

THE WAHEHE PEOPLE OF TANGANYIKA

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A B S T R A C T

## ABSTRACT

The Wahehe are a tribe of approximately  $\frac{1}{4}$  million and the majority of them live in the Iringa district of Tanganyika. They first became famous because they defeated a German expedition led by Zelewski on 17th August 1891. On 30th October 1894 the Germans captured the Wahehe fort at Kalenga but the war continued until Chief Mkwawa committed suicide on 19th June 1898. During their struggle against the Wahehe the Germans acquired considerable respect for them. The British who governed Tanganyika under a League of Nations mandate after the First World War knew about the military prowess of the Wahehe from German writings and they too regarded the Wahehe as one of the more important and promising tribes. Mkwawa's son, Sapi, was installed as chief in 1926 as part of the policy of indirect rule.

Ch. I

The Wahehe are famous for their military prowess and their mighty chief in the pre-colonial period and for their political organisation under indirect rule. There is sufficient evidence to reconstruct and analyse their political organisation before the German conquest and although there is enough to do so during the period of indirect rule, the Wahehe political organisation at that period is most interesting and significant only when it is understood in the context of their pre-colonial history and that

under German rule. This thesis therefore describes the development of the Wahehe political organisation over the period of about 100 years, for as long as it is possible to have adequate knowledge of their development. This approach emphasises the fact that at no period have the political institutions of the Wahehe been stable.

Ch. II        The boundaries of Uhehe have changed at different times but during most of the period under discussion it has included five climatic zones; hot damp lowland in the Ulanga valley, high damp forest in the Usungwa mountains, high rolling downland, the drier area of miombo woodland on the central plateau, and the hot dry lowlands of the central plains. They keep some cattle and small stock and the staple food crop is maize although the number of cattle and the subsidiary crops vary in different areas. No physical anthropologists have done research in the area but it is accepted that the Wahehe are of mixed origins and there is a great variety of physical type among them. Some Germans produced grammars and a vocabulary of Kihehe but there has been no substantial linguistic research in the area. It is generally acknowledged that Kihehe is related to Kibena and Kisangu. The missions in Uhehe have always been predominantly Roman Catholic but there are a few Lutherans. The Roman Catholic missions have controlled most schools in the area. The Wahehe have not shown any particular enthusiasm for education in spite of the fact that there has been

more provision for intermediate, and later secondary, education in the district than in most others.

Ch. III        The kinship terms are listed and defined. The Wahehe are particularly concerned with physical descent. The mother's and the father's kin are equally important, but individuals are more likely to recognise distant kin on the father's side because praise names, food avoidances and descent names are inherited patrilineally. The Wahehe have no explanation of the origin of this system but it is generally acknowledged that those who have both praise name and food avoidance in common may not marry.

Ch. IV        There is little evidence from which to deduce the political organisation of the Wahehe before the reign of Munyigumba, that is before about 1860. There were a number of small independent groups of people with roughly similar culture and language in the Usungwa mountains and on the central plateau, but it is unlikely that any one of these groups was known as Wahehe. There is however substantial evidence of immigration and emigration and that at least the ruling families of these separate groups inter-married.

Ch. V        The unification of these diverse groups began with the accession of Munyigumba, who was believed to be the descendant of one Muyinga, the son of a hunter who had come from Usagara, and Semududa, the daughter of the chief of Ng'uruhe. Munyigumba conquered and absorbed the chiefdoms of the neighbouring rulers

and later defeated the Wakinamanga in the area known as Utemikwila or Ngololo and he also fought the Wasangu and Angoni. After his death his son-in-law who had held authority under him, seized power and drove his heir, Mkwawa, into exile, to Ugogo. Mkwawa returned assisted by one of Munyigumba's other subordinate rulers and built a fort at Kalenga. The usurper fled but then returned with Wakonongo forces, fought Mkwawa and was defeated and killed in 1833. Mkwawa then had about 10 years of exceptional military success during which he defeated the Wasangu, Wabena and Angoni and established colonies at Mukondoa, Wota, Mdaburu and Loato to the north and east. There is much German literature about Mkwawa's military success and organisation but little about his normal peacetime political organisation and this is because his campaigns followed each other in quick succession and his chiefdom was expanding so fast that he developed no settled peacetime organisation. His political and military organisation was based on his fort at Kalenga where he gathered together men from all over his chiefdom. Some of his subordinate rulers who were called vansagila, were descendants of formerly independent rulers, some were his relations and affines and others were new men who had shown themselves fit to hold authority.

Ch. VI            When the Germans under von Schele broke into the Kalenga fort in 1894 Chief Mkwawa and many of his vansagila fled and some of them continued to attack the German forces for the next 4 years

until Mkwawa himself committed suicide. For a short time during Mkwawa's lifetime the Germans tried to rule through his full brother Mpangile whom they installed as chief but he was suspected of disloyalty to them and he was hanged. After Mkwawa's death they appointed or recognised a large number of headmen or jumbes a significant number of whom were men who had been vansagila under Mkwawa. When it had proved impossible to control all these jumbes directly from the military station at Iringa two akidas were appointed, one in charge of each half of the district. In 1912 the German administrators were considering the possibility of installing Mkwawa's son Sapi as chief, but they had not made any change in the system of district administration when the war broke out in 1914.

Ch. VII        Local government during the early years of British rule was much the same as it had been under the Germans for the British accepted the system of akidas and jumbes and the men whom they found in office because they could not immediately replace the system with any other. Akidas were not replaced and the number of jumbes was allowed to decrease as some died or resigned. By 1926 the members of the British administration had had time to prepare to inaugurate in Tanganyika the system known as "indirect rule". In Uhehe the most important fact about this was that Mkwawa's son Sapi was installed as chief and under him there were a number of men appointed to the new office of sub-chief. Under

them also appointed directly by the chief were nearly 80 jumbes. The jumbes appointed their own unpaid assistants the vakarani wa vijiji or village headmen who in turn, if they wished, could appoint their own assistants. All Wahehe recognised that the chief ruled with the consent of the British administration and could be forbidden to act in certain ways or even be deposed. He was, however, widely recognised as his father's rightful heir and his appointment and the re-creation of the chiefship was generally popular. The progress of tribal administration was affected by national and world politics. Just when the pattern of local administration set up in 1926 was becoming established and accepted the depression of the early 1930s led to the reduction of staff and expenditure in government at all levels. Then the Second World War inhibited political development. Considerable progress was made after the war but this again was frustrated by the rise of national political parties, trade unions and demands for independence. Uhehe was not one of the more backward areas economically or educationally but neither was it one of the notably progressive areas of Tanganyika.

Ch. VIII      Even though the chiefdom of Uhehe as it was constituted under indirect rule was not as large as the area over which Mkwawa had held authority, its size made communications difficult and limited the speed at which the business of the tribal administration could be conducted. The chief had his headquarters at Kalenga and from

there he supervised the tribal administration and heard appeals from the sub-chiefs' courts. He was encouraged to take the lead in making new rules and orders in initiating schemes which were to be carried out by the tribal administration and in disciplining his subordinates, but the administrative officers with whom he had to negotiate on behalf of his tribe were always supervising him and his subordinates. The sub-chiefs presided over courts and offices where they administered justice and supervised the clerical work and tax accounts of their sub-chiefdoms. Under them the jumbes and their subordinates supervised tax collection, kept peace and order, made known government orders and judged disputes informally. The men who were appointed as subordinate rulers at the various levels were much the same type of people as those who had held authority under Mkwawa or under the Germans. The sub-chiefs were in some ways civil servants and held their appointments directly from the chief. The chief also appointed jumbes but they were much more likely to be drawn from the community over which they ruled than sub-chiefs were and their position in that community and the attitude of their subjects to them was important. The jumbes' subordinates, and their subordinates, were even more part of the communities over which they ruled and in nearly every way differed little from their subjects.

Throughout this period the chiefdom of Uhehe proved to be a reasonably acceptable and convenient unit of local government.

There were, particularly in the last five years before independence, objections to the chiefship and to the chief himself but there was always plenty of other evidence to show that to the majority of the rural population both the chiefship and the chief were acceptable.

Ch. IX            Throughout this period of approximately 100 years there has been a certain continuity both in the organisation of political power and in the type of people who have held it. The Wahehe understand their past, and indeed their present, political organisation in terms of two types of political office, that of mutwa (chief) and mnzagila (subordinate ruler). The administrative chiefship was abolished in July 1962, in January 1963 sub-divisional executive officers were elected to replace jumbes and in April 1963 divisional executive officers were appointed to succeed the sub-chiefs. It is too early to tell what patterns will emerge after this latest reorganisation of political power but it is clear that the descendants of Muyinga, the chief, his relations and affines, have been involved in the government of Uhehe for so long that they cannot lose all authority and influence in a few years.

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### Preface

I was in East Africa from September 1961 until September 1963 during which time I was an associate of the East African Institute of Social Research. I held a Goldsmiths' African Studentship and a grant from the Horniman Anthropological Scholarship Fund. I spent about 20 months in Uhehe when I lived at Kikombwe near Mlolo Local Court and at Kalenga and also spent shorter periods in Iringa town and at Ukwega (Pawaga) and I visited each of the 12 local courts. I returned to Oxford in October 1963 and wrote this thesis while holding a studentship at Nuffield College.

There is no standard orthography of Kihehe and I am not competent to decide how it should be written. I have therefore used the simplest way which is most easily understood by anyone who can read and write Swahili and by English speaking people. I have only spelt Kihehe words (usually names) differently when I have quoted writings where they have been spelt differently or where there is a generally accepted spelling as in the case of Mkwawa and Rungemba which I would otherwise have spelt Mkwava and Lungemba respectively.

## CHAPTER I

Introduction

"With the death of Kwawa, the last chief of the Hehe, the seven-year long resistance of this intrepid and stubborn mountain people against German rule has come to an end, it is to be hoped for ever. This unfortunately, at the same time dooms them as an independent tribe. The small remnant of men of pure Hehe blood who still survive will not be able to retain their individuality. They will become intermingled with other tribes, and, instead of remaining fearless warriors and hunters, will degenerate into mere porters like most of the other natives of our colony. Their political organization, in particular the chieftainship, is, by and large, impossible under German rule, and even if the chieftainship were maintained, as was originally intended, it would be merely a pitiful simulacrum of its former power and ancient glory. The oldest ancestral homes of Kwawa and his great Wasagira lie almost without exceptions in ruins. The stores of ivory and herds of cattle which constituted the riches and pride of the Hehe are destroyed. Most important of all, war, for which every Hehe was trained and for which he lived, is now a thing of the past." 1

This quotation comes from one of the articles which first made the Wahehe famous in Germany and in Europe generally.

There were earlier brief accounts of them, before they became really famous, or notorious, when they defeated the German

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1. Stierling. Die Königsgräber der Wahehe. M.S.O.S. 1899 p. 257. This translation is by W.J. Carnell in T.N.R. 46. Jan. 1957. p. 25.

expedition lead by Zelewski in 1891. After that they were mentioned in a large number of reports by German soldiers, such as Dr. Stierling the author of this quotation. The great size of Mkwawa's chiefdom and the prowess of the Wahehe in war were impressive, and even less romantic writers than Dr. Stierling acknowledged this. The British, too, who administered Tanganyika after Germany had been forced to surrender her colonies in 1919, gained their first impressions of the Wahehe mainly from German articles and had no doubt that the Wahehe were one of the more important and interesting tribes in the territory, whose political institutions should be particularly suitable for adapting under the proposed system of indirect rule. There has been comparatively little written about the general history of Tanganyika, but no account can ignore the sudden rise of the Wahehe chiefdom between about 1870 and 1890, its causes and effects, and its place both in tribal history and that of Arab and European penetration. Equally no history of colonial rule in Tanganyika will be able to avoid considering Uhehe under direct and indirect rule, the restoration and expulsion of Chief Sapi and the relationship between the colonial government and the chiefship of the Wahehe.

There are many reasons, therefore, why the Wahehe and, in particular, their political organisation should be studied. A number of earlier writers compared the Wahehe military chiefdom

with that of the Zulu, indeed thought the two tribes were related. Ethnically they were not closely related, but this does not invalidate the idea of comparing the development of the Wahehe chiefdom with that of the Zulu or any other; yet it is not immediately obvious what an analysis of the Wahehe political system entails. Between about 1870, when the Wahehe first became known as a great warrior tribe raiding the caravans on the route across central Tanganyika, and 1961, when this study was planned, their political organisation had undergone several abrupt changes. Our knowledge of the Wahehe goes back to about 1860, and within the three decades after that the able chiefs Munyigumba and Mkwawa<sup>1</sup> had united small groups of people who had formerly been independent. Under Mkwawa the Wahehe raided in every direction so that they were feared from as far as Kondoa-Irangi in the north to Lake

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1. It is difficult to decide how to spell the names of these chiefs. In all published accounts I have found Mujugamba, or more often, Muyugumba. Many Wahehe pronounce the name quite distinctly as Munyigumba which I have never seen in print. It seems reasonable to assume that the early writers heard and recorded the name incorrectly, as they did in many other cases, and then some Wahehe were taught the incorrect form by Europeans and school teachers. There is no obvious reason why, if his name was Muyugumba, later generations of Wahehe should have changed this to Munyigumba. The way in which Mkwawa is pronounced by all Wahehe is best represented for English readers by Mkwawa. However, as the descendants of Mkwawa and many other people write the name in the way many Germans spelt it (Mkwawa) and because linguists would probably claim that the sound is somewhere between a y and a w, I have accepted the conventional spelling of his name.

Nyasa in the south. In 1879 Mkwawa was driven into exile by a usurper, but he later returned and was victorious and then, between 1883 and 1894 when his fort at Kalenga was destroyed by the Germans, he had eleven years of almost unbroken military success. After the fall of Kalenga, Mkwawa survived another four years, during which he organised and inspired the Wahehe resistance to the Germans before committing suicide in order to avoid capture.

The Germans instituted a system of direct rule which lasted for roughly a generation, until 1926, when the British recreated the chiefdom of Uhehe, appointing Mkwawa's son, Sapi, as chief. Under indirect rule the chiefdom of Sapi could never be the same as the great military chiefdom of Mkwawa. Although, under British protection, it was one of the better known and more interesting chiefdoms of Tanganyika, it is not primarily for their political organisation during this period that the Wahehe are famous. This was, however, the most stable period during Wahehe history and the one about which most information is available. In 1962 the government of independent Tanganyika abolished the system of indirect rule throughout the country and the chief was relieved of all his administrative duties although he was still permitted to use the title Chief. The changes in the political organisation of the Wahehe during these eventful 100 years make it difficult to analyse without including a historical narrative of the events

within Uhehe, and some outside, which have had a significant effect upon it.

There are other difficulties in deciding how to present a study of Wahehe political institutions because their society has never been clearly limited. It is not certain when the name Wahehe was first used at all, and when it was used whether it referred specifically to the ancestors of the main group of people in Iringa district who are known as Wahehe today. It seems probable that the attitude of the German and British governments has done as much to encourage the Wahehe to accept this as their tribal name as anything which has taken place within Wahehe society. Wahehe is a name which conveys prestige and during the colonial period a significant number of people whose parents were members of other tribes were happy to call themselves Wahehe. The borders of the chiefdom of Uhehe have been clearly demarcated, at least during the period of British rule, but Wahehe society has never been so clearly limited.

There are several ways in which an analysis of Wahehe political organisation might be presented: either by describing the system, so far as it can be reconstructed during the short period of Mkwawa's reign, immediately before the German conquest, with a brief outline of the way in which the chiefship was abolished and later restored; or by describing in detail the organisation of the chiefdom of Uhehe under indirect rule, prefacing this with one or two historical

chapters on the pre-colonial situation and the German conquest. Both these methods have disadvantages. For the first the material is not adequate to enable one to produce an accurate detailed study and there would undoubtedly be great deficiencies in such a description; the second method is in many ways easier and much of the information can be collected by doing fieldwork, whereas the first type of study depends more on a thorough knowledge of the literature. However, this second type of study would neglect most of the features of the Wahehe chiefdom before the German conquest which made it famous and, furthermore, in spite of the fact that indirect rule was supposed to be founded on native tradition, tribal political institutions under the British had to conform broadly with the pattern laid down for the whole territory.

There is at least one other way in which the study of Wahehe political institutions can be approached: that is, by describing the vicissitudes and developments during the whole period about which one can obtain sufficient knowledge and showing how political authority was organised under different regimes, which people held power at each period and why such changes came about. This approach has not been tried often, possibly because where the historical information is better than is available for the Wahehe the pre-colonial organisation can be reconstructed and analysed while, where the historical information is really poor, it is

impossible to do more than make a rough guess what the situation was. For the Wahehe the quantity of historical information at least makes possible a preliminary attempt at this.

There are, inevitably, difficulties and disadvantages in attempting to trace the history of Wahehe political institutions. General historical works describing the development of Tanganyika as a whole during the last 100 years are few. This is partly because European penetration of the inland areas began comparatively late; it may also partly be attributed to the change from German to British colonial rule, the chaos during and after the First World War, and possibly to the fact that British historians were more interested in territories where published works and archives were more readily available than German colonial records.<sup>1</sup> When the Germans left Tanganyika some of their records were destroyed and the number of relevant German historical documents and publications in Germany and Britain has been further reduced by the Second World War and the partition of Germany. However, the Germans were very industrious during their short colonial rule and there is much German material which merits further study. Meanwhile the lack of standard reference books providing the chronological framework and general historical background for

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1. The position is now changing: K. Ingham's History of East Africa was published in 1962 and the first volume of the projected three volume History of East Africa came out in 1963.

This study makes it necessary to discover and outline the narrative of Wahehe expansion, German conquest and administration, and British rule, before discussing the important trends in the political development of Uhehe.

A further difficulty is created by the unevenness, both in quantity and quality, of the material on Wahehe history at different points during these 100 years. Our knowledge of the Wahehe up to the end of German rule could certainly be improved, in the same way that our knowledge of the whole surrounding area could be improved, by sufficiently energetic pursuit of all possible sources. This means a thorough investigation of Arab and Swahili sources, all missionary archives and publications, all travellers' records and all published and unpublished German material. Many of these sources are very difficult to find and it is known that a significant amount is in East Berlin or elsewhere in East Germany. To pursue all this is in itself a sizeable task and it would involve a disproportionate amount of labour for the amount of fact immediately relevant to a study of the Wahehe political system which it might yield. For the British period, and most particularly for the period of indirect rule, there is a vast amount of detailed information available, both from written and oral sources, about the organisation of the chiefdom, the people who held appointments, their relationships with each other, the way in which they were appointed and dismissed

and the way in which various Wahehe regarded their political system. The narrative of expansion and war during the last 30 years of the pre-colonial period can certainly be improved with more time and greater effort, but it seems certain that detailed information about the internal organisation of the chiefdom can never be recovered to any great extent. Three Europeans left published account of their journeys through Uhehe before the fall of Kalenga in 1894 but these three men, the explorers Giraud and Thomson and the missionary Price, were not able to learn anything about the political organisation of the chiefdom except that the great chief Mkwawa had a large fort at Kalenga and that there were subordinate officials generally known as mzagira.<sup>1</sup> Before the fall of Kalenga the knowledge which Europeans had of the Wahehe was generally confined to hearing about their military prowess and fighting them or seeing the results of their battles with other tribes.

Yet a further difficulty in describing the development of the Wahehe political system historically is that the narrative of events may become more important, or at least take up a disproportionate amount of space compared with the description and analysis of political organisation. A certain amount of narrative is necessary to make intelligible the changes in political organisation

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1. There may be unpublished papers of these men containing information about the political organisation but this seems unlikely. Price, whose papers may be in the Church Missionary Society archives, did not visit Kalenga.

during this period and to clarify the chronology so that the description of Uhehe at any particular point can be used in making comparisons with other areas or improving the general knowledge of Tanganyika history. There is no doubt that the narrative has to be established, at least in broad outline, before other aspects can be discussed in their context. It is unfortunate that there is enough information to work out the broad sequence of events during the period of Wahehe expansion, but little to help understand the reasons for it or the way in which it happened. Indeed, this narrative is not as well worked out as it would have been if this were the sole object of the thesis or if more work had already been done on related topics.

In spite of these cautions and acknowledged disadvantages, there are at least as many advantages in presenting Wahehe political organisation in its historical context. Such an approach emphasises the changes in the political system throughout the period. Some may feel that there should be no need to stress this, but it is clear that in many anthropological writings a large degree of stability in primitive societies before the beginning of colonial rule has been implied where it has not been explicitly stated. Naturally the historical method limits the attention which may be paid to the political structure of the Wahehe chiefdom at any one point, but it compensates for this in that it avoids marking out the boundaries of Wahehe society, and

attempting an analysis at some arbitrary point in time. Such treatment would only obscure the importance of historical development and force the facts into a framework in which they do not readily fit. It could also imply that one period rather than another was that of "true" or typical Wahehe political organisation whereas this study emphasises rather that no period represents the typical and normal organisation, from which all others are deviations, and shows that it is no more possible to write about "true" Wahehe political organisation than it would be to talk about a "true Muhehe".

This historical approach is intended to leave the material in a form in which it is possible to consider other interpretations or to use it in other studies. It should also show the sources which are available for this type of study or any other historical, ethnological or anthropological study of Tanganyika, and the possibilities for much more detailed and accurate work on the history and anthropology of many Tanganyika tribes. The International African Institute bibliography on East Africa is ~~only~~ a preliminary attempt to list the important sources and only a small proportion of all the useful sources have been listed in it. The volumes of the ethnographic survey of Africa which cover Tanganyika are being written slowly mainly because of the difficulty of finding authors who can deal with the German sources, but some of the volumes which have been produced give little indication of

the wealth of historical sources which are available, some difficult to obtain, and which are relevant at least <sup>to the history</sup> ~~as historical background~~ of the tribes which have been described.<sup>1</sup>

In his essay on Anthropology and History Professor Evans-Pritchard has pointed out the need for the student of historical traditions to be recorder, historian and sociologist<sup>2</sup> and it is not possible to perform any of these tasks fully in a limited study. This thesis, however, is an attempt to perform at least part of each of these three tasks, while making clear the limitations of what has been done and where further work should be most profitable. It seems inevitable that some social anthropologists will pay more and more attention to history, both because the peoples they study have year by year a greater span of recorded history and because they will find a greater need to use the detective skills of historians when dealing with the increasing quantity and variety of their sources. In general it is true that anthropological studies carried out soon after the establishment of colonial rule had few documentary sources and had to depend mainly on what could be observed at the time and such knowledge about the past as members of the society in question could provide.

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1. T.O. Beidelman's article "A History of Ukaguru: 1857-1916" in T.N.R. 1962 shows the great variety of sources which are relevant, but to which few other anthropologists who have worked in this area have drawn attention.
  2. Evans-Pritchard. Essays in Social Anthropology. p. 52.

Today in many places there are the documents for the history of two or more generations since the first written records were made, and sometimes not only the records of explorers, missionaries and government officials, but also those of earlier anthropologists and the writings of members of the society being studied.

A further argument for anthropologists paying considerable attention to the history of the societies they study is that the members of these societies, their relationships and concepts, must be affected by their ideas of their own past. This is generally recognised as true of any society and for the Wahehe it has particular relevance. They know that their existence as a tribe known as Wahehe is the result not of descent, nor of any type of initiation or mark of social conformity, but of a series of historical events. It is possible to attempt to present the history of the Wahehe as they themselves see it, or, at least, as some of them see it. This has its value, but it would by itself contribute only a limited amount to understanding their political development. However, even in a study which is not intended specifically as a record of Wahehe attitudes to the past of their tribe it is important throughout to consider the knowledge and experience of the people who were the chief actors at each point within the last century. For example, many of those who led the defeat of the Germans had been adult fighting men at the time when Munyigumba was conquering parts of central Uhehe, even

suffering defeat by the Wasangu and Angoni, and during the civil war after his death. Likewise, many of the leaders of Wahehe society during the early years of indirect rule had been young fighting men at the fall of Kalenga in 1894. Today, when many Wahehe are unenthusiastic about the changes which have come about with the re-introduction since independence of direct rule, most important men know of the period of chaos when the British fought the Germans and then took over from them, and since then they have grown to expect a gradual increase in prosperity, only occasionally and temporarily set back by years of famine. The understanding of this is relevant to explanations of past developments and to the understanding of the present organisation and the attitudes of people involved.

The generally rudimentary state of historical and anthropological studies in Tanganyika means that practically any new study will contain a number of errors and omissions because of the lack of background and comparative material readily available, but it also means that practically any study is bound to be a contribution to knowledge. Indeed, it seems probable that on most historical, anthropological, or even linguistic, topics in Tanganyika there will first have to be a number of special studies which will indicate the general position and the <sup>matters</sup> ~~topics~~ which require further investigation. These will also, of course, contain errors and

omissions, but such preliminary efforts, when the quantity and quality of historical and anthropological scholarship has increased, may make it possible for others to write definitive works.

## CHAPTER 2

General Information. Geography, Ecology, etc.

This chapter merely attempts to give a brief outline of the Wahehe tribe and their environment in order to provide a background of geography and ethnology for the rest of the thesis.

It has already been mentioned that it is difficult to define the Wahehe tribe at any point in time and this thesis is concerned with the Wahehe throughout a century, from about 1860, when the name Wahehe was not used by the ancestors of the majority of present day Wahehe. However, because of the ugly and tedious circumlocutions needed to avoid this, the terms Muhehe, Wahehe, Uhehe and Kihehe are used throughout, often anachronistically. It is also difficult to find a short and exact expression to refer to the line of chiefs who, for the last three generations, ruled the whole tribe. The founder of this line is believed to be Muyinga, and so his descendants who ruled are referred to as "the Vayinga chiefs". (The singular of this is "the Muyinga chief" and it is used in this form to mean a ruling descendant of Muyinga, not Muyinga himself).

This thesis is mainly concerned with the development of the chiefdom of Uhehe under four well known Vayinga chiefs, Munyigumba, Mkwawa, Sapi and Adam. Throughout this period there have been people living outside the chiefdom of the Muyinga chiefs who have called themselves Wahehe and there have been people living within the chiefdom who have not called themselves Wahehe. There are also people who today call themselves Wahehe, although their fathers or grandfathers did not. The precise limits of Wahehe influence or membership are not clear at any period, but there is a geographical area which has remained the centre of the influence and activity of the Vayinga chiefs over the past century; and within this same area have lived the majority of people calling themselves Wahehe at any particular point in time. Having made these preliminary cautions it is possible to generalise a little about the ethnology and environment of the tribe.

### Ethnic Origin

The Wahehe as a tribe have no traditions of their origins or wanderings in the past. Physical anthropologists have little more to offer on this subject than the Wahehe themselves. There have been no studies by physical anthropologists of the Wahehe or any of the closely related people in this area. From a rough

knowledge of their history rather than from a knowledge of physical anthropology they have been classified as "earlier Bantu",<sup>1</sup> or "southern hill Bantu".<sup>2</sup> Some of the early travellers and many of the Germans who wrote about the Wahehe described them as tall and strong and of exceptional physique. However, the writers who knew them better even at the beginning of the colonial period observed that they are extremely mixed in physical appearance, probably as a result of absorbing so many women and other captives from other tribes.<sup>3</sup> The only detailed anthropometric data on the Wahehe are the measurements of two skulls taken by the Germans in 1898 or 1899. The second of these was assumed to be that of Chief Mkwawa.<sup>4</sup> (The actual identity of this skull taken from the graves of chiefs and their relations at Rungemba is an interesting question but not relevant to this chapter). When Governor Twining was trying to identify Mkwawa's skull so that he could return it to the Wahehe, the heads of his descendants who were said to resemble him, were measured, but this was not connected with any general research in physical anthropology.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Handbook of Tanganyika (1930) p. 35.
  2. Handbook of Tanganyika (1958) p. 289.
  3. This point is discussed later particularly in Ch. VI p.240.
  4. Virchow. Der Schädel des Kwawa. Z.f.E. 1900. pp. 136-40.
  5. The Skull of Chief Mkwawa of Uhehe. 1954. Government Printer. Dar es Salaam. Also Sir Edward Twining, A Chief's Skull returned to his people. Times Brit. Colonies Rev. 15. autumn 1954 pp. 11-12.

### Geographical situation

The majority of Wahehe live, as they have during the past hundred years, in an area which falls between  $7^{\circ}$  and  $9^{\circ}$  S. and  $34^{\circ} 30'$  and  $36^{\circ} 30'$  E. The founder of the ruling clan, Muyinga, is supposed to have ruled a small community living almost exactly in the middle of this area.

In the past, Uhehe lay to the south of the main caravan route across Tanganyika and today the northern frontier lies just under 100 miles south of the central railway. The Great North Road now passes roughly through the centre of this area and the Dar es Salaam-Mbeya road meets the Great North Road one mile outside the administrative centre of Iringa. Iringa town lies only 9 miles from the site of the famous fort of Kalenga.

Uhehe, as it was during the period of indirect rule, was reckoned to cover about 14,000 square miles<sup>1</sup> and within this large area there is considerable climatic variation. The eastern boundary runs roughly North-East - South-West in the Ulanga valley just below the Usungwa escarpment. The northern part of the western boundary runs parallel to this along the Njombe river, although the area between the Great Ruaha river and the Njombe river is very sparsely inhabited. To the north the boundary is the Great Ruaha river, but to the south there is no clear geographical boundary. The district is usually divided into five climatic zones, each of which runs north-east

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1. Handbook of Tanganyika (1958) p. 233.

to south-west, approximately parallel to the east and west boundaries.<sup>1</sup>

First, to the east there is the low lying belt in the Ulanga valley, a very narrow strip, which is insignificant today, except as a reminder that the Wahehe once defeated the Wambunga who live in the northern part of this area and drove the Wakinamanga of Usungwa down into the southern part of the valley. At least until the end of the German period, there was much more direct communication between Iringa and the Ulanga valley than there has been since. This is an extremely hot, low lying area with high rainfall and frequent flooding and it is unlike any other part of Uhehe.

The second climatic zone, adjacent to the first, is also a fairly narrow strip, but it lies above the escarpment. The mountains reach 7,000 ft. in this area and in some parts there is an annual average rainfall of 90" to 100". This land between 6,500 ft. and 7,000 ft. is mainly covered with natural rain forest and with some government forest reserves where the trees have been planted. The Tanganyika Tea Company has tea estates towards the southern end of this belt in the Mufindi area. Because of the

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1. These were the divisions given by Meyer in Das Deutsche Kolonialreich p. 180 ff. E. Battré, Die Entwicklung und der Stand der geographischen Forschung über Uhehe in Deutsch Ost-afrika gives a full geographical account. In D.K.B. 1897. pp. 653-657. T. von Prince also discusses geography of Uhehe and divides it into the same 5 zones.

altitude it is generally cool, and during the cold season, from May to September, there is sometimes ground frost at night. The days are also often cool because the sky is overclouded and between the end of the heavy rains in April and the dry month of July there is a lot of drizzle and mist known as nyahenge. The rain forest has receded during the past 40 years in spite of rules and orders made to prevent its destruction.

In the third zone, a little further westwards, the rain forest gives way to rolling savannah covered with poor grass and the characteristic clumps of trees growing on fertile ant hills. This zone is in general a little lower in altitude than the second zone, mostly over 6,000 ft., and with correspondingly less rainfall and higher temperatures. Even at this altitude there are still pockets of rain forest in the steep valleys. This is no more than a general outline because one important feature of this area is the great variation of climate in a small space, the difference between adjacent valleys.

The fourth zone, further to the <sup>west</sup>~~east~~ again, lies between about 4,000 ft. and 5,800 ft. and mainly between 4,500 ft. and 5,000 ft. It is a drier, warmer area, and where it is not cultivated it is covered with miombo woodland. The tops of the hills are rocky and are covered with trees. The average annual rainfall is about 30" and the temperatures vary between about 6°C. and 30°C. (43°F. and 86°F.) This is a good climate

in that there are no extremes of temperature and rainfall is reliable in at least four years out of every five. The valleys are now heavily populated and the population has probably increased more in this area than in any other. Pressure on the land for cultivation has decreased the areas of bush and it is no longer possible to practise real shifting cultivation.

The fifth zone lies to the north, west and south of the central plateau where the land falls away with an escarpment less steep than that to the east, to the plains of the Ruaha. There is much dense bush and there are wide uninhabited areas because, although the soil is good, the land can only be settled near the permanent water courses, the Ruaha river and its tributaries. At this altitude, in some places as low as 2,500 ft., temperatures can reach 43°C. (110°F.). Rainfall is unreliable, not often exceeding 15" per annum, and the rains may fail, or come at the wrong time, as often as one year in three. Geographically this area belongs to the central plains where the great rivers are the only boundaries.

In these last three areas most of the rain falls between December and April. The short rains, or planting rains, fall in December and January, then there is a break in late January and February until the really heavy rains which are expected to fall in March when the ground is already saturated and flooding occurs. The rains usually ease off in April. On the high land

the rains start earlier and continue later. In the central and lowland areas the months of June, July, August and September are often completely dry. The coldest months are June and July and the hottest time is in November or December immediately before the rains break.<sup>1</sup>

### Economy

There are marked variations in the type of crops grown and in the proportion of agriculture and pastoralism in the different climatic areas. There has been some settler agriculture from the early years of the German occupation. The settlers have attempted both stock breeding and mixed farming, but there has been no real success with any particular crop grown either by the Wahehe or the settlers. The only intense cultivation is for tea and today the tea estates, which bring more money into the district than any other single crop, are mainly owned by a subsidiary of Brooke Bond Company Limited. There was a brief boom in the cultivation of Ehler's tobacco during the 1950s.

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1. There are two stations in Iringa district which produce official climatological statistics, Iringa town (5,380 ft.) and Sao Hill (6,500 ft.) See Handbook of Tanganyika (1958) p. 12.

Since then settler agriculture and opportunities for employment of unskilled labour are steadily declining. The majority of Wahehe still live by selling stock and produce in small quantities, and by their earnings from short periods of casual employment. The only two crops which Wahehe grow in any quantity for sale are maize and peas. The number of people who make more than 800/- (£40)<sup>p.a.</sup> by sale of produce must be very small, well under one in ten of the adult males, taking the district as a whole. The normal cash income of a household is likely to be less than 200/- (£10) p.a.

### Stock

Cattle are kept over the whole of Uhehe excluding small areas in the Ulanga valley, the valley of the Lukosi on the borders of Usagara and in the tsetse infested areas of the central plains. Since sheep and goats are not affected by trypanosomiasis to the same degree as cattle are, they are kept throughout the whole area. The tsetse-infected area advances and recedes periodically; since 1926 it has advanced in the Idodi area, but in general it seems reasonable to assume that throughout the last century cattle have been kept in roughly the same areas as they are today.

Their numbers have fluctuated greatly from time to time and from place to place. On the whole the number of cattle decreases with the increase in altitude. East Coast Fever is endemic everywhere except on the central plains.

In 1926 there were 83,344 head of cattle in Uhehe and 17,094 in Pawaga making a total of 100,438. Uhehe as a whole, and Pawaga in particular, were comparatively rich in cattle and this was noted by the Provincial Commissioner. In Uhehe the proportion of taxpayers to cattle was nearly 1 : 6 and that in Pawaga was roughly 1 : 10. This compares favourably with Ubena (in Njombe district) 1 : 2.4, Ukinga 1 : 1, Usowe 1 : 2, Usafwa 1 : 1.4, and Usangu 1 : 5.3. (This latter figure the Provincial Commissioner considered too low as the Wasangu were thought to have more cattle than any other tribe in the province).<sup>1</sup>

For the next cattle census of 1938 the Iringa district book gives rather surprising figures. In the highland part of Uhehe the number of cattle had dropped by 34,049 to 49,295 while the number of taxpayers, and presumably also the total population, had increased. The cattle population in Pawaga had increased to 26,513 and had apparently outstripped the growth of the number of taxpayers for there were approximately  $14\frac{1}{2}$  head of cattle

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1. These figures for the Iringa district are taken from the District Book and the others from the Secretariat File 1733/4.

to every taxpayer. This may have been partly the result of the immigration of Baraguyu and their herds from central province. However, small alterations in the boundaries of sub-chiefdoms and the advance of tsetse fly in Idodi sub-chiefdom cannot account for the extraordinary drop in the cattle population on parts of the plateau and in Usungwa. The figures were entered jumbeate by jumbeate so the possibility of a clerk's error must be rejected and the inaccuracy of the cattle census is unlikely to have varied so greatly between 1926 and 1958. It may be that this apparent or real decrease in the cattle population discovered in 1938 was what prompted the District Commissioner and the Veterinary Officer to begin planning the cattle dipping scheme in 1939.

There are no more recent cattle census figures entered in the district books, nor in any readily available file although there must have been a more accurate estimate at the time of the cattle dipping scheme which ended in 1958. It was then theoretically compulsory to register all cattle and to have them dipped in order to prevent East Coast Fever.

## Agriculture

The main crop and staple food of nearly all Wahehe is now maize. It is cultivated throughout Iringa District, but it grows poorly and ripens very slowly on any land over 6,000 ft. Maize is generally planted during the first rains in December and January and in the lowlands it may be harvested as early as April, about June and July on the central plateau, and as late as September on the highest land. The main maize crop is harvested when it has dried in the fields, then the corn is taken off the cob, pounded into flour and cooked with water to make ~~the common~~ ugali, the common food of many tribes of East Africa. In the low lying areas, rice and bullrush millet are also grown and on the high land, finger millet. These two types of millet can also be made into ~~a type of~~ ugali. In the past finger millet was eaten more than it is today. Now it is chiefly used for beer making and only eaten as ugali in times of food shortage. Sweet potatoes are becoming an increasingly important food crop for the hungry months immediately before the main maize harvest. This is partly a recent result of government policy which is also responsible for the much less enthusiastic effort to grow cassava as another safeguard against famine.

There is a great variety of leaf vegetables, used as a

relish, but these are never a main crop. Pumpkins are planted among the maize and both leaves and fruit are eaten. Beans (Phaseolus vulgaris) are an important part of the diet and they are interplanted with maize. Tomatoes are often also found in the maize fields, sometimes planted deliberately although often the seed is scattered by birds. In the two highest zones, peas are an increasingly important food and cash crop. Any other plants used as a relish are either found wild or grown in the marsh gardens.

