/economic violence; cruelty, sexual violence. The article uses the concepts of objective and subjective violence as prisms to reconstruct gender-based violence as a complex expression of unequal gender relations

[4] A. James Hammerton, *Cruelty and Companionship, Conflict in nineteenth-century married life (*London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 19.

[5] Ane M. Orbo Kirkegaard, 'It couldn't be anything innocent: Negotiating gender in patriarchal-racial spaces,' in Kizito Muchemwa and Robert Muponde (eds)*Manning the Nation. Father figures in Zimbabwean literature and society*, (Weaver Press, 2007), 115.

in society.[6] The main argument is that white women have experienced gender-based violence despite their privileged status in the colonial hierarchy. With this line of reasoning, the paper contributes to a more nuanced Zimbabwean gender history. Such a story deserves significant attention and can contribute to a better understanding of the intersecting histories of violence, gender, whiteness/ race and class. Through such stories, scholars can begin to question the implications of racial or class privileges that obscure other forms of oppression, as the cases show.

Broadly speaking, the paper falls within the gender and empire historiography and contributes in part to the 'new imperial histories', which for Antionette Burton[7], aim to restore visibility to white women experiences, beyond 'recuperative history', that aims to reinsert experiences into the historical narrative.[8] It adopts the perspective of recent feminist historiography, which insists on the need to give gender its full weight in social analysis, and examines

[6] Kirsten Campbell, 'On Violence as a feminist Problem: Producing Knowledge on Sexual and Gender Based Violence', in Zilka Spahić Šiljak Jasna Kovačević Jasmina Husanović (eds.) *Uprkos Strahu i Tišini: Univerziteti Protiv Rodno Zasnovanog Nasilja*, (Sarajevo, 2022), 31-41.
[7] Antionette Burton, *Empire in Question: Reading, Writing, and Teaching British Imperialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).
[8] Jane Haggis, 'White Women and Colonialism: Towards a Non-Recuperative History', in Reina Lewis and Sara Mills (eds), *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 161-189, here 170.

women's experiences in light of the gender ideologies of the time.[9] The paper goes beyond the discourse of the incorporated woman and expands the debates and questions surrounding women's experiences in the domestic gendered space and to some extent in the public sphere.[10] It analyses the application of domesticity ideology and the configuration of gender in domestic spaces and how the interactions opened up possibilities for gender-based violence expressed as subjective or objective violence. In the next section, the paper provides a contextual overview of the major historical processes that have shaped gender relations and, indirectly, gender-based violence in white settler society. Of importance are the establishment of a white settler state through the emigration of white women to Southern Rhodesia and their protection through the Black Perils, ideology of domesticity in domestic and public space; Marriage, Divorce and Inheritance Law, Great Depression and Second World War.

Southern Rhodesia evolved as a white settler colony, similar to, but not homogenous with South African Natal and Kenya. These societies maintained ideological and cultural ties with metropole Britain, and expanding their civilisations.[11] The

[9] Kate Law, 'Gendering the Settler State', 23.
[10] Ushehwedu Kufakurinani, *Elasticity in Domesticity, white women in Rhodesian Zimbabwe, 1890-1979,* (Brill Leiden, 2019), 46.
[11] Dane Kennedy, Review of *The Cultural Construction of the British World* Edited by Barry Crosbie and Mark Hampton (Manchester University Press, 2016).

emigration of white women was essential in transforming a pioneer society to a successful white colonial settler society in Southern Rhodesia. From 1900 onwards, female emigration was prioritised.[12] Statistics show an estimated four hundred and seven women for every thousand men, rising to five hundred and fifteen in 1911 and seven hundred and seventy-one in 1921.[13] This situation led to competition for available females, among the settlers, particularly in Salisbury, Umtali and the mining towns compared to Bulawayo, which had a more equitable gender ratio.[14] Additionally Rhodesian settlers were overwhelmed by the numerical superiority of African men, sparking fear of African men raping white women.[15] This phenomena which was referred to as Black or Sex Perils, spread within the settler societies of Natal, Southern Rhodesia and Kenya and was manipulated by both white males and females for their own interests.[16] For white men, it was control of female sexuality, while white women manipulated black perils in some cases, as a strategy to hide their own sexual attraction to African men, in the face of rigid race relations.[17]

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[12] Kate Law, 'Gendering the Settler State,' 27.
[13] Southern Rhodesia, Report of the Director of Census, May 1926, cited in L.H Gann, *A History of Southern Rhodesia early days to 1934*, (London, Chatto & Windus, 1965), 313.
[14] Jock McCulloch, *Black Peril: White Virtue, Sexual Crime in Southern Rhodesia 1902-1935*, (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2000), 88.
[15] Dane Kennedy. *Islands of White: Settler Society and Culture in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, (*Duke University Press, 1987), 268.
[16] McCulloch, *Black Peril: Sexual Crime in Southern Rhodesia,* 5–8.
[17] Doris Lessing, *The Grass is Singing*, (London: Michel Joseph, 1950).

While David Anderson interprets the sex perils as part of the process by which settler society was constructed and maintained to protect white cultural and social interests, the male response reveals a deep-seated control over white women.[18] As in the American South, public lynching was used to demonstrate the symbolic power of white men over white women and African men.[19] In line with prevailing conceptions about white women's sexual purity influenced by Victorian ideology, the state introduced legal tools to punish interracial sex against white women and African men and effectively controlling their sexuality. The Immorality Ordinances of 1904, the Immorality Suppression Ordinance of 1916, and the White Women Protection Ordinance of 1926 demonstrate the extent of government interest in safeguarding the sexual purity of white women. At the same time, colonial society showed a double standard because white men sired children with black women, hence there were many coloured children. Control of white women permeated other aspects of domestic life, where the domesticity ideology placed demands on women's submission to male authority as housewives. In the 1890s and 1920s, pioneering women tended to publicly support gender ideologies of the time, despite suffering

[18] David M. Anderson, 'Sexual Threat and Settler Society: 'Black Perils' in Kenya, c. 1907–30', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, (2010), 47-74, here 66.
[19] *Ibid*.

hardship, poverty and loneliness.[20] Evidence from the conversations in the Women's Institute, a leading women's organisation, shows that middle class women supported conservative gender ideologies of the time. According to the chairperson of the Federation of Women's Institutes in Southern Rhodesia; 'home and family come before everything else and the greatest service a woman can give mankind is housekeeping including the care of children and their upbringing'.[21] Reality of the workings of the domesticity ideology were contextual, as women were not homogenous, but intersected by class, nationality and location.

Male privilege permeated marriage, property and inheritance laws modelled on Roman-Dutch law imported from the Dutch to the Cape of South Africa and introduced by the pioneers in Southern Rhodesia. The divorce cases were decided in the High Courts in the two largest cities of Bulawayo and Salisbury. Such places were not easily accessible to families on the mines, farms, and smaller towns, making it difficult for women in abusive relationships to access justice. The administration of justice was conducted through an all-white male chain of judges, prosecutors, and police officers, demonstrating the gender ideologies of the time informed by contemporary beliefs about marriage, family, and justice.

[20] Jeannie Boggie, *Experiences of Rhodesia's Pioneer Women. Bulawayo*: (Philport & Collins, 1938).
[21] *Home and Country*, 1/3 (1938), 5.

Before 1943, divorce laws allowed only adultery and desertion, as grounds for divorce.[22] Therefore, it was difficult for women or men to get divorced because of spousal violence. A divorce required witnesses and evidence of allegations made against a spouse over a period of time. Cases lasting longer than two years were not uncommon.

2.0 Writing White Women and Gender based Violence

Writing about gender-based domestic violence in white society is inspired in part by Diana Russell's exploration of some of the violent experiences of white women in South Africa at the hands of their male partners and the widespread incestuous abuse.[23] Russell's work suggests that white women's abuse in the colonies was far more prevalent than has been acknowledged by historians and society at large. Russell's study, however, discusses white women largely as victims of abuse and rarely as perpetrators or both. It is also silent on white women's relations with their domestic servants. Relevant to this study is Elizabeth Foyster's history of marital violence in England in the mid eighteenth century. She uses court records to reconstruct husband abuse of wives.[24] She also makes connections between divorce and

[22] H. R. Hahlo, The South African law of husband and wife, (Cape Town: Juta & Co., 1975), 361.
[23] Diana Russel, *Behind Closed Doors in white South Africa, Incest Survivors tell their stories*, (New York: St Martins, 1997), 9.
[24] Elizabeth Foyster, *Marital Violence in English Family History, 1660 – 1857, (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 234.

gender-based violence, as women turned to courts to free themselves from control, bullying, humiliation and intimidation by their husbands.

Although there is no direct connection between the society discussed by Foyster and white settler society in Southern Rhodesia, the book opens up the history of gender-based violence in white societies in the same period. Similarly, Manon van der Heijden analyses experiences of Dutch women as victims of violence in the form of rape, incest and spousal abuse.[25] Jock McCulloch and Ushehwedu Kufakurinani refer anecdotally to gender-based violence, citing white women and male domestic workers as victims in different contexts.[26] In their separate studies, the work of former High Court Justice Bennie Goldin and Rosebund Seager provides important sources of data and statistical analysis of trends in divorce among white populations in colonial Zimbabwe.[27] Seager offers a legal interpretation of divorce trends. The two

[25] Manon van der Heijden, 'Women as Victims of Sexual and Domestic Violence in Seventeenth-Century Holland: Criminal Cases of Rape, Incest, and Maltreatment in Rotterdam and Delft', *Journal of Social History* 33, No. 3 (2000), 633.
[26] Jock McCulloch, 'Black Peril', 238. U. Kufakurinani, Elasticity in Domesticity, white women in Rhodesian Zimbabwe, 1890-1979, (Brill: Leiden, 2019), 91.
[27] Bennie Goldin, *The Problem in Rhodesia.* Kingston Books, 1965, 21; Seager Diana Rosamund, 'Marital Dissolution in Rhodesia: A Socio-Legal Perspective', unpublished MPhil thesis, (University of Rhodesia, Department of Sociology, 1977), 32-62.

authors do not examine or contextualize this cruelty in terms of gender-based violence, a topic this article builds on at length. The reviewed literature suggests the presence of gender-based violence in white domestic spaces, which is further elaborated by the cases discussed in this article.

The paper introduces the prism of subjective and objective violence, as a lens to analyse the range of violence experienced by white women in domestic spaces. For Cecilia Menjivar, subjective violence is a direct and visible form of violence meted out by identifiable agents.[28] To this end, physical forms of violence, economic neglect and sexual violence fall into this category. In colonial white society, therefore, subjective violence would include cruelty, desertion, and adultery, among other visible forms of violence that cause disruption of supposedly normal peaceful human life.[29] On the other hand, objective violence, also referred to as structural violence,[30] has no identifiable agents. It is the violence perpetrated on a social actor with his consent and normalized in everyday life, making it invisible and hidden in economic, political and ideological systems.[31] Objective violence is embedded in the beliefs, values and systems of a particular society, which in colonial white society, included gender ideologies and beliefs

[28] Cecilia Menjivar, 'Violence and Women's Lives- a Conceptual Framework.' *Latin American Review* 43, No.2 (2008), 109.
[29] *Ibid*, 109.
[30] *Ibid*, 109
[31] *Ibid*, 130.

about acceptable male and female behaviour, influenced by the Victorian domesticity. Objective violence included policies and procedures that increased gender inequality in employment and other opportunities. The paper also recognizes the interconnectedness and continuum between subjective and objective violence, which in some cases are mutually reinforcing.

3.0 Methods

As indicated above, the paper draws on primary court records, which contained transcriptions documenting the voices of both white women and men. The use of court records to uncover GBV raises difficult epistemological questions. Stacey Hynd questions how GBV students can use court records in the colonial past, before the concept of GBV was invented, when neither courts nor litigants used the term.[32] In fact for Sara Ahmed, GBV was hidden and unnamed until the 1970s.[33] Despite these limitations, court records provide a window to hear the voices and experiences of women and men facing

[32] Stacey Hynd, 'Fatal Families. 'Narratives of Spousal Killing and Domestic Violence in Murder Trials in Kenya and Nyasaland, c1930-56', (eds) Emily Burrill, Richard, L Roberts, and Elizabeth Thornberry, *Domestic Violence and the Law in Colonial Africa and Post-Colonial Africa*, (Ohio University Press, 2010), 18.
[33] Sara Ahmed, 'Introduction: Sexism - A Problem with a Name', *A Journal of culture/theory/politics*, Volume 86, (2015), 8.

gender-based violence.[34] As shown above, for Britain, Elizabeth Foyster and others have successfully used court and divorce records to demonstrate domestic violence.[35] Moreover, court cases can even provide clues as to the prevalence of gender-based violence compared to divorce cases. According to the 1989 United Nations report, records of divorce cases could provide a better estimate of the extent of domestic violence because gender-based violence is hidden in the grounds for divorce.[36] However, divorce records need to be viewed with caution as spouses tended to exaggerate their stories to divorce their partners for various reasons.

The high frequency of reports by white women of their experiences of spousal violence suggests that allegations of physical assault in the form of assaults were real. In some cases, it was easy to confirm the truthfulness of assault allegations because the defendant would eventually have been convicted of assault. Reading across the grain, one could see the realities of white society and the perceived or actual violence that women could experience or are experiencing. After a thorough study of divorce cases, Goldin, who witnessed numerous divorce cases, concluded; 'most divorces granted when the parties were married for less than three

[34] Koni Benson and Joyce Chadya, 'Ukhubhinya: Gender and Sexual Violence in Bulawayo, Colonial Zimbabwe, 1946-1956', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31, (2005), 587-610, here 587.
[35] Elizabeth Foyster, 'Marital Violence', 30.
[36] United Nations, 'Violence Against Women in the Family', (1989) 17-19.

years [were] based on truthful evidence'.[37] However, court records are sometimes thin on detailed accounts of the violence suffered or committed by white women. Sometimes the records did not show the verdict of the cases and as such the divorce history would be incomplete.