The marsh gardens (chungu - fyungu) are not found in all parts of Uhehe, but are mainly in the most heavily populated zone. They may have existed in some places for much more than a century, but it is clear that they have become increasingly important part of the agricultural economy as pressure of population increased. In these gardens it is possible to sow a second crop of maize during the dry season which can be picked and eaten on the cob during the hungry months of February and March. This maize never dries so it is impossible to pound it into flour. Nevertheless, it is an important addition to the wet season food supply and various leaf vegetables, European potatoes (as opposed to sweet potatoes) and onions can also be grown in the marshes.

On the highland, wheat has been introduced and when ground and cooked as ugali it is a popular food. Its chief drawback

is the amount of labour required to harvest it by hand. Ground-nuts are an increasingly important food and cash crop and are grown mainly in the two drier zones.

Bamboo wine is made from the sap of mountain bamboo trees, which grow well in the wetter parts of the central belt and in the open highlands. The cultivation of bamboo for its alcoholic juice was known to the Wabena in pre-colonial times and some Wahehe also may have cultivated it for this purpose, but there has been a great increase of bamboo cultivation in Uhehe during the last 35 years. The heaviest concentration of bamboo plantations is in areas where a significant proportion of the population is of recent Wabena origin.

Tobacco is reported to have been grown by the Wahehe in pre-colonial times.<sup>1</sup> Today, in the central belt and in the drier areas, some is grown by most people every year. It is sold and exchanged locally, as small quantities of foodstuffs are, but has never been a major cash crop for the Wahehe even when there was a boom in tobacco growing among immigrant farmers. Now there is official encouragement for the cultivation of Turkish tobacco in the hope that it might produce a regular cash income.

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1. P. Basilius. D.K.B. 1897. p. 413.

## Game

The early travellers and the Germans laid stress on the importance of hunting as a source of food and as a method of training for war. Nigmann devotes a whole chapter to the subject and discusses hunting methods and magic; he has produced diagrams of the types of traps used and a list of the animals which were commonly hunted.<sup>1</sup> However, even in 1909, Meyer suggested that hunting had become less important than it once was. In the central area and in most parts of the open highlands game is scarce and hunting is unusual. In the more densely populated areas traps for hares set across the paths are the only evidence today that wild life can be a source of food.

On the highest land above the escarpment and in the Ulanga valley there is still a considerable amount of game. Elephants have been seen walking through gardens in the middle of the tea estates, but the really important game area in Uhehe has always been the central plains. In 1956 a large expanse of very sparsely inhabited bush, mainly in the Idodi sub-chiefdom, was set aside to form the Rungwa Game reserve. There is much game, particularly elephant and monkey, through the Pawaga and Idodi sub-chiefdoms. This game is a constant threat to food crops, but it can also be a supplement to the food supply and a means of obtaining money.

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Die Wahehe

1. Nigmann/pp. 108-122, Ch. 5, Jagdgebrauche.

Elephants may be hunted for their tusks, provided the hunter has a licence or sells the tusks through the government.

Recently some people in the Pawaga area have started to trap monkeys in order to sell them alive to men who collect for the Pfizer Drug Company. When this trade was at its best about 180 monkeys were collected from the area each week and taken away by aeroplane.

On the whole Uhehe gives the impression of being a pleasant and fruitful place to live. Because of the range in altitude a great variety of different crops can be grown in one chiefdom, which is one administrative district. The Germans considered it a potentially good area for settlement and enthusiastically reported its favourable ecological features. The British likewise permitted settlement in the area, assuming that Europeans can live and rear families anywhere where a good variety of vegetables can be grown. However, commercial farming has never succeeded in the way it was hoped it might and as it did round Arusha and Moshi. This is because Iringa district has less reliable rains and poorer soil and because of the difficulty and expense of transporting produce when the nearest railway station is at Dodoma 162 miles from Iringa town.

### Political Boundaries

During the pre-colonial period there were in some places tribal frontiers, or rather recognised boundaries of the areas, over which some rulers had authority. The extent of the territory over which the Vayinga chiefs had authority was continually changing. During the German period there was no recognised chief of Uhehe, nor was there any division of the territory recognised as Uhehe by the government. From 1927-62 there was an area officially known as Uhehe which was exactly co-terminous with Iringa district. The boundaries of Uhehe during this period are described in the section on the geographical situation and in greater detail in Chapter 8.

### Population.

There have been various attempts to estimate the population of different parts of Tanganyika and of different tribes. None of these efforts are considered really accurate and it is probable that even in the latest and most efficient census of 1957 the population was underestimated. In general it is true to say that every census has underestimated the population, but that each census has been more accurate than the <sup>one before</sup> ~~last~~. This

increased accuracy in census-taking accounts for part of the apparent enormous increase in the number of Wahehe over a period of about 50 years. This may also partly be the result of more and more members of little known sub-groups, or descendants of mixed tribal marriages, classifying themselves, or being classified, as Wahehe.

It is fairly certain that the Germans never attempted a proper census, but the literature contains a number of estimates of the population at the time. The British Admiralty Intelligence Handbook of German East Africa, compiled from a number of unlisted German accounts, gives the following figures.

Iringa District	Wahehe	25,000
	Wachungwe (Wasungwa)	10,000
	Wakosisamba	10,000
Kondoa-Irangi and Dodoma District	Wahehe	2,500
Morogoro District	Wahehe	836
		<u>48,336</u>

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This total is roughly equal to Meyer's 15,000 Wasungwa and 35,000 Wahehe on the plateau and on the frontiers.<sup>2</sup>

The 1931 tribal analysis gives the following figures:

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1. All Wasungwa and Wakosisamba are now included among the total of Wahehe.
  2. Meyer p. 183. Das Deutsche Kolonialreich.

Figures taken from the 1948 and 1957 census returns

Census area	Total 1948	Major Tribes	Census area	Total 1957	Major Tribes
Iringa Town	4,830	Hehe 1,814 Bena 758		7,792	Hehe 3,175 Bena 1,126
Kalenga	42,845	Hehe 38,128 Bena 2,465		30,799	Hehe 22,688 Bena 3,125
			Mlolo	31,816	Hehe 26,674 Bena 3,235
Kiponzelo	16,616	Hehe 12,998 Bena 2,414		22,834	Hehe 18,182 Bena 3,367
Malangali	19,452	Hehe 15,153 Bena 3,829		25,757	Hehe 18,500 Bena 6,548
Usagara	6,939	Hehe 6,631		7,447	Hehe 6,181
Mazombe	15,213	Hehe 14,232		19,745	Hehe 18,470
Pawaga	12,118	Hehe 6,147		13,194	Hehe 6,135
Idodi	2,755	Hehe 1,804		2,792	Hehe 1,528
		Sangu 374			Sangu 394
Mufindi East (Kalinga)	14,103	Hehe 12,149		17,457	Hehe 15,366
Mufindi West (Kasanga)	11,909	Bena 1,354 Hehe 9,275		19,451	Bena 1,403 Hehe 15,018
Usungwa	28,804	Bena 2,169 Hehe 27,009	Kilolo	17,278	Bena 3,592 Hehe 16,423
			Kibengu	24,123	Hehe 22,237 Bena 1,310
Tanganyika Tea Co.	4,860	Kinga 3,267 Hehe 684		5,480	Kinga 3,188 Hehe 1,078
Unallocated	115				
<u>Total</u>	<u>180,906</u>			<u>245,965</u>	

Wahehe	Iringa District	77,647
	Tabora District	3,185
	Other Districts	5,047
		<hr/>
	Total	85,879
		<hr/>

The population of Iringa district was 86,795, very slightly greater than the total number of Wahehe throughout the territory.

In the 1948 census the numbers were given district by district for each of the major tribes. There were supposed to be 192,153 Wahehe in the whole territory of whom 146,332 were in Iringa district. They formed 81% of the district's total of 180,906. They were the eighth largest tribe in the whole territory, representing 2.6% of the total population.

In 1957, although the relative size of some tribes had changed, the Wahehe remained the eighth largest tribe in Tanganyika, but with 251,624 members they had risen to 3.4% of the total African population. Of these, 191,655 lived in Iringa district, of which the total African population was 245,965. It is impossible to know whether the real trends are what these figures suggest: that the Wahehe are increasing more rapidly than the population as a whole and that, although they continue to dominate Iringa district, they form a decreasing proportion of the district total. They dropped from 81% of the district total in 1948 to 79.7% in 1957, but only the Haya, Sukuma, Chagga, Makonde and Pare form a higher proportion of the population in

any one district. The first four of these tribes are numerically greater than the Wahehe and they form a majority of the population in two or more administrative districts.

The main areas where the Wahehe are settled outside Iringa district are in Central Province, in Manyoni, Dodoma and Mpwapwa districts, chiefly the latter.<sup>1</sup> Many of these people must be descendants of Wahehe who were exiled or went raiding in Mkwawa's reign and some, particularly those in southern Mpwapwa district, may be descendants of the Wahehe whom Burton encountered as early as 1858<sup>2</sup>. In 1957 the Wahehe were the largest single tribe in Wota, Rudi, Ipera and Lufusi census areas of Mpwapwa district.

#### Tribal name

One of the difficulties of taking a tribal census and of interpreting tribal statistics is that it is no easier to define the <sup>swahili</sup> word kabila in ~~Swahili~~ than anthropologists have found it to define the word "tribe". In Kihehe there is no word which serves the same purpose as kabila and "tribe".

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1. Throughout this thesis I refer to the Provincial and District boundaries as they were at the time of the 1957 census. In 1962 Provinces were renamed Regions and Districts were renamed Areas. Since then there has been considerable redivision both of regions and areas.
  2. See Ch. 4, pp 92 ff.

The name Wahehe is probably derived from the battle cry "Hee, twahumite, Hee twahumite, Hee, Hee, Hee". This explanation is given by Dempwolff in a comment on the text of a war cry<sup>1</sup>. An old Muhehe, Tanangosi MwaMwagamila, who fought for the Germans in the Maji Maji rebellion, together with Wahehe who had been warriors during Mkwawa's reign, produced spontaneously a convincing war cry closely resembling the one in the text which Dempwolff had recorded in 1907. A much less convincing explanation is that of Nigmann who wrote that the word Hehe is derived from ahele (KiHehe meaning "he has gone") which he also says was a war cry.<sup>2</sup> All sources are at least agreed that it is derived from a war cry. The earliest reference to the Wahehe is in Burton.<sup>3</sup>

Whatever it is derived from, it is certain that Wahehe is not the name of one group of people which came to dominate a number of others. Today some Wahehe still answer the question "What is your kabila (tribe)?" with Mudongwe, Musavila, Muhafiwa, Mukosisamba, Musungwa, or the name of one of the other small tribal groups which, under the rule of the Vayinga chiefs, make up the Wahehe tribe. The people who can give no group name other than Wahehe are often the descendants of slaves or of mixed tribal

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1. Dempwolff<sup>\*</sup> Text 20. Also in Adams Im Dienste des Kreuzes p. 24.

2. Nigmann p. 1.

3. Burton. The Lake Regions of Central Africa Vol. I p. 239.

\* Beiträge zur Volksbeschreibung der Hehe. Baessler Archiv. 4, 3, 1913

marriages who have grown up in Uhehe.<sup>1</sup>

### Language

The Wahehe refer to their language as Kihehe and this name for it has been accepted by German and British linguists. There have been various efforts to classify the Bantu languages of this area which are not particularly illuminating nor consistent. Johnston<sup>2</sup> put Kihehe together with the languages of the Wapogoro (Mahenge), Wasangu (or Rori and Safwa), Wabena, Wagangi and Wambunga in a group he named the Upper Rufiji. Margaret Bryan<sup>3</sup> who compiled a handbook called The Bantu Languages of Africa from a number of different attempts to classify them presented two ways of classifying them; Guthrie's Hehe group which included Kisangu, Kihehe, Kibena, Kipangwa, Kikinga, Kiwanji, Kikisi and Kipogoro and Doke's Rufiji group of Kisangu, Kihehe, Kibena, Kimatumbi and Kipogoro. At least it is clear that Kihehe, Kibena and Kisangu are consistently classified together. There is no doubt that Kihehe is a Bantu language lacking any peculiar or particularly interesting features. Kibena is usually classed as a separate language, rather than as a dialect of Kihehe, although

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1. Nigmann pp. 1-2.

2. H.H. Johnston. A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages. Vol. II. p. 3.

3. M.A. Bryan. The Bantu Languages of Africa p. 131.

it was noted by the Germans that the two languages are mutually intelligible. Kisangu is closer to Kihehe and Kibena than either is to any other language, but is not as close to either as they are to each other. There are considerable differences in basic vocabulary between Kihehe and Kisangu, yet there is ample historical and contemporary evidence to indicate that the two languages are mutually intelligible.

Kihehe is the language of a tribe which is politically dominant and a significant number of members of other tribes living near or in Uhehe can speak Kihehe as well as, and often better than, they speak Swahili. Ukinga is adjacent to Ubena, but has no common frontier with Uhehe. However, the Wakinga go to work in Uhehe in large numbers and many speak Kihehe as a second language rather than Kibena. The Wasagara, close to the frontier of Uhehe, speak a language which is intelligible to Wahehe from central Uhehe and which may be closer to Kihehe than to Kisagara. It seems probable that Kihehe is understood at least on the western side of the Ulanga valley and in the Wabena chiefdom to the south west of Mahenge district, among those called by the Culwicks the Wabena of the rivers.<sup>1</sup> Their Kibena is, if anything, closer to Kihehe than that of most Wabena of Njombe district.

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1. A.T. and G.M. Culwick. The Wabena of the Rivers.

### Missions

The first missions in Uhehe were those of the Benedictines of St. Ottilien, Bavaria. In January 1897<sup>1</sup> they founded a mission station at Tosamaganga and another at Madebira on the border of Uhehe and Usangu later in 1897. At this time Tom von Prince was still organising the campaign against Mkwawa who was in hiding but who still continued to attack the German forces. The Lutheran mission known as Berlin III had its headquarters in Ubena and founded its only station in Uhehe, at Pommern, in 1912.<sup>2</sup> However, the Lutheran missionaries had already begun to travel within Uhehe and survey the land earlier; one attended the first adult baptism at Tosamaganga on 24th December 1899.<sup>3</sup> Some bush schools organised from the Lutheran mission stations of Kidugala and Ilembula in Ubena may have existed in south Usungwa, an area which had been ruled by Mkwawa and which was part of Uhehe under indirect rule.

The Benedictines had chosen other sites for missions, but had not built any other stations by the outbreak of the first world war. Tosamaganga was taken over by the British army in 1916 and the work of the mission was carried on by one Swiss priest when all the German priests had been expelled. In 1923 the diocese

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1. Various dates have been given. In M.S.O.S. 1900, p. 114. P. Dominicus Enshoff states that although the missionaries had been in Uhehe since 1895 the station was actually founded on 1st January 1897.
  2. J. Richter. Tanganyika and its Future. p. 96.
  3. M. von Prince. p. 203.

of Dar es Salaam was divided and the western portion became the diocese of Iringa which was entrusted to the Consolata Fathers, from Turin, who reached Tosmaganga in the same year.<sup>1</sup> Until 1923 the Consolata Fathers were also responsible for the mission stations in the Ulanga valley. These were then taken over by the Swiss Capuchin Fathers to whom had been entrusted the diocese of Dar es Salaam.

The work of the Consolata Fathers expanded rapidly between the wars. They founded the following stations in Uhehe: Wasa (1929), Irole, Mufindi west and Nyabula (1932), Itengule (Malangali) and Mdabulo (1933), Kaning'ombe (1937), Iringa (1938), Ilula, Pawaga, and Sadani (1939). During the second world war the Italian missionaries were confined to their mission stations. After the war they continued to expand founding Ulete (1948), Ifunda (1949), Makalala (1953), Nyakipambo (1954), Makadupa (1955), Usokami (1957) and Kilolo (1960).

In the first world war the Berlin mission had to abandon its work in the area and the expatriate missionaries were not replaced until 1931.<sup>2</sup> They managed to maintain Pommern mission and its dependent schools throughout the second world war because their European staff were Scandinavians from neutral or pro-British

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1. For all the information about the missions since the arrival of the Consolata Fathers I am indebted to Fr. Sciolla who was Vicar General in 1963.

2. Brown and Hutt p. 172. Anthropology in Action.

countries. During the war they founded a station near Ilula, only about a mile from the Roman Catholic station of Ilula (where the Italian missionaries were confined to the mission land very soon after they had founded the station. This is the only place in Uhehe where Roman Catholic and Protestant missions and their respective adherents are in close contact with each other.

Since the Second World War the Scandinavian Lutheran missions have continued their work in Uhehe and have almost certainly extended their influence through their bush schools and dispensaries, but they have not founded any new stations.

All the figures which attempt to estimate the total numbers of Protestants and Roman Catholics are bound to be inaccurate, rather more inaccurate than census figures. The Roman Catholics and Protestants judge membership by different standards so that even if membership figures were available they would not really show the comparative influence of the different missions. However, it is true, and has always been true, to say that the Roman Catholic missions are more numerous and influential than the Lutheran ones. On whatever standard, the number of missionaries, the number of bush school pupils or the number of baptised, the Roman Catholics as a whole must be at least five times, and probably ten times, as influential as the Lutherans. The only strong community of Wahehe Lutherans is around Pommern mission. Wherever else in Uhehe there is a community of Lutherans with a rural church, other

tribes form the majority of the congregation, e.g. Wabena at Isimikinyi (Malangali) and at Ifunda, and Wakinga at Mufindi.

### Education

The Benedictine mission organised the first school in the area and the missions, mainly Roman Catholic, have continued to dominate primary education ever since.<sup>1</sup> Apparently during the period of German rule there was only one government school, that in Iringa town. As the British administration grew and more funds were available for education the government played a larger part, particularly in secondary education, but primary education was still dominated by mission schools at the time of independence in 1961. Since then it is difficult to assess the position with the spread of T.A.N.U.<sup>2</sup> schools and the increase in the number of classes between Standard 5 and Standard 8 in primary schools organised by the District Council.

A large number of children from other districts and other tribes have received upper primary or secondary education in Uhehe. Tosamaganga had the first central school in the district and also

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1. Beginning of education under the Germans is discussed in Ch. 6 and its development under the British in Ch. 7.
  2. Tanganyika African National Union, the ruling party in Tanganyika.

the first central school of any Roman Catholic mission in this part of Tanganyika. Soon afterwards Malangali school, a government experiment in academic and technical education which at the same time was meant to teach local custom and <sup>traditions</sup> ~~conditions~~, was started in Uhehe. Both schools drew the majority of their pupils from outside Iringa district. In 1957 the predominantly European St. Michael's and St. George's secondary school was opened in Iringa. Now the majority of the pupils are Africans from other parts of Tanganyika and the school has been renamed Mkwawa High School, after Chief Mkwawa of the Wahehe. The Wahehe, as a tribe, are not among the better educated tribes in Tanganyika, nor are they among the least educated. Today, excluding Asian schools, there are more secondary schools in Iringa district than in any other district in the territory. In spite of this the number of Wahehe receiving upper primary or secondary education has never been high in comparison with other tribes of equal size and importance. There is no single and obvious reason for this and it is an interesting matter to discuss and investigate. The development of education between 1926 and 1961 is described in greater detail in chapter 7.



Baby six hours after birth in the shaft of sunlight coming in through the door way. This shows how the umbilical cord is tied so that when it withers off it will not be lost.

## CHAPTER 3

Kinship and Descent

This outline of Wahehe kinship is presented because it is a necessary background for a description of settlement and political organisation in Uhehe. It is not intended as a specialist description of the kinship system, nor as an analysis intended for use in comparative kinship studies.

Usually a Muhehe child is born to a woman who is thought to be the wife of its genitor. The genitor is always the legal and social father of the child, and is called dada (F). In most cases a child's paternity is established at a short ceremony when it is first taken out of the house. This happens soon after the umbilical cord has withered off, perhaps one week after birth. The umbilical cord is presented to a female representative of the father's family, not necessarily an agnate, often its father's sister (yuvahenge) or father's mother (papa), and thrown away or buried under a fruit-bearing tree. It is difficult to tell whether this ceremony is of crucial importance in deciding paternity, because it is an exclusively female ceremony and some well informed adult men do not know exactly what takes place, but it is clear



The mother and one of the father's female relatives bury the umbilical cord under a fruit bearing tree at sun rise on the day on which the baby is first taken out of the house.

that if female members of the supposed genitor's family refuse to have anything to do with a new born child it is well known that there is a dispute about its physical paternity. Disputed paternity can lead to long drawn out court cases, as much as fifteen years after the birth. When the evidence is conflicting it is always the word of the women which is accepted, either that of the old women who attended the birth or that of the mother herself.

Physical paternity is important to every Muhehe because it is from the genitor that each person inherits a "descent" name, praise name and a food avoidance, and through these three things identifies the largest class of people with whom marriage and sexual intercourse are forbidden.<sup>1</sup> The father's full or half-brothers are also called dada (F) and are often distinguished as dada muvina and dada mudodo, older and younger father's brothers respectively. Any other male agnates of the father's generation are also known as dada, but it is not usual to refer to these more distant relatives as dada muvina or dada mudodo. As they are more distant than the father's brothers or half-brothers, birth order is not important. The sisters or half-sisters of all the people whom ego calls dada are called yuvahenge (FZ). It is easy to identify them, even where the exact genealogical connection is unknown, because most of these people have a common descent name, praise name and food avoidance. Where the

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1. The system of descent names, praise names and food avoidances is discussed at length on pp. 66 ff).

exact connection between two agnates has been forgotten, the people concerned will still know what kinship terms to use for each other if they know whether they are of the same generation, proximate or alternate generations. Because they know the terms their fathers used for each other, or the terms each uses for a common relative, they can work out what kinship terms to use.

Those people whom ego calls dada (F) or yuvahenge (FZ) call ego mwanangu, muswamuvangu or mwaliwangu. -angu in all these words means "my", mwana is a general word for child, muswamu- means a son and mwali- a daughter. Muswamu- and mwali- are never used standing alone, but always with a possessive adjective.

A child's mother is always known and this is important for the individual's learning his or her position among the kin. Physical motherhood is important in much the same way as physical fatherhood. The Wahehe deny that they ever adopt children (in the sense of treating that child legally and socially in the same way as one's own physical child) and they also deny that a woman ever suckles another woman's baby.<sup>1</sup> They say that blood would not agree (Idanda si yikwidikila). This idea of inheriting physical qualities is not very important as they do not generally talk about inheriting blood or flesh or any other physical quality from either parent. It seems unlikely that

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1. Nigmann reported that adoption was very frequent, but by that he probably meant that orphans and some other children are often reared in the households of kin other than their parents. See Nigmann p. 61.

there is any truth in the claim of some Wahehe women that when no cow's milk is available other women can rear a motherless baby on very liquid maize porridge (wuji) alone. However, there is no need to doubt that where children cannot remember their own mother personally they always learn her descent name and know her exact position among her kin. No attempt would ever be made to teach a bereaved child that the woman who looked after him was his own mother. They distinguish clearly between all the women whom ego calls yuva (M) and a person's own mother.

A child of either sex calls his or her mother yuva. This term is also used for all her full or half-sisters who may, in the same manner as the father's brothers, be defined as yuva muvina and yuva mudodo, according to birth order. Any uterine kinswomen of the mother's generation are also called yuva, usually without distinguishing them by adding muvina or mudodo. Any woman whom ego calls yuva (M) calls him mwanangu, muswamuvangu if a boy or mwalivangu if a girl,<sup>1</sup>

There are no definite attributes inherited matrilineally. Children may eat the foods their mothers must avoid and, as no mark of this sort is passed on from a mother to her children, relationships traced purely through women, who use the different descent names inherited from their fathers, are more difficult to trace than agnatic relationships among people with the same, or associated,

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1. For meanings see above p. 46 .

descent names.<sup>1</sup> Where the descendants of one woman have lived in the same area for 3 or 4 generations, two people may recognise a relationship through a great-, or great-great-grandmother, because the families have known each other in each generation, but it is clear that such relationships are more often forgotten. Distant relationships through women are more likely to be recognised where two people know they are children or grandchildren of women with the same descent name.

A mother's brother or half-brother or any male whom ego's mother calls by the same term as her own brothers (muhasa), ego calls yaya (MB). Many of the people whom ego calls yaya are men who have the same descent name as ego's mother and are, therefore, easily identifiable in a strange community where the precise genealogical links have been forgotten. However, there are a number of men who do not have the same descent name as ego's mother who are known as yaya, for example, a mother's mother's son who has a different father from ego's<sup>mother</sup>. It is also possible, in unusual circumstances, to call an agnate yaya (MB).<sup>2</sup> Unlike those whom ego calls yuvahenge (FZ), the men whom ego calls yaya (MB) have a special term for ego, that is mwipwa or, as a term of address, mwipwa vangu.<sup>3</sup>

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1. The way in which people using different descent names may be agnatic relatives is explained on pp 70+82 ff.)
  2. See the explanation of the relationship between Munyivanga and Mkwawa in Ch. V p.420 and facing.
  3. This term mwipwa is found in many Bantu languages and usually refers to one who is not a member of ego's own clan, whether the system is patrilineal or matrilineal.

These are the main terms of address and reference used between people of proximate generations. In all cases they are terms of address and of reference when the appropriate possessive adjective has been added. Ng'ina (M) and ng'inahenge (FZ) are usually used as terms of reference instead of yuva (M) and yuvahenge (FZ), but they can never be used as terms of address. Some Swahili kinship terms are being used more and more by people who may be able to speak very little Swahili. They are even used where they are not exact equivalents of the Kihehe terms, but their use and misuse is not relevant to the present description.

Full siblings and half siblings and all people of the same generation having a common male relation whom they call dada (F), or a common female relation whom they call yuva (M), use the same set of terms of address and reference for each other. These terms depend on birth order and on the sex of the speaker. Where ego is male he calls older males in this category mama<sup>1</sup> and they call him mwanakwetu (literally - "our child" or "the child at our home"). The same terms are used between a female ego and older and younger females in this category. Muhasa can only be used between people of the same generation and of the opposite sex who have a common dada (F) or yuva (M). It is always a reciprocal term. There is one other category of relations of the same generation, vahisi, who

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1. This is tonally distinct from the Swahili mama meaning mother which is in fairly common use in Kihehe.

call each other muhisi. They are the children of people who call each other vahasa, that is the children of siblings or of any degree of cousins of opposite sexes. These cross-cousins (vahisi) may, in some contexts, refer to each other by the terms mama, mwanakwetu and muhasa, that is, by the terms used by siblings and parallel cousins. In other contexts it is extremely important to distinguish between cross-cousins who may marry and parallel cousins or siblings who may not.

The terms used between relations of alternate generations need little explanation. All male relatives of the second ascending generation are called kuku and all females papa; all people of either sex of the second descending generation are called mwisukulu (pl. visukulu). In the third ascending generation the matter begins to be complicated. Some say that ancestors of the third ascendant generation of both sexes are called kilembwe (which is a reciprocal term) and that kinying'inya is used in the same way with kin of the fourth ascendant generation. Most people consider that grandparents and grandchildren may use sibling terms for each other, when great-grandparents should then use parent and child terms with their great-grandchildren; yet there are exceptions to this and some great-grandparents use sibling terms when addressing their great-grandchildren.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Nigmann gives mtengudsi (in my orthography mtengusi) for great-grandchild, but I have never been told about this term nor heard it in use. Nigmann p. 64.

There are three important affinal relationships. There is a reciprocal term, mulamuvangu, which is used by members of either sex to members of either sex, meaning brother- or sister-in-law, or rather spouse of anyone called mama, mwanakwetu or muhasa and anyone ego's spouse calls by those terms (Mulamuvangu means my brother- or sister-in-law. The term mulamu never stands alone, but is always used with a possessive adjective).

A woman calls her husband's parents yuva fyale (HM) and dada fyale (HF), while they call her mwana fyale (SW). This term mwana fyale can cause confusion because it is also the term for a chief's daughter. A woman may use yuva fyale and dada fyale for other people whom her husband calls yuva (M) and dada (F). In contrast to this a man uses a reciprocal term mukwivangu with his wife's parents and anyone else she addresses as yuva (M) and dada (F). This is clearly associated with the sense of mukwi meaning any relation or affine who falls within the incest category. The word mukwi standing alone is often used in an oath. The type of behaviour associated with the use of this term is described on page

Parents-in-law all call each other mwiyeembe mwiyanu, whatever the sex of the speaker or the person referred to.

Following the discussion of the meaning of the terms in the Wahehe kinship system what is involved in these relationships should be discussed. Children of both sexes inherit possessions from both parents, but widows and widowers have no good claim on the deceased

spouse's property. The chief objects of value which have to be divided are cattle and other domestic animals, weapons and tools, various household articles, clothes, and occasionally money. Whether it is the property of the father or the mother being divided, all the children of the deceased can expect to get a share, though an uneven one, boys having precedence over girls and older children over younger. The number of cattle is often not exactly divisible between the number of children and an elder son expecting to marry soon has a very much better claim than younger children. The common solution to this problem is to wait until there are sufficient calves so that the herd can be divided satisfactorily. A gun is the only article to which the eldest son has a really strong claim by virtue of his seniority of birth and as guns have been owned by Wahehe for less than a century this is a custom of fairly recent origin.<sup>1</sup> Cooking pots, pestles, mortars and baskets are things which only women desire to own and so are only inherited from women by women. Women can own cattle on the same terms as men and there are cases where women, having inherited large numbers of cattle themselves, own more than their husbands. It is unusual for women to inherit guns, but the Wahehe consider that such a thing might happen where there are no sons. In the absence of children, or where there are

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1. When Chief Sapi was deposed and Chief Adam succeeded him there was some correspondence with the District Commissioner about obtaining Chief Sapi's gun which Chief Adam was very keen to possess.

few children but many possessions, brothers and sisters of the deceased may be allowed to take lesser objects from among the deceased's possessions. Parents may inherit the property of any of their childless adult offspring who predecease them.

It is possible to disinherit children by expressing an intention to do so before disinterested witnesses, often a headman or some other individual with particular status in the community. The same type of person is usually entrusted with the property of the deceased from the time of his death until the inheritance ceremony when it is divided. If a person has definitely been disinherited by the deceased he has no claim on the property. However, if one child, often a minor, has been unfairly treated at the distribution by siblings who have taken all, or most, the property of the deceased, he may claim a greater share in court, or his relatives (probably one of his mother's kinsmen) may claim on his behalf. There are a number of cases in the court records which are evidence for this.

Rights in land and standing crops can also be inherited. The general principle in dividing land is that each son should get part of the land which his mother cultivated and part of that which his father kept for his own use (ligani). However, land is much less likely to be divided evenly than cattle, because it may have already been partly divided, because some children may have settled at a distance from their father's fields, and because the widows must be

allowed to cultivate some land while they remain capable of maintaining their own households.

At one time all widows were inherited, but both the Germans and the British discouraged the practice and now it is dying out.<sup>1</sup> In a society where there is polygamy a man's father may have wives who are younger than his older sons. It was quite acceptable for sons to inherit those wives of their father who were of a suitable age to be their own wives and this was done without any further payment or ceremony. The limiting factors were that a son could never inherit his own mother or any other woman who was related to him in such a way that marriage was prohibited, nor could he inherit a woman younger than himself. The Wahehe do not practise the true levirate and any children born of an inherited wife are those of the genitor. Very often there were wives who were not suitable on grounds of age or relationship to be inherited by sons and the majority of widows were probably inherited by brothers or patrilineal cousins of the deceased.

Kinship is also important in the transfer of property at marriage. The generally accepted bridewealth (mafungu) is two cows and a bull, two sheep, two hoes, some cloth and beads and

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1. This was specifically mentioned by Styx as one of the hateful abuses which the Station Commander tried to prevent. He wrote that in the case of the death of the husband the wife is inherited exactly like cattle. Land Office, Dar es Salaam, I.A.8. Vol. XIX. d. Jahresbericht, Iringa 1910. Information from John Iliffe.

a small money payment of 20/- or 25/-. However, there are many cases where much less is agreed upon and some where considerably more is paid.<sup>1</sup> When two cows and a bull are paid, one cow is usually provided by the mother or mother's brother and one cow and one bull by the father, or at least by his side of the family. The father is chiefly responsible for providing any other objects which have been agreed upon, although quite distant relations may show their good will by contributing. Bridewealth is usually distributed among the girl's kin after the same pattern as it was provided by the boy's kin. The mother of the girl has such a strong claim on one cow that some women have successfully claimed it in court when it was not given to ~~her~~<sup>them</sup> by the father, who may share out the rest of the bridewealth as he sees fit.

Among different categories of kin there are expected and accepted attitudes and behaviour. Children should be submissive and obedient to their parents, and daughters usually kneel when handing things to their fathers. Although a father is expected to be responsible for his children's behaviour and for their debts or fines, even after they are married, there are limitations on how he may discipline daughters. He may never beat a daughter for fear that her cloth should fall down in the process. He or her brothers will have to pay her fines and repay her bridewealth if she divorces

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1. The rise in the amount of bridewealth during the colonial period is discussed on p.

her husband. Children of one mother feel a special bond to each other and to her and will protect her rights and position against their father's co-wives. In spite of their close relationship a certain social and spatial distance should be maintained between sons and their mothers, for example, older boys should not sit near to their mothers when they are cooking.

Grandchildren on the other hand have a freer relationship with their grandparents, particularly with their grandmothers. Many children at about two or three years old go to live with a grandmother, usually their mother's mother, where they may stay several years and it is generally said that they are often spoiled by her. Boys may eat with their grandfathers at an age when they would not normally eat with their fathers or other men. Grandparents and grandchildren may call each other by sibling terms and it is said that this is sometimes a joking relationship, particularly when distant classificatory grandparents are involved. There was a court case in which a woman had used abusive sexual words to a young classificatory grandchild and the child's father accused her in court. She admitted that she had used such language, but claimed she had a right to do so with her grandchild because this was only utani, a joking relationship. The judge accepted this explanation and she was not fined.

Half-siblings of a common mother are usually more concerned about maintaining their friendship and obligations than half-siblings

of a common father. Brothers support their sisters (particularly their full sisters) and look after their interests when the father is dead, they may help to pay their fines and should give them land if they are divorced. Brothers can expect to get married with the bridewealth paid for their sisters and all siblings have common obligations in attending their parents' graves. The reciprocal term muhasa, used between siblings of the opposite sex, is the only kinship term in Kihehe where the speaker and the person referred to must be of opposite sexes. Any suggestion of joking or sexual behaviour between siblings of opposite sexes is strictly forbidden. It is interesting that speakers of other Bantu languages who are learning to speak Kihehe at first frequently make mistakes because they do not understand the reciprocal meaning of muhasa. Likewise the terms used between siblings of the same sex, mama and mwanakwetu, are the only terms which depend on the speaker and the person referred to being of the same sex and on birth order. There are a number of circumstances where brothers rival each other and where the elder derives some, but not a very great advantage, from his seniority. The most obvious is in inheritance of their father's possessions or in obtaining his assistance for the payment of bridewealth or school fees. If the father has had any office or had a special trade or position in the community, such as smith or diviner, it is probable that one son will take over the father's position, but not more than one. It is unlikely to matter who is older or younger among sisters,

although the younger is expected to respect the elder and recognise her seniority.

A father's sister has a certain importance as a close relation of the father and, as a female representative of the father's lineage, she has a descent name, praise name and food avoidance, in common with his children. The meaning of yuvahenge (FZ) is not clear, but the use of yuva- demonstrates a connection with the word for mother (yuva). The same is true of the terms of reference ng'inahenge (FZ) and ng'ina (M). In unusual circumstances a woman looks after her brother's children, for example, when they are old enough to leave their mother who has been divorced, or when she has died and the father does not wish to leave them in the care of his other wives or of their own mother's kin.

A mother's brother (yaya) can be very important to his sister's children and may be much more concerned for their welfare than their father's brother, who, in the absence of the father, would be expected to take formal responsibility for them. The mother's brother is generally treated with respect, but a respect in which there is an element of familiarity. He and the children's mother are heirs to the same property and he is their mother's guardian when her father is dead. In a polygamous family the children of different mothers all have the same father's sisters, but different mother's brothers. It can, of course, happen that the children of one mother have different fathers and, therefore, different father's sisters, but

this is less usual and a father's sister is not generally so important as a mother's brother. If women live near their parents' homes on marriage then children may have much to do with one or more of their mother's brothers. Some youths decide to settle among their mother's kin and they are then likely to look to a mother's brother for land and help in establishing themselves, in getting married and in building a house, because by the time children have grown up their mother's father is often dead. The relationship with the mother's kin is frequently strengthened by cross-cousin marriage and in some cases this occurs in two or three consecutive generations.

In Kihehe the most frequently used Swahili kinship term is mjomba, which primarily means mother's brother, but which in Swahili and now also in Kihehe, is sometimes used reciprocally as sister's son. It seems unlikely that the Kihehe yaya (MB) was ever used reciprocally in this way and it is not generally heard in that sense. There was one important ceremony, now officially forbidden by chief and district council, in which a person's yaya is said to have officiated. This probably meant his mother's brother, but it might have meant his sister's son. When a person died (this presumably only applied to married adults, and possibly only men) his yaya removed one of the three cooking stones from the hearth and one of the long poles of the sleeping platform, or bed, and carried them out of the house and put them at a place where two paths crossed. These objects are

said to symbolise death and the door through which they had been removed and through which the corpse had passed then had to be sealed up and used no more. For his services the yaya of the deceased is said to have been paid a cow, a large payment, due to one who performed the dreaded task. The details and meaning of this ceremony are difficult to establish, but it at least indicates that the performance of an important duty was involved in the relationship of mother's brother and sister's son. Any man and woman who call each other muhisi (cross-cousin) may marry, indeed this is a preferred marriage. Cross-cousins, although they may often be referred to by the same terms as siblings and parallel cousins, are not only different from them because they are possible marriage partners, but also because they are vatani (joking relatives). It is not necessary for female cross-cousins to take part in girls' initiation ceremonies but such relations, if available, are an obvious choice for leading sexual instruction and the bawdier parts of initiation ceremonies. In marriage there is a danger of abusing one's partner with remarks about his or her mother's sexual parts and in cross-cousin marriage this could mean that one abuses one's own father's sister, an exceptionally serious form of abuse. It is said that when cross-cousin marriage works well it works very well, but if there is trouble the trouble is more serious than that in other marriages.<sup>1</sup>

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1. G.G. Brown's article "Hehe Cross-Cousin Marriage" in Essays presented to C.G. Seligman pp.27-39 makes many of the same points as I would wish to make although I have conflicting information the amount of  
(footnote 1 contd. over)



Neighbours and relations co-operate in housebuilding.

Most people live near some of their affines and are likely to receive help from them and come into frequent contact with them. Headmen are often assisted by a brother-in-law or son-in-law, many men acquire land, or at least some of their land, through a wife's father or brother, and affines living near expect to help each other in housebuilding, hoeing and beer making. The relationship between brothers- and sisters-in-law seems a fairly easy one even though brothers-in-law both have responsibilities towards the woman who is the sister of one and the wife of the other. This could lead to difficulties between them when the woman is fined for unwifely behaviour, runs away from her husband or divorces him, yet friendships between brothers-in-law can survive divorce in such a situation.

Relations between men and women and their parents-in-law involve much more tension. There is no direct mother-in-law avoidance, but considerable respect must be shown on both sides. At a wedding, the only time when kin and affines are clearly divided into two opposing groups, the girl's party is superior and sits in judgement over the boy's party. A man is always under an obligation to his parent-in-law and he must be particularly careful to avoid any

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(footnote 1 contd. from over)

bride wealth paid in cross-cousin marriage and the term which a father's sister calls her brother's son. He states that generally men marry their cross-cousins because they wish to preserve the relationship with their mother's kin but may avoid doing so in order to avoid the risk of emnity with affines who would also be kin.

sexually suggestive action with his mother-in-law. Incest with a mother-in-law is considered the worst form of incest and yet, where the man is a polygamist, the mother of one of his junior wives may only be the same age as one of his senior wives. The word mukwi with its strong associations of a forbidden relationship dominates the way in which a man must behave towards his parents-in-law.

There is an important general term, which can be used both for relations and affines, munyalukolo (pl. vanyalukolo). Lukolo is an abstract word which includes the ideas of relationship and affinity. In Kihehe it is related to the word for sheep and to many words in other Bantu languages of this area which mean family or clan.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, if lukolo ever had a plural form this would be ng'olo which is both the singular and plural for the Kihehe word meaning sheep. The kinship and affinal terms which were listed above are used in many cases where the precise relationship is unknown because the Wahehe try to find kinship terms for all their acquaintances if there has ever been any blood or affinal connection between two families or if two people are each related to a third. In this case they consider what terms they should use for each other which would be consistent with the terms each uses for the third person. In many cases there are two or three different ways in which people are known to be connected with each other or with each other's

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1. ukoo in Swahili means clan or descent group, lukolo in Kikaguru means matri-clan.

relations, but the contradictions are not important. The obligations which exist between two close relations or affines do not exist in the same way between two distantly connected people using the same terms. The Wahehe clearly recognise degrees of relationship in the phrases lukolo lwa pipi (a close relationship) and lukolo lwa patali (a distant relationship). The importance of recognising distant connections as vanyalukolo is in establishing friendly relations between two parties. This should then be expressed in neighbourly acts, attending funerals, work parties at which beer is given away and in general mutual help and recognition.

At marriage the man is said to take a person (kutegula munu) and the woman to be captured (kugomwa). It is the only time when people are clearly divided into kin groups, when a certain amount of controlled hostility is expressed. After a considerable process of negotiation, a woman moves from one group to another in return for an agreed number of cattle and other goods. The payment of bridewealth is not connected with the bearing of children nor with the social status of any children borne. It is not returned if the woman proves barren and even if it has not been paid the children are the children of their genitor. He is obliged to care for the mother's needs during pregnancy and if he has begotten a child in a woman who is not his wife, to pay one cow (nyakilesi - "for the feeding") to whoever looks after the child until it is old enough to leave its mother.

Divorce is quite frequent in Wahehe society and the usual grounds are desertion or frequent bodily cruelty. It is extremely rare for a man to divorce his wife, but he can do so easily enough without much reason if he is prepared to forfeit any bridewealth he has already paid. Where a woman divorces her husband with good reason and after he has been ordered to pay her compensation on several occasions for bodily cruelty, she or her father or brother must nearly always repay the bridewealth. If a husband agrees to allow his wife to have a divorce without compelling reason, her family will not only have to return the bridewealth, but they will also have to pay an extra cow (nyamwigalo - from kugala = to act without reason) because she is leaving her husband without a reason which is considered compelling.

Thus, at marriage, by the passage of bridewealth, a man establishes certain rights in a woman but not absolutely or irrevocably. He has exclusive sexual rights in her and she must live and keep house wherever he puts her. These are definite, but fairly restricted, rights, as she does not change her name nor become inextricably involved in his family and her own obligations to her kin are not diminished. He is obliged to give her a certain amount of care and protection and to cause her to bear his children, seeking fertility medicine for her when necessary. If he is impotent there is no way in which he can become the social father of her children. Provided that her family can return the bridewealth impotence is

considered a good reason for divorce. Bridewealth is not primarily concerned with the production of children and the family of a woman who has produced a number of children are not excused from returning the bridewealth if she divorces her husband.

When a marriage takes place between true cross-cousins, however distant the relationship, the Wahehe expect the man's family to pay an extra bull known as ndumula lukolo (the cutter of the relationship). This is not bridewealth and if the marriage is ended by divorce it is not repaid. Most Wahehe hold that this bull must be slaughtered at the wedding ceremony and the man's family eat one half and the girl's the other. This is clearly a symbolic action and indicates that although these marriages of blood relations are permitted or even encouraged, they feel that such marriages are different from others by reason of the existing blood relationship. Some say that the woman eats both halves of the bull whereas everyone else only eats on his own side; that is because after marriage she will continue to eat with her own family as well as in her husband's household. However, the essential details of the ceremony are uncertain. Nobody seems to think it matters whether the man's party eats the right or left side of the bull, who kills it, nor how it is killed.

Descent and lineage, praise names and food avoidances

The most clear cut idea in the Wahehe kinship system is that kinship is based on biological relationship and that social arrangements cannot change the status acquired from one's physical parents. The wider implications of kinship in society are remarkably fluid. Although the Wahehe are concerned with strict patrilineal descent, because from this everyone acquires a descent name, praise name, and food avoidance, no corporate groups are formed on this basis and there is no group which should obviously be called a clan. This merits careful investigation, partly because it is not a simple, clear cut system and partly because of the importance of descent names in identifying people and lines of rulers in Wahehe history and in their general social life.

This name, for want of any obviously satisfactory English term, is here called a descent name. It is always inherited patrilineally together with a praise name and a food avoidance. Sometimes the descent name is that of a person's grandfather, but it is more often that of a more distant ancestor. Often the precise links in the line of descent from that ancestor have been forgotten. Many Wahehe suppose that their descent name was the personal name of a patrilineal ancestor although they know nothing about him. None explain the origin of their descent name in any other way.

Some Wahehe refer to this descent name as a mulongo (pl. milongo) but others use mulongo for their praise names.<sup>1</sup> This causes no difficulty in practice because all ask for a man's descent name by saying "Wi mwa nani?" which might be translated "You are of whom", or "You are a child of whom?", and the man replies "Ndi mwa ...." giving his descent name. For a woman the question is "Wi se nani?" and the reply "Ndi se ...". In front of certain descent names Mwa and Se become Mwi and Si, presumably because it is easier to pronounce like this. Mwa is probably derived from mwana, a common Bantu word meaning child. Se is also found in other Bantu languages, but usually with a masculine reference. This is the only form in which it is found in Kihehe where, although it is used only by women, it prefixes the name of a supposed agnatic male ancestor.<sup>2</sup>

Descent names are important in everyday life because by them people are identified when something more than a personal name is required. Brothers and sisters of the same father always have the same descent name. It seems that Wahehe never claim that their descent name is that of a female ancestor. Usually all people

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1. Praise names are described later in this chapter. I did not find any Muhehe who would accept that mulongo is related to muliango meaning door.
  2. It is grammatically correct Kúhehe to say "Of what mulongo are you?", "Wi va mulongo guli kwi?" and to reply "My mulongo is ...", "Mulongo gwangu ndi ...", but the question would never be asked in this way.

using one descent name are fairly close agnatic kin, but there are exceptions to this where two unrelated groups of people happen by chance to have the same descent name. This is not really surprising if these descent names are, as the Wahehe suppose, always the personal names of male ancestors. For example, there are known to be two groups of people, unrelated to each other, using the descent name Duma. It is easy to see how this can occur because Duma means leopard and has been a fairly common personal name for men. The same is true of the names Kibiki (a little tree) and Mupogole (some type of tree I have not been able to identify).

There are many cases where people with a number of different descent names all recognise agnatic kinship with each other. There are people called MwaSamila, MwaKindole, KwaKalolo, MwaMyovela (and some others), all of whom recognise their agnatic kinship and descent from one man called Chota. On rare occasions when one of them wishes to emphasise this he may refer to himself as MwaChota, rather than MwaSamila or whichever descent name he normally uses. Another example, and indeed the most obvious one, is that of the chief's agnatic kin. They all claim to be descendants of Muyinga, but they are generally known by descent names derived from more recent ancestors, Lalika, Mugovano, Mkini, Magohagasenga, Ngayilevanu, Malangalila, Kapande, Mpangile and others. They usually refer to themselves as, for example, MwaLalika, but if they wish to emphasise



A group of relations have gathered at the head of a grave where millet beer has been left overnight. Finger millet flour is mixed with water and then this is spat and poured on the graves as several people in turn address their ancestors.

that they are agnatic descendants of the founder of the royal line they refer to themselves as MwaMuyinga (in the case of women SeLalika and SeMuyinga respectively).

For lack of a better English word these groups of people who acknowledge their agnatic kinship, whether they use one or several different descent names, are called lineages. In this context of Wahehe society lineage is not used to imply any corporate group, but merely a number of people who all claim descent from a common agnatic ancestor. The largest group of agnates which ever has any need to act together is that composed of the children and grandchildren of one man. They may come together to make offerings on his grave or in order to divide his property. The equivalent group of uterine kin may also gather together in these circumstances. There is not necessarily any lineage solidarity and in a quarrel a man may feel a greater bond with close uterine kin than he does with more distant members of his own lineage.

It is clear that in the past a number of people who once used the name of a great- or great-great-grandfather as a descent name have gradually dropped it and begun to use the name of their grandfather instead. This process can be seen at work in the different way in which people are commonly known. Most are known by their personal name and descent name, but the children of famous people may be known by their personal name and father's name (When a man is known by his father's name it follows his own immediately



After addressing the ancestors and spitting the offering on the graves they dance there.

without a prefix, or occasionally people will use the ordinary phrase mwana va, child of ... In ordinary conversation they do not prefix a father's name with Mwa or Se). This happens by chance, not according to any specific system. In general it is the descendants of important people and rulers who use many different descent names within a large lineage even though they know their precise agnatic relationships. In nearly all the cases where there are a number of different descent names used in one lineage, some of the members have held political power, yet there is no reason why this must be so. Few people from completely undistinguished families know their agnatic, or indeed any, ancestors for more than four or five generations and so it is difficult to find out much more about this.

When two Wahehe meet for the first time they will not usually know whether they are agnatically related merely by telling each other their descent names. Marriage is the only occasion where distant agnatic relationships are important. In order to discover these one must know the praise names and the food avoidances of both the people concerned. The descent names alone are irrelevant. If two people who are unaware of any agnatic relationship discover that they have both praise name and food avoidance in common it is generally assumed that they are related and may not marry. Today there are a few well known cases where marriages have taken place between members of two lineages which have praise name and

food avoidance in common because they could discover no relationship. (A MwaMugumba married a SiKoko when both avoid eating the buck Mato and use the praise name Muganga. This was possibly considered acceptable because SiKoko could also use the praise name Mukinga). When questioned about this some people say that if two people with a common praise name and a common food avoidance wish to marry and they themselves know of no agnatic relationship between them they will go to all their older relations and ask them if they know of any relationship which is a barrier to the marriage. If nobody does they assume they are unrelated and may marry. It is explained later why this is not a theoretical impossibility, although it is unusual. Furthermore, it is well established that one or two marriages have taken place such as the one mentioned above. Other Wahehe hold that all people with the same praise name and food avoidance must be related and therefore it is very dangerous for such people to marry even though they cannot work out the exact relationship.

In everyday life in a rural Wahehe community praise names are frequently used. It is polite to greet people by using their praise name, saying, for example, "Kamwene Mulugu". Kamwene is the standard greeting and Mulugu the praise name of male descendants of Muyinga and of male members of some other lineages. As well as being used in greetings and as a polite form of address, praise names are used by older women (that is those who are grandmothers or those

who appear to be past childbearing), who are generally addressed and referred to by their praise names instead of by personal names. In the 1957 census, in the areas where a detailed census was taken, many women recorded as being over 45 years of age have been listed by their praise names although other people's personal names have been given.

The word for praise name varies in different parts of Uhehe. The most widely understood way of enquiring a person's praise name is to say "Wi munya Kamwene kiki?" (Literally "You are of what greeting?" or "How do I say Kamwene to you?") In some places, mulongo is generally understood to mean praise name, not descent name. In other places most people use the word mwidikiso to mean praise name. It is presumably derived from the verb kwidikila, to agree. Mulugutiso is another less common word for praise name which appears to be related to kuluguta, to praise or honour, which also may be related to the praise name Mulugu.<sup>1</sup>

Msilo (pl. misilo) is the only word in Kihehe which means food avoidance. Food avoidances acquired through descent are known among almost all tribes throughout a very large part of Africa, indeed, among a much larger number of tribes than those which use praise names acquired by descent. This word msilo is clearly related to words found in other Bantu languages such as mziro and kuzira, meaning

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1. Brown found both mwidikiso and mulugutiso in use as alternative words for praise name. Brown and Hutt p. 84.

to avoid or give offence to. In Kihehe the usual way to ask about a person's food avoidance is to say "Usisile kiki?" (literally "What have you avoided, or, not eaten?") Nigmann stated that (ku)sira meant to avoid (im Stich, liegen lassen).<sup>1</sup>

Children are never bound to avoid any food because their mother avoids it. There are therefore, usually at least two food avoidances which should be observed within one household, the one of the father and his children and the other of the mother. Although there is no reason to believe that Wahehe in general eat the foods which it is stated they should avoid, these food avoidances have not the same social prominence as praise names. Even as a guest there is not much difficulty in avoiding one's own msilo in another household. Many of these forbidden foods are things which most people have little opportunity of eating or desire to eat, for example, a dead animal which is found when its head has been cut off, foetus of a calf or one that has died before its umbilical cord has come off, or liver (which is unlikely to be served on its own and can easily be avoided among other offal), various types of buck which, at least today, are not often seen in the inhabited parts of Uhehe.

If the Wahehe can be said to have clans, then a clan is the largest group of agnates practising exogamy either because some of them know their genealogies well enough to know how they are related or because they have the same praise name and food avoidance and

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1. Nigmann p. 42.

assume they are related. Some Wahehe do, if pressed with exacting questions, use the word mulongo to mean clan in this sense, but it is clear that they do not themselves have any concern to analyse and explain their system of descent names, praise names and food avoidances as a whole. To work out how the system has evolved and to explain or resolve inconsistencies would be a historical problem requiring considerable attention during fieldwork and a lot of analysis later. It is not relevant to this particular study because clans in this sense have not been of great political importance, at least since the accession of Mkwawa, and may never have existed at all. However, some of the literature about the Wahehe contains references to "clans" and "clan-heads"<sup>1</sup> and Father Musso of the Consolata Fathers has prepared a study in which he attempts to explain the origin of Wahehe "clans", so it is as well to explain the position more fully. This information about the praise names and food avoidances in use among the Wahehe is also a useful background for the historical chapter on the period before the reign of Munyigumba.

Nobody knows how many praise names are in use in the whole of Uhehe, nor how many food avoidances there are. In contrast to some other tribes there are no groups which can be said to be the true Wahehe<sup>2</sup> so that all other people are recent immigrants or,

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1. Iringa District Book. Tribal government. Section 8. Chiefship.

2. Nigmann found the same, see Nigmann p. 1.

for one reason or another, of inferior status. There are common praise names and less common ones and the same is true of food avoidances. Furthermore, some praise names and some food avoidances are common among the population in some areas, yet are scarcely represented in other areas. Many groups of agnates who have the same praise name each have a different food avoidance and, conversely, many groups who have a common food avoidance have different praise names. There are no generally accepted theories about how this can have happened and it is a subject which arouses little interest even though the rules of exogamy dependent on this are important, and exogamy and marriage are matters which always arouse interest. The only way in which to examine the matter further is to list some praise names and food avoidances and the combinations in which they are found.

There are a number of praise names which appear to have been derived from place names or vice versa. Examples of this are the places called Igavilo, Ilongo, Uhafiwa, Ugogo, Ubena, Ukinga, Uponela (in Ukaguru, but it is possible there are places in, or nearer Uhehe, also called Uponela), and the praise names Mwigavilo, Mwilongo, Muhafiwa, Mugogo, Mubena, Mukinga and Muponela. Mukami is also a word commonly used to mean a subject (i.e. subordinate of another man or a man with no authority over anyone else) or a warrior. Muponela sometimes means a survivor, one who is left over. On the other hand there are some praise names which sound as if they could

never have been associated with places, for example, Mung'anzagala, Mutitu and Mulugu. There are other complexities. In some lineages all males use one praise name and all females another; in other lineages both men and women may each use two praise names; but in most lineages there is only one praise name which is used by both men and women. Mulugu is used by a fairly large number of unrelated lineages, but it is only ever used for men. The women belonging to the lineages where the men are addressed as Mulugu have a number of different praise names, Mung'anzagala, Mtage, Muganga, Muhigo and there are probably a number of others. The first two of these are probably only ever used for women.

Mulugu is a particularly important and well known praise name because it is that of male descendants of Muyinga, the ancestor of the chiefs. It is also used by a number of other lineages from which the chiefs of formerly independent tribes came, such as Myovela who was chief of Udongwe and Mudemu who ruled in the area of Ifwagi and Malangali. Some Wahehe suggested that all ruling lineages had Mulugu for their male praise name "because they were lions". It is not obvious what is meant by this because neither the Kihehe word for lion nyalupala, nor the Swahili word simba are related to Mulugu. On the other hand there is a fairly well known Kihehe chorus "Twi vana va simba, musiwone peeka," (We are children of (a/the) lion(s), fear them) which was sung by the children of

chiefs in the early years of Malangali school<sup>1</sup>. This statement that Mulugu was the praise name of rulers, is not completely satisfactory because there are some lineages from whom formerly independent rulers came, but who do not claim Mulugu as a male praise name. An example of this is the well known lineage of VaKalinga, who ruled, and are still subordinate rulers, in Ukalinga. Their praise name for both men and women is Muhigo.

There is one clue to the type of process which may have spread the use of Mulugu as a praise name among rulers whatever their origin. There are today a number of descendants of mnzagila (sub-chief) Chotaukali Mwambugi in the Usagara sub-chiefdom, where he was sent to rule by Mkwawa and later made jumbe by the Germans. Two of his sons became sub-chiefs after him in the same area. It is generally recognised that Chotaukali came from a place called Iwawa where there are still a number of VaMbugi. The descendants of the sub-chief use Mulugu as the praise name for men and Muponela for women, whereas the VaMbugi at Iwawa use Muponela for both men and women. It is extremely probable that the sub-chief Chotaukali encouraged his subjects to address him as Mulugu because he thought it a more fitting form of address for a sub-chief than Muponela. Indeed, if anyone wishes to honour a man, but does not know his correct praise name he often uses Mulugu, knowing that it can only

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1. I have found the words of this song in one of Brown's notebooks dated 1931 and I also collected it myself in 1963.

be flattering, never offensive. When sophisticated Wahehe wish to make speeches which begin in a way they think is equivalent to "Ladies and Gentlemen", they often use Valugu (the plural of Mulugu) as the equivalent of gentlemen and some even suggest that its English translation should be "lords". Of the popular association of Mulugu with those holding political authority there is no doubt, even though there is no evidence about the origin of this.

Nobody knows how many different items are forbidden food to different groups of Wahehe, but the general impression is that food avoidances are fewer in number than praise names or, at least, that the common ones are fewer in number than the common praise names. Some food avoidances are more common in some parts of Uhehe than in others, but it seems fair to say that the commonest are known throughout Uhehe. These are Funo (a type of buck which is the best known of the three food avoidances of the descendants of Muyinga), Mato (another type of buck, probably water buck), Fulwa or Nyopolwa (both words appear to be the foetus of a calf or a calf which has died before its umbilical cord has come off), Ng'anga (guinea fowl), Mutima (any liver), Kidege Kititu (a type of black bird). There are many other less common ones such as Lilangala (a type of pumpkin), nyakihuko (a type of rat), various types of birds, food which has been cooked on a fire of wood of the nyatoma tree (a tree which I cannot identify) and even a prohibition on putting food into a child's mouth with one's hands (nonge). It is generally true that when any Wahehe

are asked why they have a food avoidance they say it is because their ancestors had it, and their ancestors avoided it because when they ate it they were ill; so today they think that if any of the agnatic descendants of these men eat it they will also be ill, probably with a skin disease. Dempwolff recorded having seen a child with a skin complaint on its head (probably scabies) and was told it had eaten its msilo.<sup>1</sup> In a few exceptional cases it may be possible to discover the origin of these food avoidances, but generally it is impossible as, indeed, it is to do for other tribes who have them.

Among the Wahehe the system is made more complex by the fact that many lineages have more than one food avoidance; for instance, the descendants of Muyinga have three, the buck funo, the rat nyakihuke and food cooked with the wood of the nyatoma tree. Some people at first mention only one of their food avoidances, but later admit that they have one or two others which makes it difficult to be sure of having full and correct information about them. It may be that where people regard one of their food avoidances as less important than the other, some particular incident has caused them, or one of their recent ancestors, to regard something new as an msilo, or to pay more attention to one msilo than to the other.

The only definite suggestion of a case where anything like this has happened is recorded by Nigmann, who wrote:

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1. Dempwolff p. 100.

"Double totems have been very common earlier. However, this limitation as well as a specially inconvenient totem could be got rid of in a fitting way. Askari Sambikonongo tells the following: "His father, a large cattle owner, got rid of the totem of the unborn calf from two totems in the following way. After he had made a sacrifice and taken suitable medicine, adding more medicine, he ate what had formerly been the totem. Since he remained unharmed the family got rid of the totem and only kept the second totem, the funo." 1

In his paragraph on "totems" Nigmann makes a number of points which show that the matter of food avoidances was then much the same as it is today. He noted that they did not esteem these "totems" in any special way, that they never expressed the idea that they were descended from them, that having a common totem does not prevent marriages, that children follow the totem of their begetter, men and women of the same family have the same totem, and women keep their totems when they are married. He knew that people who had skin diseases often went to consult a diviner to see if they had unwittingly offended against their totem. Children were brought up to avoid eating their totems from a very early age and yet hunting and killing animals is always permitted as the ban is only on eating them. He thought that the original totems were always animals or parts of them, and that the bans on eating particular vegetables was the result of being ill after eating them. The great diversity of non-animal food avoidances today and the false interpretations

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1. Nigmann pp. 42-3. My translation.

given in even the best ethnographic literature of this period suggest that Nigmann was probably wrong about this even though it was a convenient way of explaining why some lineages observe more than one food avoidance. He also noted that it often happens that the same food avoidance exists among the population of a whole area with a few exceptions which can easily be explained away. It is reasonable to assume that this was probably more true when Nigmann was learning about the Wahehe between 1904 and 1908 than it is today, but it is not necessary to accept his explanation that this was probably because they were all people descended from the same tribal father. On the evidence available nothing of this sort can be proved or disproved. Nigmann never attempted to discuss the derivation of praise names, how they are inherited and how they are related to food avoidance and exogamy, so his interpretation is a very inadequate one for those who have some knowledge of the whole system.

Tables 1 and 2 should help to illustrate the problem.<sup>1</sup> They are compiled from a small and, it is hoped, reliable selection of the very large number of descent names and food avoidances which have been recorded. In the first table some different descent names associated with the same praise names are grouped together. In the second table the descent names are grouped according to common food avoidances.

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1. See p. 84 ff.

It is well known by the Wahehe that there are people using different descent names, but agnatically related, having the same praise names and food avoidances. Every adult must know that this is true of the descendants of Muyinga and probably he also knows about some of the more important lineages in his own area. However, there are many people who, while not excluding the possibility of having other members of their own lineage with different descent names, cannot name any of them. The large number of praise names and food avoidances, and the different combinations in which these occur, mean that theoretically it is possible for two lineages, each using the same praise name and food avoidance, to have acquired these independently. Most Wahehe recognise that this is a possibility, but they normally expect people having the same praise name and food avoidance to be related. From these tables it emerges that a number of people with different descent names are probably agnatic kin, although most of them could not immediately give other descent names used by their agnates. On the basis of a general knowledge of Wahehe marriages and genealogies for three generations or more, it seems probable that nearly all these people, although not immediately aware of agnates with different descent names, would discover an agnatic link if they were investigating the matter with the possibility of marriages in mind. Furthermore, many of these people, even if they could not discover

an agnatic link, might be sufficiently puzzled and uncertain to abandon marriage negotiations.

The Wahehe do not seem to indulge in historical speculation about the origin of their system of kinship and descent even though many of them have some idea of their diverse origins and the migrations and counter migrations which have taken place even within the past century. This all has some relation to kinship and descent, but much more to the historical development of the Wahehe as a tribe with an important chiefship, and so these historical factors, which probably had considerable effect on the system of kinship and descent, are discussed in the next chapter.

TABLE I

<u>Food Avoidance</u>	<u>Praise name</u>	<u>Descent name</u>
Mato	Muponela	Mudota
" also Fulwa	Muponela and Mukinga	Hava
"	Muhanila	Kadege
"	Muganga and Mukinga	Koko
"	Muganga	Mugumba
"	Muganga	Mukonda
"	Muganga	Nyenza
"	Muhafiwa	Kimbe
"	Mikwile	Mwedegge
"	Mikwile	Mugohamwende
"	Mugogo	Mukimbo
Fulwa and Mato	Muponela	Hava
" and Mbeva	Muhafiwa	Mugovano
" and Mbeva	Muhafiwa	Kayage
"	Muhafiwa	Muhanga
"	Muhafiwa	Luhwago
"	Muhafiwa	Mupalanzi
"	Muhigo	Kalinga
"	Mukami	Mupogole
"	Muinga	Mtatifikolo (Wabema)
"	Mwilongo	Mugwabi
Funo	Muhanila	Mudesa
"	Ng'anzagala	Kikimba
"	(Mulugu (men))	All descendants
	(Ng'anzagala (women))	of Muyinga
Ng'ana <sup>g</sup>	Muponela	Mbugi
"	(Muponela (women))	Mbugi
"	(Mulugu (men))	
"	Mukami	Kiyeyeu
"	Mugogo	Chaso
Mutima	Muhanila	Kutika
"	Mwigavilo	Kilendu
"	(Mulugu (men))	All descendants
	(Mtage (women))	of Chota

<u>Food Avoidance</u>	<u>Praise name</u>	<u>Descent name</u>
Mbeva and Fulwa	Muhafiwa	Mikongomi
" and Fulwa	Muhafiwa	Kayage
"	Mwilongo	Luhwago
"	Mwilongo	Chambogo
Lutumba	Mwilongo	Mupogole
"	Ng'anzagla	Madembwe

### Food Avoidances

<u>Kihehe</u>	<u>English</u>
Mato	water bush buck (still born calf or one which has died before its umbilical cord has come off.)
Fulwa	
Nyopolwa	
Mbeva	rat
Funo	a type of buck
Ng'anga	guinea fowl
Mutima	liver
Lutumbu	intestines
Nziva	pigeon
Lidengu	a type of squash
Dudumisi	a type of bird
Lilangala	a type of light skinned pumpkin
Nyakhuku	a type of rat
Nyatoma	a type of tree used for firewood

TABLE II

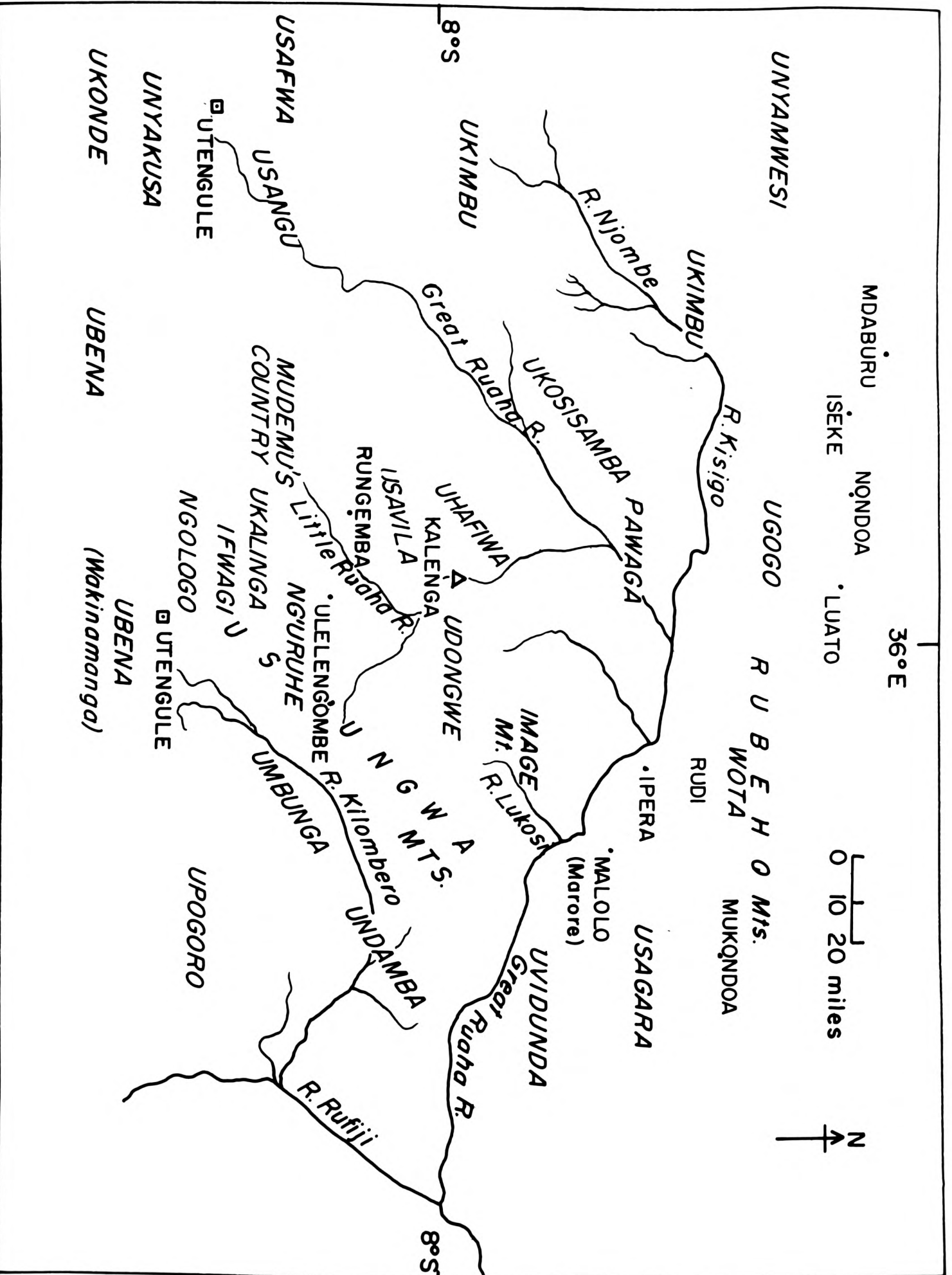
The information from Table I rearranged according to praise names

<u>Praise name</u>	<u>Food avoidance</u>	<u>Descent name</u>
Muponela	Mato	Mudota
" and Mukinga	Mato and Fulwa	Hava
" and Mulugu *	Ng'anga	Mbugi

\* Some Mwambugi only claim Muponela as a praise name for both sexes while others use Mulugu for men and Muponela for women.

<u>Praise name</u>	<u>Food avoidance</u>	<u>Descent name</u>
Muhanila	Mutima	Kutika
"	Mato	Kadege
"	Funo	Mudesa
Muganga and Mukinga	Mato	Koko
"	Mato	Mugumba
"	Mato	Mukonda
"	Mato	Nyenza
Muhafiwa	Fulwa and Mbeva	Mikongomi
"	Fulwa and Mbeva	Kayage
"	Fulwa	Mugovano
"	Fulwa	Luhwago
"	Fulwa	Mupalanzi
"	Fulwa	Muhanga
"	Mato	Kimbe
"	Nziva	Kilienyi
Mugavilo	Lidengu	Kynyaga
"	Mutima	Kilendu
Muhigo	Fulwa	Kalinga
Mukami	Ng'anga	Kiyeyeu
"	Fulwa	Mupogole
"	Dudumisi	Chohe (Wasagara)
"	Funo	Mupogole
Mwilongo	Mbeva	Chambogo
"	Mbeva	Luhwago
"	Fulwa	Mugwabi
"	Lutumbu	Mupogole
Mikwile	Mato	Mwidege
"	Mato	Mugohamwende

<u>Praise name</u>	<u>Food avoidance</u>	<u>Descent name</u>
Ng'anzagala	Lutumbu	Madembwe
"	Funo	Kikimba
"	Funo	All <u>female</u> descendants of Muyinga
Muinga	Fulwa	Mtatifikolo (Wabena)
"	Fulwa	Madasi
"	Lilangala	Mbinda
Mugogo	Mato	Mukimbu
"	Ng'anga	Chaso
Mulugu (men)	(Funo	(All descendants
Munganzagala	(Nyakihuku	(and agnates
(women)	(Nyatoma	(of Muyinga
Mulugu (men)	Mutima	All descendants
Mtage (women)		of Chota



Map of Uhehe showing a number of places of importance during the precolonial period.

△ Mkwawa's fort

□ The forts of Merere of the Wasangu and Mtengela of the Wakinamanga (Wabena)

## CHAPTER 4

The Period Before The Reign of Munyigumba (-c.1860)

The sources for the history of Uhehe at this time are poor both in quantity and quality. There appear to be only two first hand accounts, those of Burton and of Lief bin Saeid and it is clear that both of these authors were writing about an area which was not typical of the central plateau and highlands of Uhehe. However, the first substantial German accounts were compiled at a time when this period was well within living memory, about 40 years after Munyigumba's succession to the chiefship. The Wahehe have preserved only one site of historical interest from this time, and they have no institutions which have helped significantly to preserve stories and myths of the past. In spite of this a certain amount can be learnt from stories told by people today and particularly by examining the genealogies of various important families.

During this period the most important events in the development of East Africa occurred to the north or to the south of the Hehe-Bena plateau which was remarkably isolated from the general history of the wider area in which it lies. There had been a

long tradition of African traders, mainly Nyamwezi, going to the coast to Zanzibar, and from about 1840 the Arabs began to travel inland and to cross Tanganyika, passing through Uzaramo, Usagara, Ugogo and Unyamwezi. The names and locations of these tribes were widely known on the coast, but European activity in the interior had hardly begun by 1860. People on the coast had heard stories about Chief Fundikira of Unyamwezi and his enormous herds of cattle. Katanga's copper had been worked and traded over great distances as early as the eighteenth century. Some of the trade routes from the Tanganyika coast led there. One approach to Katanga passed far south of the Hehe-Bena plateau, round or across the south of lake Nyasa. There are many nineteenth century accounts of the Yao, Makua and Makonde tribes because these traders passed through their country. Another route to Lake Tanganyika and Katanga passed closer to the Hehe-Bena plateau, but seems to have kept below the escarpment, passing through the plains which lie either side of the Ruaha and north of the plateau, then through Usangu (often known as Urori)<sup>1</sup> and finally through the Lake Nyasa - Lake Tanganyika corridor. The Wasangu were known for their aggressive treatment of caravans,

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1. Urori in all the literature appears to mean Usangu, but there are grounds for confusion. There are tribes today, such as the Wakaguru and Warangi who call the Wahehe Warori or Waloli. Some Wahehe still refer to Wasangu as Waloli.

but the Wahehe at first did not share their notoriety.<sup>1</sup>

Lief bin Saeid passed through this Pawaga area about 1830 and his journey is reported in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society in 1845.<sup>2</sup> He passed through Marore<sup>3</sup> in the hills of Usagara and then followed the river for 8 days "through the tribe called Yoaha." The editor has corrected this in a note and called the tribe Wohaha. It could be that Wohaha is a garbled version of Wahehe, a tribal name which was already known to the editor from other sources, but there are other possibilities. There is a hill in the area called Haha after which the people may have been named; or, more likely, it may be a form of Ruaha, after which groups of people living in the area might have named themselves, even if they had another tribal name as well. The editor could have changed Yoaha to Wohaha as he knew that tribal names usually began with Wo or Wa. In the same story he changed Osagara to Msagara. This text then is no proof that there was a group of people known as Wahehe at this period.<sup>4</sup>

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1. For this summary of conditions this period I have relied on the History of East Africa (ed. Oliver and Mathew) vol. I, Ch. VIII. The Southern Section of the Interior 1840-84.
  2. J.R.G.S. 1845 p. 372. Visit of Lief Ben Saeid to the Great African Lake.
  3. This is probably the place for which Burton gives the alternative rendering Malolo which may be the place today known by the same name in the far south east corner of Mpwapwa district. Malolo is a very common name meaning "big reeds" so it is impossible to be certain of this.
  4. In the History of East Africa it has been assumed that these were Wahehe. p. 259.