Another limitation was that in some cases only the plaintiff's voice was represented, and that voice was not entirely free of bias. But such prejudices also reflect colonial society's thinking and perceptions of gender-based domestic violence. In addition, biographies, diaries, and personal memoirs provided testimony to the reconstruction of domestic violence in white society. In her biography, Amanda Parkyn presents a picture of peace and tranquillity in her marriage in Southern Rhodesia. She feared disturbing her parents, who lived far away in metropolitan Britain, and any news to the contrary would likely disturb her.[38] She mentions her struggle with loneliness and how she adapted to acceptable female behaviour by serving her husband and doing housework to keep the peace in their marriage. Unlike Amanda Parkyn, in Sally in Rhodesia, the young bride openly shared with her mother in Britain the loneliness and marital discord she was experiencing.[39] Similarly, Helen Dampier's study of the diaries of white settlers in South Africa uncovered fear, loneliness and

[37] B. Goldin, 'The Problem in Rhodesia', 1971, Kingstons, 64.
[38] Amanda Parkyn, *Roses under the Miombo Trees, An English Girl in Rhodesia*, (2012), 23.
[39] Sheila MacDonald, *Sally in Rhodesia*, (1926).

feigned illness in order to escape from domestic work and possibly recover from violence.[40] However, the sources remained useful in that they functioned as mirrors of both individuals and society, highlighting, among other things, perceptions and constructions of normative roles of gender in the colonial context. Newspapers and records of meetings of women's organizations provided a space to hear women's voices and popular culture. Novels published in the 1950s and 1970s also offer references to white mythology and self-image. Works by Doris Lessing revealed contradictions in colonial society and aspects of white women's experiences of objective violence.[41] Personal interviews with some divorced friends and former domestic servants, point to marital tensions and violence within white domestic spaces.

4.0 Desertion and subjective violence

Findings show that within the context of marriage, desertion is considered subjective violence because it has an identifiable perpetrator. It could pose a serious burden to poor wives who depended on their husbands for their livelihoods. Such neglect is seen as an invisible form of economic violence hidden in family resource allocation systems.[42] Cases of

[40] Helen Dampier, 'Settler Women's Experiences of fear, Illness and isolation with particular reference to the Eastern Cape frontier, 1820-1890', (unpublished MA diss., Rhodes University, 2000), 56.
[41] Doris Lessing, 'The Grass is Singing'.
[42] Judy L. Postmus, Gretchen L. Hoge. Jan Breckenridge, Nicola Sharp-Jeffs and Donna Chung, 'Economic Abuse as an Invisible form of

desertion by men, such as those experienced by women from the city of Bulawayo and the Shabani mine, have had economic consequences. In a letter of inquiry to the Registrar of the High Court in Bulawayo in 1930, Mrs Ale, reported that;

> I am only earning six pounds per month and three pounds I must pay for my own room and three pounds for my son Larry. Sometimes I hardly have food to eat. My husband left her for Ndola in Zambia and never supported the family. I cannot afford a lawyer for divorce proceedings. My second two-year-old son, was taken away by the Child Welfare Society because I was incapacitated[43]

In a slightly different case, Mrs Ale complained in court that she had no financial means to support herself and was destitute because she was dependent on the support of friends and relatives. Her husband deserted her for a period of four years. Accordingly, in 1934, the court ordered the husband to pay maintenance of six pounds per month.[44] In the case Mu vs Mu, a divorce was granted on 27th November, 1930, the defendant D. Mal, was asked by the High Court to pay the plaintiff, a sum of ten pounds per mensen until such a time the plaintiff obtained employment.[45] In another case, a Doris

Domestic Violence: A Multicounty Review', *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, (SAGE, 2018), 3.

[43] NAZ, S 3071/1 Civil Miscellaneous, Case no. 75, Letter from Mrs. M. to the Registrar of High Court, Bulawayo, 20 March 1930.

[44] NAZ, S581, District Courts Shabani: Civil Cases, 1934-1941

[45] NAZ, S3074/5: Civil Records Bulawayo 1930.

T. resorted to taking her child to Bothash Orphanage because her husband Peter had abandoned her, leaving her without a source of income. Besides, she had no property.[46]

The above cases bring to the fore the status of women who turned to the courts, their financial deprivation, low income and inability to care for themselves and their own children in the absence of their husbands, and the role of the courts and the state in making amends for their need. In the first case, Mrs Ale lived in an urban area of Bulawayo, was employed and lived in a rented apartment, but did not have sufficient income to support her two children and the costs of divorce proceedings. She had no family support in Southern Rhodesia, a situation described in Amanda Parkyn's biography and experienced by several, but not all pioneer women.[47] Ms An of Shabani had the privilege of family support and so she could finance her claims for maintenance. In particular, the court referred to women's employment as a possible strategy for financial independence from husbands. As statistics show, few white women were employed in the 1930s. According to census reports, the number of employed white women was two thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight in 1926 and increased to three thousand one hundred and ninety-seven in 1931, representing seventeen percent of the employed

[46] NAZ, S3030: Bulawayo Civil Cases No. 11,570.
[47] Amanda Parkyn, *Roses under the Miombo trees, An English Girl in Rhodesi*a, (2012), 16.

population. In 1936 it rose further to four thousand six hundred and seventy-five percent of the labour force aged fifteen and over.[48]

Employed women experienced unfair labour conditions, with lower salaries than men.[49] Most were housewives dependent on their husbands because of the gendered division of labour that gave women domestic responsibilities and a breadwinner role to men, limited economic opportunities and social constraints. Examples of social pressure can be found in articles such as one written by a staff member to the *Rhodesia Herald* in 1930 challenging working women. She asked: 'what does one get married for? I ask you, why, to keep a house, rear a family, perhaps cook the meals…the married woman has a husband to keep her that is the reason why she gets married to cease work.[50]. However, this pressure was relevant for elite women who had an image to protect.

To the poor women like Mrs Ale, the need to work confirms the tension between the perception that white women's domesticity worked and the reality that it didn't. To deal with this inconstancy, the Rhodesian state was careful to adopt policies that protected, supported, and upheld the racial and

[48] Central Statistics of Population of Southern Rhodesia, Part VII, Industries and Occupations of the European population, 6 May 1941.
[49] NAZ A3/7/23, Civil Service: Women Clerks and typists (nd), Medical director's Office to V. Godbolt, Acting Secretary CSWA, 4 October, 1918.
[50] Rhodesia Herald, 6 March 1930.

economic supremacy of whites while maintaining the breadwinner role of men. On the other hand, poor whites, jealously guarding their privileged position as members of the white race, turned to the courts.[51] To a certain degree, the Deserted Wives and Children Protection Ordinance of 1904, together with the Maintenance Orders (Facilities for Enforcement) Ordinance of 22 July, 1921, must be appreciated in this context. The two legal provisions were adopted by the British South Africa Company from the metropole Britain in the pioneering years and revised after the First World War. The 1904 Ordinance was modelled towards 'the prevention of destitution and to make provision for the relief of wives and families deserted and left destitute'.[52] It defined that;

> A married woman or child shall be deemed to have been deserted within the meaning of this Act when such a wife or child is living apart from her husband or father because of repeated assaults or other acts of cruelty or because he is an habitual drunkard, or because of his refusal or neglect without sufficient cause to supply such a wife or child with food and other necessities of life, when able to do so.[53]

The Ordinance criminalised the neglect of wives by their husbands, who in such cases had to pay some allowance to the

[51] Kate Law, 'Gendering the Settler State'. 34.
[52] Statute law of Southern Rhodesia, Deserted Wives and Children Protection Ordinance, Chapter 153, 1904.
[53] *Ibid*, Section 3.

wife. This ordinance and its provisions reflected the social and gender ideology of Rhodesian society, which viewed wives as dependent beings on men, deserving of men's protection and provision. For the state, this was proof of the level of civilization in white society.

In the nineteenth century, society's treatment of women was often held up as evidence of its civilisation, with rude societies cruel to their wives.[54] To some extent the state made provisions against gender-based violence by recognizing assault and other acts of cruelty, commonly referred to in current discourse as physical violence, as important considerations in desertion and maintenance of wives. However, there were contradictions in the same Ordinance. Section five provided that: 'No order for the payment of any sum by the husband shall be made in favor of a wife who is shown to have committed adultery.'[55] Husbands often resorted to this moral clause and accused their wives of adultery in order to avoid paying maintenance. Despite this clause, the ordinance offered white women and children some safety valve from financial abuse/neglect and poverty. According to I. Mhike, the state provided orphanages to protect white children from delinquency, and subsequent

[54] K. Wilson, 'Empire, Gender and Modernity in the Eighteen Century', 15 and C. Hall, 'Of Gender and empire: Reflections on the Nineteenth Century, 46 in ed. Phillipa Levine, *Gender and Empire*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), 6.

[55] *Ibid*, Section 5. (1)

poverty, a situation that would create poor whites.[56] Deserters outside Rhodesia, England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and elsewhere in the Commonwealth and neighbouring states were subject to this law on the basis of mutual agreement.[57]

In the case of Rhodesia, court records are not always clear as to why husbands left their wives, and trying to understand these reasons is complicated by the fact that court records mainly reflect the voice of wives. These wives usually want to present their cases as convincingly as possible, and even if they may have contributed to the situation, that contribution has been toned down or simply not mentioned. However, there are few occasions when we get a glimpse of some of the reasons for desertion. For example, in one case the husband, when explaining his wife's neglect, remarked that 'I had left my wife because we could not come to an agreement. We quarrelled with each other. My wife has a bad temper. I therefore found it impossible to live with her. She threw a knife at me on one occasion in temper.'[58] However, in her presentation to the court, the wife had said that there had been no disagreements with her husband and that she had

[56] Ivor Mhike, 'Deviance and Colonial Power: A History of Juvenile Delinquency in Colonial Zimbabwe 1890-c.1960' (PhD Thesis, University of Free Estate, 2016), 47-52.
[57] Statute Law of Southern Rhodesia, Maintenance Orders (Facilities for Enforcement) Ordinance No. 20/1921
[58] NAZ, S581, District Courts Shabani: Civil Cases, 1934-1941

given him no reason to leave. A look at the records also suggests that men abandoned their wives when they left in search of economic opportunities. In other cases, husbands claimed their financial situation had made it difficult to support their families. Sometimes husbands moved in with new lovers and then neglected their wives. Such claims have not been considered by the courts, but show that grounds for divorce are more complex and cannot be viewed in isolation from other social forces.

The Great Depression of the 1930s was a significant historical context that exposed women to economic violence in the form of desertion and financial neglect. Some husbands left Southern Rhodesia for other colonies, while other men could not afford to support their families. The associated economic difficulties and unemployment by white man, added to domestic tensions leading to desertions. This resonates well with other studies in post-colonial Zimbabwe and elsewhere. Mary Osrim observed a close correlation between economic hardships experienced during the Economic Structural Adjustment programs (ESAP) and a spike in GBV cases in domestic spaces of Zimbabwe.[59] In recent years, scholarship

[59] Mary Johnson Osirim, 'Crisis in the State and the Family: Violence Against Women in Zimbabwe', African *Studies Quarterly* | Volume 7, (2003), 160.

suggests a similar relationship between the economic hardships caused by COVID- 19 and increase an in GBV.[60]

5.0 Cruelty as subjective violence

Cruelty was a form of subjective violence experienced mostly by women, though some men also lodged complaints against their wives. Cases presented between the 1940s and 1950s, show various types of physical, mental and emotional violence. In the case of Fra versus Stel, the court hear: 'since the year 1941 the Defendant habitually has indulged in intoxicating liquor to excess, has been drunk and has assaulted and vilified the Plaintiff on numerous occasions when under the influence of liquor.[61] In this case, the plaintiff used the previous records of assault and fines paid by the husband as compelling evidence of violence. This case dragged on for a long time, and in 1952, after almost eleven years, the divorce was finally granted. In the same year, in Florence v. Henry, the relationship between violence/cruelty and alcohol was clearly articulated under the heading 'Particulars of the Cruelty'. It was noted that 'Since about 1942 the Defendant [had] habitually partaken to excess of intoxicating liquor and has been drunk' and had 'spent considerable sums of money on gambling' and 'such conduct

[60] Nobuhle Judy Dlamini, 'Gender-Based Violence, Twin Pandemic to COVID-19', *Critical Sociology*, 47, no.4-5 (2021), 583–5

[61] NAZ, S 2276: 11556-11595, High Court, Assistant Registrar, Bulawayo, Civil Cases, 1951-52, No.11,581.

worried the Plaintiff and caused the Plaintiff considerable mental distress.[62] It was also noted that: 'The defendant whilst under the influence of liquor quarrelled violently with the Plaintiff, shouted, and swore at the Plaintiff and without any just cause accused the Plaintiff of being unduly intimate with other men, thereby causing the Plaintiff considerable mental distress and adversely affecting the Plaintiff's health.[63] In a similar case, the wife accused her husband of being in 'the habit of indulging in alcoholic liquor to excess' habitually using foul, abusive and threatening language.[64] In his defence, the husband agreed to using rude language; pushing her on to the bed and slapping her face, but justified his behaviour by accusing the wife of adultery.[65] In this case, the defendant denied each charge, and the final verdict was not given in the files.

The lack of data on final judgments, as in the case above, highlights one of the challenges in using court procedures in reconstructing the full cycle and dimensions of domestic violence. However, the above cases demonstrate that white men perpetrated various forms of violence against their wives,

[62] NAZ, S2276: 11556-11595: High Court, Assistant Registrar, Bulawayo, Civil Cases, 1951-52, No.11, 583.
[63] *Ibid.*
[64] NAZ, S 2276: 11,596-11,635: High Court, Assistant Registrar, Bulawayo, Civil Cases, 1951-52, No. 11,597.
[65] *Ibid.*

when they were drunk. It is not apparent whether the relationship was peaceful when they were sober. Notwithstanding, there have been several court cases that have also shown a strong link between excessive alcohol consumption and violence. It is debatable whether alcoholism was the cause for violence or simply an excuse for such. However, the records clearly demonstrate that the relationship between excessive drinking and violence is unmistakable.