The rest of the description fits the present situation remarkably well. "We were constantly falling in with villages at which we slept every evening; when we got to Powaga." Pawaga, or Mawaga, is the name by which part of this flat area between the southern highlands and the Ruaha is known today. The name Pawaga was also known to the Germans stationed in Iringa from 1896.<sup>1</sup> In contrast to the Wahehe of the highlands the people of Pawaga today live in villages, or rather hamlets, at intervals of one to five miles apart along the permanent water courses. After five days travelling along the banks of the same river Lief bin Saeid reached Osanga and after three more Sanga. Either of these places could have been the same as that known as Kasanga today. Along the whole of the route from the east coast to Lake Tanganyika Lief Bin Saeid found the country peaceful. The important raids of the Wahehe into these lowlands did not begin until one generation later.

The second primary source for this period is Burton. He also travelled through the plains below the escarpment. He wrote: -

"The Wahehe situated between the Wasagara and Wagogo, partake a little of the appearance of both. They are a plain race, but stout and well grown. Though to appearance hearty and good humoured, they are determined pilferers: they have more than once attacked caravans, and only the Warori have prevented them cutting off the road to Ugogo. During the return of the expedition in 1858 they took occasion to drive off unknown a flock of

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1. Nigmann p. 108.

goats: and at night no man, unless encamped in a strong kraal, was safe from their attempts to snatch his goods. On one occasion, being caught in flagrant delict, they were compelled to restore their plunder, with an equivalent as an indemnity. They are on bad terms with all their neighbours, and they unite under their chief Sultan Bumbumu."

"The Wahehe enlarge their ears like the Wagogo, they chip the two upper incisors, and they burn beauty spots in their forearms. Some men extract three or four of the lower incisors: whenever an individual without these teeth is seen in Ugogo he is at once known as an Mhehe. For distinctive mark they make two cicatrised incisions on both cheeks from the zygomata to the angles of the mouth."

...There follows a description on their dress and decoration...

"The Tembe, or villages of the Wahehe, are small, ragged, and low, probably to facilitate escape from attack. They do business in slaves, and have large flocks and herds, which however, often are thinned by the Warori, whom the Wahehe dare not resist in the field." 1

Clearly the name Wahehe was known by 1857. Burton thought that the Wahehe were a small group of people living to the south west of the Rubeho mountains in an area where there was a place called Rudi and another called Kinyanguku, probably the same as the places known by those names in the south of Mpwapwa district today. According to his map he assumed that this area of Uhehe included some land in the then unknown Territory on the southern bank of the Ruaha.

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1. R. Burton. The Lake Regions of Central Africa. Vol. I. pp. 239-40. Burton first published an account of his journey in J.R.G.S. 1859. His two volume book is longer than the account in the J.R.G.S. but the latter includes a little information which is not in the book.

It is a problem to find out why these people were known as Wahehe because they appear to have been quite different from any of the people to the south of the Ruaha who later came to dominate the area. Today the Wahehe do not enlarge their ears like the Wagogo, nor do they chip the upper incisors, burn beauty spots on the forearms, extract lower incisors or make incisions on both cheeks from the zygoma to the angles of the mouth. The only mark common to the majority of the Wahehe today is small cuts, one in the canthus of each eye, made in the hope of curing conjunctivitis or a squint. Along this Ugogo - Uhehe frontier area today there are people who call themselves Wahehe who have a burn scar between the eyebrows (which is more often found on Wagogo) and scars in the canthus of each eye, or even the Wagogo burn alone, but none who call themselves Wahehe who have extracted the lower incisors or enlarged their ear lobes. Those who have done so usually claim to be Wagogo. Some other people in this area today chip their two upper incisors and have a burn on their foreheads, but they usually claim to be Wasagara.

The name Bumbumu bears no resemblance to the names of any of the chiefs from the plateau or Usungwa mountains who might have been ruling at this time, that is Kilonge, Ngawonalupembe and Munyigumba, who was also known as Binini. Arning mentions "Bomboma, des Tikatika Sohn, Hauptling der Wambunga um Kisaki".<sup>1</sup> Bomboma

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1. Arning M.D.S. Vol. X. p. 57.

and Bum<sup>b</sup>Bum<sup>c</sup> bear considerable resemblance to each other and the Wambunga were a small section of the Angoni who raided far and wide, but are unlikely to have lived in terror of the Warori. This is a ~~very~~ difficult text to explain or comment on, but it is very important in the ethnography and history of this area between Wota and the Ruaha.<sup>1</sup>

There is a fuller description of the inhabitants of Pawaga elsewhere<sup>2</sup> but this much suffices to draw two conclusions. The name Wahehe was in use by 1857 even if it was not used for those who later became known as Wahehe, and it is most unlikely that Burton was describing a people who had any close cultural or political connections with those living in the highland chiefdoms who later became known as Wahehe. Attempts to construct a chronology of this period before the reign of Munyigumba have to rely on oral tradition collected recently, and that collected, or collected and interpreted, by Germans and others since.

There are some articles outlining the possibilities of an earlier occupation of Uhehe by a different people. One author<sup>3</sup>

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1. I was unable to visit any of the Wahehe communities north of the Ruaha, but I now consider that field research in this area is of crucial importance in working out the migrations and raids of the Wahehe.
  2. See pp. 119 + 360-2.
  3. G.E.H. Wilson. Man. Nov. 1932. p. 256.  
Meyer also stated that the Wasungwa were an earlier people than the Wahehe of the plateau. p. 185.  
See also Worsley and Rumberger. An Earlier people in Uhehe T.N.R. No. 27. June 1949. pp. 42-46.

suggests that the Vasungwa of the mountains between the plateau and the Ulanga valley are an earlier population than the other groups on the plateau. Individuals and small groups of Vasungwa have probably been moving down on to the plateau for longer than the period covered by historical tradition and this movement continued into the colonial period. It may be possible to corroborate this by collecting genealogical or archaeological evidence in Usungwa. However, the main arguments in these articles, about the population of the Usungwa forest 800 or 900 years ago and of the VaMia people of central Uhehe about 250 to 300 years ago, are not relevant to this study which is only concerned with events within the period where historical continuity in the development of the Wahehe chiefdom can be traced.

Nigmann, whose information was collected between 1904 and 1908, attempted to construct a chronology for the main events in the history of the Vayinga chiefs and later of the Wahehe in general. He estimated the dates like this:<sup>1</sup>

- 1700 Muyinga the elder who came from Usagara and who begat a child in SeMududa, daughter of a chief of Ng'uruhe.
- 1730 Muyinga the younger, son of Muyinga and SeMududa who ruled over his mother's father's chiefdom at Ng'uruhe.
- 1745 - 90 Kitowa and his son also called Kitowa. Nothing is known about them.

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1. Nigmann pp. 8-9.

1790 - 1820 Mdegela who married SeNdali.

1820 - 1855 Kilonge who married SeKindole, daughter of the chief of Lungemba.

1855 Muyugumba -

After this he begins to record events and battles year by year.

It is explained later how certain parts of this genealogy are wrong but whatever version of a genealogy is taken, whether of the Vayinga or of another ruling family in Uhehe, the earliest name on the genealogy is unlikely to be that of a man who lived before 1700.<sup>1</sup> Munyigumba must have succeeded Ngawonalupembe some time between 1855 and 1865, Nigmann gives 1855 and Arning 1860.<sup>2</sup>

The ecology of Uhehe at this period is fairly clear. There is no evidence that there have been any substantial changes in the climate and economy of the area in the last century, but rather gradual developments. Therefore it seems indisputable that in the first half of the nineteenth century the ancestors of the Wahehe had a mixed economy, cultivating and also owning herds of cattle, sheep and goats. Maize was known, although finger millet provided a larger proportion of the staple food in the highland regions. It is commonly acknowledged that the cultivation of maize has increased at the expense of finger millet within living memory. Beans, pumpkins and various vegetable leaves were used

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1. This point is discussed in Brown and Hutt p. 174.

2. Arning M.D.S. 1897. p. 60.

and the only crops of foreign origin which are known to have been introduced since are wheat, potatoes,<sup>1</sup> tomatoes and onions. Methods of agriculture would not have been much affected by the introduction of any of these crops. The only thing in question is whether marsh drainage and cultivation began at this period or later. Potatoes, onions and maize, which is sown during the dry season, are the only crops which need to be grown in the marshes. No main food crop need be.

The position of cattle in the economy is more difficult to assess. Just as the tsetse fly is known to advance and recede on the low land (in such places as that where Burton saw large flocks and herds), so there are increases and decreases in East Coast Fever and other tick borne diseases in the plateau and mountainous areas. Thomson described the Wahehe as "a purely pastoral tribe",<sup>2</sup> and many of the German sources lay stress on the large herds of cattle possessed by the Wahehe. This wealth of cattle was probably a later acquisition gained in successful raiding expeditions. Some Wahehe today maintain that originally they were not cattle keepers and that they only captured them when raiding in order to feed their warriors. There is no tradition of enthusiasm for cattle ownership as a satisfying end in itself and

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1. The Kihehe word for potato appears to be one of the very few words in Kihehe derived from German. Presumably Kartoffel was at first mispronounced katofu and then became kitofu.
  2. Thomson. To the Central African Lakes and Back. p. 234.

the actual herding of cattle is an activity of low esteem. Earlier it was done by slaves and now it is done by small boys or paid servants if a man is particularly wealthy.<sup>1</sup>

It is certain that the Wahehe were never a purely pastoral tribe because the large numbers of cattle which are necessary for a wholly pastoral economy would have demanded more enthusiasm and knowledge of cattle management. On the other hand they must have owned some cattle however few. Cattle were of less importance to most people than in the early years of the colonial period when for the first time all commoners began to pay bridewealth in cattle and to maintain family graves on which they might wish to slaughter a black sheep or an ox. Yet chiefs' daughters were always married for bridewealth paid in cattle and chiefs' descendants made offerings of cattle on their graves. Munyigumba is said to have been herding the cattle of his yaya (classificatory MB) Myovela in Udongwe when he was summoned back to Ng'uruhe to succeed his deceased elder brother Ngawonalupembe. The conclusion is this: during the first half of the nineteenth century the inhabitants of the area which later became known as Uhehe possessed some cattle, but their subsistence economy was never dependent upon them. There is no evidence on which to begin to form any estimate of the number

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1. It is still possible to discuss cattle keeping in the years immediately preceding the German conquest with men who were boy slaves employed as cattle herds before 1894.

of cattle per head of the population or general distribution and ownership.

The size of the population is equally difficult to assess. According to records it has increased astoundingly between the German estimates of 1913 and the last census of 1957.<sup>1</sup> Even when allowance has been made for the increased efficiency of the last census the rate of increase during the colonial period must have been very much larger than that at an earlier period. During the Wahehe wars a great social upheaval took place and epidemics are known to have profound effects on all primitive communities, as indeed they did in mediaeval Europe. Smallpox and famine alone could account for sudden fluctuations of population and for movements of whole groups from one area to another.<sup>2</sup> While the Wahehe were expanding their domains and were victorious in battle the increase in their numbers by importation of women and children from other tribes could have more than compensated for their losses in battle. It is clear therefore that there were large uninhabited areas and that even the inhabited parts were often only sparsely settled.

There must have been a little trade as early as this even though there are no traditions about it. It would have been

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1. See the figures given in Ch. II p. 34 + facing.
  2. M. von Prince Eine Deutsche Frau im Innern von Deutsch Ost Afrika p. 200. She describes the ravages of a smallpox epidemic in Usangu in 1899.

necessary for the inhabitants of the plateau and the Usungwa mountains to get salt somewhere and they could have obtained it from Ugogo, or from a place called Malenga Makali just below the escarpment and south of the Ruaha (i.e. not the famous Marenga Makali on the caravan route). There is iron-producing rock on the central plateau and the Wahehe recognise that their ancestors knew how to smelt, although today they show little interest in iron working and it is known that under Mkwawa smiths were usually members of other tribes, often Wabena. The Wahehe need clay to make pots and reeds to make mats, baskets and drinking vessels. Today the people from areas where there are good reeds but poor clay exchange reeds for clay brought by people from areas where there is good clay but no reeds. It is reasonable to assume that the same was true over one hundred years ago.

It is quite possible that the Wahehe obtained cloth and beads and copper wire which had come from the coast even though they did not at first trade directly with the Arabs. Traders passed near enough in Usagara, Ugogo and Usangu for the goods to be passed on again to the Wahehe. Doubtless they produced some cloth for themselves; they claim to have grown cotton and woven it and some people can name the tools with which they spun and wove. Then when it became easier to obtain cloth by trade they gave up producing it themselves. When cloth was more difficult to obtain they wore less of it and women and children went without. The



A small girl wearing a traditional string apron (usako).

C.M.S. missionary Price claims to have seen completely nude Wahehe warriors in 1883, long after they had had ample opportunities to get cloth through trade.<sup>1</sup> The Wahehe say that women wore string aprons and girls wore them suspended from the chest as well. Occasionally these aprons (called usako) are worn by small girls today.

Game was more abundant at this early period than at any later one. Meyer comments on the decreasing amount of game during the period of German rule.<sup>2</sup> In a number of stories of the coming of founders of ruling lineages including that of Muyinga, the founder is said to have come into Uhehe when hunting game and the same is true of clans or lineages of other tribes where the founder was a Muhehe hunter straying into another tribal territory, for example, in Ugogo. Indeed, however and why ever people fled from one area to another, they had to depend largely on hunting for food on the journey. Elton's account of his journey passing through Usangu shows the importance of game for feeding expeditions.<sup>3</sup> A much greater abundance of game would be consistent with the smaller population. The graves of Kilonge and SeKindole, the parents of Munyigumba are still marked by elephant tusks of convincingly old appearance. Elephants were probably hunted for their tusks before

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1. J.C. Price. C.M.I. 1884. p. 293.

2. Meyer p. 188. He considered this was the result of terrible epidemics.

3. Elton and Cotterill/p. 353.ff. The Lakes and Mountains of Eastern and Central Africa.

there was any direct trade with the Arabs. Later there was substantial trade with them exchanging cloth for ivory.<sup>1</sup>

On the whole it is extremely difficult to place events exactly in time and space and here it is worth commenting on place names in Uhehe, a subject which is relevant to later chapters as well as this one. Some place names have their origin in natural features such as Mlolo or Milolo meaning reed or reeds, Mapogoro a certain type of trees, Idodi or Kidodi a wet place, and Ilamba a pond. There are two or more places with each of these names in Uhehe. The list can be increased easily: masagati a thicket,<sup>2</sup> Mdonya a rainy place, Kidete another type of reeds, Maganga matitu black stones and Malenga makali bitter or salt water. One name can be used for many places.

There are other place names which originally referred to one very small area, or perhaps only one house, and later are used to refer to a large and imprecise area. An example of this is Nyabula. It is said to have been the name of one man's house. The first night he spent in his new house his cow lowed the whole night and kept him awake. The name is derived from nya (having) and kubula (to make the noise of a cow, to low or moo). Later a mission was built nearby and as Nyabula was the only house in the neighbourhood

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1. This is discussed more fully in Ch. V. p. 149.

2. There is another place called Masagati in Ubena of the Rivers, Ulanga.

the mission was called Nyabula. More and more people came to settle near the mission and gradually a large, but indefinite area became known as Nyabula. This type of development is said to have happened often, even during the British period, sometimes where a large area ruled by a jumbe has taken the name from a small area or even the house where he lived.

It is this type of development which makes it difficult to reconstruct the earlier divisions of the country, boundaries and places where chiefs ruled, even where the founder of the Muyinga dynasty ruled. He is said to have succeeded his mother's father<sup>1</sup> at Ng'uruhe (now the name of a kijiji, a Swahili word used for the area over which a sub-headman rules) but it is also said to have been in Usungwa, a very large indefinite area in the highlands which is sometimes used to include, and sometimes to exclude the kijiji of Ng'uruhe. The grave of Kilonge is in the kijiji of Uleling'ombe which is roughly 10 miles from Ng'uruhe. In these circumstances it is impossible to make any serious estimate of the size or precise location of different groups before the reign of Munyigumba.

The Wahehe kinship system has already been described and there is no reason to suppose that the system has changed radically during the last 100 years, although it is possible that certain types of marriages occurred more often than they do today. Praise names

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1. Some versions say mother's brother.

and food avoidances probably played much the same role as they do today, but many descent names were different because those used today are often the personal names of people living at this period or even later.

There is however, plenty of evidence that a number of separate groups existed and that there were frequent small migrations within Uhehe and from outside it. Although the historicity of every story of a migration cannot be proved a general pattern emerges from a number of these stories and such migrations are consistent with other information about the origin of descent groups and their praise names and food avoidances. It was suggested in the last chapter that there may be several different origins for praise names and food avoidances, which is a good reason why all cannot be fitted into a tidy pattern and why the most intelligent and well informed Wahehe cannot explain the system as a whole.

It is easy to see how immigrants can be absorbed and praise names and food avoidances imported. Most other tribal groups in this area have food avoidances which are inherited so that it is no problem for members of other tribes to find something which can be equated with the msilo of the Wahehe. Praise names require a little more imagination where something of the same sort does not exist in a person's own tribe, but they are not so difficult to invent or borrow. There are people living in Uhehe claiming to be Wasagara, Wabena or Wasangu, who use a common Kihehe praise

name but have a food avoidance generally unknown in Uhehe. Alternatively some even have a praise name and a food avoidance which are both common in Uhehe. A number of immigrants choose or invent what praise name they fancy. This may account for the praise names Mubena and Mukinga, as immigrants found it easiest to use the name of the tribe from which they came. When such a man marries local Wahehe women his children grow up speaking Kihehe and after three generations his descendants are well absorbed into Wahehe society. They preface the name of the original immigrant with Mwa or Se and use a praise name and food avoidance which they inherit patrilineally. The children of a MuSukuma soldier whose name was SolTanganyika call themselves MwaSoli and SeSoli. Knowing that one's patrilineal ancestor came from a different tribe is unimportant as many lineages, including the Vayinga, claim to be descended from members of other tribes. When a Muhehe man living in Uhehe marries a woman of another tribe, whether slave or free, there is no difference in the status of the children from those of Wahehe women and the question of praise names and food avoidances is never affected by the origin or status of the mother. There has never been any question of woman-marriage among the Wahehe, nor of people being grafted into a patrilineage through a woman ancestor. Some ways in which the descent system is manipulated have been described in chapter III.

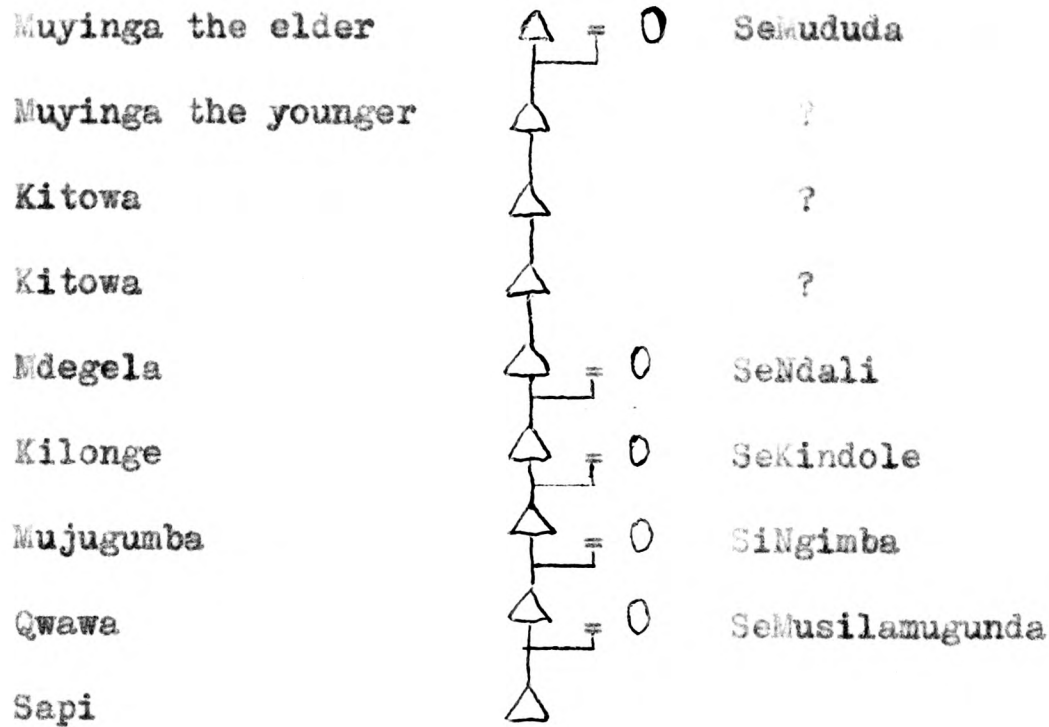
A few undistinguished people can explain how one of their agnatic ancestors came into Uhehe from some other area and how they are descended from the original immigrant. Among those descended from one time rulers these stories are much more common. Foremost among these stories of immigrants who begat men who became rulers of one of the small groups in Uhehe, is the story of Mufwimi, the father of Muyinga. There is good reason to discuss these traditions first because they are about the ancestors of the great Vayinga chiefs, Munyigumba and Mkwawa, who, by uniting a number of diverse groups, created the Wahehe tribe. The Germans had considerable incentive to be interested in Mkwawa and his claim to authority and Nigmann wrote "A history of the people calling themselves and known under the name of Wahehe cannot be separated from the history of the ruling family, the Qwawa dynasty"<sup>1</sup>. This remark of Nigmann's is true of their political and military history at least.

There are a number of versions of the coming of Mufwimi the hunter and also several versions of an earlier part of the genealogy. The details of these do not matter here but it is easy to present some of the different versions in outline.<sup>2</sup>

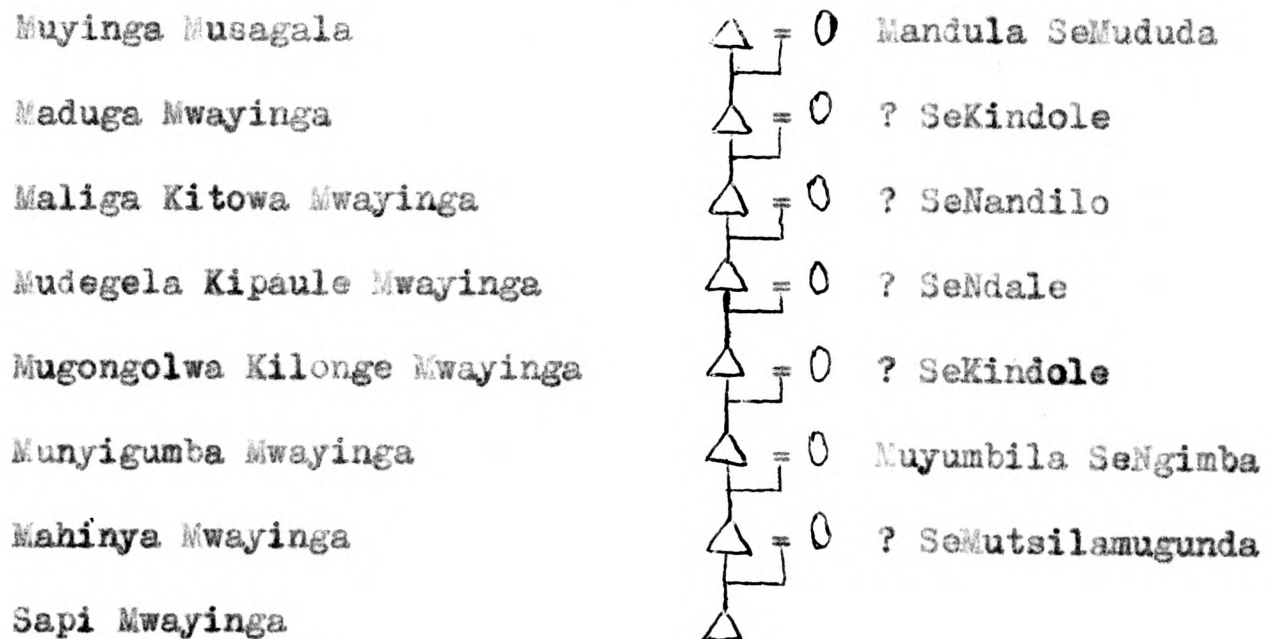
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1. "Eine Geschichte der sich Wahehe nennden und unter diesem Namen bekannten Volkerschaften ist von der Geschichte des Herrschergeschlechts, der Qwawa-Dynastie nicht zu trennen." Nigmann p. 8.
  2. I consider that little more can be said about this until more work has been done collecting other versions of this story from different parts of Uhehe and from groups among neighbouring tribes. Then a comparison and discussion of the different versions might be very profitable.

Examples of the genealogy of the Chiefs of Uhehe

1) From Nigmann<sup>1</sup>



2) From Dempwolff<sup>2</sup>

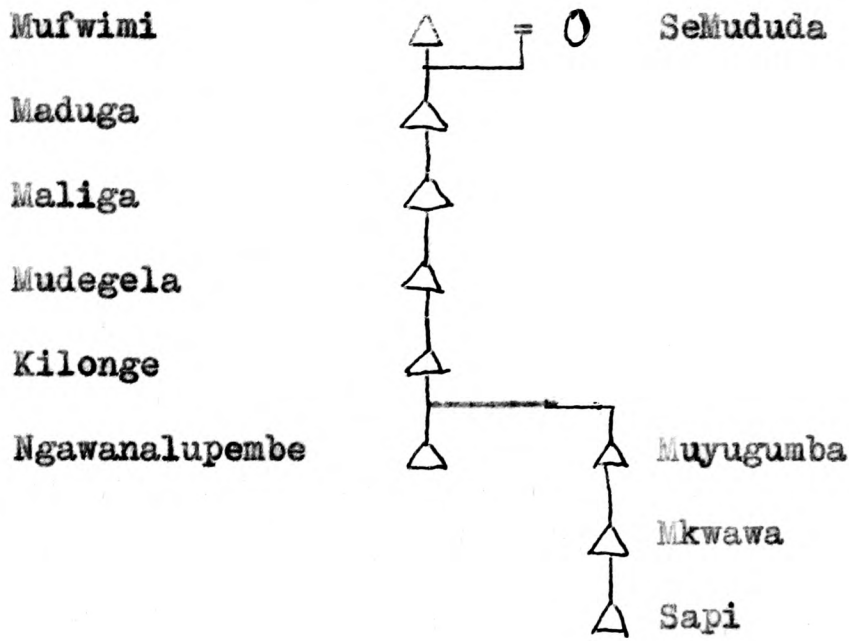


1. Nigmann. pp. 8-9, 20.

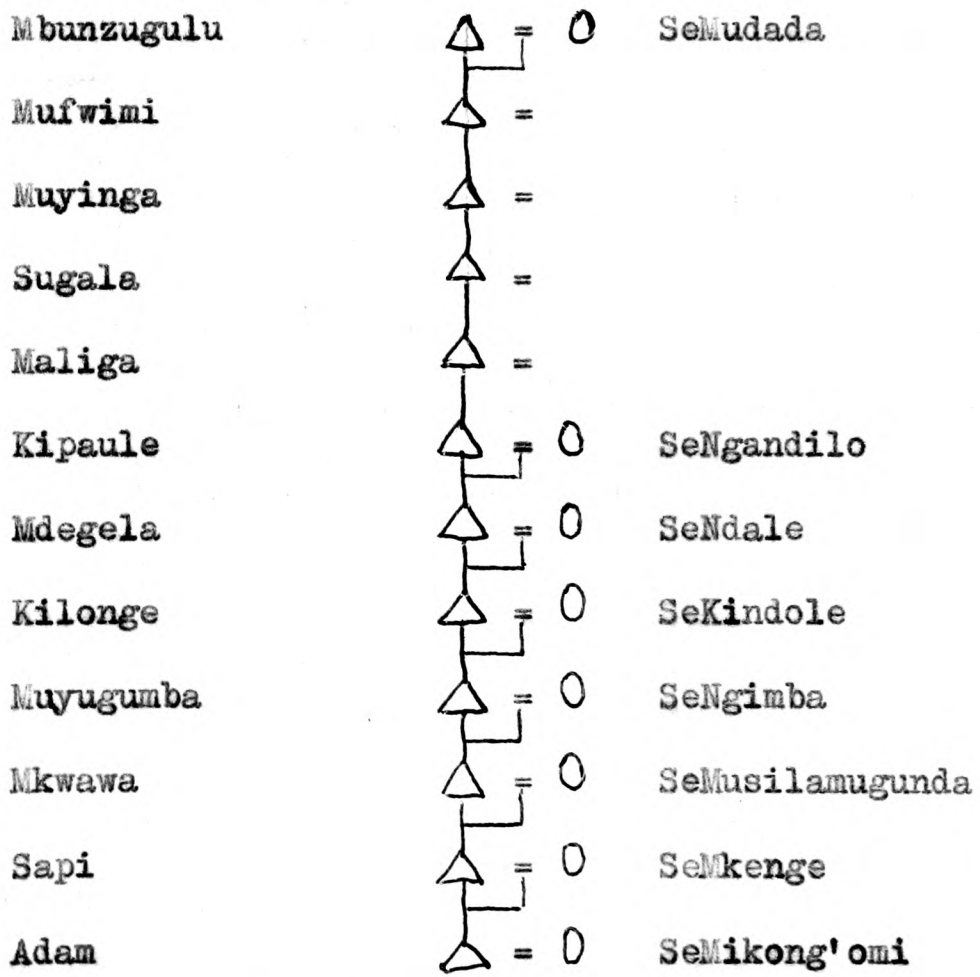
2. Dempwolff. p. 118.

Examples of the genealogy of the Chiefs of Uhehe. (contd.)

3) From Brown<sup>1</sup>



4) Collected in 1961



1. Brown and Hutt. pp. 24-5.

Nigmann calls the hunter who came from Usagara Muyinga the elder.<sup>1</sup> He came with many hounds to hunt wild animals and reached Ng'uruhe where he captured the affections of SeMududa, daughter of the chief and she became pregnant by him. He left before the child was born but he gave instructions that if the child were a boy he should be called Muyinga. This Muyinga succeeded his grandfather Mududa as chief instead of Mududa's favourite son because he, Muyinga, was more intelligent.

Brown summarises the story thus: -

"The story begins with Mufwimi, son of a chief, who came from Usagara on a hunting trip, accompanied by his brother. The brothers quarrelled, and Mufwimi, after a long chase, found himself in Nguruhe, where he was hospitably received by the local chief, Mududa. He stayed some time and became the lover of the chief's daughter. She became pregnant, and he, fearing the anger of her father, ran away. Before he left, he told her what to name the child: he told her his clan, praise name, and avoidances. A son was born, was named Muyinga, was given the praise name Mulugu, and was told to avoid eating funo (small buck), the nyakihuko (large rat), and food cooked by a certain kind of wood - all according to his father's instructions. .... The story goes on to tell how the young Muyinga circumvented the plots of his maternal uncles and how he finally, on the death of his maternal grandfather, drove out his uncles and inherited the chieftainate." 2

There are also two printed versions collected from the chiefs of the Wabena of the rivers. Hodgson's<sup>3</sup> story begins with Muwangi

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1. Nigmann p. 8.

2. Brown and Hutt pp. 24-5.

3. A.G.O. Hodgson. Some notes on the Wahehe of Mahenge District, J.R.A.I. 1926. 56, pp. 37-58.

who came from Usagara to Ikombagulu where he had three sons, Mbangule, Ngulujawangi and Ng'engele. On Muwangi's death Mbangule remained at Ikombagulu and the other two brothers set out and killed and ate a bushbuck then they came to the Ruaha river. Ng'eng'ele went to the river and killed the son of Ngulujawangi who had been sent to draw water. The two brothers then quarrelled and Ngulujawangi went to Utemikwira in the hills of Usungwa above the Ulanga valley and Ng'engele went to Iringa.<sup>1</sup> The descendants of Ng'eng'ele became the chiefs of the Wahehe.

Culwick collected the same story from the Wabena of the rivers:

"Seven generations ago three hunter brothers, Nguruchawangi, Muyinga, and Ngwila, came from the country of the Vidunda, near Kidodi, with their dogs and climbed the Iringa escarpment in search of game. They were the sons of a white man whose name has long since been forgotten. After a little they quarrelled over a water-hole and so they divided out their dogs and other possessions and went their ways, separately, each with his own followers. Ngwila returned to Kidodi and is the ancestor of the Vidunda Chiefs; the other two continued to wander in the highlands. Their prowess in the chase won the admiration of the people in the hills, and presently they both married. Nguruchawangi was given the daughter of Kiangara, ruler of a small area of Ubena of the Hills, while his brother received Semdude, the daughter of Mdude, and Mdongwe ruling at Nguruhe, near Iringa of today. In due course both women conceived, but the brothers returned to their own country before their children were born. They left instructions, however, that if their wives bore sons they were to be called Kihugura and Muyinga respectively, and so it was duly done." 2

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1. He presumably somewhere in the area which later became known as Iringa District, not the area of Iringa town.

2. Culwick p. 57.

Finally here are two versions collected from Wahehe today.<sup>1</sup>

"Kilimikongi was travelling through Masai country and begot a son, Ngale, and Ngale had three sons Ngwila, Ndalivale and Kiduligo. Kiduligo, whose other name was Mufwimi, went to Ikombagulu and lived there for some time and then went hunting to Nyamulenge where a man called Kivamba lived. His daughter was the mother of SeMududa. Mufwimi killed a buffalo and offered it to Kivamba telling him to leave one rear leg only. Mufwimi went to live with SeMududa for one month, went back to Ikombagulu and later returned to Nyamulenge and found SeMududa pregnant. Mufwimi called the people to tell Kivamba that SeMududa was pregnant by him and said that if the child were a girl she was to be called Mung'anzagala, Seto, Kalunda; if the child were a boy he should be called Muyinga, Mulugu."

The second version runs thus:

"Mbunzugulu was born in Ukamba and he left Ukamba with his cross-cousin Ngwila. They went to Tanga and (? they) gave birth to Kimang'ati. They then went to Usagara, to Ikombagulu. There they gave birth to children. The children of Kimang'ati went to Wota and others came to Uhehe. The children of Ngwila went near to Ulanga where they are chiefs today. One child of Mbunzugulu went to Ng'uruhe to the chiefdom of Mududa. There he pleased Mududa by hunting game and by playing a stringed instrument. SeMududa bore a child to him and from this child are descended the chiefs of Uhehe."

This story was told to people who already knew that Muyinga the child of SeMududa took over the chiefdom from the agnatic descendants of Mududa.

The origins of Mufwimi and his activities up to the point when he met SeMududa are not relevant here. There is no method

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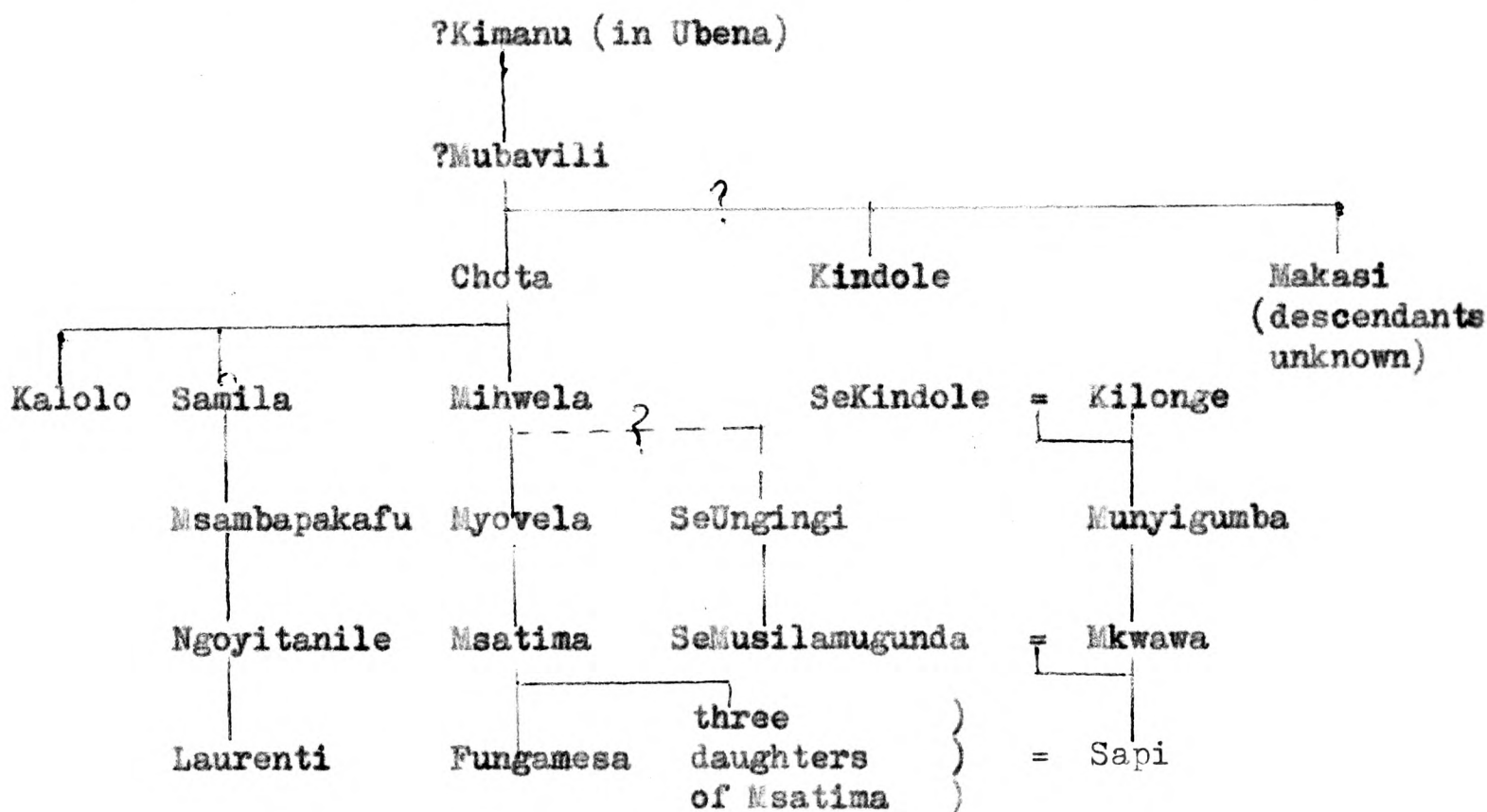
1. Collected in Kihehe. The <sup>second</sup> ~~first~~ was transcribed from a tape recording.

of separating history from myth at this point even though a little textual criticism of these and other versions is possible. It is also interesting to note that bands of Wakamba hunters and traders are known to have reached the coast near Dar es Salaam and Ukaguru at the beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

The activities of the descendants of Mufwimi and SeMududa are of more concern. Every version of the story names SeMududa as the mother of Muyinga, although the VaMududa have no special position in the later history of the Wahehe. None of the later Vayinga chiefs is known to have married into the Mududa family. One of Dempwolff's informants said that if the chief has no son he is succeeded by his mwipwa (ZS) when he lacks a mwipwa he is succeeded by his mwanakwawo (YB) and when there is also no mwanakwawo he is succeeded by his mwisukulu (grandchild).<sup>2</sup> This is the only occasion in the genealogy of the Muyinga chiefs where one has been succeeded by a grandchild or sister's son. (Muyinga is usually said to have succeeded his MF, but occasionally people say he succeeded his MB). Between Muyinga and Maliga the details of the genealogy vary and do not matter much. The details of the relationships between Maliga, Kitova and Mudegela do matter because today their descendants have to know what kinship terms to use to

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1. T.O. Beidelman. Some Notes on the Kamba in Kilosa District. T.N.R. p. 181 ff.
  2. Dempwolff. Baessler Archiv. 4.3, 1919. Text 14.