Indeed, husbands were accused of perpetrating various cruel actions under the influence of alcohol which included 'hitting their wives in the face fists and other parts of her body'[66] picking unnecessary quarrels; using abusive language, calling her 'a cow', 'uneducated bastard' and 'bloody rat'[67], throwing knives and weapons, threatening to kill[68]; pointing at and pressing against her body a loaded pistol.'[69] To add to this figure, of the three hundred divorce cases Goldin evaluated, one hundred and sixty four resulted in physical harm, and in two cases the defendants/husbands justified their recourse to their wives' physical harm. In the three cases, two hundred

[66] NAZ, S 2276: 11,596-11,635: High Court, Assistant Registrar, Bulawayo, Civil Cases, 1951-52, NO. 11,626.
[67] NAZ, S 2276: 11,596-11,635: High Court, Assistant Registrar, Bulawayo, Civil Cases, 1951-52, NO. 11,627.
[68] NAZ, S 2276: 11,596-11,635: High Court, Assistant Registrar, Bulawayo, Civil Cases, 1951-52, No. 11,627.
[69] NAZ, S 2284, Civil Records, 1953, Case no. 12021 – 64.

and fifty-six of the plaintiffs were wives; with one hundred and sixty-two alleged physical assaults by their husbands.[70] Of the cases, a notable trend from the men's responses shows their overwhelming counter-accusations of adultery to their wives. Based on prevailing notions of the purity of white female sexuality, shaped by Victorian attitudes towards sexuality, husbands used this strategy to discredit the woman of her honour and good name in the eyes of the court, which also had the desired effect to alienate her from friends and deprive her of companionship.[71] For women, this was quite painful, since Southern Rhodesia was a very small community, where families were concerned about their image and feared gossip. Women equally challenged the expected social decorum expected of middleclass white gentlemen, in their presentations. Hitting women and uncontrolled drinking embarrassed him. Indeed, these levels of violence reflect settler constructions of masculinity associated with hard living and alcohol consumption that persisted in various contexts and levels of intensity throughout the colonial period.[72]

[70]Goldin, 'The Problem in Rhodesia', 68.
[71] Robert L. Griswold, Law, 'Sex, Cruelty, and Divorce in Victorian America: 1840-1900', *American Quartely*, Vol. 38, (1986), 274.
[72] Jane Parpart, 'Masculinities, race and violence in the making of Zimbabwe', in Kizito Muchemwa and Robert Muponde (eds) *Manning the nation*, (Weaver Press, 2007), 105.

The link between alcohol use and domestic violence is consistent with scholarship on domestic violence.[73] However, alcohol was often been used as an excuse because drunk men rarely hit the neighbours, instead directing their aggression at women due to the unequal gender relations in which men wield power over women.[74] In recent years, Lori Heise has made connections between individual psychological dispositions such as alcohol and drug abuse and domestic violence in her ecological framework. She identifies male dominance in the family, alcohol consumption and verbal conflict as contributing factors to domestic violence.[75] However, not all men who drink alcohol are abusive, so the roots of gender-based violence are complex and lie in a combination of factors that include systemic gender inequalities between men and women and personal use of power.

Cruelty as a form of violence and reason for divorce was introduced within the context of socio-economic developments in the 1940s. A combination of factors contributed to this. Debates about the need to improve women's position in society gained momentum around the world, while concerns arose in feminist circles about

[73] A. Clark, *Women's Silence, Men's Violence: Sexual Assault in England, 1770-1845* (London, 1987), 49-50.
[74] Elizabeth Foyster, 'Marital Violence', 65.
[75] Lori Heise, 'Ecological Framework, Violence Against Women: An Integrated, Ecological Framework', (SAGE, 1998), 272.

competing claims to marital stability against the odds and woman's individual autonomy. In colonial Zimbabwe, World War II increased demand for commodities in Southern Rhodesia, while male participation in the war left gaps that opened up employment opportunities for women. Subsequently, their labor participation increased by seventy two percent.[76] Women's entry into formal wage labour improved their financial capacity and economic status. This improved their ability to pay for divorce costs, which were quite prohibitive, much like nineteenth-century Britain.[77]

Table 1: Female vs Male Plaintiffs in Divorce Cases, 1954-1969

Year	Female	Male
1954	171	143
1957	182	146
1958	188	189
1961	243	179
1962	230	147
1963	259	171
1964	239	158
1965	256	145
1966	303	149
1967	314	173

[76] Kufakurinani and P. Nyambara, 'Reconfiguring Domesticity? White Women and Second World War in Southern Rhodesia', *Historia*, 60/2, 132-159, here 132.
[77] E. Foyster, 'Marital Violence', 65.

1968	337	190
1969	366	172

Source*:* Adapted from B. Goldin, *The Problem in Rhodesia: Unhappy Marriage and Divorce* (Salisbury: Kingstons, 1971), 24-25

Table 1, shows a sharp increase in divorce cases in which women were plaintiffs from 1942 onwards. This trend suggests a close relationship between women's labor participation, economic empowerment, and their ability to file for divorce.[78] There were marked class differences in opportunities to access the courts. Urban and middle-class women could challenge potential abuse in the domestic spaces and provide for themselves through employment. This was not always available for women living in remote locations on the farms and mines. Socially, some sections of society maintained conservative gender ideologies that disapproved of married women in the workforce because they had given up their natural labour to compete with men in the labour market. A contributor to the 1959 Herald echoed these sentiments '... employment of 'working wives' should be restricted to the following classes of women: widows, extreme hardship cases and the professions such as doctors, teachers, and the like.'[79] Despite the persistence of this way of thinking, women's organizations have increasingly advocated for changes in the status of women in various fields. In their associations

[78] Kufakurinani, 'Elasticity in Domesticity', 29.

[79] Modern Times, Letter, Rhodesia Herald, September 23, 1959.

decentralised to in many outlying districts, they also urged their members to shift their mindset toward independent identity from their husbands toward self-actualisation.[80]

Women's organisations put pressure on the state to reform divorce and maintenance laws and deployed various platforms and strategies. The Association of Women's Institutes engaged Parliament pushing for reforms in the Deserted Wives and Cruelty Act, for the recognition of cruelty as a condition for divorce. Previously, cruelty was recognized as a condition of maintenance for a deserted wife under the same Act.[81] Surprisingly the same cruelty clause was not applied in cases where a woman filed for divorce as a plaintiff. In addition, the marriage was in community of property, with the husband having full power of disposal over the common property.[82] Women were not entitled to any assets obtained through her husband's income, had no rights derived from the running of the marital home and was forced to bargain with her husband at the time of the divorce. It was these inconsistencies in the marriage and divorce laws that prompted the Women's Institutes to frequently lobby the Ministry of Justice to change the laws.[83] To their delight, cruelty was included as a ground for divorce in the 1943

[80] Shella Griffiths, 'What NHR Means to me', *NHR Newsletter*, June 1944.
[81] Deserted Wives and Children Protection Ordinance, interpretation of terms.
[82] *Ibid*, 44.
[83] NAZ, S824/198/2, Federation of Women's Institutes: 22 March, 1944.

Amendment to the Matrimonial Causes Act. The same amendment in section nine, provided for maintenance of the wife in the event of divorce.[84] This was a landmark victory that effectively freed women from abusive or unhappy marriages without fear of hardship. It signified a shift in definitions of gender and family relationships and autonomy of women. Subsequently divorce statistics in which women were plaintiffs rose, as indicated in Table 1.

Despite the liberating effect of the 1943 Matrimonial Causes Act, the court continued to affirm the importance of marriage stability and retained the subjectivity to satisfy itself that the plaintiff did not contribute to the divorce. The colonial justice system, administered what appeared to be gender-neutral legal provisions. However, the application, interpretation and meaning to vague statutory language of the law is largely defined as male, its language and argumentation process are based on male images of problems and damage.[85] Judges were uniquely positioned to examine domestic relationships, hear testimony, consider facts, and then grant or deny divorce. In addition, colonial legal spaces were more an expression of male power.[86] Reflecting the existing patriarchal worldview

[84] D.R. Seager, 'Marital Dissolution in Rhodesia': 54.
[85] Lucinda M. Finley, 'Breaking Women's Silence in the Law. The dilemma of the gendered nature of legal reasoning. *Hein online*, (1989), 887-888, here 887.
[86] Joanne Conaghan, 'Theorizing the Relationship between Law and Gender', https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof.oso, (2013), 70-108.

that respected marriage and family, most law enforcement officials opted for reconciliation in cases of marital conflict. Women were expected to tolerate spousal violence, particularly forms of violence where there is no threat to life or limb. This had the unintended effect of allying with men to silence domestic violence. Through further efforts by the National Council for Women, a Commission of Inquiry into the inequalities between men and women was set up in 1956. Further amendments were made to the Matrimonial Causes Act 1959, effectively relaxing the need to prove the plaintiff's innocence in marital disputes. In addition, The Married Persons Property Act of 1959 removed the husband's absolute marital power under the old Roman Dutch law, and the Act protected a married woman's property from the fraudulent, negligent or incompetent actions of her husband.[87]

These legal reforms gave women more opportunities to leave abusive husbands without the embarrassment of citing acts of cruelty. More so, the removal of the absolute power of the husband in marital property gave wives assurance of livelihood after divorce. This explains in part, the increased number of female plaintiffs who have approached the courts seeking redress against various types of conduct that have been described as cruelty. These reforms to marriage laws

[87] Peter Godwin and Ian Hancock, *Rhodesians Never Die*: *The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia, c. 1970 -1980,* (Oxford University Press, 1993), 30.

demonstrate two important points. First, the importance of lobbying by the feminist movement in gender equality issues. Second, the potential for legal reforms in transformative gender relations. Legally, domestic violence was not a crime in Rhodesia and Zimbabwe until the passage of the Domestic Violence Act 2007 as an achievement of mobilized and organized African women.[88]

6.0 White women as perpetrators of violence

Departing from the colonial constructs and mythology of the 'vulnerable white woman' and the 'predatory, 'savage' and lustful' African male, this section reconstructs some of the experiences of African men as victims of sexual violence perpetrated by white women. Historically African male servants, dominated domestic service throughout the colonial period from South Africa through to Kenya. In Rhodesia, reports from 1901 to 1936, show that out of a total of six thousand nine hundred and ninety-one domestic servants, ninety percent were male.[89] On the other hand, white women spent more time in the domestic space in close proximity with their servants. Given the pendulum of power that decisively swung towards the white mistresses, their sexual torment and advances towards their domestic servants were potential cases

[88] Lene Bull Christiansen 'In Our Culture', How Debates about Zimbabwe's Domestic Violence Law Became a 'Culture Struggle', NORA, *Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, 17:3, (2009), 175-191.
[89] NAZ, SRG 4, CE 6, Census Reports 1901-1936.

of sexual violence. J C. Brundell's Report highlights several cases which demonstrate sexual torment and harassment on African men by white women. For example, 'the wife of a well-known professional man in the Territory, was in the habit, while she was naked in her bath, of calling in her male African boy aged seventeen, 'to pour water over her'.[90] Another case involved a married woman who on one day called her servant and said to him 'Come here. You do to me the same as your boss does', while 'at the same time exposing her breasts by throwing open her nightdress'. The servant immediately left and went to report the case. His rushing to report, suggests that the servant felt violated by the act and feared the potential repercussions, in case, the woman reported the case as rape.

Black men faced the death penalty for anything which constituted 'attempted rape' as defined by the Immorality Suppression Ordinance of 1903. John Pape observed that incidents of alleged sexual violence by black men against white women, so called 'black peril' led to the execution of dozens of black men.[91] White women often denied any sexual intimacy with African servants, for fear of being ostracised, given the need to maintain racial distance and white honour.

[90] NAZ, S 1227/2, January 1916. Black and White Perils in Southern Rhodesia.
[91] John Pape, Black and White: The 'Perils of Sex' in Colonial Zimbabwe', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol.16, 1990, 699.

Writing in 1976, Lawrence Vambe critiqued white employers both women and men who had non-consensual sexual intercourse on demand with their African servants.[92] Vambe's observations were corroborated by oral interviews held with older male and female former domestic workers. According to Mrs L Mug, an eighty-year old former maid, 'my previous *bassa* (boss) raped his maid and she delivered a baby boy, who was taken to an orphanage. She stopped working for him' and was not supported in any way.[93] Information from a focus group discussion with six former domestic workers, confirmed that both male and female bosses sexually abused domestic workers. The Black Peril episode and the state response, adversely affected race relations in colonial Zimbabwe and this unfortunately continued in the postcolonial period.

Sexual violence perpetrated by white men against white women has been masked and overshadowed by the racial overtones associated with the Black Perils. African men were accused of various forms of sexual violence, even in cases where they were innocent. The Criminal Investigation Department Report by J.C Brundell, referred to a case of

[92] Lawrence Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe*, 109.
[93] Interviews were held in Harare September 2020. See also NAZ, S1542/M7, NC Inyanga to CNC, 16 April, 1934.

assault allegedly committed by two African domestic servants on a 6-year-old white girl. Part of the report read:

> The attempt at rape by these African men resulted in the child contracting a venereal disease … I make special reference to this case as it is one of the many offences of a similar nature although less serious. It constitutes a practical illustration of the danger attending the employment of male servants with the care and custody of children of tender age.[94]

This report portrayed white women as negligent about their expected role in raising children, leaving them in the hands of male servants. A letter of advice to European women in the colonies by the East Africa Women's League, for the white women in Rhodesia, shows the interconnectedness of the settler societies and their shared fear of African male sexuality. Part of the letter read, 'During the past years there have been several cases of rape by *Africans* on European women and children of varying age, and there have been cases of venereal diseases among little white girls which have been and are being proved to be the result of contact with *African* servants.'[95] These allegations reflect colonial society's

[94] J.C Brundell, 'Black and white peril; CID, BSAP, Bulawayo, National Archives of Zimbabwe S1227/1.

[95] 'Advice to European Women' (Reprinted with acknowledgement to East Africa Women's League), *Rhodesia, Home and Country*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (1938), 43.

scapegoating and fear mongering with sexual anxieties about African men and white women, the southern African equivalents of Emmitt Till, a fourteen year old black American, who was murdered for whistling at a white girl.[96] The involvement of white men in the rape of white women and children, cannot be ruled out given Russell's research, on incest in white South Africa.[97] Also, the presence of child marriages makes it plausible that white males could be potential perpetrators. In one civil case, one Mr. B. T. was accused of 'wrongfully and unlawfully' seducing and having sexual intercourse with Magdalene, a minor of about sixteen years.[98] According to the court records, Magdale 'lost her virginity and [was] (sic) injured in her good name and reputation'.[99] However, given that most of the archival records were kept by men, it is not surprising that such statistical records are scarce. In addition, racial prejudices of the time and power constellations make an objective assessment of the perpetrators difficult.

The domestic spaces have often been associated with sexual violence usually between spouses. Scholars who discuss sexual violence largely concentrate on rape which normally takes violent forms. In marriage, sexual violence took the forms of

[96] Bob Dylan, *The Death of Emmett Till*, 1955.
[97] Diana Russell, *Behind Closed Doors in white South Africa, Incest Survivors tell their stories*, (St Martins New York, 1997), 9.
[98] NAZ, S 1500, Civil Cases 1948.
[99] *Ibid.*

what today can be called marital rape. However, there are not many cases where spousal rape is mentioned in court reports, perhaps because patriarchal conventions of the marriage contract included conjugal rights in heterosexual relationships.[100] Analysis of civil cases revealed something close to marital rape. In 1953, a man, after separation from his wife, 'on several occasions had intercourse with the plaintiff against her will, well knowing that he was thereby causing mental and physical hurt to the plaintiff.'[101]

It would be an ahistorical portrayal to suggest that white women were always victims of subjective violence. White women were also perpetrators of violence in white domestic spaces. They were clearly not passive victims of the violence perpetrated against them. Various methods and tactics have been employed in the face of domestic violence. Another form of resistance, usually before a court case, was simply move out of the marriage, especially when violence took the form of physical and verbal abuse was taking place. These responses were, however, of the extreme form. In many cases resistance by white women's resistance could take subtle or more overt ways sometimes not necessarily leading to divorce. One Mrs. Edith indicated that her controlling husband demanded that she stops attending meetings at the Women's Institute and

[100] Adrian Williamson, 'The Law and Politics of Marital Rape in England, 1945–1994', *Women's History Review*, 26:3, (2017), 382.
[101] NAZ, S 2284, Civil Records, 1953.

she refused to do so.[102] Denying women their independent choice stemmed in part from patriarchal control in which men sought to exert their power over women and to keep them in feminine subordination and in deference to men. The independent spirit that Mrs. Edith exuded, threatened this control, and this contributed to the marital tensions that eventually led to the divorce proceedings. It is case histories like these that demonstrate women's agency in the face of abuse in the home of white settler society. Women have also been the perpetrators of physical violence in the home on several occasions. There have also been cases of wives divorced for cruelty. In the case of Arthur vs Ann, the husband reported that, 'During the marriage, the defendant has been habitually drunk and notwithstanding demands and requests to desist from her drunken habits. Such conduct was said to render, 'the continuance of married life insupportable.' This behavior was categorized as cruelty and can be interpreted as violence on the husband. In another case, one Cyril also filed for divorce against his wife, Sybil on grounds of cruelty, over allegations that the wife struck the Plaintiff on the back of the head with part of a wooden chair, in addition to scratching, beating, and kicking.[103]

[102] NAZ, S 382, Civil Cases 1934 – 35, Case No. 52/34, 11 April 1934.
[103] S2276: 11686 -11730: High Court, Assistant Registrar, Bulawayo, Civil Cases, 1951-52, No. 11,695.

The husband was granted divorce on the basis of continued provocation by the wife. It is one of those cases which challenges the stereotypical victimhood of women in interpersonal violence. However, from the wife's perspective, her response was in retaliation of verbal provocation, to which there was no proof. In a similar case, the husband in a question-and-answer session reported, 'on one occasion I unfortunately had to suffer the indignity of being struck across the face (by the wife)'.[104] The husband felt humiliated because being physically hit by a wife went against normative expectations of female behaviour. Unfortunately, court records and their summaries make it very difficult to decipher some of the complexities that can help us better understand what happened between these couples. What they say with certainty is that while few cases of male abuse by their wives have been reported, their existence cannot be underestimated.

The fact that men do not report gender-based violence at home is consistent with men's fear of being ridiculed and labelled as women.[105] Just like men, women too deserted their husbands in search of greener pastures or they ran off with

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[104] NAZ, S2276: 11,636 -11,685: High Court, Assistant Registrar, Bulawayo, Civil Cases, 1951-52, Case No11, 646.

[105] : Anant Kumar, 'Domestic Violence against Men in India: A Perspective', *Journal of Human Behaviour in the Social Environment*, 22:3, (2012), 290-296, DOI: 10.1080/10911359.2012.655988.

other men. In 1952, a certain Paul filed for divorce against his wife who was accused of 'wrongfully, unlawfully and maliciously' deserting her husband.[106] In another case, in 1953, one Mr. Douglas indicated that his wife had refused to return with him to Rhodesia after they had gone for holidays to London.[107] Again, one would not know why these wives left their husbands. Could these be cases of wives escaping abuse from their husbands? Certainly, the husbands would not voluntarily provide such information to the courts in their divorce petition. But again, one must be careful in pursuing this line of thinking, as it could border on denying white women agency and thus deviate from historical realities. In fact, white women had the ability to engage in violence against their spouses as well. They, too, could commit adultery and cause discomfort and psychological distress to their partners. Granted, there have been several baseless allegations against wives, but again, the existence of such practices among white women cannot be denied.

The 1960s unlike the earlier period, show a sharp increase of divorce cases from nineteen to twenty-eight divorces per one hundred marriages respectively.[108] Cruelty featured as the main reason in various cases.[109] This coincided with a number

[106] NAZ, S 2284, Civil Records, 1953, Case No. 12061.
[107] NAZ, S 2284, Civil Records, 1953, Case No. 12057.
[108] Seager, 'Marital Dissolution', 62
[109] Rhodesian Law Reports 6891/R8, 29 January 1966

of developments within and outside Rhodesia. Globally, female emancipation was spreading to the colonies and there was communication between women's organisations in the metropole and the colonies. Women's organisations like the Women's Institute and National Housewives Register, established in 1971, increasingly transformed into platforms to negotiate and resist gender inequality, advocating for women's needs, though they were not as radicalised as in Europe at that time. Public opinion in Rhodesia, also started to shift towards acceptance of global changes in the position and status of women.[110] Even the Anglican Church, shifted from their previous conservative position and by 1969, agreed to remarry divorcees in the church.[111] For those who opted to remain unmarried after divorce, life was not easy, as society viewed single women with suspicion and as sexually available.[112] The Rhodesian government also made strides improving the divorce laws by setting up a Commission of Inquiry into Divorce Laws in 1976, to review and relax grounds of divorce and maintenance of spouses and dependent children.[113] This relaxed the legal framework, for example, a divorce was possible after two years and a no-fault divorce was

[110] K. Saunders and R. Evans, eds. *Gender Relations in Australia-Domination and Negotiation* (Sidney: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1999)
[111] *Sunday Mail*, 7th September 1969.
[112] Ane M. Orbo Kirkgaard, 'It couldn't be anything innocent', 118.
[113] NAZ, Report on the Commission of Inquiry into Divorce Laws 1977: Summary and Commentary.

granted. The need to state reasons for divorce was eliminated, increasing the divorce rate.

7.0 Conclusion

This article shed light on a silent dimension of white settler women's past, their lived experiences of gender-based violence in colonial Zimbabwe, demonstrating change over time. Experiences of desertion by pioneer women of the 1920s and 1930s, was quite different from the women of the 1940s, who clearly had more options to leave abusive relationships. In line with Haggis, this focus on white women as women and gender history, 'challenges mainstream history by putting conflict, ambiguity and tragedy back to the centre of historical processes'[114] The story deserves a space in Zimbabwean and settler colonial historiography as it helps to better understand the workings of colonial society, gender ideologies and how they impact on family dynamics. The article approached white women not only as victims or survivors of male violence but also as perpetrators. Viewing women as perpetrators of violence contradicts the violence against women, narrative, but opens the domestic space for a closer look using real life experiences of gendered power dynamics between men and women, which in some cases may favour women.

[114] Jane Haggis, 'Gendering Colonialism or Colonising Gender? Recent Women's Studies Approaches to White Women and the History of British Colonialism,' *Women Studies Forum,* (Pergamon Press, Vol. 13. No. 12. (1990), 105-115.

Nonetheless, statistics still show an overwhelming victimhood of women in cases of gender-based violence. The paper used the prism of subjective and objective violence as a lens to assess forms of violence. The cases highlight five forms of violence that fall under subjective violence: desertion as a form of economic violence; adultery as a form of emotional violence and cruelty as physical, emotional and sexual violence. The fifth form of violence is objective violence in the form of structural inequalities that were anchored in the colonial state's gender ideologies of marriage, divorce and property and wage laws.

At societal level, objective violence was associated with the ideology of domesticity, which contributed to gender norms and values that disadvantaged white women. These violent realities pierce the myth of racial superiority and racial purity propagated by the white settler state and society. It points to the need to break down class, racial and other barriers that also prevent privileged women and men from accessing services. In post-colonial Zimbabwe, most middle-class white and African women do not have access to gender equality services due to class superiority myths and prejudice that associate gender-based violence with the poorer classes. The paper also showed the connections between the economic crisis of the 1930s and the escalation of violence. History has shown that economic conditions undermine gender equality, as evidenced by the impact of ESAP and general economic crisis situations such as the impact of COVID 19. The issue of

women's economic empowerment in relation to women's ability of to exit abusive relationships is illustrated by the link between improved labour force participation and the ability to divorce. The economic boom of World War II created an environment and opportunities for women to fight gender inequalities and negotiate better relationships in the domestic space. Reducing gender-based violence requires lobbying and advocacy by a robust women's movement, as demonstrated by women's organizations campaigning for reforms in marriage, divorce and property rights. The success of the Marriage Act 1943 and the introduction of cruelty laws as grounds for divorce, the provision of spousal support after divorce, and the continued elimination of grounds for divorce, all contributed to women challenging gender-based violence in the home. In post-colonial Zimbabwe, the women's movement built on the work of these white women to fight gender-based violence and campaign for the passage of the Domestic Violence Act, in 2007, twenty-seven years after independence. The role of the state in creating an enabling legal environment to protect women from violence is another issue that emerges from the paper. Through the Desertion and Maintenance laws and subsequent reforms, the patriarchal state protected women from gender-based violence in domestic spaces to protect white privilege. Post-colonial marriage, divorce and property laws have potential to change the status of women, if consistently applied. With the

evidence provided in this article, the mystery is out, violence in white domestic spaces was endemic.

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'No Human Skeletons, No Shackles': Revisiting Local Interpretations of Mtumbei Kitambi Site in Matumbi Hills, Southern Tanzania

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Abstract

Mtumbei Kitambi site in Matumbi Hills, southern Tanzania, has generated contradictory interpretations among the locals. Its famous alternate name, Kwa Akida Mwidau, literally means a settlement of Akida Mwidau in Swahili language. Yet, much more mystery is attached to the place than the name suggests. The local people hold that it was a place where troublesome Africans were hanged to death during the nineteenth-century colonial incursions. Some reported seeing human skeletal remains, chains and shackles at the site. In the present, the locals avoid conducting any activity at the site for fear of disturbing human remains. Using historical archaeology, this article examines the local narratives to disentangle myths from the historical reality of the site. It scrutinises both oral accounts and nineteenth-century European documents against on-site material evidence to determine the historical facts. The article concludes by establishing that the bones interpreted by the local people as human skeletal remains are, in fact, donkey bones and metal objects—the latter hitherto mistaken for chains and shackles.

***Keywords*:** Historical archaeology, donkey shoes, trade outpost, Mtumbei Kitambi, Matumbi, Southern Tanzania.

1.0 Introduction

Many archaeological sites in Africa, including some of the world's most famous ones such as Olduvai Gorge and Laetoli in northern Tanzania, attracted professional archaeologists based on accounts and tips from members of local communities residing near those sites.[1] Pioneering non-local unprofessional archaeologists were also instrumental in unlocking the evidence of these sites.[2] In many cases, reporters come into contact with these sites while farming, hunting, collecting firewood, honey, and similar activities. For instance, the palaeoathropological site of Laetoli (dating 3.6 million years), which is famous for evidence of early hominin footprints signifying upright bipedal locomotion, was reported to Mary Leakey by Mr. Sanimu, a Maasai Moran who lived in Laetoli.[3] Likewise, the world-famous palaeontological site of Oldupai [Olduvai] Gorge (dating 2.3 million years) was

[1] E.B. Ichumbaki, T.J. Biginagwa, and B.B. Mapunda, "They Know More Than We Do, Yet We Appreciate Them Less Than They Deserve: Decoding Local Ontologies in Heritage Interpretation and Preservation in Southern Tanzania," *Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage*, (2023): 1-19.

[2] M.D. Leakey, "Olduvai Gorge, 1911–75: A History of the Investigations*," Geological Society London Special Publications* 6, no. 1 (1978): 151-155.

[3] M.D. Leakey, "Introduction," in *Laetoli: A Pliocene Site in Northern Tanzania,* eds., M. Leakey and J. Harris (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 1–22.

reported by a German entomologist, Prof. Wilhelm Kattwinkel, who spotted some fossil bones projecting from the stratigraphy of the gorge when he was hunting butterflies.[4] Sometimes, reporters initiate the protection of those archaeological sites before professional archaeologists and other heritage practitioners come to know about them, attesting to the values the reporters attach to those sites.[5]

In fact, locals encountering archaeological sites do not necessarily wait for professional archaeologists to go and tell them about what the site was all about; they usually attempt to make sense of the sites and cultural materials they see and interpret what they entail based on their local knowledge and beliefs.[6] Some of the local people's interpretations are rather framed within the historical events rooted in their area. In East Africa, the historic slave trade and the Maji Maji War still resonate in local people's minds and lore, particularly in the most affected regions.[7] As a result, the interpretations some

[4] Leakey, "Olduvai Gorge, 1911–75."
[5] Ichumbaki, Biginagwa, and Mapunda, "They Know More Than We Do."
[6] S. Atalay, "Indigenous Archaeology as Decolonizing Practice," *American Indian Quarterly* (2006): 280-310; A. Matsuda. "When a Local Legend is (Mis)appropriated in the Interpretation of an Archaeological Site," *Archaeologies 6* (2010): 447-467.
[7] C.M. Kusimba, "Archaeology of Slavery in East Africa," *African Archaeological Review* 21, no. 2 (2004): 59-88; N.A. Rushohora. "An Archaeological identity of the Majimaji: Toward an Historical Archaeology of Resistance to German Colonization in Southern Tanzania," *Archaeologies* 11, no. 2 (2015): 246-271; T.J. Biginagwa, B.B. Mapunda, and E.B. Ichumbaki, "Multi-Directional Connectivity in

locals uphold about some archaeological sites in those regions are inextricably linked to these traumatic historic events. Mr. Francis Siza (79), for example, witnessed a bulldozer in 1984 unearth human skeletal remains of more than twenty individuals from a small confined space during a road construction through Lupilo Forest in Mbinga district in southern Tanzania.[8] He promptly surmised that the victims were slaves killed during the Arab-led slave trade in the region. Mr. Siza reburied the skeletal remains by the roadside and marked the reburial point with a large boulder on which he engraved the inscription: "*Wana lupilo wamelala hapa zaidi ya 20 ezi ya wahalabu*", loosely translated as "More than 20 Lupilo people [killed] during the Arab period are laid to rest here."