Diagram to show the important descendants and affines of Chota



Some descendants of Kalolo have been subordinate rulers.

One was a jumbe in Kibengu sub-chiefdom in 1963.

Msambapakafu was mzagila at Wota until the German conquest.

Ngoyitanile and Laurenti held office at Wota during the colonial period.

Myovela was chief of Udongwe until he was driven into Ugogo by Munyigumba.

Msatima was a jumbe at Luhota (Udongwe) under the Germans and until about 1930.

Kindole was chief of Rungemba but is said to have given up his chiefdom without fighting to Kilonge. Female descendants of Kindole were married to chiefs Mumehwa MwaKalinga and Mugabe MwaKalinga and to Mtalamile son of chief Msambila MwaMudemu.

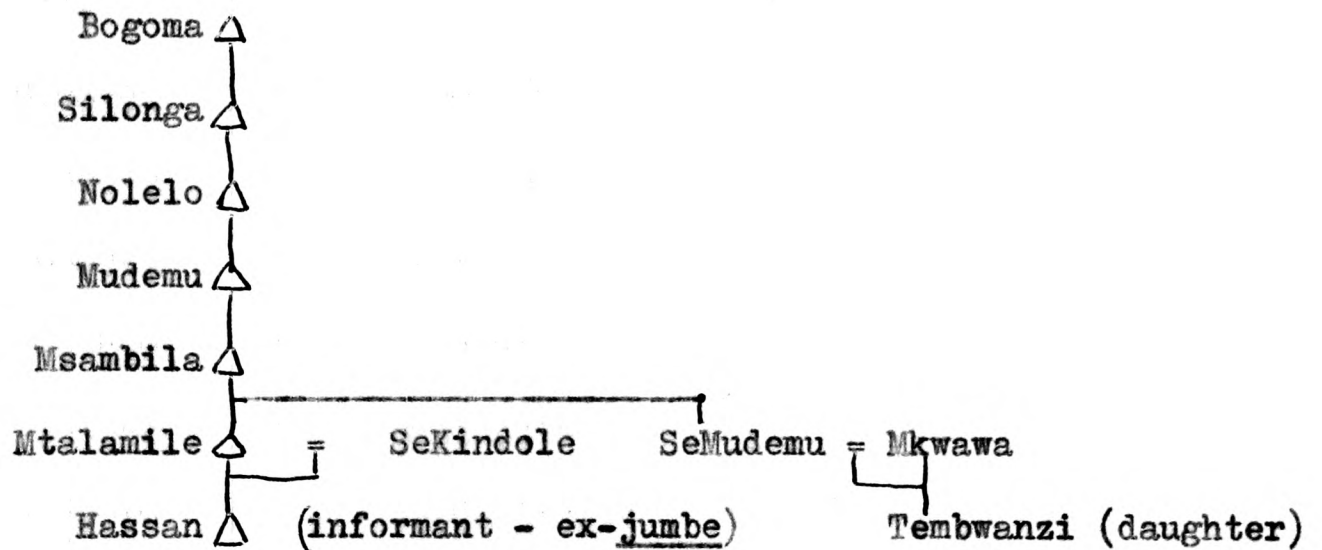
each other and this depends on whether they are of the same or proximate generations. After Mudegela the matter is quite clear and in most cases there is accurate information even about the children of different wives. Kilonge was a chief who married SeKindole and through her took over her father's territory round Rungemba. From this point relationships within the Muyinga family are clear as are those between them and other ruling families. Knowledgeable people of this family can give a consistent account of the most important male children of <sup>Kindole's agnates (? brothers),</sup> Mihwela and Kalolo, to the present day. There is no record of strife between the Kindole branch of this lineage and the Vayinga chiefs. People always insist that Kindole gave up Rungemba without any fighting and that SeKindole was specially honoured by Kilonge (or Munyigumba)<sup>1</sup> because she had ivory tusks placed on her grave. Today a MwaKindole is one of the people responsible for keeping the grave of Munyigumba at Rungemba. At first the Vayinga chiefs were also friendly with <sup>Kindole's agnate (? brother),</sup> Myovela in Udongwe. Munyigumba is said to have been herding cattle with his yaya (NB) Myovela when he was summoned to return and rule his chiefdom on the death of his elder brother Ngawonalupembe. The fighting which then occurred between the two men is described in the next chapter.

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1. It is uncertain whether she died in the reign of Kilonge or Munyigumba.

A line of chiefs, the VaMudemu,<sup>1</sup> were ruling independently on the borders of Ubena and the Ulanga valley: the chiefdom included the area known as Ifwagi and the land as far as the present Malangali settlement. There are conflicting stories about the defeat of the last chief Msambila, whether he was defeated at the beginning of Munyigumba's reign or during Mkwawa's, but at least he or his father was ruling independently at this earlier period. This line of chiefs is said to have been founded by a hunter Bogoma who came from Ndweve in the Ulanga valley.

The genealogy runs thus:-

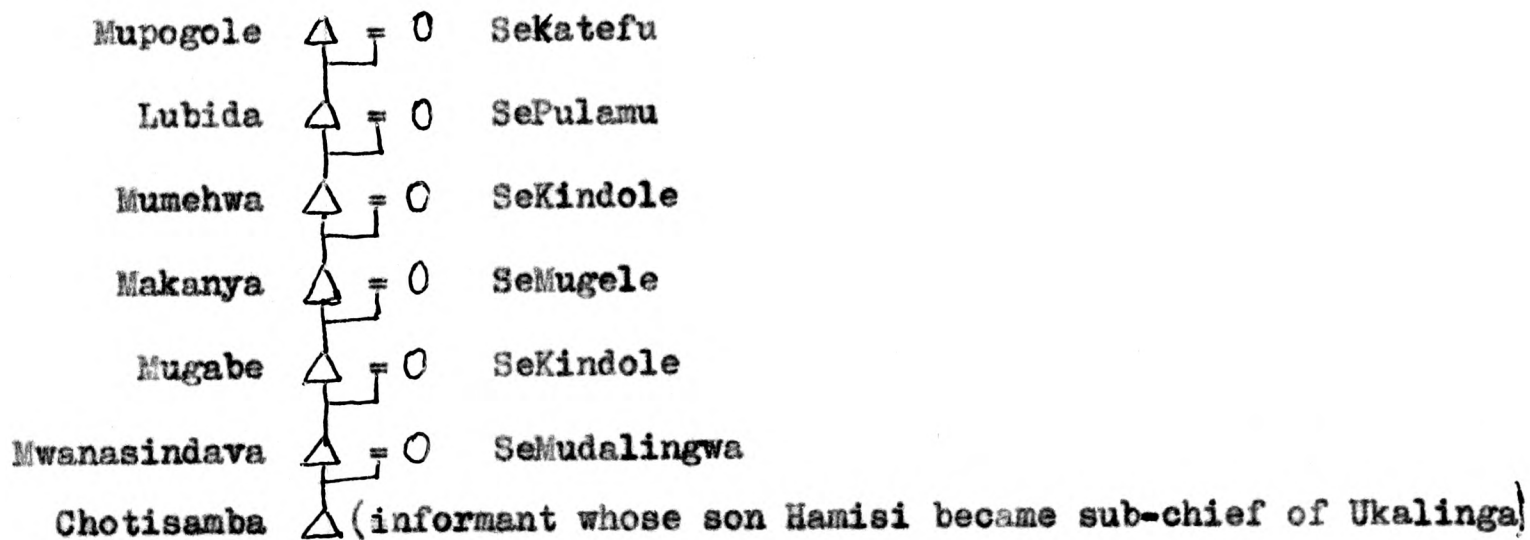


There is no tradition of previous contact between these chiefs and the Vayinga chiefs before the conquest.

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1. Not to be confused with another ruling lineage of the VaMudemu of Ndevelwa north of Iringa town, roughly in the area today known as Isman.

One other place with a well established tradition as an independent chiefdom is Ukalinga in the Usungwa mountains. There are some people who claim that the Kalinga chiefs came from Unyakusa and it is well known that there are many Wanyakusa today called MwaKalinga. However, some of the more important VaMwakalinga claim they are descended from Mufwimi MwaKalinga who came to Kisanga in Ukalinga and then returned to Usagara leaving SeKigungulime pregnant. She gave birth to a child, Mupogole, and he grew up to rule in the area which later became known as Ukalinga, but which at that time was inhabited by Vasungwa who had no chiefs. The genealogy then runs thus:-



This tradition of the hunter coming from the Ulanga valley and impregnating a local woman, often a chief's daughter, whose child then became chief, is reminiscent of the story of Mufwimi, the father of Muyinga. These may well be local variations of a common myth. However, there is no need to doubt that a large family of Vakalinga were established in an area known as Ukalinga (to the

east of the present Ifwagi local court and Mdabulo mission) and that before the reign of Munyigumba chiefs using the descent name Kalinga were ruling independently, and yet were sufficiently involved in the social and political ties of a wider area to marry women of the ruling Kindole lineage of Rungemba.

Roughly between Ukalinga and the country of Mudemu lay the country of the Wakinamanga. Here the traditions are better preserved because their descendants became the independent chiefs of the Wabena of the rivers in Ulanga valley whose history was collected by A.T. and G.M. Culwick and published in 1936. The Wahehe have also preserved stories of the common origin of the founders of the two chiefly lineages and of the battles which were fought between the two groups. The stories do not agree in detail, but it is accepted that the founders of the two lineages were brothers who had come from Usagara on a hunting expedition. One begot Muyinga and the other was either the man known as Manga<sup>1</sup> who begot Kihegula (or Kihugura) or was the father of Manga who was the father of Kihegula. The two traditions are well known and it is certain that before the reign of Munyigumba there was a well established chiefship in the Ngololo area in the hills towards the southern end of the Usungwa escarpment. These chiefs acknowledged and still acknowledge, agnatic kinship with the descendants of Muyinga.

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1. The name comes from Limanga, meaning a cave, where he died.

There were other petty chiefs who later became subject to Munyigumba and Mkwawa, whose names are well remembered, but stories of whose relations with and submission to the Vayinga chiefs have not been recorded. It is most probable that further research in the right areas would help to explain their position at this period. It is worth naming them briefly here. Usavila is a recognised area and was at one time ruled by Mandili who was reputed to have a beautiful back like that of a girl. Those who use Nyenza as a family name are related to him and some hold positions of political authority today. Uhafiwa is also a recognised area and was ruled by Lyelu or Mwano. There are descendants of Mwano using his name as a descent name and his grave below the escarpment towards the Ruaha between Ukwega and Magangamatitu, is still recognised, yet his name does not appear in Brown's list either as the name of a chief or of a chief's clan. Between Iringa town and the escarpment in the north there is an area called Ndevelwa which was ruled by a chief called Mudemu. He was not related to the lineage of chiefs called MwaMudemu near the Ubena border. His descendants have held positions of political authority up to the present. The Vategeta are said to have been a group ruled by Nyembe or Nyembeke. Mutegeta is a praise name, but Utegeta, which one would expect to be the place name associated with it, is not found. The Wategeta are reputed to have lived in the neighbourhood of Ilula. Kihwaganise is a descent name still

in use and in a number of other ruling lineages marriages with women SeKihwaganise are remembered. This family held some position of importance near Ilole. There are also stories about a famous woman SeKamate who lived in the same area. She is sometimes said to have been a diviner and medicine woman and sometimes a ruler. She lived near Image, an impressive mountain the name of which is presumably a form of Linage, meaning big knife.<sup>1</sup> Beyond Image to the east the land falls suddenly into Usagara near where at Mahenge in the Lukosi valley, between the Uhehe escarpment and the Great Ruaha, is the grave of Luafu. This area of Usagara was independent of the Vayinga chiefs before Munyigumba. There were some small rulers in the Usungwa mountains to the north east of Ukalinga and the country of the Wakinamanga. Ngawonalupembe who is said to have been killed fighting Muhingile MwaNgwenga who was chief at Milanzi,<sup>2</sup> and Mgovano was another ruler at Ukwega north east of Milanzi.

Along the Ruaha plains to the north and west lived the Vakosisamba. There seems to be more difference between this group of people and the inhabitants of any area of highland Uhehe than there is between the people of any two areas in the highlands. The ecology of this Ruaha area makes it extremely difficult to rule

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1. Some people say that Kamate was the name of a snake in this area from which war medicine was obtained.
  2. Milanzi presumably means a place where there are many bamboo trees.

today and the same must have been true a century ago. There is a large expanse of flat dry land, with uncertain rainfall, few permanent water holes and abundant wild game. Travelling alone can be extremely dangerous and because settlements are scattered, places where it is safe to spend the night are few and far between. The Great Ruaha river bisects the area and in the wet season is impassable, at least without a canoe. There is a tradition of a certain Mapensa coming from Ugogo looking for somewhere to live. He then divided an indefinite area of the Ruaha plains over which he had established some sort of authority between three of his sons or grandsons and the descendant of one of these was Kayela, a famous hunter. This area was not ruled by any Muyinga chief before Mkwawa's time and culturally and historically it was as much influenced by Wasangu, Wagogo, and even Wakimbu, as by the inhabitants of the Uhehe plateau and mountains.

In all the better established traditions of the rulers of these petty chiefdoms the founders of the ruling families are reputed to have come from some other tribal area. Possibly some informants, not really knowing what to say about the origin of their families' claims to authority, adapted the well known story of Mufwimi, to fit in with the facts they knew. However, this is not true of all and the traditions of strangers, often hunters, passing through an area and founding a royal line is found in many societies in East and Central Africa.

The following list is reproduced from Anthropology in Action, Appendix D. pp.265-6. Brown did not claim that the list was complete but that it contained all the names he had been able to discover and omitted those tribes who were conquered in the past but who were not then under the rule of the Chief of Uhehe.

"List of Tribes Prior to Amalgamation

<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Tradition- al Chief</u>	<u>Chief's Clan</u>	<u>Location</u>
1. Kinamuyinga	Muyinga	Muyinga	Ng'uluhe
2. Igavilo	Kindole	Kindole	Rungemba (Itengulinyi
3. Savila	Mandili	Nyenza	(Wasa (Igongo (Weru
4. Hafiwa	Lyelu	Lyelu	(Kalenga
5. Nyandewelwa	Mudemu	Mudemu	Ndevelwa
6. Dongwe	Mudung'u	Mudung'u	Luheta
7. Nyimage	Maginga	Maginga	Image
8. Nyilambo	Kitalika	Kitalika	Ilambo
9. Nyilole	Kihwaganise	Kihwaganise	Irole
10. Tegeta	Nyembe	Nyembe	Lula
11. Fwagi	Mudemu	Mudemu	Mufindi
12. Kinakalinga	Kalinga	Kalinga	Kalinga (in Uzungwa)
13. Chalamila	Chalamila	Chalamila	Ilongo
14. Sagala	Mukwando	Mukwando	Usagara
15. Sagala	Mwigombe	Mwigombe	Mwino (in Usagara)
16. Nyaganilwa	Mugovano	Mugovano	Kwega
17. Tsungwa	Njole	Njole	Kisinga (in Uzungwa)
18. Tsungwa	Makinda	Kahemela	Musinga (in Uzungwa)
19. Sagala	Lwafu	Lwafu	Mahenge (in Usagara)
20. Sagala	Mwanambogo	Mulandali	Mudahila (in Usagara)
21. Sagala	Mutalula	Wutalo	Mugovelo (in Usagara)
22. Dekwa	Mugomahenga	Muhanga	Udekwa
23. Dene	Mulefi	Mulefi	Luhengo
24. Nyamudene	Mandongo	..	Mudende
25. Nyamugovelo (Sagala)	Mutalula	Mutalula	Mugovelo (in Usagara)
26. Nyang'uluhe	Mududa	Mududa	Ng'uluhe
27. Ilongo	Nduwa	..	Mbweni
28. Ilongo	Mugulwa	..	Ilongo
29. Igongo	Lukungu	Lukungu	Idodi "

Brown, who was writing thirty years ago at a time when many people were still alive who had been responsible adults during the reign of Mkwawa, was in a position to collect information some of which it is impossible to acquire today. He described how the Wahehe were once twenty-nine independent tribes and this statement has been incorporated in many second and third hand accounts of the Wahehe. Because this information is incorrect, or at least because it has been tabulated and quoted in a misleading manner, it is worth discussing the matter further here.

Brown's table, which is reproduced opposite, contains within itself some inconsistencies. He told the story of Muyinga the child of the hunter from Usagara and SeMududa, the daughter of the chief of Ng'uruhe, and how Muyinga displaced the agnatic descendants of Mududa and ruled instead of them over the same tribe and in the same territory; yet in the table Muyinga and Mududa appear as two chiefs of two different tribes (No. 1 and No. 26). His information about Mudung'u, who was chief of the Dongwe at Luhota, is puzzling because Luhota is merely one mountain in the larger area of Udongwe where the inhabitants, the Vadongwe, claim that their chiefs, the descendants of Mihwela, ruled. Not one of these was known as Mudung'u (see No. 6). There are people today who use the descent name Chalamila, but they do not claim to be descendants of a chief of that name. Some of them claim to be a branch of the lineage of Nyenza who was chief of Usavila. It seems very doubtful that there was ever a tribe known as Chalamila. The area of Ilongo

once fell under Mkwawa's authority but it is more generally recognised as part of Usangu. Chalamila himself might have immigrated from Ilongo and settled in part of Uhehe, but that is not the impression given by Brown's list (no. 13). The Sagala at Mugovelo under chief Mutatula (No. 21) were probably the same group as the Nyamugovelo of Mugovelo, also ruled by Mutatula (No. 25). Likewise the Dene of Luhengo (No. 23) may have been the same people as the Nyamudene of Mudende (No. 24) and the Tsungwa of Kisinga in Usungwa (No. 17) the same as the Tsungwa of Musinga in Usungwa (no. 18). From a closer examination of Brown's material and from an assessment of other sources of information it seems extremely unlikely that there were ever as many as twenty-nine separate tribes, each with its own ruler, in the area known as Uhehe today.

In addition to the stories of immigrant founders of ruling lines and of previously independent groups which were later ruled by the Vayinga chiefs, there are stories of Wahehe hunters, warriors and travellers who founded ruling clans in other tribes. In Ugogo there are ruling clans<sup>1</sup> of Wahehe origin and a number of these are listed in the Dodoma District Book. This type of information, collected between 1926 and 1930, should not be regarded as a particularly reliable source. Stories may have been misinterpreted or

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1. The word "clan" here is not intended to have any precise sense nor is it clear what the author of parts of the Dodoma District Book intended it to mean.

have been altered in the process of translation from Chigogo to Swahili and again into English, but they cannot have been wholly invented. Also, among these stories, a number of the expeditions of Mkwawa and Myovela appear to have been recorded with reasonable accuracy, so that other traditions of Wahehe founding Wagogo ruling clans must be taken seriously.<sup>1</sup> The following Wagogo clans are supposed to have been founded by Wahehe: -

The lineage of Makasi, one time tribal head of the people of Kinyambwa

The ruling family of the Wakando who are descended from a man called Mbogo who came from Image in Uhehe.

The ruling family of the Wanangwalo.

The ruling family of the Wangomvia of Hombolo.

The ruling family of the Wataziro (came from Usungwa and passed through Image).

The family of the Wanyanzula of Mvumi.

As well as these stories of Wahehe who founded Wagogo clans there are stories of Wahehe raiders and invaders and some who intervened in Wagogo quarrels but who were eventually driven back into Uhehe.

One of the Wakaguru clan<sup>said to be descended from a Muhehe,</sup> is called Hehe and as genealogies of Hehe Wakaguru go back more than four generations it seems clear

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1. The accounts of the founding of a number of Wagogo clans given in Historia Mila na Desturi za Wagogo wa Tanganyika by Mathias E. Mnyapala agree with most of the statements in the District Book, but this does not necessarily strengthen the evidence for these migrations because Mnyapala, writing in 1954, probably had access to the District Book.

that this Hehe clan in Wakaguru society was established before the well known Wahehe raids in the area from about 1870.<sup>1</sup>

The position so far can be summarised thus: - Up to about 1860 there were a number of small groups of people roughly similar in language and customs, inhabiting what today is the plateau of Uhehe and the Usungwa mountains. There were a number of small chiefdoms (chiefdom may in some cases imply too formal an organisation of authority) which are unlikely ever to have been sharply identifiable units or constant in number for many years at a time. Between these different chiefdoms and neighbouring tribes there was a significant amount of migration precipitated by quarrels, famine, disease, hunting expeditions and perhaps curiosity and desire for adventure. There may have been a number of small wars, or rather raids, but nothing like the wars of Munyigumba and Mkwawa which took place on a scale and with a consistency not remembered of the earlier period.

It is clear that at least the more important chiefs recognised each other as chiefs. In describing the past the Wahehe today use the word mutwa (pl. vatwa) for all rulers when they were independent and this word since the reign of Mkwawa has been used only for him and his ruling descendants, not for any subordinate rulers. When a chief was conquered or when he submitted voluntarily to another chief and was then allowed to rule as a subordinate he was known

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1. Information from T.O. Beidelman.

as mnzagila (pl. vansagila, from kusagila, to hold delegated authority). This word is used of any subordinate holding political authority, whether he is a descendant of a former mutwa or a commoner given the same type of authority.

A number of these vatwa belonged to families where Mulugu is used as the praise name for men. This may be the result of some independent chiefs, or even some who had submitted to the Muyinga chief, thinking it behoved them to use the same praise name as the Muyinga chief. The way in which the descendants of sub-chief Chotaukale Mwambugi have done this has been described earlier.<sup>1</sup> If this had taken place earlier in the case of other descent groups the Wahehe today are not aware of it and it must have happened long before Dempwolff collected his texts. He stated that as far as he could make out Mulugu was only used for dispossessed chiefs, and his article also makes clear that Mulugu was used as a male praise name of the Vayinga.<sup>2</sup>

In general it seems that all independent chiefs, or at least all important ones, even if not every one mentioned earlier in this chapter, were regarded as if they held the same type of position. Other items of historical information bear this out; for example, the ivory placed on the grave of SeKindole, said to be in recognition of the fact that she was a chief's daughter, adds strength to this

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1. See Ch. III p. 77

2. Dempwolff p. 105 e. ff.

argument although in itself it is insufficient to prove the point.

A number of the families of the chiefs mentioned above inter-married throughout several generations. This is remembered to have happened often enough to indicate that marriages between ruling families may have been preferred marriages. The marriages between the ruling branch of Muyinga's descendants and the agnatic kin of Kindole have continued over four generations. The Kalinga chiefs Mumehwa and Mugabe each married a SeKindole and, through these marriages established a relationship also with the descendants of Muyinga and Kindole's agnates, chief Myovela and the others. Another relationship recognised today is based on a marriage which took place four generations ago between a SeNyenza (of the line of the chiefs of Usavila) and a MwaKindole. The child of this marriage, a SeKindole, then married Mugongolwa, a son of the son of chief Mudegela, (a Muyinga chief). This is a small selection of a large number of marriages between ruling families which are remembered.

This argument about the intermarriage of chiefly families is strengthened by the great dispersal of their descendants today. There are branches of the descendants of Muyinga which today use the following descent names: - Muleleu, Mwengamahava, Nzalalila, Mufalingundi, Ngayilevanu, Mugayavanu, Lalika, Mkini, Magohagasenge and almost certainly a number of others. They continue to recognise their common origin with the other descendants of Muyinga although

all these lines are descended from people senior in generation to Munyigumba. They are dispersed today to such an extent that it is most unlikely that they were not already dispersed among the several chiefdoms four generations ago. Musinga and his descendants were known throughout the whole area and Kilonge was probably known as a particularly powerful and influential chief before the other chiefs were forced to submit to his descendants. Furthermore, there is another group of families patrilaterally related to the Vayinga and having the same praise names and food avoidances and therefore unable to intermarry with them. There are several unsatisfactory explanations of how these lineages are related to the Vayinga. Their descent names are Mahembe, Mwangamila, Kitosi, Chang'a, Kibasa and possibly there are others. These lineages are even more dispersed throughout the country than the Vayinga named above. This is further evidence for intermarriage between different groups before there was political unity. Whatever the difficulties of moving from chiefdom to chiefdom and of travelling through unsettled areas there was no social or geographical force to prevent it completely and allegiances must frequently have been transferred from one chief to another.

Hostility between the two sides is a common theme in marriage ritual in East Africa and in an even wider area. The regulated hostility in Wahehe marriages and the themes of wedding songs follow a common pattern, but it is a pattern which would make good

sense in a situation where there is intermarriage between small and often hostile groups. Escorting the bride to the groom's home is made to take a long time as if it were an arduous journey even when it is very near. In a popular wedding song the bride is told to conduct herself politely in the country where she is a stranger.<sup>1</sup> Although cross-cousin marriage is permitted, a number of marriages between subjects of different chiefs was probably necessary because of the extensive incest rules which forbid marriage even with the classificatory parents-in-law of one's classificatory siblings.<sup>2</sup>

Today the graves of some chiefs (or more often the graves of descendants of former chiefs who were themselves only vansagila) are the places where their descendants make offerings for rain. The offerings which most people put on their parents or grandparents graves are concerned with family matters only. In contrast with this offerings for rain on the graves of rulers are concerned with obtaining satisfactory rains over a wide area within which live many people unrelated to the former chiefs. This association of chiefs with the welfare of the country they rule and their obligation to beg favours from their ancestors, (who as dead rulers

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1. Gende <sup>w</sup>Wema mu inyi ya vene.

2. I have a record of such a marriage taking place, but most of the relations of the couple took pains to explain that they disapproved of this.

should be able to intercede effectively with Nguluvi) seems to have been widespread throughout Uhehe.

The association of political power with supernatural power and the use of medicines with chiefship is a recurrent theme in the history of Uhehe. It is probably because of this association that SeKamate, who is generally acknowledged to have been a powerful diviner and medicine woman, is sometimes remembered as a chief-tainness. Kayela, a descendant of Mapensa, seems to have been primarily a hunter with magical powers rather than a chief.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, in the light of more recent history it seems that many of these chiefs achieved their positions because they were powerful diviners and medicine men.

Beyond this a description of the political organisation of these small chiefdoms is partly conjecture. In the light of knowledge of the society one or more generations later some suggestions are reasonable and probably true although unverifiable. It is possible only to outline what is probable while remembering how slender the evidence is. From what is known of population increase during the colonial period it may be a generous estimate for the 1850s to put the size of the population of the area now called Uhehe as high as 50,000. When 50,000 is divided between the 10 or more chiefs who are best remembered it appears that the

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1. SeKamate is the same woman as the one mentioned on p. 118. Kayela was mentioned on p. 119.

former independent chiefs were ruling numbers of people about the same as those ruled by a jumbe in 1961, i.e. 3,000 - 5,000. In a community that size, even where the population is greatly dispersed a chief could know, or know of, all adult men in his chiefdom. How organised the delegation of political power was we cannot tell nor whether at this time any subordinates of the chief were called vansagila, as they were later.

The least that can be said about the settlement of disputes at this period is that it is most unlikely to have been more formal and specialised than it was later. There is no word in Kihehe which can accurately be translated "to judge". Kuhiga means rather to speak in a dispute on either side or when attempting to reconcile two parties. Muhisi (from kuhiga) is today often used for the judge or magistrate in a local court, but it is also used for any people he invites to assist him in giving judgement. Outside local courts muhisi is hardly heard at all although kuhiga is used frequently, however informal the circumstances.

In the light of the manner in which many disputes are settled among the Wahehe today it is reasonable to assume that most lesser matters were dealt with in the same way then, that is by the assembled neighbours or by any appointee of the chief in that neighbourhood. According to Nigmann, at a later date, two crimes reserved for the chief (or for men specially appointed by him) to

judge were homicide and sorcery.<sup>1</sup> Homicide is serious and disrupts the community and may cause outbreaks of violence. The Wahehe today still expect homicides to commit suicide, but if this did not happen then the dispute would have been settled either by revenge on the killer or one of his close relations, by the killer appealing to the chief for protection, or by the chief settling the dispute by arranging compensation which he might pay himself in return for the killer becoming his servant.

Sorcery was presumably considered a greater crime than homicide then, just as it is by most Wahehe today. It is more serious than ordinary murder because ~~the~~ sorcerers<sup>are</sup> is believed to destroy people secretly by using medicine. They are thought to be a particularly dangerous type of evil doer because they can destroy society from within without appearing to do anything. Diviners were probably used to detect sorcerers and chiefs, or at least those chiefs believed to have supernatural power, are likely to have dealt with punishing sorcerers or destroying them.

While there were many small independent chiefs and widely dispersed settlements, it must have been relatively easy for killers and sorcerers, or any other people ill at ease in their own community, to flee and attempt to put themselves under the protection of another chief. It is clear from the many travellers' reports that it was customary over a wide area for

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1. Nigmann p. 45 and p. 52.

travellers to send word of their arrival to every chief, however unimportant, and to receive his permission to pass through his territory. If this happened in so many neighbouring areas there is no need to suppose it did not also happen in Uhehe. Chiefs must have given permission to newcomers who wished to settle in their areas.

There is little attachment to land today and at this period when there was the same amount of land for a population possibly only one fifth or one quarter of its present size there can have been little problem of land rights. It is generally accepted that most people practised shifting cultivation. Most people did not bury their dead so there could have been no difficulty of continuing to look after the graves of their ancestors. Land disputes are rare today so they are hardly likely to have occurred in great numbers at this earlier period. However, even where land is plentiful today it is generally accepted that a stranger should approach the subordinate of the chief in the area where he wishes to clear new ground, even though the ground may never have been cultivated before.

Although before the reign of Munyigumba there is thought to have been peace in the area, there is evidence of a little fighting. Myovela is supposed to have conquered Luinda, Image, Ilula and Ndevelwa and Muhingile and Ngawonalupembe were fighting at Milanzi. The Wakinamanga are also reported to have been fighting in the

Ngololo area and only when further conquest or plunder in the highlands was impossible did they begin to move further into the Ulanga valley.<sup>1</sup> Ngawonalupembe, and Myovela and Mtengela led their subjects in battle and this may have been true of other chiefs in small battles and raids for plunder. These battles were often family quarrels between chiefs concerned with inflicting minor defeats, capturing women and cattle, retaliating for abuse or other wrongs, rather than aggressive wars of annexation.

During this period before Munyigumba's reign the concept of the Wahehe tribe or Wahehe society is an anachronism. There was a certain cultural and linguistic affinity between neighbouring groups as there is between Wahehe and Wagogo or Wahehe and Wasagara near the tribal boundaries today. Some small groups may have been fairly isolated, but there was a significant amount of social interaction between them, of intermarriage, migration and counter migration. These groups were not exclusive groups and newcomers were able to establish themselves and even achieve political authority if they had outstanding qualities. The number and size of groups under independent chiefs is unlikely to have been stable for long. No large political units were known anywhere near the Uhehe plateau and Usungwa mountains. At the death of Ngawonalupembe (1855-60) the most important chief in the area was Merere of the

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1. Culwick p. 21.

Wasangu and Mtengela of the Wakinamanga was at least the equal of Ngawonalupembe. Within the first decade of Munyigumba's reign the tribal groupings and distribution of political authority underwent a significant change.

## CHAPTER 5

The Reigns of Munyigumba and Mkwawa (c.1860-1894)

During the reigns of Munyigumba and Mkwawa the Wahehe emerged from their former obscurity and became the most famous warrior tribe in German East Africa. This is a crucial period in the history of the Wahehe, and indeed, in the history of Tanganyika. The number of trading expeditions steadily increased from about 1840 and as the number of imported fire arms grew so did the volume of the slave trade. Various European explorers made important geographical expeditions through central Tanganyika and all of them wrote accounts of their journeys, some of which contain very useful historical information. The first missionaries began to travel inland and many of those who were bound for Uganda used the route through central Tanganyika and then turned northward to Lake Victoria. Although no missionaries actually settled in Uhehe until 1896, some Wahehe came into contact with the Church Missionary Society missionaries in their Mpwapwa station at least twenty years earlier. Other missionaries passed along the central trade route, through Ukaguru and Usagara near the site on which the

Kilosa station was built, on through Ugogo to Unyamwezi where the White Fathers started work. At the beginning of this period the Germans had no interests inland, but by the end of it German East Africa had been formally annexed and the German Governor, von Schele, led the expedition which stormed the Wahehe fort at Kalenga. The tribal groupings and distribution in Tanganyika today owe much to the events during this period, particularly to the campaigns of the Masai, Angoni and Wahehe.

The primary and secondary sources are both much greater in quantity and quality for this period than for earlier ones. Among the primary sources directly relevant to a study of the Wahehe are Thomson, who spent some days travelling through Uhehe, Elton and Cotterill who were in the Wasangu camp when it was attacked by Wahehe, and the missionaries Price, Stuart Watt and Last, who encountered the Wahehe to the north of the Ruaha in Usagara, Ukaguru and Ugogo. Rochus Schmidt, Tom von Prince and his wife Magdelene, von Pfeil and other German soldiers, wrote a large number of reports which have been published in Deutsches Kolonialblatt and the supplementary Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten, and other German colonial periodicals. These reports were written at the time of their campaigns against the Wahehe, or very soon afterwards, and this is only a small selection of the obvious sources among a larger number which might be found with further search. The unpublished records of the Church

Missionary Society and the White Fathers and presumably many German military reports and colonial documents can all be expected to contain some first hand material on Wahehe movements and wars even if there is nothing on Wahehe social organisation.

The secondary sources are more numerous. Intelligent and interested Germans like Nigmann, Dempwolff and Arning collected what material they could within a decade of Mkwawa's death, some of it of remarkable quality. Even when Gordon Brown collected his material between 1930 and 1934 there were many people alive and mentally alert who had been responsible adults taking part in important events during Mkwawa's reign. Brown persuaded Bonifas, the eldest surviving son of Mkwawa, to write about his escape from the Germans after the fall of Kalenga and this manuscript has survived. There are Swahili and English accounts of Angoni, Wabena and Wasangu history which mention the relations of these tribes with the Wahehe. Some Wahehe today can give secondhand accounts of the events of this period and at least two or three people can give muddled first hand ones.

There are difficulties in selecting dates to mark the end of one period and the beginning of another. At the beginning much of what was written in the last chapter about the period before Munyigumba's reign has more in common with the early years of his reign than his early years have with the later years of Mkwawa's reign. At the end the period 1894 - 1898, when Mkwawa was still

alive and resisting the Germans, in some ways belongs as much to this period as to that of German rule. However, the division has to be made somewhere and the unity of this period is that of the military success and expansion of Uhehe under two independent military chiefs Munyigumba and Mkwawa. It emerges clearly in talking to Wahehe about tribal history that they regard the fall of Kalenga, not the death of Mkwawa, as the end of an era.

It is possible to catalogue a large number of these successful military campaigns even if it is not possible to date them all. The general picture is correct whatever inaccuracies there are in detail. At the beginning of Munyigumba's reign his campaigns were only among other small chiefs on the plateau and in the Usungwa mountains. He conquered Myovela, his classificatory mother's brother and chief of Udongwe, and through his success in Udongwe we can assume that he extended his influence to the north east through Ilole, Ilula, Image and into the Lukosi valley over the Wasagara between the escarpment and the Great Ruaha. This is probably also the period when the rulers of Usavila, Uhafiwa and Ndevelwa were defeated by, or submitted to, Munyigumba. Msambila Mwamudemu was definitely defeated, although it is not clear whether this happened under Munyigumba or Mkwawa. There followed campaigns against chiefs who never fully submitted to Munyigumba or Mkwawa, Mtengela of the Wakinamanga, Kipeta of the Angoni and Merere of the Wasangu. A series of raids and campaigns

against each of these tribes started under Munyigumba and was taken up again by Mkwawa. The history is complicated by the fact that each of these four tribes is supposed to have fought on each of the other three at some point. The following reconstruction of events has been worked out from Nigmann, Culwick, a Swahili history <sup>of the Angoni</sup> from the provincial records at Songea, an account of Wasangu history from Mbeya district book and oral tradition recently collected from the Wahehe.

The Wahehe admit that the Wakinamanga under Mtengela were very fierce and Munyigumba was defeated by them three times before he called upon the Wasangu to help him fight them. According to Wahehe tradition these were Munyigumba's first campaigns to the south of his chiefdom, although the Wakinamanga claim that they first fought Munyigumba in response to an appeal by a chief Mbeyela to the south near the present Tukuyu.<sup>1</sup> The Wahehe freely admit defeat, or at least inability to advance, in their first encounters with the Wakinamanga. When they combined with the Wasangu to fight the Wakinamanga they claim to have defeated them at the battle of Mugoda Mutitu. The Wakinamanga claim, however, to have defeated the Wahehe and Wasangu at another battle and say that the battle of Mugoda Mutitu was a later battle, when the

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1. Mbeyela was probably the chief of one of the groups of Wabena in the present Njombe District. (See section on Tribal History of the Wabena in the Njombe District book).