Sometimes, local people derive their interpretations of archaeological sites from myths. The Maasai myth about the footprints is a typical example. Recently Ichumbaki and his colleagues[9] testified that; the Maasai quickly claimed that the footprints that the researchers had exposed at Laetoli

Eastern and Southern Africa during the First and Early Second Millennia AD: Archaeological Evidence from Lupilo, Southern Tanzania," *Journal of African Archaeology* 19, no. 1 (2021): 72-89; H.O. Kiriama, *The Legacy of Slavery in Coastal Kenya: Memory, Identity, and Heritage*. (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2022).

[8] Biginagwa, Mapunda, and Ichumbaki, *ibid.*

[9] E.B. Ichumbaki et al., "Local People's Interpretations of the Hominin Footprints at Laetoli, Tanzania," *Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage 6*, no. 2 (2019): 122-138.

palaeoathropological site in northern Tanzania were of their legendary warriors named *Likalanga*. In the local Maasai narratives, *Likalanga* was born during an inter-ethnic warfare when a rival nearby community was killing the Maasai. Even though the Maasai were defeated, they kept their memory alive of getting revenge some days.[10] To avenge themselves, they summoned newly-born children to assist them in fighting their enemies. These hoped-for future saviours were isolated from the community and raised in distant places where they could not interact with any community members except elders who were teaching them the fighting techniques.[11] Oral traditions hold that *Likalanga* ate meat and drank blood and milk to grow bigger and bigger in readiness for fighting, hence became robust and heavier than other ordinary members of the society. Whenever he walked, his footprints left marks on the ground. Thus, the unearthed footprints by Ichumbaki and colleagues,[12] being relatively larger than those of the contemporary Maasai, made the Maasai 'confirm' their oral history that the legendary *Likalanga*, the hero warrior, truly existed.

This paper contends that regardless of the subjective nature of the interpretations about archaeological sites sometimes held by members of the local communities, archaeologists

[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *Ibid*., 11.
[12] *Ibid.*

must listen carefully to them. Schmidt and Kehoe,[13] coined the term "the archaeology of listening" to emphasize the need for scholars to listen to local narratives for their interpretations and perspectives of the past. After all, in some situations, local interpretations have turned out to be correct after their views had been subjected to archaeological scrutiny.[14] Conversely, their views have been proven to be the wrong assumption not supported by tested archaeological evidence.[15] However, as Ichumbaki and colleagues,[16] further contend, in either case, local narratives about archaeological sites—whether correct or erroneous—are helpful in connecting the locals to the sites and, hence, holding them accountable for the protection and conservation of those sites.

The archaeological site of Mtumbei Kitambi in Matumbi Hills, the subject of this paper, became known thanks to local people's accounts.[17] Locals' interpretation connected the site

[13] P.R. Schmidt, and A.B. Kehoe, *Archaeologies of listening*, (Gainsville: University Press of Florida, 2019).
[14] P.R. Schmidt, "Oral Traditions, Archaeology, and History: A Short Reflective History," in *A History of African Archaeology* edited by P. Robertshaw (London: James Currey, 1990), 252-270.
[15] C.A. Folorunso, *Interrogating the Evidence: The Nigerian Cultural Landscape: An Inaugural Lecture Delivered at the University of Ibadan on Thursday 25 October 2007* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 2007).
[16] Ichumbaki et al., "Local People's Interpretations of the Hominin Footprints at Laetoli," 12.
[17] Especially Mr. Abdallah Butoli Mweyo and Mr. Ezekiel Rwambo of Mtondo wa Kimwaga village where we camped during the 2007 field school.

variously with traumatic memories of the slave trade and brutal colonial rule in the region. According to the local narratives, this settlement had a macabre past, serving as a killing site for troublesome Africans.[18] Some locals refer to human skeletal remains of the victims and chains and shackles present at the site as evidence to support their claims.[19] This non-scientific interpretation raises many questions that demand answers, however. For instance, local narratives remain vague on when such killings happened—whether it was during the Arab-led slave trade or German colonial rule. Of greater concern, one wonders why this settlement should have also served as an execution site and not any other place in the vicinity. These vexing issues triggered this study in a bid to triangulate the local narratives about Mtumbei Kitambi with results from the historical archaeological inquiry.

This paper with recourse to evidence from the historical archaeological findings indicates that the bones that locals perceived as human skeletal remains present at the site had belonged to donkeys—not humans—and the metal objects

[18] Interviews with Mr. Butoli Mweyo, Mr. Ezekiel Rwambo, Mr. Kiyombo Killindo at Mtondo wa Kimwaga; Mr. Alhasa Ilumbo, Ms. Hawa Mohamed, Mr. Abdallah Ngaelwa at Mtumbei Kitambi; Mr. Uchape Upunda, Mr. Martin Kundangenda, Ms. Ashura Nangingite at Kibata – June 2007.

[19] Interviews with Mr. Kiyomo Killindo, Mr. Abdallah Ngalewa, and Mr. Kachepe Upunda at Kibata – June 2007.

they interpreted as chains and shackles were iron donkey shoes. These findings, therefore, debunk the belief that Mtumbei Kitambi was a killing site for Africans, as the locals claimed. Instead, evidence attests to how this settlement of an Arab trader from the Kilwa coast by the name of Mwidau had been home to numerous donkeys that served as beasts of burden. It appears that the Arab Mwidau did establish this settlement during the last quarter of the nineteenth century near what is today the Selous Game Reserve strategically to control the ivory and slave trade.

Following the 1884-5 Berlin conference during which European colonial powers divided up Africa in what has come to be known as the "Scramble for Africa", Germany took control of German East Africa (Deautsch-Ostafrika) in the African Great Lakes region as its colony. The colony comprised the then Tanganyika (now Tanzania), Burundi and Rwanda. The colonial authorities appointed Mr. Mwidau to the position of *Akida,* or local colonial agents, tasked with helping them to administer a group of villages in the Matumbi Hills area. Akida Mwidau adopted donkeys as his means of conveyance in executing his administrative duties including collecting taxes from the indigenous people. In the wake of the Maji Maji uprising, a rebellion initiated by the Matumbi ethnic group against the German colonial rule, Akida Mwidau found himself cornered and fled back to the Kilwa coast and, subsequently, to Songosongo Island. Because of the unbridled

power and often cruelty that the Akida wielded, his settlement and property he left behind, including the donkeys, could have been destroyed by the local mob of the Matumbi. As a German local agent, he was a sell-out to the community, hence their enemy.

For easy presentation of this research, the paper is divided into seven sections. Section two follows this introduction, describing the background of the study. The third section describes the geography and history of Matumbi Hills and the Mtumbei Kitambi site, the focal point of this paper. Section four presents the archaeological work undertaken at the site, including the survey and excavation. Section five analyses and interprets the archaeological materials, followed by a discussion of the findings in Section six. Finally, section seven entails a conclusion.

2.0 Research Background

In 2007, the author co-directed with Bertram Mapunda, a professor of archaeology, an archaeology field school for the University of Dar es Salaam undergraduate students in Matumbi Hills (Figure 1). The training research topic was the historical archaeology of the Maji Maji rebellion that allowed students learn about how to collect oral histories from local people about the rebellion, locate places (notably refuge sites such as caves) that feature in local narratives in connection with the object of the study, as well as recover the material evidence of the war (if any) through the scientific

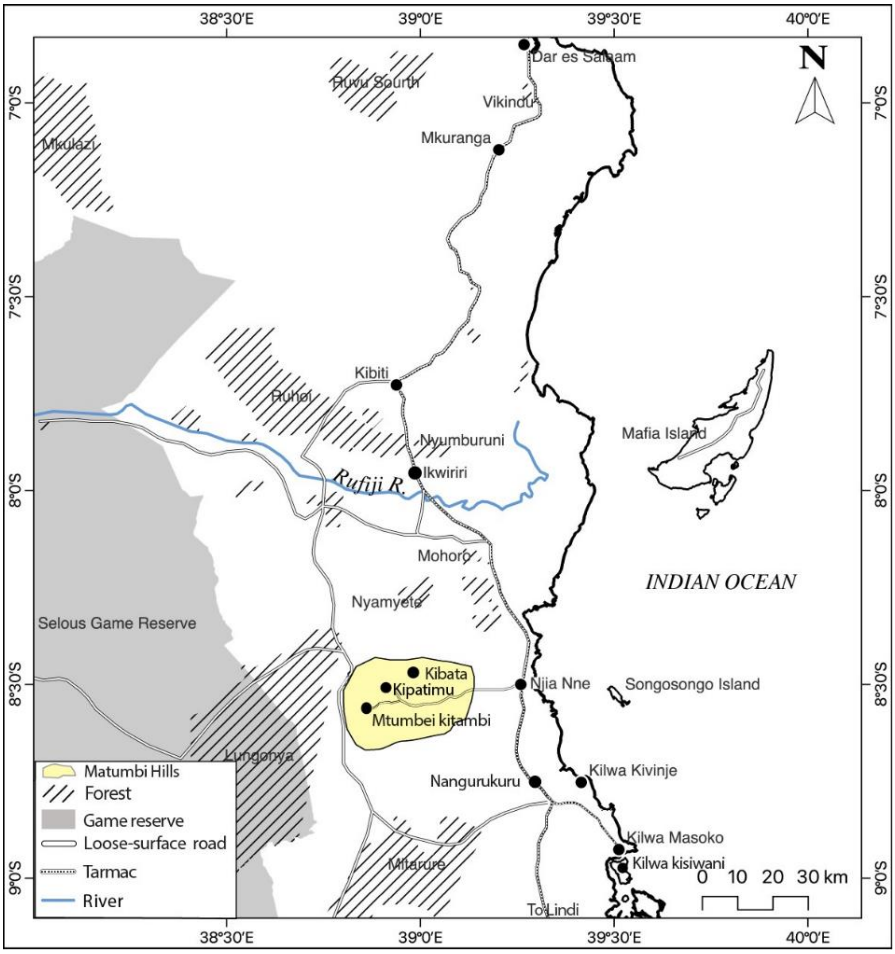
archaeological excavation of a sample of sites whose identification was informed by local narratives. Both students and instructors engaged fully in executing these activities. The site of Mtumbei Kitambi (Figure 1) repeatedly featured in local narratives as a settlement of an Arab going by the name of Akida Mwidau and as a place for hanging troublesome Africans.[20] Significantly, some informants had claimed to have seen scattered human skeletal remains, chains, and shackles at the site as evidence of the hanging of supposedly chained or shackled troublemakers.[21] Due to logistical and time constraints, the team did not explore this site archaeologically. However, one student, Nancy Alexander, recorded local narratives about the site under the author's guidance and visited the area briefly as part of data collection for her third-year independent project entitled "Archaeological evidence of the Maji Maji War in Matumbiland, South-eastern Tanzania."[22]

The author returned to Mtumbei Kitambi in December 2014, having included this site for further investigation under his Volkswagen-funded postdoctoral research project entitled "Archaeological exploration of the consequences of the nineteenth-century caravan trade expansion on the human

[20] Interviews with Mr. Butoli Mweyo et al., *op.cit*.
[21] Interviews with Mr. Kiyomo Killindo et al., *op.cit*.
[22] N. Alexander, *Archaeological Evidence of the Maji Maji War in Matumbiland, southern Tanzania* (University of Dar es Salaam: Unpublished Independent Project Report, 2008).

environment and subsistence strategies in southern Tanzania." To comprehend what could have been the function of the site in accordance with the accruing evidence and better assess the associated local narratives, the author approached the study through a *historical archaeology* lens, as briefly described in the subsequent paragraphs. The two-week research at the site involved an archaeological survey, archaeological excavation, and collection of additional oral histories about the site from nearby local residents. The author returned back to Mtumbei Kitambi in January 2023 for a three-day stint, during which he mapped the site and collected additional oral information to fill in gaps he had identified during the analysis of oral testimonies collected back in 2007 and 2014.

Figure 1: Location of the study site of Mtumbei Kitambi in Matumbi Hills, Kilwa District in southeast Tanzania



Historical archaeology as a research approach entails studying sites amenable to interpretation with the aid of multiple historical sources such as written documents, oral traditions,

and cultural material remains.[23] Historical sources in historical archaeology are twofold: "External" and "Internal."[24] External sources are those produced by outsiders as direct observers, transcribers, and copiers of verbal accounts provided by various visitors to foreign lands. The first-hand accounts published by Europeans who journeyed to East Africa exemplify external sources.[25] On the other hand, internal sources include a range of historical sources different African societies produce such as oral traditions and histories, myths, and personal anecdotes transcribed by professional historians and anthropologists.[26]

Wesler and Allsworth-Jones,[27] clarify that the defining factor of historical archaeology is the existence of, at least, two practically independent data sets that may be compared and applied as sources of hypotheses drawn from one and tested against the other. Doing so allows for a holistic view of the phenomenon under study and more rigorous testing of

[23] I. Pikirayi, *The Archaeological Identity of the Mutapa State: Towards an Historical Archaeology of Northern Zimbabwe* (Uppsala: Societas Archaeologica Upsaliensis, 1993), 36.
[24] I. Pikirayi, "Gold, Black Ivory and Houses of Stone: Historical Archaeology in Africa," in *Historical Archaeology*, eds., M. Hall and S. Silliman (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 230-50.
[25] *Ibid*.
[26] P.J. Lane. "Whither Historical Archaeology in Africa?" *Review of Archaeology* 28, (2007): 5-28.
[27]K.W. Wesler, and P. Allsworth-Jones eds., *Historical Archaeology in Nigeria*. (Africa World Press, 1998).

generalising formulations to materialise. This approach thus allowed the current study to collect local narratives (an oral source) about the site of Mtumbei Kitambi, compare them with nineteenth-century European accounts (a documentary source), and triangulated both against the material evidence (archaeology) to determine the site's function. The ensuing two sections describe the study area in terms of geography, history, and previous archaeological studies.

3.0 Matumbi Hills and Mtumbei Kitambi Site in Geographical and Historical Contexts

The site of Mtumbei Kitambi is within the broader geographical area known as the Matumbi Hills (Figure 1). The Matumbi Hills peak at 2,432 feet above mean sea level and cover a total area of about 400 square kilometres, most of which is dissected by numerous eroding valleys.[28] The Matumbi massif is Jurassic (142–212 million years old) and comprises shale sandstone known as the Matumbi series.[29] The upper hilltops are sandy or with rocky outcrops. There is a wide variety of soils in the valley bottoms derived from the parent sandstones and shale. These soils trap underground water to support forest vegetation in most valleys, as well as

[28]L.K. Stubblefield, *Management Summaries for 25 Coastal Forests in Tanzania*, no. 12, (Frontier Tanzania Report, 1994), 90.
[29] N.D. Burgess et al. "Preliminary Assessment of the Distribution, Status and Biological Importance of Coastal Forests in Tanzania," *Biological Conservation 62, no.* 3, (1992): 205-218.

cultivation and human settlements.[30] The northern and western faces of the Matumbi Hills capture most of the rain; meanwhile, several major seasonal rivers drain northwards into the Rufiji Basin.[31] Animals commonly found in the forested areas of Matumbi Hills include elephants, buffaloes, bush pigs, duikers, suni, and monkeys.[32]

The Matumbi ethnic group are the main occupant of the Matumbi Hills, hence the name. The word Matumbi means hills or mountain ranges in their language. As such, the Matumbi, or "Wamatumbi" in Kiswahili, simply mean "mountain people" or "mountain dwellers."[33] The Matumbi border the Ngindo and Mwera ethnic groups in the south, the Rufiji in the east and north, and the Pogoro in the west, across the Selous Game Reserve.[34] Oral traditions hold that the Matumbi people have been in Matumbi Hills for at least seven to eight hundred years after migrating north-east from what is now northern Malawi. This assertion is supported by the

[30] *Ibid*.
[31] G.P. Clarke, "The Lindi Local Centre of Endemism in Southeastern Tanzania," *Systematics and Geography of Plants* (2001): 1063-1072.
[32] A. Perkin, C. Leonard, and N. Doggart, *Landscape Profile: Kilwa*. Document Prepared as an Input to the GEF PPG Process to Develop a Full-Sized Proposal for the Tanzanian Coastal Forests (2008).
[33] B.B. Mapunda, "Encounter with an Injured Buffalo: Slavery and Colonial Emancipation in Tanzania," *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage* 6, no. 1, (2017): 1-18.
[34] Mradi wa Lugha za Tanzania (hereafter MLT), *Atlasi ya Lugha za Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam: DUP, 2009).

archaeology of the area, particularly the local pottery. According to Mapunda,[35] pottery with ribbed motifs dominates the Matumbi Hills. Mapunda,[36] traces the origins of this pottery tradition to areas around the Lake Nyasa region (south-western Tanzania and northern Malawi) dated to the Late Iron Age (post-1500 AD).

Mapunda,[37] asserts that the Matumbi were not one people but an ethnic mosaic who come to the coast from the Lake Nyasa zone mostly through the ivory and slave trade, which have a long history in the region.[38] Reportedly, taking slaves from far inland areas was strategic for it ensured captives' greater disorientation—both cultural and spatial—on the coast, hence lessening the chance of successfully absconding and returning to their homelands. Today, *mnyasa* (a person for the Lake Nyasa region) denotes enslaved ancestry and can serve as an abusive epithet on the Swahili coast. The Matumbi emerged as runaway slaves from their putative owners at Kilwa-Kivinje on the coast[39] (Figure 1).

[35] Mapunda, "Encounter with an Injured Buffalo."
[36] *Ibid*.
[37] *Ibid*.
[38] J. Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*. (Cambridge: University Press, 1979).
[39] Mapunda, "Encounter with an Injured Buffalo."

European accounts of the nineteenth-century Matumbi Hills are extremely scarce. Fr. Ambros Mayer[40] revealed that only three Europeans had visited Matumbi Hills prior to the Maji Maji War in 1905, namely Count Pfeil (1886), a geologist named Bonhard (1897), and a geographer by the name of Schmidt (1898). Fr. Mayer's[41] brief report provides useful information on at least three key aspects relevant for the discussion in this paper. First is his observation that the Matumbi people were stubborn and difficult to deal with compared to their coastal neighbours. Fr. Mayer reveals that Arab traders had informed him about the difficulties they were experiencing in trading activities in Matumbiland. This includes the Matumbi's reluctance to be recruited as porters for trade cargoes. This observation is informative because it shows that coastal Arab traders were reaching Matumbi Hills for trading activities prior to the Maji Maji War. As revealed in subsequent sections, Akida Mwidau is likely one of the traders who had stationed in Matumbi Hills prior to his appointment as an Akida of the area. Second is Fr. Mayer's observation that by 1905, Matumbi Hills had a population of between 18,000 and 20,000 people who were under the rule of Arab Akidas, one of whom was Sefu bin Amiri, stationed at Kibata (the administrative headquarters of Matumbi Hills).

[40] Tanzania National Archives (hereafter TNA). *Tanganyika territory: District Book for the Kilwa District and Lindi Province* (Matumbiland in 1912 by Fr. Ambros Mayer) (Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer, 1928), 177.
[41] *Ibid.*

Furthermore, Fr. Mayer points out that there were 22 Jumbes who assisted the Akidas in administering the Matumbi Hills. Third, when the Maji Maji War broke out, the Akidas and the Jumbes fled back to the coast. Fr. Mayer's last two observations also feature in the local oral traditions, as presented in the subsequent sections.

The Matumbi Hills are historically famous because of the Maji Maji uprising (1905–07). The war was ignited by the Matumbi and soon spread to the whole of southern Tanganyika, drawing in over 15 ethnic groups.[42] The uprising began after the Matumbi uprooted cotton plants in a communal farm at Nandete village that had been cultivated under the order of the German colonial government. The uprising was catalysed by a medicine man, Kinjekitile Ngwale, who was a Ngindo by ethnicity. Possessed by a snake spirit and claiming to have been immersed in water for a day (before the start of the war), Kinjekitile proclaimed that the spirit gave him medicine that could enable the local Africans to defeat the Germans. The medicine, which consisted of water from the well in which he had been immersed, mixed with some herbal concoctions, was sprinkled on and consumed by the combatants in preparation for the war against the Germans.[43] The belief was that the medicinal water had the power to turn the opponent's

[42] Mapunda, "Encounter with an Injured Buffalo."
[43] *Ibid*.

bullet into the water once it hit a treated and "clean" combatant.[44]

Mapunda,[45] contends that the Matumbi initiated the Maji Maji rebellion and not any other ethnic group in Tanganyika that had similarly undergone severe pain and dehumanised by German colonial rule because they were 'injured buffalo'. Having liberated themselves from the yoke of enslavement at Kilwa coast (Kivinje), the Matumbi were unprepared for another form of humiliation and, thus, remained vengeful to anyone who reminded them of their bygone agonies, such as the Germans.

3.1 Oral and Documentary Accounts of Mtumbei Kitambi

The site of Mtumbei Kitambi is found in the village of the same name in the Kipatimu Ward, Kilwa district in Lindi region (Figure 1). The straight-line distance from Mtumbei Kitambi to the Kilwa (Kivinje) coast is about 70km, and more via the present-day road through Njia Nne (the junction), via Nangurukuru to Kilwa Kivinje township. The site of Mtumbei Kitambi is located just about 10 kilometres from the eastern border of the Selous Game Reserve. This site also goes by the name of *Kwa Akida* Mwidau among the locals in Matumbi Hills. Kwa Akida Mwidau or "a place of Akida Mwidau" was so

[44] *Ibid*.
[45] *Ibid.,* 13.

named because its occupier was Mr. Mwidau, an Arab from the Kilwa (Kivinje) coast. *Akida* is a Kiswahili name for a local ruler appointed by the German colonial government to help administer a group of villages on the coast and immediate hinterlands. Locals informed this study that Matumbi Hills had two Akidas during German colonial rule: Akida Mwidau and Akida Seif Bin Amiri, both Arabs. Akida Mwidau administered the four villages of Mtumbei Kitambi, Kandawale, Tipo, and Mtondo wa Kimwaga, whereas his counterpart, Akida Seif bin Amiri, stationed at Kibata, the location of the German Boma, administered the rest.[46]

As previously stated, local legends treat Mtumbei Kitambi as a place Akida Mwidau used to execute Africans sentenced to death for 'capital crimes.'[47] Locals have divergent opinions about who were the victims of the alleged killings. Some contend that they were slaves from the interior who had resisted completing their journey to the coast,[48] and some claim that the victims were the local Matumbi who disobeyed German-imposed colonial orders.[49] Some local narratives repeatedly mention the presence at the site of human skeletal remains as well as shackles and chains used to execute the

[46] Interviews with Mr. Butoli Mweyo et al., *op.cit*.
[47] *Ibid*.
[48] Interviews with Mr. Ngoteye Kapela, and Mr. Kimbeiya Upunda – June 2007.
[49] Interviews with Mr. Abdallah Butoli Mweyo, Ms. Aquilina Mpulu, and Mr. Mtakuja Kijimbo – June 2007

punishment.[50] Furthermore, some locals mentioned the presence of large old trees at the site, claiming that their branches were used for hanging the victims.[51] These trees are locally known as *mikakanungu* (plural), or *mkakanungu* (singular).[52]

Interestingly, locals have desisted from conducting any activity at the site due to the alleged presence of human remains that tradition and local beliefs require them to respect, or rather dread. Indeed, such "intactness" or rather the undisturbed nature of the site was proven at the time of undertaking this research. Almost the entire area reportedly to have been under the ambit of Akida Mwidau is still thickly vegetated with big trees, hence creating an impression of a kind of sacred forest (Figure 2). This scenario contrasts with the immediate surroundings, which have morphed into bare agricultural land for the commercial production of sesame. Oral tradition in the area consistently reports that Akida Mwadau unceremoniously escaped from the Matumbi Hills to Songosongo Island, off the Kilwa coast, in the wake of the Maji Maji War to save his skin after a service that the locals believed was treacherous.[53]

[50] Interviews with Mr. Kiyomo Killindo et al., *op.cit*.
[51] Interview with Mr. Alhasan Ilumbo, Abdallah Butoli Mweyo (Mtumbei Kitambi) – January 2023.
[52] Interview with Mr. Abdallah Butoli Mweyo – January 2023.
[53] Interviews with Mr. Abdallah Butoli Mweyo, Mr. Stephen Killindo, and Mr. Mtakuja Kijimbo, at Mtondo wa Kimwaga – June 2007.

Figure 2: A section view of a thickly vegetated site of Mtumbei Kitambi, excavation in progress. Author's photo, 2014

European accounts specifically for the Mtumbei Kitambi site are lacking. Biginagwa and Mapunda,[54] have noted the relative dearth of written accounts that could otherwise

[54] T.J. Biginagwa and B.B. Mapunda, "The Kilwa-Nyasa Caravan Route: The long-neglected trading corridor in southern Tanzania," in *The Swahili World, e*ds., S. Wynne-Jones and A. LaViolette (London: Routledge, 2018), 541.

facilitate historical archaeology research in southern Tanzania. The only piece of documentation about the site thus far is by Pfeil,[55] who described the nineteenth-century caravan route from Kilwa Kivinje (on the Indian Ocean coast) to northern Lake Nyasa via Matumbi Hills. In his accounts, Pfeil places Mtumbei Kitambi [a village misspelt "Mtembesi"] as the sixth stopping point, after which the caravans encountered the "bushland" (what is today the Selous Game Reserve). Indeed, Mtumbei Kitambi is just 10km away from the eastern border of the Selous Game Reserve. Before "Mtembesi" [Mtumbei Kitambi], the villages mentioned on this route after "Kilwa Kivindje [Kivinje]" are Ngamo, Nyenga, Kilembe, Mnyambondo, Juaunanga, Matumbi [Hills], Mtembesi**,** then "bushland." Pfeil does not provide any further details about the settlement of Mtumbei Kitambi. Also, several of these villages (though some names have changed) lie along the 40 km-long present-day dust road from Njia Nne on the Nangurukuru–Dar es Salaam Road (Figure 1).

Local narratives on Mtumbei Kitambi, however, have not been subjected to archaeological testing. In truth, Africans suffered significantly under the slave trade and brutal German colonial rule, including the deaths of many. However, the claim that Mtumbei Kitambi was an execution site raises many

[55] J.G. Pfeil, "Die Erforschung des Ulangagebietes," in *St. Petermanns Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes Geographischer Anstalt 32*, ed., A. Petermann (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1886), 353–62.