Wahehe killed the two younger brothers of chief Mtengela, he himself remaining undefeated.<sup>1</sup>

The Wahehe claim that the Wasangu chief Merere had been persuaded to join Munyigumba against the Wakinamanga because Munyigumba had promised him his beautiful daughter as a reward.<sup>2</sup> Current oral tradition among the Wahehe and an unidentified source used by Cory agree that this daughter was returned to her father when she had been blinded by smallpox. When Merere had insulted Munyigumba in this way, Munyigumba attacked him and he fled to Unyamwezi. He had only just returned and fortified his camp when Elton and Cotterill arrived from the south at the end of October 1877.

They stayed for about a month while the Wahehe were attacking Merere's fort and Elton wrote an excellent day to day account of the battle.<sup>3</sup> The Wasangu already had guns and Elton presented Merere with two more, but as he does not mention that the Wahehe had any at this point this omission must be taken to indicate that if they had any at all there were not a significant number.

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1. Culwick pp. 23-24 and 35-39.
  2. There is no written account of this from the Wasangu but Cory suggests that Munyigumba was forced to give his daughter to Merere because Merere had defeated him. From the draft of an unpublished article by Cory entitled African Leaders of the Past.
  3. Elton and Cotterill p. 345 ff.

Further north Elton came upon some wandering Machinga one of whom had a gun, but that was all.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the account the Wahehe are referred to as Machinga which Elton notes one man pronounces distinctly as Mayinga.<sup>2</sup> This is an abusive form of Muyinga and is one of the many instances where a chief's name is used for his whole tribe. (It is a common form of abuse to use the Li - Ma prefixes for people instead of Mu - Va). Elton writes about Moenyegumbe the chief of the Machinga, but he does not use the word Wahehe at all. It also emerges from Elton's account that Munyigumba had campaigned in the country of the Niam Niam (a place to the south west not precisely identified) and among the small chiefdoms on the route between Merere's camp and Useke on the central trade route.<sup>3</sup>

After leaving Merere on his way north Elton heard that the Makangwala, a group of Angoni, in alliance with Merere, had smashed the Machinga and burnt up their towns and villages and taken back Merere's cattle.<sup>4</sup> This must be the Angoni - Wahehe war which all sources place in about 1879. Nigmann records no previous battles between Wahehe and Angoni but Wahehe,<sup>5</sup> Angoni<sup>6</sup> and Wakinamanga<sup>7</sup>

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1. Ibid., p. 378.

2. Ibid., p. 347.

3. Ibid., pp. 373-4.

4. Ibid., p. 385.

5. Verbal information.

6. A typescript of a Swahili history of the Angoni found in the Songea boma.

7. Culwick p. 35.

accounts all agreed that there had been. All Wahehe accounts agree that in a counter raid the Angoni chased the Wahehe back as far as Nyamulenge, in the neighbourhood of Ilula. There Munyigumba was imprisoned in a cave and relieved by Mkwawa and Mwambambe, one of Munyigumba's advisers, who drove the Angoni away. Shortly after this Munyigumba returned to Rungemba and died.

The military history of Munyigumba's reign can be summarised thus: - During the first years he was conquering or procuring the submission of other groups who acknowledged themselves as subjects of Munyigumba and later of Mkwawa, Sapi and Adam (e.g. Myovela, Muhingile of Milanzi and Mugabe of Ukalinga). Later he campaigned against Mtengela of the Wakinamanga, Merere of the Wasangu and Kipeta of the Angoni. After several campaigns the Wakinamanga were defeated sufficiently to cause them to abandon the hill country round Ngololo. This happened after a fierce battle at Mugoda Mutitu in the hill country and is dated by Nigmann 1867,<sup>1</sup> but by Culwick 1874-5.<sup>2</sup> Merere and Munyigumba had been involved both in hostilities and alliances before Munyigumba, insulted by Merere returning his blind daughter, drove Merere into Unyamwezi. Merere later returned and rebuilt his fort, to be attacked again by the Wahehe in October and November 1877. The Wahehe then withdrew.

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1. Nigmann p. 10.

2. Culwick p. 23.

In 1878 or 1879 there was an Angoni counter attack when they penetrated almost to the north of the Uhehe plateau besieging Munyigumba, who was only relieved by Mkwawa and Mwambambe to die soon after. The only campaign mentioned by Nigmann which is not fitted into this scheme is one against the Wambunga of the Ulanga valley in 1875.<sup>1</sup> There is no means of verifying this from the available sources, but whether it took place or not matters little for the present description of military history and inter tribal relations.

When Munyigumba died it was not obvious that in 15 years the Wahehe were likely to dominate a much wider area and achieve the most remarkable military reputation of any tribe in the territory. The Wahehe were less well known than the Wasangu or Angoni and had had less contact with people coming from the coast than either of these tribes. Tipu Tib mentions visiting Mtengela in about 1862 when he had been to Mahenge where the Mafiti were and later, between 1863-5, he passed through Usangu. He mentions chief Merere and gives the impression that trading expeditions in Usangu were quite common.<sup>2</sup> The Wahehe had not emerged superior in their campaigns against the Wasangu and Angoni and the pattern of attack and counter attack promised to continue, as indeed it did. Furthermore, although Mkwawa was an adult man with a child and had

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1. Nigmann p. 11.

2. Maisha ya Hamed bin Muhammed el Murjebi yaani Tippu Tib pp. 42-3. For the date I have accepted Alison Smith's calculation.

campaigned against the Wasangu and the Angoni, his succession was not secure.

There are many more Wahehe and European sources for Mkwawa's reign and so it is easier to establish a sequence of events, even though some things are still in doubt. It is certain that Munyigumba died in 1878 or 1879, because immediately or soon after his death one of his senior vansagila, Mwambambe, had seized power and Mkwawa had fled to Ugogo. Thomson, the first traveller to leave a record of travelling through the highland parts of Uhehe, passed through in 1879 and states that he found the country under the control of "Mamle"<sup>1</sup> who had been an under chief of "Machinga".<sup>1</sup> From other evidence and from the rest of this description it seems clear that Mamle was Mwambambe<sup>2</sup> and Machinga was the name he used for Munyigumba. When Thomson tried to return in 1880 he found war in the country; Machinga's son had allied with Merere to overthrow Mwambambe (Mamle).<sup>3</sup>

There are several other accounts of these events which are difficult to reconcile in detail, but all agree that Mwambambe was a captive who became both son-in-law and senior mzagila of Munyigumba and that he seized power from Mkwawa after murdering some of the other children of Munyigumba. Mkwawa with some of

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1. Thomson. Vol. I. p. 231.

2. Fülleborn, who is the most reliable of the German authors, agrees that Mamle was Mwambambe. (p. 207).

3. Thomson. Vol. I. p. 233.

his father's subjects who were loyal to him ran away to Ugogo where he stayed for about one year and then returned with the help of Malavanu Mwambalinga, an mzagila somewhere in the Image area.<sup>1</sup> They caused Mwambambe to flee to Kihwele (or Kivele) in Unyamwezi. He returned with Wakonongo forces and there was a great battle, probably at a place called Gumbilo which was afterwards known as Ilundamatwe, meaning a place where heads were piled up (kulunda = to heap up, matwe = big heads, from mutwe = head). Mwambambe was killed after a very fierce fight and so was Mtumbikavana Mwamulenge one of his supporters, who had been an important mzagila in Udongwe or Usavila, under him. Mwambambe himself is reported to have spent most time in the south of Uhehe and in Ubena.

There are an increasing number of events remembered for the period up to 1894. Giraud passed through Uhehe in 1884 and came upon Malavanu near the Usagara border and then reached Kalenga, (at that time known as Ilinga) where he stayed in Mkwawa's first fort but did not see the chief. The picture and description of measurements of the fort make it clear that this was not the same fort as that stormed by the Germans ten years later and the Wahehe state that there was an earlier smaller

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1. One of his descendants was Sembalinga, second wife of Chief Sapi.

fort fenced by mitono trees.<sup>1</sup> This first fort had probably been built after Mkwawa's return to Uhehe while Mwambambe had gone to collect his forces in Unyamwezi.

It is not possible to work out the exact series of Wahehe campaigns between the defeat of Mwambambe and the battle of Lugalo in 1891, but they can be enumerated. Nigmann gives the following reconstruction of his campaigns:<sup>2</sup>

- 1884 To Useke (present Manyoni district)
- 1885 To Mpenbe and Loato and the population was taken to Nondoia.
- 1886 Against Chief Merere. Mkwawa took two of Merere's daughters. Also to Nyambwa in Ugogo.
- 1887 Against the Wasagara and Vidunda.
- 1888 Another raid on the Wasangu because, after Merere's defeat, they had again started to cultivate in their lost territory at Ilongo.
- 1889 Another battle with the Wasangu and one with the Konde (? Nyakusa).
- 1890 Sent an embassy to the Germans at Mpwapwa.
- 1891 Defeat of the von Zelewsky expedition at Lugalo.
- 1892-3 Expeditions against Mkongolo at Mdaburu and to Loato again bringing the loot to Nondoia. Expeditions to Kilosa where people were submitting to the Germans. Expedition to Kilwele in Unyamwezi.
- 1894 Fall of the Kalenga fort to the von Schele expedition.

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1. Giraud p. 129 ff. I have not been able to discover the Latin name for this type of tree.

2. Nigmann pp. 14-19.

Wahehe and Wasangu oral traditions agree with the pattern of Wasangu wars although the dating may be incorrect. The last battle in which the Wahehe fought the Angoni may have taken place during this period and not before the defeat of Mwambambe. It is remembered by both sides as the origin of their inter-tribal joking relationship (utani).<sup>1</sup> Dempwolff gives a longer list of places and names where Mkwawa campaigned, not all of which can be identified, and he admits he was not clear whether they were names of chiefs or places.<sup>2</sup> The Wahehe campaigned in Ugogo and Usagara and the distribution of Wahehe resulting from this is clear today in the census figures for these areas. There was a settlement of Wahehe with a garrison placed at Myombo in Usagara close to the trade route.

Neither Nigmann nor Dempwolff mention the sizeable settlement in the Wota mountains of Wahehe who were already there under mzabila Msambapakafu MwaSamila in February 1883. In this area near Mpwapwa and Wota, the Wahehe fought the Wahumba (possibly Masai, but most probably Baraguyu). The present Wahehe of Iringa district appear to have no traditions about this but Price, Stuart Watt and Rochus Schmidt all mention this in such a way that their statements cannot be disregarded. Price wrote about February 1883 thus: -

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1. E. Spies. Observations on utani customs among the Ngoni of Songea district. T.N.R., Dec. 1943 p. 49.
  2. Dempwolff. Comment on Text 27.

"Near the spot where we are encamped is a kind of bog or swamp, on the brow of the hill, but not more than a couple of acres in extent. This bog is somewhat of a historical place. Many years ago, when a large body of Masai and Wagogo came to take away the cattle of the Wahehe, the Wahehe surrounded them and got them to rush headlong into this slough. About a third of the attacking party (300 or so) were thus killed, and the remainder had to make their escape as best they could".<sup>1</sup>

This suggests that even in Munyigumba's reign the Wahehe had fought against the Wahumba but the phrase "many years ago" may have been the result of poor translation, the informant's inability to describe time in any way meaningful to Price, and his inadequate knowledge of the history of the area. Stuart Watt, who like Price claims to have preached to a small group of Wahehe in which is today Mpwapwa district, wrote of them: - "We once visited a district where these two rival tribes had been engaged in an annihilating encounter .... They [Wahehe] had oftentimes been engaged in deadly contest with the Wahumba, another clan who were as fierce and bloodthirsty as themselves".<sup>2</sup> The German commander Rochus Schmidt writing of the years 1890-1 refers to Wahehe attacks on Masai and Wagogo several times, saying that at that time there were almost daily battles between the tribes.<sup>3</sup> However, it is difficult to locate where they fought. He also

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1. Price. Journal of a visit to Uhehe. C.M.I., 1884. p. 294. The whole of Price's account is valuable as a description of the Wahehe in the Wota area.
  2. Stuart Watt. In the Heart of Savagedom. pp. 93-94.
  3. Rochus Schmidt. Araber Aufstandes. p. 119.

relates a number of times when the Wahehe continued to attack and came up against the Germans trying to establish a station at Kilosa.<sup>1</sup>

Small bands of Wahehe had probably been attacking caravans for at least a decade before this or even much longer. Of course, it is difficult to know what was meant by Wahehe, as the name was probably used very loosely and not only for the subjects of Munyigumba and Mkwawa but for any fierce cattle lifting warriors who shouted "Hehehe" as they went into battle. The Ruaha plains appear to have been a power vacuum where small groups of people were at least partly independent of the larger tribes on either side and bands of armed warriors often known as Ruga Ruga raided both caravans and the settled people with little direction or restraint.

The difficulty in reconstructing this northward expansion is that authors writing about Ugogo, Usagara and Ukaguru have recorded more campaigns than the Wahehe of Iringa district claim to have made. The precise details remain uncertain, but part of this difficulty can be resolved because many Wahehe settled in the north, in areas in which they had raided. As they settled and their descendants are there today, there is little reason why the Wahehe of Iringa district and their descendants should remember all these campaigns. The only groups of Wahehe whose existence to the north is well known among the Wahehe of Iringa district is the community

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1. Ibid., p. 115, pp. 256-8, p. 311.

at Wota. These are mainly the descendants of Wadongwe who were well established there by February 1883 when they were visited by Price, who was most impressed by the courtesy of Msambapakafu MwaSamila, an agnate of Myovela and Kindole.<sup>1</sup> Stuart Watt gives the impression that small bands of Wahehe were continually attacking other people round Mpwapwa.<sup>2</sup> J.T. Last, yet another C.M.S. missionary, wrote that the Wahehe had attacked in the Kilosa area (probably in Ukaguru) 16 years before he went there (i.e. they attacked ?1869).<sup>3</sup> In another account he seems to attribute the same attack to the Walori, which he and other authors recognise as an alternative name for the Wasangu.<sup>3</sup> Wahehe stories tell of attacking the Wasagara and establishing bases at Myombo and trading with the Arabs in Mukondowa valley. This is confirmed by Tipu Tib<sup>4</sup> and a few years later by Tom von Prince.<sup>5</sup> The Wakaguru also claim to have been attacked by the Wahehe<sup>6</sup> and so do the Vidunda.<sup>7</sup> The Dodoma District book, again, records a

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1. Price C.M.I. 1884. p. 293.
  2. Stuart Watt pp. 68, 78, 87 etc.
  3. J.T. Last. Polyglotta Africana Orientalis pp.10, 15, 18. Also in P.R.G.S. 1883 A Visit to the Wa-itumba iron-workers and the Mangaheri, near Mamboia in East Central Africa pp. 585 and 586.
  4. Tipu Tib. pp. 164-167. Alison Smith estimates the date of this attack was 1884 or 1885.
  5. Tom von Prince. p. 79.
  6. T.O. Beidelman. A History of Ukaguru: 1857-1916. T.N.R. 1961 pp. 14-39.
  7. Kilosa District Book.

whole series of raids of Wahehe in Ugogo. The Wagogo in the neighbourhood of Mvumi claim to have been attacked by the Wahehe six times and two of these expeditions, those of Myovela and Mkwawa, are remembered by the Wahehe of Iringa district today. A number of these attacks by people called Wahehe may have been those of small bands of Mkwawa's subjects who had fled from Uhehe. Others may have been those of people with no clear tribal affiliation, sometimes known as Ruga Ruga, and sometimes as Wahehe (although not necessarily subjects of Mkwawa), who roamed the Ruaha plains and attacked where they could.

Once the Germans had begun to move inland and attempt to pacify and govern the country they could not neglect the increasing incidence of Wahehe raids on the large number of caravans of explorers, traders and missionaries which passed through central Tanganyika. All Wahehe attacks may not have been made at the command of Mkwawa, but some definitely were, and his reputation had spread far enough for the Germans on the coast to realise that his military activities could be a serious threat to all their efforts of colonisation and trade. Rochus Schmidt went to the Kilosa area when Wahehe raids had provoked the Germans to build the Kilosa station as a base to control the area in which the Wahehe were raiding. Both Nigmann and the author of the Swahili history of the Angoni agree that the two tribes attempted to make a truce and to unite to defy the Germans and that this plan failed,

though they give different reasons for its failure.<sup>1</sup> Mkwawa sent a deputation to the Germans at Mpwapwa. His ambassadors were sent on to the coast and returned from there with the request that Mkwawa should go himself for further deliberations.<sup>1</sup> He did not go, the attacks on the caravan route continued and so the Zelewski expedition marched upon Uhehe in 1891.

The battle at Lugalo between Ilula and Ilole is the most famous event in Wahehe history. It is known to many who know nothing else about them because it was the only battle in the colonisation of German East Africa in which an African army defeated a substantial force under German command. The German leader Zelewski was killed and the German army had to withdraw, leaving their dead on the field.<sup>2</sup> Estimates of the number of soldiers who fell varied<sup>y</sup>, but it is certain that Wahehe losses were great and German losses (that is the troops fighting under German command) even greater.

After such a shameful and unexpected defeat the Germans felt they had to attack again with greater strength, but could not do this immediately because of their other difficulties. In the north they had to subdue the Wachagga and there were various expeditions in the Kilosa and Mpwapwa districts where German troops came up against Wahehe on the edges of Mkwawa's sphere of influence.

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1. Nigmann p. 15.

2. Tom von Prince p. 306.

Mkwawa himself did not attempt full scale, direct attack on the Germans and in 1894 the new Governor, von Schele, led a large expedition and attacked Mkwawa's second fort at Kalenga. The reasons why Mkwawa was unprepared remain a matter for speculation; perhaps he was over confident. It appears that the Wahehe did not resist very fiercely. Most fled, including Mkwawa himself. Some Wahehe managed to resist the Germans for the next four years, but the fall of the fort at Kalenga (known as the Lipuli) on 30th October 1894 marked the end of Mkwawa's organised rule of his remarkable chiefdom.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to this narrative of the expansion of the rule of the Vayinga chiefs there is, under Mkwawa at least, a certain amount of information about the military and political organisation. The chief himself was called mutwa which indicated his position as an independent ruler. Other chiefs had formerly been vatwa, but once they had submitted to, or were conquered by, the Vayinga chiefs, they either became vansagila, (subordinate chiefs who owed their position to the mutwa) or they were not given any authority at all. Their former subjects might have continued to refer to them as vatwa, but in relation to the chief they were vansagila and he was the only mutwa. Occasionally the chief's brothers might be called vatwa.

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1. Tom von Prince led the attack on Mkwawa's fort and wrote a detailed account of the battle in Gegen Araber und Wahehe pp. 291-303.

Sons of a chief were called valuka (sing. mwaluka) and the chief's daughters were known as vanafyale (sing. mwanafyale). The derivation of these words is not clear, but it is interesting to note that among the Wakinamanga Fyale is the praise name of women of the royal clan (the agnatic kin of the Vayinga women who use Mung'anzagala) and it is the general term used for daughter-in-law in Kihehe. The Wahehe offer no standard explanation of this; it is possible that the two words are tonally distinct. The wives of the chief are munumwehe (pl. vanumwehe). Again munu simply means person and the meaning of mwehe is obscure. Mwanamutwa, literally translated means child of the chief, but it was the special term used for those men who had married chiefs' daughters who were often very important people. Mwana si mutwa, (literally "the child is not chief") is the term for sons of a chief's daughter. These terms are all in use today and there is no reason to suppose that they were not also in use during the period under discussion.

The chief had a special greeting, Ase senga, which is well remembered today. The meaning of each word is clear, but not the sense of the greeting. Ase from kusa (to come) means Let him come, and senga is a general word for cattle which is the same in the singular as it is in the plural. The chief replied Ase. The greeting now tends to be used carelessly for vansagila who are agnates of the chief. There were a number of other greetings

for other important people. Ase nzali or Ajenjali was for chief's brothers; whether for real or classificatory brothers is not clear. There were also the greetings Ase Nyemele, Ase Galahenga, and probably some others for other important relatives. The Wasangu chiefs were also greeted with a form of Ase senga<sup>1</sup> and the chief of the Wakinamanga is greeted with Ajiseng.<sup>2</sup>

The chief and his agnates had some special privileges and customs. It was accepted that the chief and his relations should not shed each other's blood. Various stories illustrate this. Mabohola, a son of chief Ngawonalupembe, led the Vanamwani, the army of Ukena. One day, in a battle against the Angoni Mkwawa wanted to run away but Mabohola suggested a better plan. He warned Mkwawa that if they ran away at night the Angoni would know they had run away and pursue them, whereas if they were seen retreating in the early morning the Angoni would think they were going to a fortified area and therefore they would not pursue. Mkwawa accepted the plan and it was successful. He returned to Kalenga and decided Mabohola was too clever and might challenge him. Indeed, some people today think he had a better hereditary right to the chiefship than Mkwawa. He therefore sent a message to Mabohola in Ukena requesting him to go to Kalenga. Mabohola knew what might be the purpose of this and his soldiers warned him not

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1. Magdelene von Prince p. 193.

2. Culwick p. 151.

to go, but he said he had to go as he could not fight against himself. When he arrived at Kalenga he was strangled by four people who had been appointed by Mkwawa to kill him. He could not be speared in the normal manner because he was the chief's agnate; some people interpret this by saying that people would be so upset by seeing royal blood spilt that they would commit suicide. As he watched this murder Mkwawa is supposed to have said "Wutema wutalamu", "Ruling is <sup>a</sup> difficult (serious) matter."

Mwambambe, when he made his bid for power at Rungemba, is said to have told a subject to spear Muhalwike, a son of Munyigumba. This man could not bring himself to spear the son of a chief, so he speared himself instead. Again, Mkwawa wished to have his revenge on Mpangile who had speared forty of his cattle at Rungemba. He was very annoyed and wished to murder Mpangile but felt he could not do so because they were full brothers, so instead he punished him by having the skin <sup>scraped</sup> off the face of Mpangile's most beautiful wife.

Close agnates of the chief were allowed to command armies but not to move in the forefront of the battle for fear that they might be killed. Nigmann shows the position of the chief and princes in his diagram of battle formation.<sup>1</sup> The sons of chiefs who were thus protected from the forefront of the battle were known as Vanavena and this is now regarded as a term of abuse. Similarly,

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1. Nigmann pp. 78, 87, 91, 93.

when Merere returned Munyigumba's blind daughter whom he had earlier accepted as his wife, Munyigumba sent an expedition to capture Merere's cattle saying "Mugonage sisenga samlagela mtose mugoha. Uyo Mwanangu". ("Capture the cattle do not try to throw a spear at him. He is my child." i.e. mwana mutwa - the one who had married the chief's daughter.)

It has already been noted at an earlier period that the Vayinga chiefs and some others were entitled to be buried with ivory on their graves. The grave grove of Munyigumba and others at Rungemba has been well preserved and when the German military doctor, Stierling, visited it in 1898 he found it well preserved and took a photograph which shows the ivory tusks on the graves.<sup>1</sup> It was also a particular privilege of chiefs to be buried rather than to be thrown into the bush.<sup>2</sup> Stierling claims to have opened the graves at Rungemba and found no trace of any slaves or attendants buried with the chief<sup>3</sup> but Wahehe traditions directly contradict this. Certain families of Wafugua are said to have provided people to be buried with the chief and members of other families were

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1. M.S.O.S. 1899. pp. 259 and 260. His article Die Königsgräber der Wahehe pp. 257-263 was translated by W.J. Carnell and published in T.N.R. Jan. 1957, pp. 25-8.
  2. The Wahehe today always bury corpses and they usually use the verb kutaga which strictly speaking means "to throw away". When it is important to stress burial they use kusila which means "to cover with earth".
  3. Stierling M.S.O.S. pp. 261-2. (T.N.R. pp. 27-8).

buried with the chief's close agnates. This is well remembered but it is now considered a serious abuse to call any member of these lineages a Mufugua. Because of this it is difficult to get much information about it.

However, Nigmann<sup>1</sup> has given quite a full account. Members of these lineages married among themselves and were regarded in some ways as the chiefs close relations; they were not allowed to fight and they had high status in the royal household; they could take the chief's possessions with impunity and their relationship with the chief was considered partly as a joking relationship (utani). There is no information on how this tradition started or how many chiefs had Wafugua buried with them. Some people have suggested that these Wafugua are the descendants of the first Wahehe but, having seen how the tribe and the tribal name developed, and in the absence of any story other than that of Mufwimi to explain why the Vayinga rule the Wahehe, this is an unconvincing statement. Nigmann says they were only few in number, perhaps 20 to 30 people. Theoretically they could be redeemed, just as war captives were, but if they were very useful to the chief he would not permit them to be redeemed. They buried the chiefs and looked after the chief's herd of donkeys, the only herd in his chiefdom, because the Wahehe regarded donkeys as unclean. Donkeys were even buried like important people and this was not done for

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1. Nigmann pp. 41-2.

any other animal. The Wafugua received an ox in payment for this work and any other man who joined them feasting on the ox became a Mufugua himself.<sup>1,2</sup>

The chiefs had no traditional residence because, from the middle of the nineteenth century, the chiefdom developed so rapidly that Kilonge, Munyigumba and Mkwawa each had his main residence in a different place. There is no tradition of any particular possessions being passed from one chief to another, no insignia of office, no royal relics and no accession ceremony. Burial set the chief apart from commoners but not from other descendants of former chiefs. The stories about the burial of the Wafugua with the Vayinga chiefs are not sufficiently well founded to use as an argument for the unique position of the Vayinga chiefs. Their deaths had not come to be treated in such a distinct way as the death of the chiefs of the Wakinamanga whose death was never announced until about two years after the event when the successor was likely to be well established.<sup>3</sup> Ngawonalupembe died in battle;

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1. Nigmann pp. 41-2.

2. These various items of information about the Wafugua are not a convincing explanation of description of the institution. However, some information reported here is consistent with other facts. In all the highlands of Uhehe there are today hardly any donkeys. A mother's brother or sister's son is said to have received an ox in payment for removing the hearth stones and the posts of the sleeping platform and because this was such an unclean task it required a large payment. See Ch. III p. 60

3. Culwick p. 127 ff.

there are a number of stories about Munyigumba's death and none of them permit the interpretation that it was concealed for some time. When Mkwawa died any Wahehe near the German boma at Iringa could not have avoided knowing about the event.<sup>1</sup>

The chief's claim to chiefship depended on his ancestry, on being a descendant of <sup>Munyunga</sup> ~~Mufwini~~, and on the conquest and surrender of other groups. The descent system did not mark out one particular chief's son to succeed him. Lalika is said to have been the oldest son of the first wife of Mdegela, SeLunyngo. Kilonge, the child of SeNdali the elder<sup>2</sup> succeeded instead because in some way, by descent or by her own behaviour, SeLunyngo rendered her children ineligible for the chiefship. Ngawonalupembe died leaving a small son Mabohola, also known as Kong'oke, but Munyigumba, the adult brother of Ngawonalupembe, succeeded and after him Mkwawa his eldest son of his first wife. Munyigumba had a second son only slightly younger than Mkwawa. The mother of this son was SeKynyaga, whom he had inherited from Ngawonalupembe. This son's name was Malangalila<sup>3</sup> and his descendants said that he

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1. Magdelene von Prince p. 182.
  2. Among Mudegela's wives were two VaSeNdali, who are supposed to have been full sisters.
  3. This is Malangalila who ruled part of Ubena as Mkwawa's mnzagila. He is frequently mentioned in the German literature as Munyaubena or Mkangalila, although ~~his~~<sup>he</sup> is supposed to have died from battle wounds earlier than 1894, the year of the fall of Kalenga.

should have been chief. However, Munyigumba had this SeKynyaga murdered so that Malangalila when his mother was dead, would not be brought up with the idea that he could become chief. The Wahehe do not practise the true levirate and there is no evidence that they ever did so, therefore this claim did not depend on Malangalila being considered the child of Munyigumba. Descent counts for much in claims to the chiefship, but descent alone has never given a man an absolute right to it. Likewise seniority in birth order is an advantage, but it never gives one man an exclusive right against his younger brothers. This is a general principle of Wahehe social organization, in succession to the chiefship and most other positions.

The Wahehe think that intelligence is an important quality for a chief and for all vansagila. They believe that people receive intelligence from Nguluvi (god, divinity). It would be too much of a rationalisation to say that Nguluvi controls all political affairs and all the fortunes of the Wahehe in peace and war, but he is thought to affect the lives and destinies of men. It is believed that Mkwawa did not eat the poisoned sheep which Mwambambe had killed in order to try to poison him, that he knew that it was poisoned, "ayikagwe uluhala lwakwe kwa ulagussi wakwe we ya mupelige iNguluvi" (because of the intelligence and power of divination which had been given him by Nguluvi).

The history of Mkwawa's reign is convincing evidence that he

was a man of exceptional character, determination and intelligence and all his surviving children and some of his grandchildren are well above average intelligence. Wahehe today recognise that Mkwawa must have been very intelligent and say that had he been alive today he would have done very well at school. When a chief dies they say that Nguluvi has broken him (yidenyile Nguluvi). When speaking of a dead chief or close agnate of a chief they say msengele meaning "the late" or "the dead" whereas for a commoner they say munyakufwa. The derivation of msengele is not clear but munyakufwa is just formed from kufwa to die.<sup>1</sup>

The Vayinga chiefs went to sacrifice on their ancestors' graves and to ask favours of the spirits of their ancestors. Mwambambe and Mkwawa when fighting for the chiefship each went to the chiefs' graves and called upon the power of the ancestral spirits to help him against his opponent. When Mkwawa was fleeing from the German forces he frequently returned to his father's grave at Rungemba by night at the time of the full moon, presumably to seek help in his resistance.<sup>2</sup> The chief is sometimes referred to as "dada va inyi", the father of the country. This means that he is concerned for the affairs of the country and there are limited parallels between his position in the tribe and that of a father in his family.

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1. The only word I have found which might be related to msengele is kusengelela - to surround.
  2. Stierling M.S.O.S. p. 262. (T.N.R. p. 28).

Because of his relationship with former chiefs he could be expected to make offerings, or order others to make offerings, to them for rain and other favours. However, there is no indication at all that the chief's health and vigour was thought to have an effect on the country because of a supernatural relationship with the land; likewise there are only limited grounds for describing him as the priest of the tribe.

Munyigumba and Mkwawa are reputed to have acquired medicinal power to assist them in their campaigns. Mugomavanu MwaUgulumu who was keeper of Mkwawa's war medicine is remembered in one of the stories of the fight with Mwambambe. When Mwambambe was killed his body is said to have been cut up and taken by important people because relics of a fierce and able-bodied man should protect them in war. Divination and sacrifice before war were common and Mkwawa is said to have consulted an oracle, Chanci.<sup>1</sup> Today this Chanci is said to be a spirit whose servant and mouthpiece is a man in the Ulanga valley. Mkwawa used to send people to consult Chanci about the prospects of his campaigns.

There is no systematic description of the Wahehe political system before the beginning of the colonial period. Nigmann wrote

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1. There are a confusing number of contradictory stories about Chanci. An unpublished text collected by Brown states that the chief sent people to him to find out whether they were sorcerers. Battre (p. 85) thought Chanci was a rain god but gives no reference for this statement.

chapters on history, cults, law, war and hunting. A section on government is lacking. He admits that he, as a professional soldier, did the section on war with special enthusiasm and care<sup>1</sup> and it may well be for the decade ending 1894, when the Wahehe were constantly at war and very successful, military organisation was much more important than anything else, so there was nothing we could consider the norm of peacetime government.

There are no accounts of how Munyigumba organised his army or whether Mkwawa had merely taken over his army organisation from his father. Munyigumba's residence at Rungemba was in ruins by the time Dr. Stierling visited it and found the remains of some type of wall with several separate houses in the inner courtyard with one of unusual height which had probably been that of the chief.<sup>2</sup>

Mkwawa's military organisation was based on the fort at Kalenga. Kalenga was not the centre of Munyigumba's chiefdom which consisted of the Usungwa mountains and the plateau, but it was near the centre of the area which later came under Mkwawa's influence. The first fort was the one Giraud saw, and it was fancied with posts only. It had three strong gates and Giraud estimated that the sides of the square fence were each 500 metres long. Inside this very large enclosure there were a large number of tembes, one as much as 180 metres long. The fort was bisected

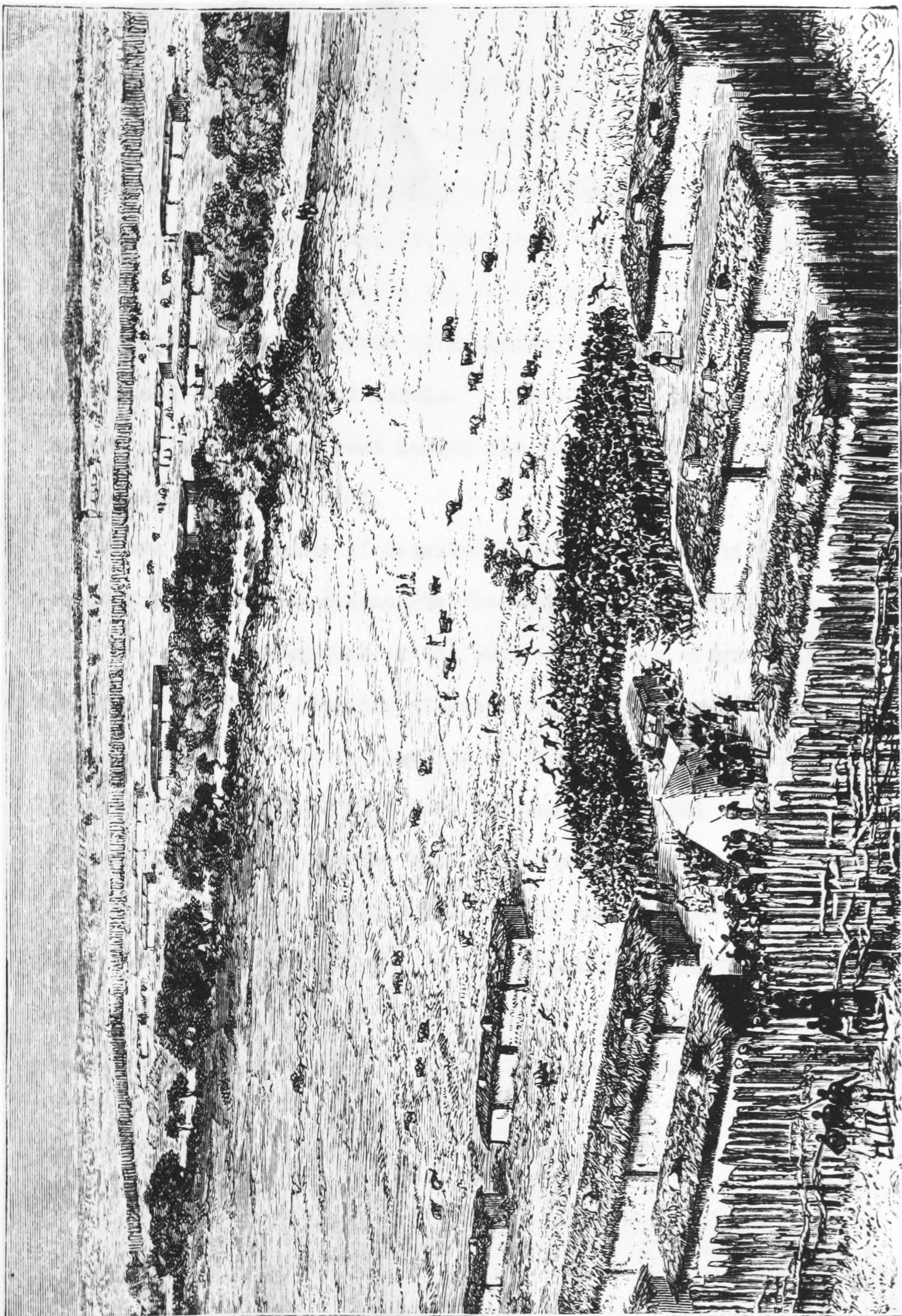
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1. Nigmann p. 6.

2. Stierling M.S.O.S. p. 258, (T.N.R. p. 26).

The first fort at Kalenga during Giraud's visit in 1883

(Reproduced from Giraud Les lacs de L'Afrique Centrale facing p. 138)



by the Little Ruaha river and when Giraud was there in February 1884 during the wet season it was uncrossable inside the fort. There were a number of vansagila (Giraud msagiras) who dealt with him and negotiated with him for the chief who did not emerge in person although Giraud used a hut in the fort. There were guards at the gates, a large number of menacing looking men with lances and a number of women and cattle.<sup>1</sup> This is the only first hand account of someone who went inside the fort before the destruction of the second fort in 1894.

There are a number of detailed plans and descriptions of the second fort which was stormed by the von Schele expedition in 1894.<sup>2</sup> There are also photographs of the area taken soon after the destruction.<sup>3</sup> Wahene memories of the fort are confirmed by the German reports and the foundations of the walls are obvious today. It was larger than the first fort and was surrounded by a mud and stone wall built between two rows of posts. It took about 4 years to build and it stood for 3 years. Many men came from all over Mkwawa's domains to build it. A large number of soldiers lived permanently in the fort with their leaders and supporters and various eminent men, advisers to the chief and his spokesmen, were

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1. Giraud p. 137 ff. Picture of Kalenga fort p. 139.













2. Tom von Prince p. 295 ff. Plan p. 297.

3. Fülleborn has an appendix of loose photographs and an excellent plan. There is also a plan in von Schele M.D.S. 1896. Facing p. 74.

A Plan of the second fort at Kalenga which the Germans destroyed on 30th October 1894.

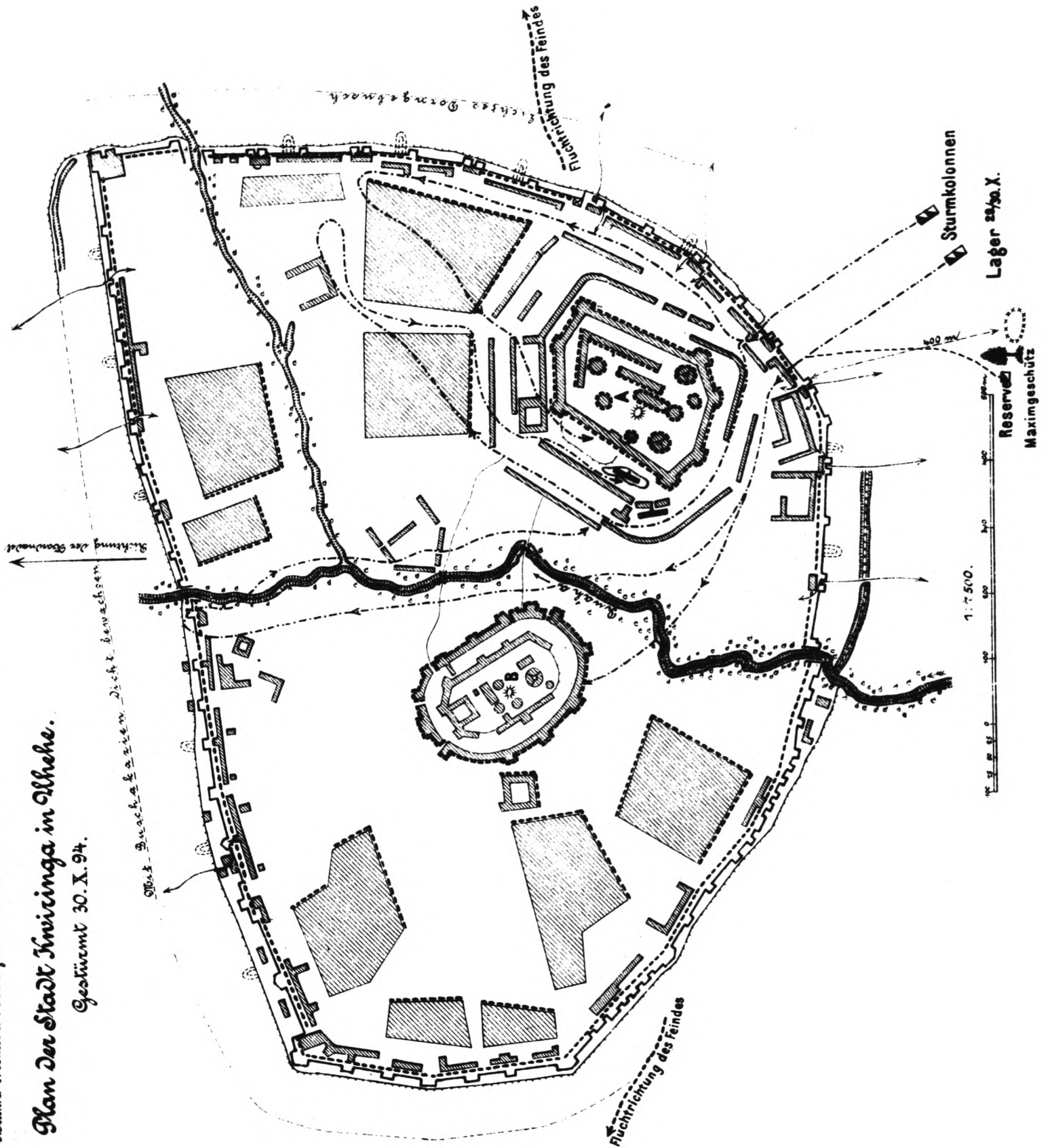
Reproduced from the plan in von Schele's article on Uhehe in M.D.S. 1896.

Key

	Palisade
	Fortifications (wall)
	Military buildings
	Dwelling houses
A	Military stockade of Nkwawa
B	Stockade of Nkwawa's women
	Ditch filled with thorn tree branches
	Fortifications under construction
	Entrances
	Points of attack of the German troops
	Dwelling houses within the stockade
	Watchtower
	Watchpost (mound of earth)
	Enemy

Abt. u. v. Deutschen Schutzgebieten. Bd. IX. 1895.

Plan der Stadt Kivicinga in Othehe.  
Gestürzt 30. X. 94.



also there. The chief had his main residence on the east of the river, a sort of inner keep or fort, with his own huts and those of his closest retainers and nearby there was a large mound from which he used to address his followers. On the other side of the river was a smaller chief's compound where some of his wives were kept and among these huts there was at least one unusual round one.<sup>1</sup> Pregnant and nursing wives of Mkwawa were kept together outside the fort and two of the places are known to have been about three miles away on land which was taken over by the mission at Tosamaganga. There were gates called fyole (sing. chole) and certain people appointed to be in charge of these. At the corners and possibly at some other points there were small forts or lookouts and the whole wall was built on a ground plan of crenelated pattern. There was a bridge across the river which connected the two sides of the fort.

From this centre Mkwawa ruled an area much more than twice the size of the chiefdom of any of his predecessors or successors. The size of the area must have been an important consideration in the development of political and military organisation so it is worth describing the distances involved and the length of time it took to cover them. Nigmann bears witness to the great achievements of Wahehe runners and messengers during the Maji Maji rebellion who could cover 100 km. in 24 hours.<sup>2</sup> This is not an enormous

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1. See Fülleborn's plan.

2. Nigmann p. 85.

achievement for one single period of 24 hours even when it is over rough bush and hilly country. However, it is quite another matter when the same men have to cover 200 or 300 kms. on one journey. To the north across the Ruaha Iseke, Wota and Myombo are not more than 120 miles (200 km.) from Kalenga in the direct line, but a journey from Kalenga to any of these three involves crossing the Great Ruaha (in German accounts often called Mpangile) and the last two involve passing through mountains over 6000 ft. In practice each of these places are 4 or 5 days hard walking from Kalenga<sup>1</sup> and many of the other settlements on the edges of the chiefdom were as much as this. Mgeta in the Ulanga valley might have been reached in 3 days, but the return journey to Kalenga would have taken a day longer because of the steep climb up the Usungwa escarpment which alone took the von Schele expedition, encumbered with porters and fighting equipment, 4 days to ascend.<sup>2</sup>

To the south and south west the distances were rather greater. The exact frontiers between Ubena and Ungoni and between conquered Usangu and Usafwa are not known to the Wahehe today, but it is clear from the present boundaries and distribution of population that groups of Wahehe near the frontiers of the area under Mkwawa's rule (or influence if rule implies too much formal organisation)

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1. Price was told that Mkwawa's village was about 4 or 5 days march on the southern side of the Ruaha, presumably from the area today known as Nyanzwa. \* p. 293. \* C.M.I. 1884.
  2. T. von Prince p. 292.

were 7 days hard walking from the chief's main residence. Within this area there were many different peoples some remaining quite distinct in language and customs and merely being forced into temporary submission by a group of Wahehe warriors, and others who were socially indistinguishable from the people living round Ng'uruhe and others who had been under the rule of the Vayinga chiefs for one generation or more.

During the later years of Munyigumba's reign there appear to have been raids, if not battles, every year, probably during the dry season. Among these were major battles against the Wasangu, Wakinamanga and Wabena. During Mkwawa's reign there was no year without a campaign and then the Wahehe, unlike other tribes, were campaigning both in the wet season and in the dry.<sup>1</sup> Campaigns were almost continuous and some of the minor ones involving only a small part of the total fighting force may have been simultaneous. The chief sent out his special messengers to all or some vansagila to tell them to prepare for campaigns.

There is some doubt about the duties and status of these messengers known as vigendo (sing. mwigendo). Some at least travelled to transmit the chief's commands and the word is derived from kugenda, to go. However, a very large number of people claim that their ancestors were vigendo and it often seems they were only ordinary soldiers in one of the companies at Kalenga. There may

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1. Nigmann p. 89.

have been many men who were potential vigendo, but who were never given special responsibilities. These vigendo went to the vansagila to tell them to assemble their forces and come to Kalenga or to some other meeting place at a particular time. They counted the days from the time when the messenger left the chief or the days after a particular moon, because the waxing and waning of the moon is well known to all, but the lunar cycle was not subdivided other than into days.<sup>1</sup>

Each mzagila appears to have had a number of people living close to him as his slaves, dependents or subordinates. Within the fairly small areas and small communities ruled by each mzagila they were able to know most of the able bodied adult men and to summon them to prepare for war. Vansagila on the frontiers seem to have kept forces of 100 men, and some others had about 60 which might have formed one kipuka. It was reported by the Germans and is generally believed that all able bodied freemen went to war willingly and regularly, each equipped at his own expense.<sup>2</sup> One fact well remembered is that each man had to take 4 throwing spears and one stabbing spear. (migo ha gitayi na lisala lya uhanu).<sup>3</sup>

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1. A number of Wahehe can name the months of the year in Kihehe. It is quite clear that they are talking about lunar months and yet there are only 12 names for moons. Dempwolff in 1907 was also only able to obtain the same 12 names for moons. (Dempwolff p. 123)
  2. Nigmann p. 74. Most of this information about military organisation is taken from Nigmann's chapter on war, Ch. IV p. 74 ff.
  3. This phrase comes consistently and spontaneously from a number of informants.

These men were assembled by their own vansagila and they went altogether to Kalenga or to some other pre-arranged meeting place. There they joined the forces which were kept regularly within the fort and when they were gathered together they were addressed by the chief or by his spokesman Mahanzala in order to give them instructions and to raise their morale before battle. Some people were selected to remain behind to guard the country while most warriors were away.

There were scouts or spies who reported on the state of the enemy and their defences before the campaign was planned. These were called the Watandisi (kutandila = to keep watch on). At the head of the battle army went the wadagandaga which Nigmann calls the real reconnaissance forces and they, being in front, had the best chance to plunder the homesteads of the fleeing enemy. Behind the wadagandaga followed the main fighting force divided into vipuka. (sing. kipuka) Behind them came vipuka of older warriors covering the chief's own body guard called Watengulamutwa<sup>1</sup> and behind them again was a rear guard of a number of other strong vipuka. The army did not consist of fighting men alone because in campaigns of a month or more, even though warriors took a certain amount of their own provisions with them, porters, water carriers and servants were needed. Among the camp followers there are said to have been wives

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1. There are today a number of men who have chosen the singular, Mulengulamutwa, as a personal name.

of important men who went to provide them with beer on the journey. In general porters and servants were the cowards, but some were young men following their elders as apprentices until such was sufficiently experienced himself to fight.

The Wahehe warriors always moved on a broad front in battle formation and could see no point in the marching columns of the Germans and their mercenary soldiers. However, more often than not no pitched battle took place. Against the Wakinamanga at Mugoda Mutitu, against the Angoni, and against the Wasangu there were fierce pitched battles, but generally the Wahehe descended and plundered an area and after the fighting killed or captured stragglers. They then returned to Uhehe with cattle and prisoners. The stronger tribes such as the Wasangu and the Angoni followed the retreating Wahehe army and tried to recapture their cattle. In doing so they sometimes penetrated right into Uhehe. Human life was cheap for both sides and the risks of war were accepted as a necessary part of life. However, a great slaughter did not often take place. When they were victorious over the Zelewski expedition the Wahehe losses were considered so serious and unusual that Mkwawa forbade mourning ceremonies and gave a beer party to attempt to raise the morale of his victorious, but depleted, forces.<sup>1</sup>

The chief object of war was plunder. It is generally acknowledged that all booty was the property of the chief who then divided

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1. Nigmann p. 17.

it, keeping a large portion for himself and giving part to the mnzagila of the man who had taken the booty who would receive about the same amount or slightly less than his mnzagila. The objects of plunder were slaves, women and cattle and occasionally ivory, spears guns or other valuables. All subjects had to set apart a portion of their harvest for war supplies and the chief received tribute of grain in order to feed the gathering of warriors and servants who were based at Kalenga. However, it must be assumed that in general war expeditions more than paid for themselves in order to account for the sufficiency of the economy, when a high proportion of the able bodied adult men were at war, training for war, or waiting on the chief's commands, both in dry season and in wet.

Nigmann pays tribute to the excellent discipline of Wahehe warriors<sup>1</sup> and a remarkable feature of Wahehe history at this period is the way in which the chief was able to control his widely dispersed and great variety of subjects and organise a continual series of offensive campaigns in every direction. At Kalenga there was a large gathering of important people and warriors. A number of vatambule (sing. mutambule) lived there and advised the chief, particularly in disputes, and in part deputised for him. The title is derived from kutambula, to name, or rather, to mention a person's name. There is no information at all about how they were selected,

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1. Nigmann p. 4.

how many they were, or how, if at all, their responsibilities were defined. Probably their number varied and they were selected by the chief as a recognition of their intelligence or a reward for their services.

A spokesman (mudalika) was Mahanzala, a Musangu captive, who made speeches to raise the warriors morale before battle. Again this was no special hereditary office, but he was appointed to this task by the chief in recognition of his exceptional talents. There were two or three vansagila having authority over the people living in the fort and in the surrounding area. It is not clear whether one was the superior of the other two who each were responsible for one side of the river, or whether there were two only of equal status. One side of the fort was called Lunguya (from the Swahili Unguja meaning Zanzibar) and the other side was called Bagamoyo.<sup>1</sup> The army was divided into sections, each section with its own name and own commander, and certain of these sections of the army were kept permanently at Kalenga. This list does not claim to be complete nor accurate, but it is accurate enough to serve as an example of the army divisions and their names.

Vanyambwe	commanded by	Sengidunda	MwaMugongolwa
Vamalavanu	"	"	Mwesimukele MwaMbalinga
Valembo	"	"	Ngosingosi MwaMugumba
Vasakutwa	"	"	Makakao MwaMulawa
Vadindutwa	"	"	Makapa MwaTovagonzi
Vanamwani (Ubena)	"	"	Malangalila Munyigumba
Vasagomilwe	"	"	? ?

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1. This shows that the Wahehe had some knowledge of, and interest in, the coast by the time the Germans reached Uhehe.

There were other divisions as well as these. Sengidunda's son said that his father always lived with his 60 men on the Bagamoyo side of the river and they were responsible for building a section of the wall. He had one large house at least about a mile outside the fort on the Bagamoyo side, the remains of which are just visible today.

Thus within the fort there was a small town and some thousands of regular inhabitants, the chiefs, some of his wives, his advisers, a large number of soldiers with their commanders and various vansagila. All diagrams of the fort show a number of very long huts and one mzagila is remembered to have had a large hut with three courtyards and space enough for 12 or 15 of his 30 wives.<sup>1</sup>

Outside the fort there were many other vansagila ruling areas much smaller than those called sub-chiefdoms in the British period, but generally larger than the areas ruled by jumbes under the Germans or British. Whatever his origin or qualification for being given the authority and responsibility as an mzagila he always held his position from the chief. The chief alone could dismiss the men he had appointed, although Nigmann says that frequently subjects of one mzagila would approach the chief and complain that their mzagila was ruining them.<sup>2</sup> As all owed their positions to the chief he could appoint, promote or depose as he thought fit.

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1. This man was Munyahenza MwaLuhwavi who died soon after 1926 and who has many descendants in the neighbourhood of Kalenga today.

2. Nigmann p. 45.

These vansagila were responsible for keeping good order in the territory under their authority. One of their more important responsibilities was assembling warriors when the chief's messengers came to tell them to do so and sending their own messengers to the chief with the news of enemy movements. They also had to judge disputes brought to them. Judging disputes is considered an honourable occupation and it brought its own reward in the form of presents which an mnzagila would receive, even when he allowed other people to judge the case, or himself said very little during the proceedings.

Many ideas of rights, duties and compensations have survived to the present day.<sup>1</sup> Some crimes and offences demanded specific punishments and compensations which were the same in a large part, if not all, of the chiefdom. For example, the compensation for loss of an eye was one head of cattle, the punishment for theft was returning the stolen article and giving for compensation as well an article of the same as, or rather greater value than, the stolen one, for adultery one or two head of cattle. Some disputes such as those concerning adultery, rape, and witchcraft could only be heard by the chief or his advisers. In any case people could appeal from the judgement of their own mnzagila to the chief when they found the trouble involved worth it.

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1. Nigmann wrote a whole chapter on law and judgement, Ch. III pp. 43-73.

The Germans had considerable experience of tribal customs and disputes because they had to deal with a large number when there were no chiefs or local courts to do this. They also made a systematic effort to collect this information in answer to a series of questions known as Fragebogen. Their information is often presented in a misleading form as it assumes an abstract idea of law and a clearly formulated method of applying it. A list of paragraph headings from Nigmann reads thus: Strafarten (forms of punishment), Richteramt (Judgeship), Zuständigkeit (Competency), Ablennung (Objection - to the judge), Hoch und Landesverrat (High treason against the Sultan or country), Beleidigung des Herrsches (Insult of the ruler), Widerstant gegen die Oberen (Refusal to obey the authorities) <sup>ch</sup> False Anschuldigung (False accusation), Ehebruch (Adultery) etc. In spite of this method of presenting the information what they collected is of value. At least it is clear that the chief and all vansagila played an important part in the settlement of disputes and where informal litigation had failed they could enforce their decisions, or the decisions made in their names, if necessary by enslaving, exiling or killing the wrongdoer. There is a well remembered phrase which the chief used when he ordered his servants and warriors to kill a man, Mukasipele. This means "go and give him to them", indicating that they should stab their victim and throw his corpse to the hyenas and vultures.

Each mzagila was supposed to control settlement and movement of

population to give permission for people to move in or out of his district. Today it is possible to collect a lot of evidence about the movement of population during the last 20 years of the pre-colonial period and the general picture seems to conflict with Nigmann's statement that a man had to get his ruler's permission to change his residence or leave the district, so that freedom of movement did not exist; or at least to show that he phrased this in a misleading manner.<sup>1</sup> Even if people had to seek the permission of an mzagila to change residence, it happened frequently. There were also a number of important people who had wives in different parts of the country and must have moved around frequently.

Some vansagila had special duties because of the particular area over which they had authority. Banamutwa MwaLumato was in charge of Munyigumba's grave and those of his wives and children at Rungemba. The mzagila in Usagara on the Great Ruaha near the present bridge at Mbumunyi was in charge of the canoes at the crossing place. All vansagila on the frontiers must have had less concerned <sup>been</sup> with the domestic and customary affairs of their recently conquered subjects and more concern with military affairs, and reporting on events to the chief, than those nearer the centre of the chiefdom. At Iseke, Wota and Myombo, there were communities of Wahehe established at a considerable distance from the main group of Wahehe south of the Ruaha.

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1. Nigmann p. 56.

In the west and south the settlement of Wahehe in Usangu and Ubena is not so clearly defined. The Wahehe began to settle along the western border of Usangu in the areas round Idodi, Madebira and Ilongo. This is the area which the Wasangu had been driven out of and then returned to cultivate and they were then attacked and defeated by the Wahehe. The Wasangu leader, chief Merere's son, Likombe, was killed.<sup>1</sup> There are substantial settlements of Wahehe all along the eastern border of Usangu as it was later drawn by the British, but no easily identified settlements where their forefathers had arrived in a group as a garrison in the same way as the settlements of Wahehe to the north. There are many fewer Wahehe in Ubena than there are in Usangu and the same lack of easily identified settlements, though there are convincing traditions of Wahehe vansagila who commanded armies normally stationed in Ubena.<sup>2</sup> During the last decade of Mkwawa's reign the Wasangu and Wabena were subjected to Wahehe military domination and so were the Wabena, who had been earlier dominated by the Wasangu.

All these vansagila, wherever they ruled and whatever their peculiar duties, were alike in that they were immediately responsible to the chief. Some vansagila by virtue of their descent or exceptional talent, for example Mkwawa's full brother Mpangile, mzagalila at

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1. Nigmann pp. 14-15. ~~A version of this~~

2. For example, Malangalila, known as Munyawbena who has already been mentioned.

Igominyi, were more important than others and in practice probably had considerable influence over the neighbouring vansagila, yet this was not institutionalised.

All vansagila appointed by the chief could in turn appoint their own vansagila who were entirely dependent on and subordinate to them. It is very difficult to get any precise information on this except that they existed and were concerned with making known the commands of the greater vansagila, judging lesser disputes and taking the lead in capturing criminals, allotting and witnessing division of land and agreements and exchanges. People who can give no precise description of their position agree that there were, indeed must have been, such people, even though none of their names or exploits can be remembered. One of Dempwolff's informants stated that people first took disputes to the lesser mzagalila and when he failed to the senior one and when he failed to the chief, and the chief, if he failed, called the old men and many vansagila to help him.<sup>1</sup> Some of the lesser vansagila in their turn appointed their deputies.

There are a few landmarks which have been boundaries even from the time when the country was a number of independent chiefdoms, yet in general it is extremely difficult to work out how the country has been divided and redivided with every change of political fortune over the last century. The areas over which the vansagila, (particularly the most subordinate vansagila) ruled are now long forgotten

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1. Dempwolff Text 16.

as there have been so many changes in settlements and boundaries.

Unlike most tribes in the pre-colonial period the Wahehe did not live in villages. This was noticed by Giraud who thought that this was because they were so warlike they had no need of villages for defence.<sup>1</sup> The Wahehe themselves do not claim to have lived in villages and there are no village remains. The Wabena of Njombe district say that they lived in fenced villages as a defensive measure and, although the stockades are no longer there today, they still build their houses near each other as a village. The only place where the Wahehe claim to have lived in a compact village is the one place where the remains are visible today - Kalenga. This was called Lilinga which is the word for a stockade to keep out wild animals.<sup>2</sup> The name can only have had meaning if such settlements in a stockade were not the normal pattern of dwelling.

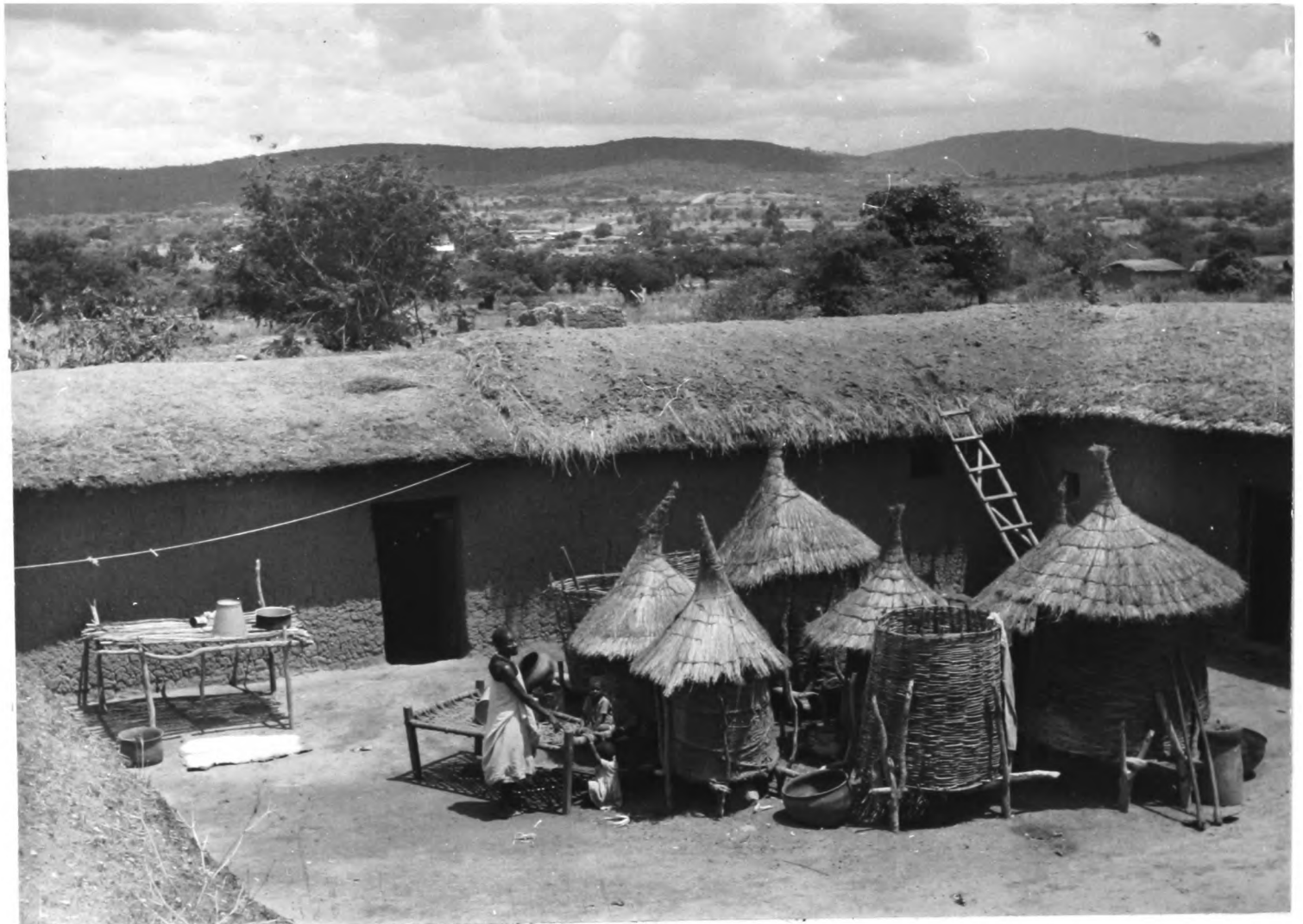
The normal households during the pre-colonial period were almost certainly larger than most today, particularly those of vansagila. From Giraud's illustration of Malavanu's establishment it seems that he lived within a stockade which might be described as a fenced village.<sup>3</sup> This is not surprising as he was a particularly important

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1. Giraud p. 125. Also Meyer p. 188.

2. The Germans wrote this as Iringa. At first the Kalenga fort was known as Alt Iringa (Old Iringa) and the garrison and administrative station as Neu Iringa (New Iringa). Today Iringa is always used for the town and administrative centre while the site of the old fort is known as Kalenga.

3. Giraud p. 151.



Part of a typical house built round a court yard (nyinjala). The main residence of ex-jumbe Saidi Mwamugongolwa at Kalenga. This house originally accomodated five wives. The small buildings in the court yard are granaries.

mzagila, the last one in the highlands on the way which led to Usagara, the Ruaha crossing, and to Myombo, the way by which both Giraud and Zelewski approached Uhehe. Important men with a large number of wives had one or more establishments where the quarters of various wives were built round courtyards. The Germans often described these establishments of the greater vansagila as Tembenstadt but except for the fort at Kalenga it is clear that they did not mean literally "a tembe town". Adams claimed that some of these establishments of the greater vansagila were as much as one kilometre long.<sup>1</sup> A house of this type is called nyipala (nya + lipala = having a courtyard). Four or five apartments for separate wives usually face on to one courtyard, but it is also possible to build a house consisting of several courtyards, like the house of 3 courtyards which mzagila Mnyahenza MwaLuhwavi is reputed to have built within the fort at Kalenga, yet these large establishments of important men can hardly be described as villages.

Brown stated that the smallest territorial unit in Uhehe was a lilungulu (pl. malungulu), which he translated settlement. He wrote

"A settlement is not a village, but is composed of a number of houses scattered irregularly over an area of country which may vary in size from two to ten square miles. Some settlements have only one house, others two or three, but an ordinary settlement contains from 10 to 20 houses." 2

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1. A. Adams Im Dienste des Kreuzes. p. 36.
  2. Brown and Hutt p. 71.

This was written about the system at the time he was there, 1930-34, and he does not specifically describe the patterns of settlement in pre-colonial times. He gives the impression that he did not consider there was any significant difference. However, this explanation of lilungulu is probably misleading or partially incorrect. lilungulu is now used to refer to an area of land originally granted to one man. In most cases this has been divided among some of his descendants who still recognise that the land was part of one unit and that each man cultivates his part because of his relationship with the man to whom an mzagila first granted the land.

Brown also states that in pre-colonial times there were, under each mzagila appointed by the chief, petty headmen called vapakasi.<sup>1</sup> These must be the people already referred to as lesser vansagila. The name mpakasi is not remembered today, so Brown may have been misled, but it is also possible that the word has been forgotten in the generation since his time, especially as he remarks that it was not in general use then because it sounded too much like the Swahili mpagazi, meaning porter.<sup>2</sup> Whatever the truth about this

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1. Ibid. pp. 48 and 72.

2. In a section of the District Book entitled Tribal Administration of Muyugumba and Mkwawa these subordinate vansagila are referred to as Wanzagila Wapakasi, but it is quite probable that Brown obtained his information from the same Wahehe as the administrative officer who wrote this account so this cannot be regarded as further evidence for the existence of wapakasi.

word mpakasi it only matters here because Brown's use of it is further evidence for the existence of subordinate vansagila. These subordinate vansagila did not rule units which could be called villages, but a number of malungulu. There is no remembered or recorded name for the areas ruled by lesser vansagila and it is most probable that these areas were unstable, frequently being reallocated and redivided in a different way, as were the areas under those who were styled village headmen (vakarani wa vijiji) during the British period.

Information about the men who held appointments as the greater vansagila under Mkwawa, and even under Munyigumba, is more abundant. They can be broadly divided into three types: the chief's relations and affines, descendants of independent rulers, and men of outstanding intelligence and/or prowess in war who were promoted by the chief (and also often given a chief's daughter in marriage).

Under Munyigumba there were two very important men well remembered today. Munyivanga MwaMkini was an mzagila of a large area of Usungwa. He went to bring Munyigumba back from Udongwe where he had run away and was herding the cattle of his mother's brother Myovela. Munyivanga appears to have been assisting Ngawonalupembe and to have remained a loyal supporter of Munyigumba after summoning him back to rule when Ngawonalupembe had been killed. Munyigumba trusted him to negotiate Mkwawa's marriage and to accompany him into battle against Merere. On both these occasions Munyivanga was accompanied by a certain Mafimba. They were both classificatory mother's brothers to Mkwawa. Mafimba, however, is not remembered

as holding any special office.

The other particularly famous man in Munyigumba's reign was Mwambambe whose activities have already been described in the narrative part of this chapter. He was a war captive, a munyawingi, (probably a Munyamwezi) and had served the chief so well that he was allowed to marry one of Munyigumba's daughters and so became mwana mutwa. He helped to relieve Munyigumba when he was besieged by the Angoni in the cave at Nyamulenge. At Munyigumba's death he seized the chiefship from Mkwawa. This is an example of the opportunities which were open to able men, even captives, and it is also an example of the way in which affines could challenge the agnatic descendants of Muyinga. Muyinga himself was a sister's son or daughter's husband to the chief Mududa, whose agnatic descendants he displaced, and yet, during the last four generations, chiefs have promoted sister's husbands, sisters sons and daughter's sons in considerable numbers.

There is little information about the other vansagila of Munyigumba, but one Mtwamuvinzi MwaKimbe who was his ~~father's~~ sister's husband or daughter's husband (mwana mutwa) was also his mnzagila in the neighbourhood of Rungemba. Makanya MwaKalinga is supposed to have submitted to Munyigumba and become his mnzagila and his son Mugabe succeeded him either during Munyigumba's reign or Mkwawa's.

There is much more evidence about the people who held positions of authority under Mkwawa. Among his agnates he appointed Mpangile,

his full brother, mnzagila at Igominyi, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Wasa. Malangalila, his half brother, was put in command of an army stationed in Ubena, the Vanamwani, and he was called Mnyaubena (owner of Ubena). Muhalwike, his brother, who was killed by Mwambambe, had earlier commanded part of the army either in Ubena or in the south of Uhehe towards the Ubena border. Mabohola, Mkwawa's father's brother's son, also commanded an army in Ubena until he was murdered at Mkwawa's command. It seems probable that Malangalila succeeded Mabohola although there is no definite tradition on this point. Munyivanga and his son Motomkali were vansagila in Usungwa: the area where they lived became known as Ihumitangu (the place where the forces come from).<sup>1</sup> Sengidunda a more distant agnate, who called Mkwawa mama (elder brother), was leader of a company of soldiers on the Bagamoyo side of the river at Kalenga. Bwanangondo, the son of Mtwamuvinzi MwaKimbe (and probably also of a chief's daughter) was either mnzagila or a specially important mwigendo and he was sent on embassies to the coast.<sup>2</sup> Msambapakafu MwaSamila a kinsman of the Vayinga chiefs through SeKindole (the mother of Munyigumba) was a classificatory mother's brother or mother's brother's son of Mkwawa. This Msambapakafu was the leader of the group of Wahehe who settled at Wota. He was succeeded by

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1. About 2 miles from the Lutheran mission at Pommern.

2. Nigmann p. 18.

his son Ngoyitanile and then by his son's son Laurenti.<sup>1</sup>

A number of Mkwawa's affines who held important positions are also remembered. The most important of all was Ngosingosi MwaMugumba, mwana mutwa and mnzagila at Kalenga.<sup>2</sup> He was killed at Lugalo. Mnyahenza MwaLuhwavi who had married another of the chief's daughters was an mnzagila at Kalenga on the Lunguya side of the river. He was either subordinate to Ngosingosi or his successor. Mwambikila MwaMtono so pleased Mkwawa that he did not send him into battle, but gave him his sister Muhominyi as a wife. Thus Mwambikila became mwana mutwa and was sent as mnzagila to rule in the neighbourhood of Ilongo. When Mwambikila took other wives Mkwawa was annoyed and sent him into battle and he caught smallpox and died. Chotaukale MwaMbugi married a daughter of Mkwawa and he had some important position among the vigendo. He came from Iwawa, spent some time at Kalenga, and then was sent to Mtandika just within Usagara and near the Ruaha crossing on the way to Myombo.

Malavanu MwaMbalinga, who played a critical part in defeating Mwambambe, is sometimes said to have been a blood brother of Mkwawa (vatemite lusale).<sup>3</sup> This seems appropriate for a man who was so

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1. R. Balletto. Mountains of Central Tanganyika. T.N.R. 1962 p. 64 ff.

2. Nigmann p. 17.

3. For statements about blood brotherhood in Uhehe see Nigmann p. 106, Dempwolff Text 11 and Thomson p. 234 ff.

loyal to his chief in the crisis and one who became an important mnzagila.

Under Mkwawa the descendants of the Kalinga chiefs remained as vansagila in their old chiefdom. Mwanasindava MwaKalinga guarded the frontier at the south end of the Usungwa escarpment and also sent a company of men to help build the Lipuli. One Mkimbu, who had been ruling in the Mdonya area and had accepted Mkwawa as his superior, died leaving no suitable son to succeed him. His daughter then became mnzagila and is reputed to have gone to Kalenga when summoned, although it is about four days hard walking from Mdonya. Later her son was tried <sup>as mnzagila</sup> and found unsuitable so other people were placed as vansagila in that area.<sup>1</sup>

There may have been other descendants of former vatwa left in office. There was one MwaTovagonzi who commanded an army at Kalenga and the Tovagonzi lineage is supposed to be related to Lyelu, who was once an independent chief of Uhafiwa. Some people say that one MwaTovagonzi is responsible for making offerings for rain on the grave of Lyelu. Kayela, in part of Ukosisamba along the Ruaha, may have submitted to Mkwawa as he extended his authority westward to Usangu and Ukimbu. There appears to be no tradition

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1. There are a number of unconvincing versions of this story. Most are about a woman in the Idodi-Mdonya area, but an unpublished text collected by Brown says she ruled at a place on the Kilosa road. All are at least agreed that a woman was once an mnzagila.

of him being defeated or replaced but Mkwawa extended his authority over Ukosisamba. In another part of Ukosisamba, nearer Ugogo, Chahe is said to have submitted to Mkwawa without a fight and to have been left with some authority, but Mkwawa brought other rulers from Uhehe to rule there as well. Members of the ruling Mdemu lineage of Ndevelwa may well have ruled as vansagila of Mkwawa and the same may be true of the Nyenza line in Usavila or the Mwano line at Kitapilinwa.<sup>1</sup>

As well as the people already mentioned there were others who were given some authority by the chief because he had noticed their intelligence or courage. Mahanzala, the Musangu spokesman, was a captive whose talents as a public speaker Mkwawa used to advantage by letting him address the warriors before battle, and there is convincing evidence that he always spoke in Kisangu.<sup>2</sup> As Mudalika he appears to have had no predecessor or successor, and if he has descendants in Uhehe today they are not well known. A number of men who had some importance under Mkwawa were more important in the German period and because they are remembered for their position under the Germans, it is difficult to find out much about their origins or position under Mkwawa. One of the best remembered of

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1. There appear to be no definite traditions of the conquest of Ndevelwa, Uhafiwa and Usavila by the Vayinga chiefs.

2. Dempwolff Text 20. Some Wahehe can still produce a few words of his Kisangu exhortations.

these was Mtaki MwaNyenga also called Munyaulambo.<sup>1</sup> A text recorded by Dempwolff says that it was his duty to bring the women in to the chief.<sup>2</sup> Faluhenga was mnzagila at <sup>Mukondoa</sup> Myembe, the most important outpost in the Kilosa area, where the Wahehe traded with the Arabs and first made contact with the Europeans.<sup>3</sup> He like Mtaki served the Germans, but his origins and descendants are not well known. Mkanulupembe MwaMakombe was sent by Mkwawa as mnzagila of part or all of the area which had been ruled by Msambila MwaMudemu. His original neighbourhood and the merits which caused him to be promoted are not clear, but it is generally said that he distinguished himself as a warrior.

All this forms an outline of the organisation of political authority, but an outline of uneven quality. Despite this, the most influential factors are clear: they were the lack of tradition and precedent in political and military organisation, continual military expeditions, and the intelligence and personal qualities of the two chiefs.

Certain traditions of the Vayinga chiefs have already been described and when these are compared with those of other important

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1. Nigmann p. 88. His son Saidi Mtaki became<sup>a</sup> Regional Commissioner soon after Tanganyika became independent.
  2. Dempwolff p. 107. Note on Text 13. He is mentioned frequently in the German literature because they made him a "Sultan".
  3. There are likewise many German references to him and he was made "Sultan" of Usungwa until he was hanged for supposed treachery.

tribes, such as any of interlacustrine kingdoms or even the Wafipa, the interesting thing is that the Vayinga chiefs had so little traditional organisation. Mkwawa, the most famous and most feared chief in German East Africa, inherited a chiefship with no more, and perhaps even fewer, institutions, than the Wasangu or Wakinamanga chiefs. There were no myths (except the story of Mufwimi and Muyinga, if that is myth) no regulations for succession, no traditional councils and offices, few if any regalia<sup>1</sup> and the belief in the chief's unusual supernatural powers which set him apart from his subjects were attributed more to Mkwawa as an individual than to him just because he was chief.