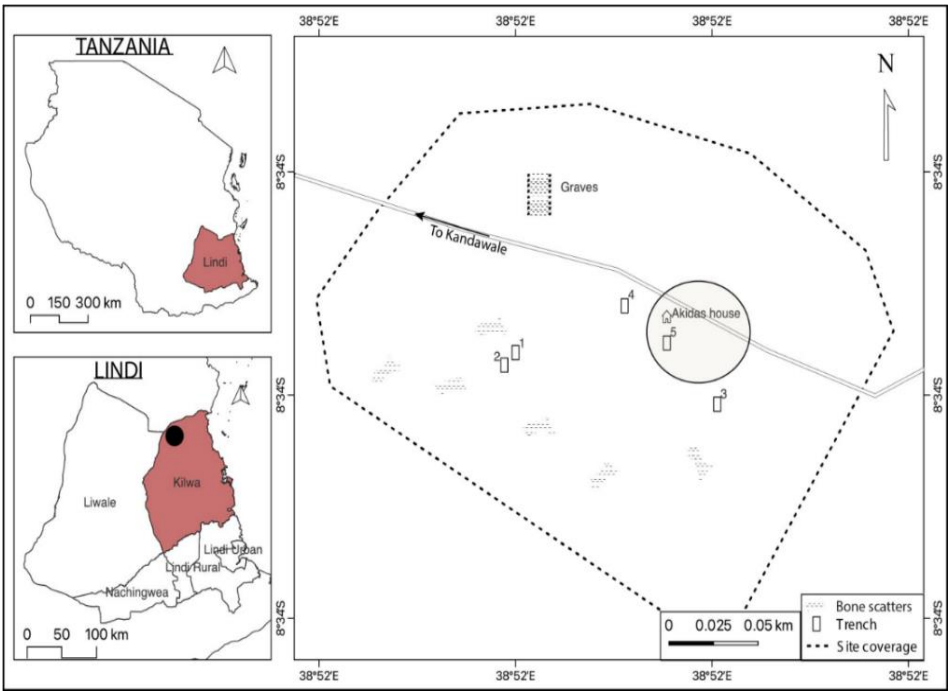
questions. In particular, one may wonder why these killings occurred at Akida's compound and the victims' bodies left unburied. The foul smell from the decomposing bodies of the victims would not allow the inhabitants of this settlement to settle, let alone deal with the fears that would emanate from seeing humans being killed regularly and their skeletons left scattered everywhere on the compound. The absence of records indicating that some slaves resisted reaching the coast and being killed somewhere in the coastal hinterland fuels scepticism. Indeed, these contradictions justified the conducting of this study to scrutinise the local people's interpretations of Mtumbei Kitambi site. The subsequent section presents the archaeology of Mtumbei Kitambi, against which the testing of the oral and documentary sources about the site's functions occurs.

3.2 Archaeological Exploration at Mtumbei Kitambi

The archaeological exploration at Mtumbei Kitambi from December 2014 to January 2015 consisted of both a survey and an excavation. The author and his team conducted a random foot walkover survey to determine the spatial extent of the site. The survey was guided by two local collaborators (Mr. Abdallah Butoli and Mr. Kyangi Yasin) in a bid to locate and characterise surface occurrences of archaeological materials such as artifacts, ecofacts, features, and structures, if any. An archaeological survey was useful in determining where to locate excavation units. In terms of results, the archaeological

survey established the area of the settlement to have measured about 5ha, with a large part of it lying on a gentle slope in the north-south orientation (Figure 3). Patches of burned bones were found in the southern half of the settlement towards the base of the slope. On the contrary, surface scatters of artifacts, notably local and imported ceramics and glass beads, were evident in the northern section of the settlement. A ruined rectangular wattle-and-daub house structure was also located, which our local research collaborators claimed to be Akida Mwidau's house. The survey also identified a graveyard located towards the northern end of the settlement (Figure 3). In all, eight graves were located, arranged in a single line of about 25m oriented north-south. Each grave has flat stone markers in a Muslim style. Taken together, the spatial distribution of archaeological material suggests the core occupation area in this settlement was confined to the northern half of the site, a determination also supported by archaeological materials yielded from excavations (below).

Figure 3: Layout of Akida Mwidau's settlement of Mtumbei Kitambi, showing the location of trenches excavated and other features mentioned in the text. The heavy dotted lines mark the approximate outline of the site.



In terms of archaeological excavations, five units were accomplished at the site (Figure 3). The trenches differed in size, mostly determined by the aspects targeted in each location within the site. Two trenches (1 & 2) were established in the southern half of the settlement to target patches of gutted bones identified during an archaeological survey. Two

other trenches (4 and 5) were dug just in the northern half of the settlement. One of the trenches (no. 5) was established just a few metres away from a rectangular ruined house identified during the archaeological survey, and another trench (no. 3) was established at about 30m due southeast from Trench 5 in the area we suspected to have been the front space of the compound. Trench no. 4 was set almost in the middle of the settlement, typically in an area with no archaeological material seen on the ground surface. Excavated depths in all the trenches ranged from 30 to 80 cm (Table 1), implying that the stratigraphy of the site is relatively shallow.

All the excavation units displayed insignificant stratigraphic soil colour changes, with dark brown humic soil (7.5 YR, 4/2) dominating across trenches. The final basal levels displayed a light brown soil colour (7.5 YR, 6/2). One charcoal sample for radiocarbon dating was collected from Trench 5 (very close to Akida's house) at a depth of 70 cm, which is the base of the anthropogenic deposit at the site. This sample was radiocarbon dated at the Poznan Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory in Poland (Poz-78580) and yielded a date of 170 ± 30 BP. This date suggests that this particular settlement was inhabited during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Although there are inherent difficulties in radiocarbon dating for post-1600 material, this date is acceptable for Mtumbei Kitambi because the site also yielded some cultural materials, particularly imported ceramics and glass beads, whose

manufacturing and arrival in East Africa fall within the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Table 1 presents the material types and their amounts yielded from excavation units at Mtumbei Kitambi.

Table 1: Cultural materials yielded from all five excavation units at Mtumbei Kitambi

Trench	Final Depths (cm)	Cultural materials							
		Bones	Local pottery	Glass beads	Imported pottery	Glass bottle	Iron object	Sea shells	Gun shells
1	30	2,813					5		
2	40	1,517					2		
3	60	27	178	13	7	3			2
4	70	49	14	10	5	2		1	
5	80	88	293	21	16	7		4	
Total		**4,494**	**485**	**44**	**28**	**12**	**7**	**5**	**2**

4.0 Analysis and Interpretation of Archaeological Materials

The spatial distribution of different types of cultural materials from the excavations is consistent with the observation made earlier based on the archaeological survey, that the northern section of the site was the core area of the settlement (i.e., where Akida Mwidau's house(s) were located) whereas the southern section was in the periphery. Table 1 shows that the only materials retrieved from trenches excavated in the

southern section of the settlement are bones and metal objects. The excavation in this area of the settlement targeted a sample of patches of bones to test local narratives—whether or not those bones were human skeletal remains.

The analysis of the bones recovered from the southern trenches revealed that the bones belong to *equidae* (i.e., donkeys). This animal species was identified on the basis of diagnostic skeletal elements that survived, albeit completely burned, notably metapodials, phalanges, and teeth. No single human bone was identified in the analysed sample. Even though the burnt nature of the bones analysed could not permit the identification of bone surface markers that could otherwise inform the human involvement in the deaths of these animals, the nature of carcass deposition in the two excavated trenches is consistent with the animals having died naturally. Afterwards, periodic fires burned the bones to the state in which we found them.

On the contrary, faunal remains retrieved from other trenches in the northern half of the settlement represented a wide range of animal species. Most of the maximally identifiable specimens (n = 53) belong to the medium-sized *antilopinae* species such as gazelles. These bones were not as badly burned as those of the donkeys retrieved from Trenches 1 and 2. Cut marks were also prevalent for several bone specimens, which signifies human consumption; in other words, food refusal. A small number of fish bones (n = 11) were also found

in the faunal assemblage, implying that the inhabitants of this settlement had access to fish, most likely dried ones, from the Indian Ocean coast. Chickens are the only domesticated birds identified in the assemblage (n = 5). Likewise, no single human bone was identified in the faunal assemblages retrieved from the northern section of the settlement. The abundance of wild species is unsurprising given the site's proximity to what is the present-day Selous Game Reserve. In other words, those animals were aplenty and easily accessible for consumption by Akida Mwidau and his followers.

Local ceramic is the second abundant class of cultural material yielded at Mtumbei Kitambi after bones, all from trenches 3, 4, and 5. Unlike Mapunda's findings from the broader Matumbi Hills,[56] most of the pottery yielded here were plain, except for three pieces signalling the "arc motif," a decoration which is common at the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' Swahili coastal sites such as Kilwa Kivinje,[57] and offshore islands such as Mafia and Pemba.[58] A

[56] Mapunda, "Encounter with an Injured Buffalo."
[57] T.J. Biginagwa. "Archaeological investigation at Kilwa Kivinje: a 19th century coastal caravan terminus in southern Tanzania," *Studies in the African Past* 12 (2015): 60-97.
[58] S. Wynne-Jones and B.B. Mapunda, "This is What Pots Look Like Here: Ceramics, Tradition and Consumption on Mafia Island, Tanzania," *Azania: Journal of the British Institute in Eastern Africa* 43, no. 1 (2008): 1-17; S. Croucher, "Plantations on Zanzibar: An Archaeological Approach to Complex Identities" (University of Manchester: Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 2006).

few potsherds informative of vessel forms revealed the presence of open pots and carinated vessels, the latter being the ones with arch-motif decoration styles. Due to the proximity of Mtumbei Kitambi and the Kilwa coast, these ceramic vessels could either have been locally produced in the Matumbi Hills by potters trained at the coast (hence the imitation of the coastal design styles) or were imported from the coast, or both. Yet, as hinted at above, the ancestors of the present-day Matumbi were runaway slaves from the coast of Kilwa.[59] Carinated pots, which are commonly found on the coastal sites of East Africa, also reportedly served the purpose of cooking fish and rice.[60] These vessels at Mtumbei Kitambi are suggestive of coastal culture (food and cooking styles) spreading to the interior during the nineteenth century.

In all, seven iron objects were recovered from trenches 1 & 2 located in the southern section of the settlement (Table 1). Two of these objects were directly associated with the corpses of the donkeys (Figure 4). These objects have been identified as iron donkey shoes (Figure 5). Their association with the donkey corpse denotes that these animals died at the site with their iron shoes on and were left unburied. This interpretation seems to be consistent with local narratives that the site occupant, Akida Mwidau, who likely owned these animals, left this settlement in a hurry and disarray when confronted with

[59] Mapunda, "Encounter with an Injured Buffalo."
[60] Wyne-Jones and Mapunda, , "This is What Pots Look Like Here."

imminent death following the explosion of the Maji Maji rebellion. These animals were likely some of his properties that he left behind.

Figure 4: Excavation of trench 1 is in progress, with donkey bones and iron donkey shoes exposed at a depth of 30cm below ground. Author's photo, 2014

Imported cultural materials unearthed from this settlement were glass beads, pottery, glass bottles, and gun shells (Table 1). Collectively, these materials are similar to those found at several nineteenth-century caravan trade terminals on the

East African coast, such as Pangani, Kilwa - Kivinje, Bagamoyo, Saadani, and Mbwa Maji.[61] Those goods have also been found in the hinterland and inland sites along the nineteenth-century caravan trade routes, such as Kwa Fungo, Old Korogwe, Ngombezi, and Maurui along the Tanzanian northern caravan route,[62] and Mang'ua and Kikole along the southern caravan route.[63] Some of these materials, for example, glass beads, were imported *en masse* from Europe (especially Venice) and the Arab and Swahili coastal traders used them to procure ivory, slaves, and other key products of the long-distance caravan trade in the interior.[64] Some of these imports also served as currency for procuring food and other services along the caravan routes in the interior. Finding these items at the Arab settlement in the hinterland is thus unsurprising because they had reached there through trade.

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[61] Biginagwa, "Archaeological investigation at Kilwa Kivinje."
[62] T.J. Biginagwa and E.B. Ichumbaki, "Settlement history of the islands on the Pangani River, northeastern Tanzania," *Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa* 53, no. 1 (2018): 63-82.
[63] T.J. Biginagwa, and P. Katto, "Archaeological Perspective on the Impacts of Caravan Trade Expansion in East Africa: Emerging Alternative Histories," *Journal of Education, Humanities, and Science* 9, no. 3 (2020): 56–80.
[64] R. Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Equatorial Africa with Notes of the Lunar Mountains and the Sources of the White Nile* (London: Royal Geographical Society, 1859); K. Pallaver, "A Recognized Currency in Beads: Glass Beads as Money in 19th - Century East Africa: The Central Caravan Road," *Money in Africa*, (2009): 20-29.

At some stage, they became privy to the slave trade on the Indian Ocean. Finally, the presence of seashells (*Cypraea* spp.) at this settlement, along with fish fauna, is informative when it comes to how Akida Mwidau and his fellows at Mtumbei Kitambi were in regular contact with the coast.

Figure 5: Iron donkey shoes retrieved from Akida Mwidau's settlement

5.0 Discussion

The various sources engaged in this study, namely oral and documentary sources in conjunction with material evidence warrant the reinterpretation of Mtumbei Kitambi site with the highest degree of accuracy. Indeed, this marks the hallmark of historical archaeology. Evidently, Mtumbei Kitambi, rather than being a killing site for humans as local narratives claim, was the settlement of an Arab trader by the name of Mwidau. Convincingly, Mr. Mwidau relocated from Kilwa Kivinje to establish this settlement on Matumbi Hills for commercial reasons during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Indeed, this settlement appears on Pfeil's (1886) map that shows caravan halt settlements on the trade route from Kilwa Kivinje on the Indian Ocean coast to the northern tip of Lake Nyasa via what is present-day Selous Game Reserve. The proposition that this settlement was established during the last quarter of the nineteenth century also derives from the chronometric dating of radiocarbon fourteen (C14) as presented above, as well as the relative dates derived from some cultural materials retrieved at this settlement, notably imported glass beads and ceramics.

The timeframe for the foundation of this settlement coincides with the peak of the ivory and slave trade in East Africa following the exponentially rising demand for ivory in the

Western world,[65] and slaves for labour supply on the East African coastal plantations.[66] To meet the supply side, coastal Arab-Swahili traders began to establish trading outposts in the interior to facilitate the collection and shipping to the coast of these major commodities of the world market. Karin Pallaver,[67] observes that "during this period, as the resources of ivory [near the coast] were diminishing following the big hunting of the first half of the nineteenth century, the frontier of the ivory moved west…" Mtumbei Kitambi seems to be one of those trading outposts in East Africa. There are several others reported in historical documents, such as Mamboya in Ukaguru, Mpwapwa in Ugogo, Kazeh in Unyamwezi, Ujiji in Lake Tanganyika,[68] and Kasongo in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo.[69] In 1857, Richard Burton reported that there were 25 Arab residents in Tabora,[70] whereas in 1872

[65] A. Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices and Ivory in Zanzibar: Integration of an East African Commercial Empire into the World Economy 1770–1873* (London: James Currey, 1987).
[66] J. Glassman, "The Bondman's New Clothes: The Contradictory Consciousness of Slave Resistance on the Swahili Coast," *Journal of African History* 32 (1991): 277 – 312.
[67] K. Pallaver, "Nyamwezi Participation in Nineteenth-Century East African Long-Distance Trade: Some Evidence from Missionary Sources," *Africa: Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente* 61, no. 3/4, (2006): 519.
[68] Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Equatorial Africa*.
[69] N. Arazi et al., "History, Archaeology and Memory of the Swahili-Arab in the Maniema, Democratic Republic of Congo" in *Antiquity* 94, no. 375, (2020).
[70] Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Equatorial Africa*.

David Livingstone reported their population to have increased to eighty.[71] These Arab-Swahili settlements mentioned above are located along what was the East African Central Caravan Trade Route. For the southern route, such settlements included Mang'ua, Kikole, and Ruanda in Ungoni.[72]

Various reasons for the establishment of Arab-Swahili trading outposts in the interior have been spelt out. Sperling and Kagabo,[73] contend that "the reasons were varied; for example, it might have been to secure a strategic or convenient location, or because of the availability of trade items or provisions, or the political influence of a particular chief or leader." Commenting on a similar settlement in Kaze (Tabora), Burton,[74] argued that "the central position and the comparative safety of Unyanyembe have made it the headquarters of the Omani or pure Arabs, who in many cases settle here for years, remaining in charge of their depots while factors and slaves travel about the country and collect the items of traffic." On the other hand, Pallaver,[75] contended that "the necessities to store and protect the goods, particularly

[71] D. Livingstone, *Living Stone's Africa: Perilous Adventures and Extensive Discoveries in the Interior of Africa.* (Washington: Hubbard Bros, 1872).
[72] B.B. Mapunda, "East African Slave Trade: Unravelling Post-Abolition Slave Coverts in the Interior of Southern Tanzania," *Utafiti* 5, no. 1 (2004): 61–76; Biginagwa and Mapunda, 2018, *op.cit.*
[73] D. Sperling, and J. Kagabo. *The Coastal Hinterland and Interior of East Africa*. (Ohio: University Press, 2015), 287.
[74] Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Equatorial Africa*, 180.
[75] Pallaver, "Nyamwezi Participation," 515.

during the rainy season, made the coastal merchants establish depots where the caravans could halt." These inland outposts also served as the main centres where porters were recruited.[76]

Back to Mtumbei Kitambi, it appears that after the Germans had the colonial mandate of reigning over German East Africa, inclusive of Tanganyika as their colony, appointed Mr. Mwidau to administer some of the villages on Matumbi Hills. Historians have reported that the Germans opted for an *Akida* and *Jumbe* governance system based on the appointment of school-educated, Swahili-speaking agents (mainly Arab and Swahili) rather than one based on the ethnic authority of the chiefdoms.[77] As such, the Germans appear to have exploited having Mwidau, who was already well-established in the Matumbi Hills area, serve as the *Akida*. By then, the Germans had chosen Kilwa Kivinje (Figure 1) as their administrative headquarters for southern Tanganyika. To Mwidau, an appointment to the position of Akida was probably more advantageous because the ivory trade that he was benefitting from had by then declined significantly in the 1890s and the slave trade was no longer in the vogue particularly with the onset of formal German colonial administration in the then Tanganyika as part of German East Africa. The German administration had enforced a ban on killing elephants for

[76] *Ibid*.
[77] Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*.

ivory by introducing game regulations in early 1896, along with the demarcation of game reserves in the colony.[78]

Having been installed as the Akida seems to have prompted Mwidau to opt for donkeys as his means of transportation at a time when the transportation infrastructure was severely underdeveloped. In fact, historical literature reports that the Germans preferred horses and donkeys as means of conveyance in executing their administrative roles in their colonies.[79] Rough terrain and large administrative areas necessitated that they keep their horse and donkeys in iron shoes. Indeed, archaeologists have reported that sites impacted by European colonialism typically signal the presence of iron donkey shoes, among several other objects.[80]

[78] R.D. Baldus, "Wildlife Conservation in Tanganyika under German Colonial Rule," *Internationales Afrikaforum* 37, no. 1, (2001): 73–78; B. Gissibl, "German Colonialism and the Beginnings of International Wildlife Preservation in Africa" *German Historical Institute Bulletin* 3, (2006): 121–143; W.B. Adams, *Against Extinction: The Story of Conservation*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013).
[79] Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika.*; J. Koponen, *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania 1884-1914*, (Helsinki: Finnish Historical Society, 1994); H. Sosovele, "Donkey Traction in Tanzania: Some Critical Issues," in *Donkeys, People and Development,* eds., P. Fernando and P. Starkey (*ATNESA*, 1996), 107-112.
[80] J.R. Walz, "Route to A Regional Past: An Archaeology of the Lower Pangani (Ruvu) Basin, Tanzania, 500-1900 C.E." (University of Florida: Ph.D. Dissertation, 2010), 318.

Oral tradition is consistent with the narrative that Akida Mwidau fled from Matumbi Hills in the wake of the Maji Maji rebellion in 1905, to avoid the noose of the Matumbi, who could have lynched him for being an agent of the oppressive German colonial administration. Archaeological finds at Mtumbei Kitambi are also consistent with the observation that Akida Mwidau left Matumbi Hills unceremoniously. The deposition of donkey corpses in his former settlement suggests that these animals died unattended to, without the carcasses being buried as a punitive measure against what they had deemed as a cruel German agent. Had the owner of the donkeys been around during their deaths, he could have removed the iron donkey shoes for re-use on other donkeys considering how expensive those items were at that time since they were probably being imported. This is to argue that the donkey owners could not dare to abandon all the iron donkey shoes as some were at their very early worn-out stage as established by this study (Figure 5).

Finally, a note on the values this study has added for the Mtumbei Kitambi site. In fact, this exploration has exposed the site's hidden values in addition to rectifying local accounts. To begin with, Mtumbei Kitambi has emerged to be one of the relatively few archaeologically researched locales of the nineteenth-century East African slave and ivory caravan trade. In fact, the inland Arab-Swahili trading outposts had been established in the second half of the nineteenth century

to adapt to the world's ivory trade dynamics. These trading outposts have not yet received archaeological attention despite getting mentioned in nineteenth-century European accounts as well as in some later historical studies.[81] As a result, this research has provided tangible evidence on the Mtumbei Kitambi that pinpoints one of the caravan trade routes of the nineteenth century. Even though some may imagine the caravan routes as physical pathways, Biginagwa,[82] contends that the proper physical markers of the routes are the caravan trade outposts and settlements such as Mtumbei Kitambi.

Second, Mtumbei Kitambi and several similar Arab-Swahili trade outposts mentioned in this paper serve as physical proof of the scope, extent, and direction of the nineteenth-century East African ivory and slave trade. These settlements may contribute to the settling of the scholarly debate surrounding the "ivory frontier thesis," which contends that as demand for

[81] For exceptional cases, see Mapunda, "East African Slave Trade" ; P. Katto, "Coast-Interior Connectivity During the Nineteenth Century: Archaeological Evidence of the Caravan Trade from Southern Tanzania" (University of Dar es Salaam: Unpublished MA Dissertation, 2016); C. Mgombere, "Archaeological Evidence of Crop Economies Practiced Along the Nineteenth Century Caravan Route in Southern Tanzania" (University of Dar es Salaam: Unpublished MA Dissertation, 2017); Arazi, "History, Archaeology and Memory of the Swahili-Arab in the Maniema."
[82] T.J. Biginagwa, "Historical Archaeology of the 19th Century Caravan Trade in North-eastern Tanzania: A Zooarchaeological Perspective" (The University of York: Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 2012).

ivory increased throughout the nineteenth century, traders shifted their extraction zone from the coast towards the interior. Proponents of this position argue that elephants were extensively dispersed and frequently observed in coastal areas throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, but they were eliminated, leading to successive exploitations further inland.[83] This perspective contrasts with that of Thorbahn,[84] who claims that elephants were hunted across a wide region in the middle of the century, not just along the coast. Thorbahn bases his claim on the premise that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, most of the ivory came from trading communities in the interior rather than from the coast. In fact, this discussion finds credence in the scholarly attempt to explain the effects of the ivory trade in the nineteenth century on the ecology of human resource usage in East Africa.[85]

[83] Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices and Ivory in Zanzibar,* 78; T.N. Håkansson, "The Human Ecology of World Systems in East Africa: The Impact of the Ivory Trade," *Human Ecology 32* (2004): 568.
[84] P.F. Thorbahn, "The Pre-Colonial Ivory Trade of East Africa: Reconstruction of a Human-Elephant Ecosystem" (University of Massachusetts: Ph.D. Dissertation, 1979).
[85] Håkansson, "The Human Ecology of World Systems in East Africa" ; A.N. Coutu, "Tracing the Links Between Elephants, Humans and Landscapes During the 19th Century East African Ivory Trade: A Bioarchaeological Study" (The University of York: Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 2011).

Finally, Mtumbei Kitambi and similar settlements provide verifiable proof of how some coastal cultures spread to the interior during the nineteenth century through caravan trade. Archaeological research at Mtumbei Kitambi (this paper) and Kikole,[86] reveals that coastal Arab-Swahili traders who moved inland introduced rectangular houses, cultivated coastal crops such as rice, mango, and date palm trees, and even used coastal cooking implements such as carinated vessels for cooking a variety of coastal foods. Rashid bin Masudi's residence at Kikole in south-western Tanzania, for instance, had a layout and orientation of houses comparable to those along the coast.[87]

6.0 Conclusion

This study revisited the local interpretations of the Mtumbei Kitambi site on the Matumbi Hills. The study has demonstrated archaeology's role in writing and rewriting history. Specifically, the study has corrected the misconstrued history of Mtumbei Kitambi as a site for the killings of disobedient Africans during the nineteenth century. The material culture from the site examined such as those referred to by locals, as evidence to back up their formulations, has refuted the local perception and interpretation. The study has additionally yielded new information on the site. It is now evident that Mtumbei Kitambi was a settlement established

[86] Biginagwa and Katto, "Archaeological Perspective on the Impacts of Caravan Trade."
[87] *Ibid.*

by a coastal Arab, Mr. Mwadau, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century as his hinterland outpost for ivory and slave trades. During this period, coastal traders were establishing such trading outposts in the interior as a strategy for ensuring an adequate supply of ivory in particular, whose demand on the world market had been extraordinarily high. This paper has discussed Mtumbei Kitambi and similar settlements, thus supporting the 'ivory frontier' thesis. This work has also highlighted and reaffirmed the value of historical archaeology. It has highlighted the significance of cross-examining written and oral sources against the material evidence since some individuals mistakenly treat historical archaeology as the archaeology of "things already known" in written and/or oral sources.[88]

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[88] F. Chami, "The Longue Durée of Zanzibar and western Indian Ocean Seaboard," in *Zanzibar and the Swahili Coast From ca. 30,000 Years Ago*, ed., F. Chami (Dar es Salaam: E&D Vision Publishing, 2009).

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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 Soccerscapes: 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 Paziat 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

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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]I nterview with Ally Samatta Paziat Temeke on10.03.2020; also, *Tanganyika Times*, March 25, 1929, 7.

number of clubs from six to seven[10] 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 Samji[15] 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
Arab Sports Club	12	1	1	25
Railway Sports Club	12	2	0	24
Gymkhana Sports Club	8	4	2	18
Police Sports Club	7	3	4	18
Central School	4	5	5	13
Chumus F.C	3	9	2	8
Turkish Defence	2	10	2	6
Cosmopolitans	0	14	0	0

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

2nd Division League	Won	Lost	Drawn	Points
New Strong "A"	10	1	1	21
Goan Sports	6	5	1	13
New Union	5	5	2	12
Sudanese	4	5	3	11
United Services	4	5	2	10
New Strong "B"	3	6	4	10
International	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 2ndDivision 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 Division[25]

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 Club[27]in 1936. Generally, the conflict was secretively supported by Europeans who did not want Africans in the league.

Africans complained of unfair referring. 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 Cup[30], 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 can 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 Rassul, 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' dominancy 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.[44]The 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 stadiums[45]attempted 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 1950s[47] 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,* "Mashindanoya 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 19310perating 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 teams[49] 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**
Ifunda FC	7	5	2	0	14	3	10
Victoria FC	7	5	2	0	13	9	10
Govt. School	7	4	2	0	12	9	8
Railway FC	5	4	1	0	4	1	8
Welfare SC	6	3	2	1	10	9	7
P.W.D SC	8	3	4	1	6	13	7
Kalenga FC	5	2	1	2	6	4	6
Daresco FC	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

(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).[52]This 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

[54]TNA, 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 Club[63] 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.[64]In 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 clubs[65], 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.[67]In 1937 the Arusha District formed the Arusha Football Association (AFA) to organise a league. Its league was initially dominated by non-African clubs[68] 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 system[71]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 clubs[78] from Tabora and Kigoma. Martin promised clubs that "a year-to-year champion deserves a Silver Cup", this increased competitiveness.[79]

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[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, Shambaboys 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

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"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.
[83]The 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.[85]In 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 Limited[86]to host a special event to honour the company's founder, William Gossage.[87]The 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.[88]As argued earlier, football was governed by

[85]Kaduguda, (2014), 23–35; also *Mambo Leo*, 1953, 12.
[86]Soap 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).
[88]Interview with Saidi Lukulwe at Kigamboni on22.02.2020; 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 Uganda[90]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.
[90]Laura Fair, "Kick in' It: Leisure, Politics and Football in Colonial Zanzibar, 1900s-1950s,"*Journal of the International African* Institute 67, no.2 (1997), 232.
[91]Roy 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. Batters hill 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

[92]MICAS, "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/b00627.html#id0 3520 (Accessed on June 15, 2020); also, Godfrey Mwakikagile (2010), 51.
[94]CECAFA, http://www.rsssf.com.tables/eastcentrafar.htrml (Accessed on June 21, 2019); also "Gossage Cup", https://www./international/football. (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.[95]This situation adversely

[95]Interview with Ally Samatta Pazi; see also History of the Gossage Cupin 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.