Mkwawa was an important man on a particularly big scale. He had houses all over the country, he had many wives, large herds, numerous slaves and retainers, a lot of ivory, guns, cloth and other trade goods. He had a white shield and an enormous drum<sup>2</sup> and zebra skin decorations. He received much in tribute and he also gave much, paying bridewealth for his favourite warriors and distributing war booty. He bestowed his favour on those who pleased him, irrespective of their origins. Some territorial authority had to be delegated in a chiefdom of such size, but there was little tradition to show

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1. In contrast to the regalia of the Wakinamanga chiefs of Ubena of the rivers. See Culwick pp. 110 & 111.
  2. Nigmann p. 77. He states that the drum which was about 2 metres high and was covered with ox hide was burnt on the day when the Germans stormed Kalenga.

when or how the chief should appoint vansagila. Relationship with the chief or personal distinction were the usual qualifications for people in authority, but relationship with the chief in itself was not sufficient without ability. Just as the chief appointed vansagila at his pleasure, so he dismissed them. Although subjects are reputed to have complained about their vansagila to the chief, complaints and criticisms about the chief were unthinkable<sup>1</sup> and there were no institutions to prevent the chief abusing his power. Mkwawa has been described as a despot<sup>2</sup> and this is a fair description of some aspects of his political authority even though it is possible to present his rule in a more flattering light.

As Munyigumba and Mkwawa were restricted little by tradition they had freedom to respond to the changing circumstances in the whole surrounding area. There is little doubt that both were exceptionally intelligent men. It has been suggested, when discussing the rise of the Wahehe empire in a wider context, that the various small tribes were forced to unite because of the pressure of the Angoni to the south and Masai to the north. This seems to be one reason even if it is not the only one. The Wasangu, who had procured guns earlier than the Wahehe, were a more obvious threat to the groups on the plateau and in the Usungwa mountains

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1. Nigmann p. 49. He states that anyone he questioned about this shuddered at the thought of affronting the chief.
  2. von Elpons. M.D.S. 1896. p. 77.

than the Masai, whom the Wahehe only encountered in Usagara and Ukaguru. The Angoni became a serious threat a little later than the Wasangu and by that time the Wahehe campaigns had become rather more than seasonal cattle raids.

Mwambambe's bid for the chiefship and Mkwawa's exile in Ugogo probably made a great impression on the young Mkwawa. He went to Ugogo at a time when the Wanyamwezi empire was at its height, when the slave trade had increased, caravans were more numerous every month and Europeans were known to be developing interests on the coast and the first missionary posts had been set up in Usagara. In such circumstances a man of Mkwawa's intelligence and ambition could have seen that consistent attack was the best form of defence. The building of the Kalenga fort and the establishment of colonies within striking distance of the central caravan route indicate that Mkwawa intended to pursue a different type of warfare from the traditional raid and counter raid. As attacks followed so quickly one upon another and Wahehe gains outweighed their losses, there was no opportunity to discover how the rapidly developed system of delegated authority could unite the diverse sections of Wahehe society under one chief in peace. The best way the conquered could restore their fortunes was to join forces with the conqueror on the next campaign. This applied both to individuals and groups.

Throughout this period, and most particularly during the last fifteen years, there were frequent and important changes among the

people who held authority. By virtue of intelligence or bravery men were able to become immediate subordinates of the chief in spite of being slaves or quite undistinguished freemen. Alongside this significant rise to power of a large group of new men, there was considerable movement of people from one part of the chiefdom to another and to the conquered provinces. When large numbers of men came together at Kalenga they frequently met others from distant parts of the chiefdom whom they would probably not have met in other circumstances. There was a tendency for important people to take as wives the daughters of other important people and the kin links were subsequently maintained with both sides. Local differences of dialect, material culture, custom and local prejudices remained, but the diverse groups of people were united by their common successes, and acquired this sense of unity without forgetting their diverse origins. The name Muhehe became a <sup>conveying prestige</sup> prestigious name <sup>^</sup> instead of being merely a nickname used by other tribes for people with their battle cry. There were no social conventions to oppose this process for there was no tribal initiation, no clans were accepted as true or original Wahehe, and there were no conventions which kept authority within the hands of the original subjects of the Vayinga chiefs. The benefits of this unity of formerly hostile groups is today recognised by those interested in their past. One wrote:

"From the beginning all Wahehe were brave but they could not do anything alone, because when you are alone, even if you are brave, you cannot do anything; but people when they ask each other to co-operate, do something well. And when countries are conquered they are conquered by unity, and unity came thus - here I think we are very few, only about 30, let us go and talk to our friends who are 50, then we shall be 80, let us go that we may overcome those invaders who are coming in great numbers. Then indeed, when they had joined together they conquered them, the people whom they defeated so thoroughly were the Waloli, the Wasangu." 1

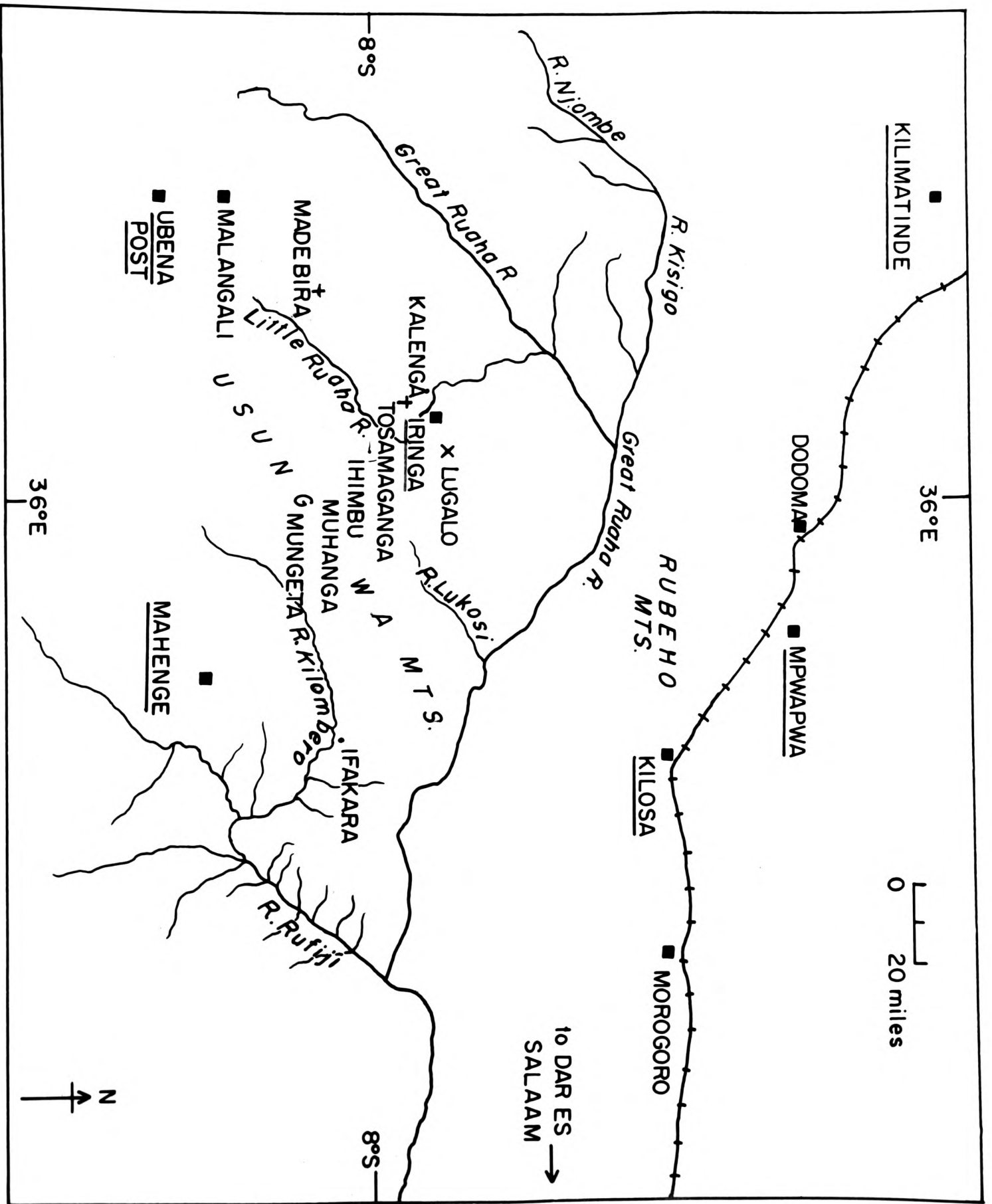
There is a Kihehe saying "The strength of the carrying ring is in the bark which binds it" (Uwukangafu wu ing'ata wuli mu milegesi) and it is clear to the Wahehe themselves that their unity under the leadership of two exceptional chiefs was the reason for their extraordinary military success and, more, the making of their tribe.

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1. Translated from the Kihehe written by Daima Makusanya MwaLugenge.

Note on Chapter V.

Since the text of this thesis was written the librarian of Anthropos Institut, St. Augustin, Germany, has lent me a copy of Alfons M. Adams Im Dienste des Kreuzes which I had been unable to find in Britain. I have added references to it and some comments in the footnotes where it was possible. After reading Adams' account of the Wahehe, particularly the sections on Mkwawa and Mpangile I think that I should have given more weight to the ceremonial surrounding Mkwawa and to the number of people and the complexity of his organisation at Kalenga. However, Adams has recorded nothing to suggest that most of this ceremonial and organisation had existed during the reign of Munyigumba or earlier, so it still seems correct to maintain that the greatness of the Wahehe chiefship in 1894 was mainly the creation of Mkwawa himself.



Map to show important places during the German period.

MPWAPWA German military garrisons and posts

DODOMA German administrative centres

+ + + + Railway

T Missions

X Battles

## CHAPTER 6

Uhehe Under German Rule

This chapter deals with the period of German rule when there was no chief of Uhehe. It was however, a period when the Wahehe must have been better known and had more written about them than at any other time before or since. The years of German rule in Uhehe can be taken as 1894-1916, although it is possible to argue that the Germans were not in effective control of the district until after Mkwawa's death in 1898 and that while he was alive he was an effective chief in that he was organising the resistance. 1916 marks the withdrawal of German forces from Uhehe, although the fighting continued and the British made no attempt to reorganise the administration until after they had received the Mandate from the League of Nations. The system of local administration was not radically altered until the setting up of indirect rule in 1926 by which Chief Sapi was restored: thus part of the description of local administration under the Germans is also true of the first 10 years of British rule.

One of the impressive results of German colonisation in Tanganyika is the abundance of information collected and published, mainly in periodicals. A wide range of subjects is dealt with: geological, climatological, botanical, zoological, military expeditions and general ethnographic data. The three most important periodicals for this are Mitteilungen von Forschungsreisenden aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten | Deutsches Kolonialblatt (of which the Mitteilungen is a supplement) and Deutsche Kolonialzeitung. These periodicals contain short notes and also substantial articles of historical and ethnographic interest which in quantity and quality surpass anything produced in colonial periodicals during the British period in Tanganyika. The majority of these notes and articles were written by officers and other members of the German forces. These German soldiers were so impressed by the military prowess of the Wahehe, who were proving very difficult to subdue, that they were interested to find out about their history and military organisation. As a result of this the Wahehe appear to have received as much attention as any other tribe in Tanganyika and much more than most. Von Prince, Von Schele, Von Liebert, Nigmann, Engelhardt, Arning, Stierling, Weck, Fuelleborn and Dempwolff were all either involved in campaigns against the Wahehe or were attached to the German forces stationed at Iringa garrison when the district was under military administration. Nigmann probably arrived in Iringa in 1904 and from 1905 to 1907 he was engaged in putting

down the Maji Maji rising. This was clearly a very strenuous campaign from which he emerged as the German hero, keeping the Wahehe submissive and relieving both the Mahenge and Songea bomas, yet by 1908 his remarkably good monograph Die Wahehe had been published in Germany. The other two important books which are sources of Wahehe history are Tom von Prince's Gegen Araber und Wahehe and his wife Magdelene's extracts from her diary published under the title Eine Deutsche Frau in Innern von Deutsch Ost Afrika. Nigmann, Tom von Prince and Magdelene clearly all had a profound respect for the Wahehe.

It is generally accepted that the German colonial administrators were harsh towards their African subjects and that they had given little thought to methods by which they could improve their lot, although policy varied considerably, depending on various factors: the personality of the governor, his willingness to listen to the views of settlers and the pressure brought to bear on him through the German government by liberal minded people in Germany. In spite of the harsh nature of colonial rule at this period there were a number of people taking an intelligent interest in tribal history. A number of German scholars had been studying, comparing and compiling the data sent back to Germany well before German East Africa had been effectively occupied. There was a questionnaire known as Fragebogen which was sent to the administrator of every district and the answers to these questions were collected for each group which was recognised

as a tribe. This information was then edited and printed as Beantwortung des Fragebogens über die Rechte der Eingeborenen in den Deutschen Kolonien. Nigmann provided the information to the questions on the Wahehe and the missionary Priebusch on the Wabena.<sup>1</sup> One of the best compilations of ethnographic data is Fuelleborn's Das Deutsche Njassa- und Ruwuma Gebiet, Land und Leute which has a substantial section on the Wahehe and an excellent bibliography.<sup>2</sup> There is one other study of Uhehe which has an excellent bibliography, a geographical thesis by Ernst Battré, Die Entwicklung und der Stand der Geographischen Forschung über Uhehe in Deutsch Ost Afrika.

These bibliographies show the extent of the German publications which are relevant to ethnographic and historical studies in this area, many of which seem impossible to obtain in Britain. There was a paper published in Dar es Salaam called Deutsch Ostafrika Zeitung<sup>3</sup> and another periodical called Deutsch Ostafrika Rundschau.<sup>4</sup>

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1. A copy of Fragebogen and Beantwortung was available in the Dar es Salaam museum, but I have failed to find a copy anywhere in Britain.
  2. Fuelleborn was a military doctor, (Arzt der Kaiserlichen Schutztruppe) and between 1897 and 1900 he campaigned against both Wahehe and Wangoni and as well as his personal knowledge he had clearly worked through all available material on the area.
  3. There are supposed to be parts of a number of issues of this among the German land records in the Land Office in Dar es Salaam but there seem to be no copies in Britain.
  4. I have failed to get any information about this except that Battré quotes it as a source in his bibliography.

The frequently quoted periodical of the Benedictine mission which founded Tosamaganga, Missionsblätter der St. Benedictus Genossenschaft<sup>1</sup> and those of the Berlin Lutheran Mission in Ubena and Uhehe, Der Missionsfreund and Berliner Missionsberichte, are also unobtainable in Britain.

As well as these inaccessible published sources there are the German colonial archives at Potsdam, East Germany.<sup>2</sup> There are also the archives of the various missionary societies in the area, the Berlin Evangelical Mission,<sup>3</sup> the Benedictines of St. Ottilien,<sup>4</sup> the Church Missionary Society and the White Fathers. These latter two missionary societies have never worked in Uhehe south of the Ruaha, but they must have come into contact with the Wahehe occasionally in the south of Kilosa and Mpwapwa districts. The records of land grants made in German times were quite easily available in the Land Office in Dar es Salaam and these contain information about jumbes, akidas and liwalis because they witnessed the land grants.

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1. I have failed to discover any copies of this but they should be reasonably accessible at St. Ottilien where they claim to have a complete set.
  2. For this information and for clarification of a number of other questions discussed in this chapter I am indebted to John Iliffe. He is writing a Ph. D. thesis on the administration of German East Africa and has worked on the archives in Potsdam.
  3. Marcia Wright who is writing a thesis on the Protestant missions in German East Africa has seen some of their archives in East Berlin.
  4. These can probably be seen without much difficulty at St. Ottilien in Bavaria.

In addition to all this German literature and archives on the Wahehe and German East Africa there is a substantial amount of verbal information which can be collected today from Wahehe who were active and responsible members of society then and who can still discuss the past coherently. One of the outstanding examples of this is an account of some of the battles of the Maji Maji rebellion by a Muhehe who volunteered to fight for the Germans under Nigmann, and another is Bonifas Mkwawa's account of his flight from the Germans after the fall of Kalenga which he wrote for Gordon Brown in 1933 and can still tell in basically the same form. However, most information about the German period which is relevant to this thesis cannot be collected as stories, but only in answer to definite questions about those who held office, about genealogies and life histories of particular people.

British historians and anthropologists have done little work on the sources of the German period in Tanganyika and it seems that since the end of the first world war German historians have also done very little. In the years immediately preceeding the Second World War a few German and a few British writers produced general books and pamphlets all showing why each author's nation was best fitted to rule Tanganyika rather than the other. This lack of standard works on the German conquest and administration makes it difficult to obtain a good general knowledge of the political and administrative background of the development of Wahehe social and

political organisation, but the most important developments can be outlined with sufficient accuracy for the present purpose.

The main events which are easy to discover were as follows: - The first German governor of East Africa, von Soden, was appointed in 1890 and in 1891 the Wahehe defeated the Germans at Lugalo. In October 1894 Mkwawa's fort at Kalenga fell when it was stormed by the German expedition led by the then governor von Schele. The death of Mkwawa on 19th June 1898 virtually marked the end of organised resistance to German colonisation. There was however, some trouble in Urundi until the ruler surrendered in 1903. Then there appeared to be general peace until the Maji Maji rebellion broke out in 1905 and involved the whole of the south east of the territory from the Ulanga valley to the coast. This was a major set back in the development of administration and trade. The rebels, weakened by hunger, were all subdued by 1907, but the region was still suffering from depopulation in 1928.<sup>1</sup> After this there were no further wars within German East Africa until 1914.

The first efforts to set up an administration were made in 1891 when a financial secretary was appointed and then also departments of justice, health, public works and agriculture. Thus there was a skeleton of a central administration in Dar es Salaam before

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1. Tanganyika Territory. Native Census. 1931 pp. 7, 10. A.T. and G.M. Culwick A Study of Population in Ulanga, Tanganyika Sociological Review, 30, 4, Oct. 1938, 31, 1, Jan. 1939, p. 34 ff.

the whole country had been subdued. The extension of effective administration inland could only follow military conquest and the erection of bomas, that is military garrisons, or civil administrative headquarters. Military commanders were replaced by civil administrators district by district as the inhabitants of each area were subdued.

The Germans had only seven years (1907-1914) of continuous peace when they were in effective control of the whole country, but the development of communications, the alienation of land to settlers and the appointment of subordinate native officials charged with the duty of tax collection had begun long before. Indeed it is remarkable that they managed to do as much as they did: they made roads, built the central railway, laid telegraph lines, introduced sisal and exported a considerable amount of produce, built a number of towns and settlements which have some of the most attractive buildings in the country today, conducted an impressive amount of scientific research and the government started schools in sufficient number to impress the British administrators when they took over.<sup>1</sup>

The German garrison on the site of the present Iringa town was started in 1896 and it was from there that von Prince organised the campaign against Mkwawa during its last two years. Even before Mkwawa's death when the last Wahehe surrendered, the Germans had

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1. Report on Tanganyika from Conclusion of Armistice to 1920. p. 41. G. Hornsby in German Educational Achievement in East Africa. T.N.R. March 1964 pp. 83-90 suggests German educational efforts may have been overrated.

begun to attempt to colonise and administer the district. The first Wahehe jumbes had been recognised by von Prince during the campaign though he made no effort at this point to appoint subordinate officials for the whole district. The troops built small garrisons in Usungwa, but they were allowed to fall down once Mkwawa had been defeated. An agricultural experimental station was started in the Dabaga part of Usungwa and the earliest land alienations were made to missions and German settlers.<sup>2</sup> Iringa post office was started on 30th May 1898, one month before Mkwawa's death, but Magdelene von Prince noted that letters did not immediately arrive any faster than they had done before.<sup>3</sup>

The effect of the Maji Maji rebellion was felt in Uhehe because every precaution was taken to make sure that the Wahehe did not join the rebellion. Forces were moved from Iringa to Mahenge in the Ulanga valley and Wahehe were recruited to fight the rebels. The Wahehe volunteers also went to fight Wasagara rebels some of whom may have been those living in the extreme east of Iringa district. There was trouble in the north eastern corner of Usungwa and as a

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1. M. von Prince p. 171.

2. Beilage zum Deutschen Kolonialblatt. 1909. p. 230.

3. M. von Prince p. 172.

result of this akida Parahenga was hanged.<sup>1</sup> This incident, however, can have affected few Wahehe and after the Maji Maji rebellion there were no really significant events until the outbreak of the first world war.

The events of greatest significance to the Wahehe throughout this period were the fall of the Kalenga fort and the death of Mkwawa. The vicissitudes of the military and political affairs during these years between these two events are worth describing in some detail because they were crucial factors in deciding how the local administration of Uhehe should be organised during the rest of the German period.

The storming of the Kalenga fort has been fully described by Tom von Prince, who, under the command of Governor von Schele, led the attack.<sup>2</sup> This occurred at the end of October 1894 and after they had captured Mkwawa's possessions and destroyed his armoury the German expedition returned to the coast with their booty in order to renew their supplies and to consider what move was demanded next. The Germans did not expect Mkwawa to be so tenacious and bold in his defiance after his fort at Kalenga had been destroyed. In this they

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1. von Götzen p. 193. Dempwolff p. 107.

The fullest and best account of the Maji Maji rebellion is Graf von Götzen's Deutsch Ost Afrika im Aufstand from which I have obtained most knowledge of these events. I also have a tape recording of the story of a Muhehe who volunteered to go with Nigmann's forces to fight the rebels.

2. T. von Prince pp. 293-303.

greatly misjudged him and the loyalty of his subjects. It is not clear exactly what efforts were being made to subdue the Wahehe in 1895 and the early part of 1896, but during May 1896 Tom von Prince started to return to Iringa in order to lead the campaign against Mkwawa.<sup>1</sup> He arrived at the site of the present Iringa town at the end of September when an advance party of his troops had already started to erect the garrison. He marched out to Kalenga where he found the town in ruins and began to meet and negotiate with other chiefs and various relations of Mkwawa whom he thought might transfer their loyalty to him and whom he could then use to rule the Wahehe and some of their subject tribes. It is quite clear that the first plan was not to abolish the chiefship, but to use it in a modified form in order to bring the Wahehe under German rule. Certain vansagila had already gone over to the Germans and were acting for them in keeping the peace and assisting expeditions and in bringing news of Mkwawa's movements. The most important of these was Farahenga (whose name is sometimes written Faluhenga) who had been mnzagila of an important Wahehe frontier area in Mukondoa valley, near the site of the Kilosa boma. Von Prince seems to have had no difficulty in meeting Mpangile, Mkwawa's younger full

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1. M. von Prince p. 6. The fullest narrative of the events between 1896 and 1899 in Iringa is contained in Magdelene's diary parts of which she published in this book. I have derived most of my knowledge from it and since this narrative follows the order of her diary I have not given a reference for every statement.

brother and Kapande their half-brother who gave themselves up. He also met Chief Merere of the Wasangu, who as an enemy of Mkwawa, was happy to co-operate with the Germans. They visited the Iringa fort and were entertained by Magdelene von Prince in her house and she gave them presents of clothes, spirits and ham while Mpangile brought her a present of a small girl called Paligungire.<sup>1</sup>

On 4th November 1896 Magdelene recorded that Merere was to be made Sultan of Ubena and Mpangile Sultan of Uhehe. Because of the short space of time between Tom's arrival and this plan being recorded it seems clear that it was his first effort to solve the situation with a less intricate form of indirect rule than that later set up by the British. Mpangile was installed as the new Sultan and presented with the German flag on Christmas Eve 1896.<sup>2</sup> There is no indication what many of the Wahehe thought of this, but it is clear that the Germans made it like a German village festival (ein Schützenfest) with a shooting match and a procession through the town and racing on asses. At the end they roasted 5 oxen on a spit which according to Magdelene was just what had been done when the Holy Roman Emperor was crowned. In the evening they lit a Christmas tree and sang Stille Nacht. Magdelene remarked on Mpangile's conscious dignity during the ceremony and she always thought that he was very handsome and noble. She conceded however,

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1. M. von Prince p. 57.

2. Ibid. p. 63 ff.

that her husband knew he could not be trusted completely, even though this might not matter as long as he was a good leader in other ways.

The exact truth about Mpangile's short rule may never be known. Von Prince gave him a sort of trial for treason and found him guilty, not because it was clear to any of the Germans how far Mpangile was responsible for attacks on a German patrol, but because they thought he could not have been completely ignorant of why this happened and because they were suspicious when they found him at Kalenga where the people were beginning to rebuild some of the huts. Von Prince thought it might be a plan to engage his soldiers in a campaign against Mkwawa so that in the meantime Mpangile could attack the Iringa garrison. Magdelene also felt that Mpangile was not to be trusted and thought that his actions were the result of his inability to deny his family loyalty, "sein Qwawa Blut".<sup>1</sup>

A well informed Muhehe, Gaudensio Malangalila, offered this other interpretation of these events. Mkwawa had a longstanding quarrel with Mpangile because once Mpangile had speared forty of his cows. Mkwawa had decided that four of his brothers, Mpangile, Ngungihaka, Kapande and Sadangamenda, should surrender, which they did and Mpangile was made chief because von Prince liked him. Mpangile told the men who used to take food to Mkwawa in hiding, that they should not bother as Mkwawa had had nice food in his time and now

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1. Ibid. p. 75.

they were all suffering hardship. The men told Mkwawa of this and he then plotted Mpangile's downfall. He sent a few men to kill some of von Prince's soldiers and told them to say that they were Mpangile's men so that the porters, whose lives were to be spared, would return and tell von Prince that Mpangile was not as loyal as he appeared to be. This occurred according to plan at a place called Itumbikamatwe<sup>1</sup> in Usungwa, but as von Prince did not take action against Mpangile immediately, Mkwawa tried a second plan. He sent a message to Mpangile to tell him to brew beer at Kalenga because he intended to return there. He also sent men to von Prince to tell him that Mpangile was preparing for Mkwawa's return at Kalenga so that together they might make war against the Germans. The German troops went to Kalenga where they found people making beer. They thought that the rumour of Mpangile's plot to join with Mkwawa and to overthrow them must be true so they arrested Mpangile, Ngungihaka, Kapande and Sadangamenda. The troops waited for Mkwawa, but he never appeared. The four men were tried and condemned, but Magdelene von Prince pleaded with her husband to spare Mpangile's life "because she had never seen such a beautiful man". Mpangile laughed as the sentence was passed and on the morning they were to be hanged Mpangile spoke to von Prince and provoked the reply, "Well, you are dying today. I shall die tomorrow".

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1. I have not been able to identify this place.

Much of this story is convincing and it shows that some Wahehe were aware of Magdelene's love for Mpangile and how she admired his handsome form. It seems consistent with the stories of Mkwawa's attacks on von Prince's men related by Magdelene.<sup>1</sup> It shows the mutual respect which German and Wahehe leaders felt for each other as warriors of equal status, an attitude which is also apparent in many other German accounts of these years. Mkwawa's ruthlessness with his rivals and those who were disloyal to him was shown in other actions, as when he organised the murder of Mawala MwaMugongolwa who had been sent by von Prince to rule Ubena. This latter episode is also well attested both from Wahehe and German sources.<sup>2</sup>

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1. These stories are also consistent with Adams accounts of Mpangile and his reign. Adams must have known Mpangile better than any other European and he, like Magdelene, admired him. He has described his visit to Mpangile in prison when he saw how thin and ill he had become quite suddenly, but when the time came for his execution he said to the Wahehe present, "Go to my brother in the wilderness and make war". (Nun geht hin zu meinem Bruder in die Wildernis und fuhrt Krieg), and then with his half brothers he went to the scaffold laughing. Adams concludes thus: "Mpangile is no more. A relatively intelligent and determined negro, he could not cope with the moral superiority of his brother and he became a victim of the plots of others" (Mpangile ist nicht mehr. An sich ein relativ intelligenter strebsamer Neger, war er doch der moralischen Uebermacht seines Bruders Mkwawa nicht gewachsen und wurde ein Opfer der Ränke anderer): so there is substantial evidence that there was some enmity between Mkwawa and Mpangile and that although Mpangile was himself an exceptionally capable man, he recognised that his brother Mkwawa remained the real chief whose superiority he had to accept. Adams. Section called Sultan Mpangile pp. 53-62, quotations from p. 61.
  2. Ibid. p. 83. I have also been told roughly the same story by a woman who was Mawala's wife and after his death married Jumbe Msatima.

After Mpangile's death von Prince made no more attempts to set up a sultan over the Wahehe as a whole. Magdelene relates that at one point Tom thought of making Merere sultan of the Wahehe and that Merere would have been very keen to accept this and so triumph over his old conqueror,<sup>1</sup> but nothing came of it. The bitter war against Mkwawa dragged on as he and von Prince attacked the others' patrols, but never met in pitched battle nor saw each other.<sup>2</sup> At first von Prince felt annoyed with Mkwawa for holding out and punishing so harshly those of his former followers who went over to the Germans, but as the war dragged on all the Germans acquired a great respect for Mkwawa. Von Prince at one point even told Mkwawa's sister to go and tell her brother that if he gave himself up he would not lose his life, but would only be expelled from his country. She refused on the grounds that if she told her brother such a thing he would kill her.<sup>3</sup> Only Mkwawa did not waver in his intention which was to make no compromise and to fight to the last at whatever cost to himself and his followers. By 1898 many of his relations and followers were giving themselves up as they were so weak with hunger. The German government then offered

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1. Ibid. pp. 93 and 107.

2. It was said that Mkwawa was superstitious and thought that he would be defeated if he ever saw a white man. Adams probably shook hands with him once inside a dark hut into which he was led by Mpangile. If it was Mkwawa with whom Adams shook hands on this occasion, he was the only European who ever did so. Adams p. 52.

3. Ibid. p. 162.

a reward of 5,000 rupees for information leading to his capture.<sup>1</sup> He himself was short of food and when his body was at last found an hour or two after he had committed suicide, he was seen to be weakened by hunger and to have been coughing blood.<sup>2</sup> His death came as a relief to all, to the Wahehe who had been loyal to him and to those who had gone over to the Germans, also to the Germans and their mercenary troops. There was no more resistance after his death. This shows how great had been his influence over his people, and how events had been shaped by him because he had the determination and intelligence to carry on his resistance for so long even when the war had turned against him.

The material and emotional effects of this war cannot be too strongly emphasised. The Wahehe were worn by hunger and the long years of tension caused by the war. This was also true of the Germans and their troops. Magdelene expressed this by saying that Mkwawa's mighty hand was felt in everything and all their thoughts and cares, like those of a bride who has only her loved one in mind, were occupied with "him".<sup>3</sup> The Germans and presumably many of the Wahehe never really knew who was on their side and who was on the other and with the frequent unexpected attacks of Mkwawa's

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1. Ibid. p. 166.

2. M. von Prince p. 180 ff. gives Merkl's much quoted report. For an English translation see Culwick p. 420.

3. Ibid. p. 83.

men even the iron nerves of the German commanders were shattered. They had nightmares. Magdelene personally seems to have had confidence in her husband's ultimate victory even in the particularly difficult months just after Mpangile's execution in February 1897. She felt that Tom would, in spite of all, be their lord sooner or later, even though he had found in Mkwawa an opponent who had not his like in the whole of German East Africa.<sup>1</sup> The fact that after this there was relative peace in Uhehe for the rest of the German period and that most Wahehe leaders settled down to accept positions under German authority shows the effect of the long years of war and of Mkwawa's death. It was also most important for forming the attitude of the Wahehe to the Germans and the German attitude to the Wahehe, attitudes which had a profound effect on later events.

It was said that no other part of the territory had cost them so much blood, and this contributed to making the Germans interested in the Wahehe, their qualities and achievements. Descriptions of these fine upstanding and noble warriors whose loyalty to their great chief had led them to resist the imperial forces for so long, could find ready readers in Germany. On the whole the authors who had direct experience of the Wahehe gave a more balanced picture than those who had only visited Uhehe briefly or were writing from the material of other authors, who tended to exaggerate and get

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1. Ibid. p. 80.

carried away by their own romantic ideas of the Wahehe. The Wahehe deserved some admiration for their military prowess, but not, it seems, the praise of their good physique, unless an extraordinary decline has taken place in the last two generations. Among the earlier authors to write about them Thomson<sup>1</sup> had noted that they were tall, well made and classically clothed in long stretches of cloth and Giraud that they were a beautiful race, so much better looking than the Wasagara, robust and taller than the Zanzibarites, although not fat considering that they were milk drinkers.<sup>2</sup> After the fall of Kalenga von Elpons wrote that they were of good appearance, mostly strong, slender and strikingly big people.<sup>3</sup> Nigmann, who knew them well, wrote that they were taller than average and for the most part well grown figures who held themselves straight and moved with long steps pulling their knees up in a peculiar way: the men were all very handsome with regular energetic features.<sup>4</sup> It seems probable that the Germans' experiences with the Wahehe in battle caused them to imagine that they saw larger and stronger men than they actually did. Some authors made the mistake of suggesting that they were related to the Angoni Zulu, but others who were better informed make a point of denying this and pointed out that the Wahehe had merely copied their spears and shields from

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1. Thomson p. 234.

2. Giraud p. 129.

3. von Elpons. M.D.S. 1896. p. 77.

4. Nigmann p. 4.

the Angoni.<sup>1</sup> In the same manner the authors of the more accurate accounts pointed out that there was no such thing as a typical Muhehe because they had captured so many women from other tribes and thus they had become very varied in physical form.<sup>2</sup> Probably the toga like garment worn by Wahehe men gave them a dignified and noble appearance in the eyes of some Germans who likened them to Roman senators.<sup>3</sup> Several people praised them for being intelligent<sup>4</sup> even though they were also described as obstinate, reserved mountain folk.<sup>5</sup> Their delight in beer, which some Europeans consider<sup>ed</sup> a vice, pleased a number of the Germans. Von Götzen described the Wahehe as drink happy people (Trink frohe Leute)<sup>6</sup> and Meyer called Wahehe beer really good stuff (ein recht guter Stoff).<sup>7</sup> Tom von Prince, who had considerable admiration for the Wahehe, whether they happened to be his comrades or opponents, wrote that at one great beer party they were conducting a <sup>lively</sup> living and intelligent conversation of which hardly any other

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1. Fülleborn. p. 203.

2. von Elpons M.D.S. 1896. p. 77.

3. Thomson p. 217, Nigmann p. 4, Adams p. 35.

4. Br. Michael D.K.B. 1902. p. 194, Nigmann p. 4, Giraud concluded they were more advanced intellectually than their neighbouring tribes because they had no sorcerers or fetiches. p. 154.

5. von Liebert. Im Kamp gegen die Wahehe. p. 18.

6. von Götzen p. 23.

7. Meyer. p. 189.

negroes in German East Africa might be capable.<sup>1</sup> Virchow when writing about a skull which he probably erroneously thought to be that of Munyigumba (der alte Kwawa) said that it might show that the chief's family had Arabian blood and it completely dispelled the impression given by an earlier skull that showed so many signs of lower developments.<sup>2</sup> The Wahehe were even paid the complement of being called the Herrenvolk of East Africa.<sup>3</sup> Many of these writers hoped that the qualities which had made them such outstanding warriors would help them to become good farmers and craftsmen. Nigmann declared that they were becoming industrious and independent farmers<sup>4</sup> (Meyer was probably repeating his opinion)<sup>5</sup> and were skilful at managing cattle (something which today they rightly do not consider themselves very good at) although some other Germans did not agree with him about this. The Benedictine fathers at Tosamaganga wrote that they had made more progress in their Songea station in three years than they had in five among the Wahehe, but they still believed these stiff-necked mountain people were intelligent and that eventually the missionary efforts would be worth while.<sup>6</sup>

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1. von Prince D.K.B. 1899. p. 13.
  2. Virchow. Z.F.E. 1900. p. 138.
  3. Nigmann. p. 2.
  4. Ibid. p. 3.
  5. Meyer p. 187.
  6. Br. Michael. D.K.B. 1902. p. 48.

Most of these attitudes are brought together by Stierling in his article on the Royal Graves at Rungemba.<sup>1</sup>

"It has been emphasised by every author who has hitherto written of Uhehe that its inhabitants appear, in almost all respects, to be of nobler stock than the other indolent and faint-hearted tribes of East Africa. It is, in fact, true that many traits which are peculiar to the Hehe are to be observed, as, for example, the closer solidarity of the family and the great authority of the elders; their love of country and of freedom, and the reverence with which the dead are treated and their memory preserved" .....

"...The Hehe kingdom, with its barbaric splendour is no more. But Uhehe will, under German leadership, take on new lustre when German settlers begin to bring forth the hitherto unsuspected treasures which those glorious highlands at present conceal."

Even before the German struggle to subdue the Wahehe the southern highlands had gained a reputation as a favourable area for European settlement. The earlier travellers had noticed how cool and refreshing the plateau and mountain country was after travelling through the plains 2,000 ft. or 3,000 ft. below. Iringa district was expected to become an important settler area and the first land grants in the district are recorded for 1897, the year before Mkwawa's death.<sup>2</sup> This is surprising because it was not government policy to encourage much settlement in districts still under military administration and it is hard to imagine that these four farmers

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1. Stierling M.S.O.S. 1899 pp.257, 262 trans. T.N.R. 1951 pp. 25-6, 28.

2. Beilage zum Deutschen Kolonialblatt p. 230.

actually settled in Iringa district in 1897. However, the four mentioned were all supposed to be stockfarmers and their land grants may have meant no more than that they had some grazing land in the district where they collected the cattle they bought before driving them off to sell elsewhere. Magdelene von Prince considered the prospects of European farming in Iringa district and pointed out that transport would be the chief difficulty as there were 300 miles without road or railway between this farming country and the sea.<sup>1</sup> If things were to be transported by water from the Ulanga valley they still had to be carried over extremely difficult terrain as far as the navigable river. In spite of these difficulties and the fact that the plans for a projected railway through Iringa district were abandoned, it became a settler area next in importance to the highlands around Arusha and Moshi and the sisal growing areas nearer the coast. European settlement does not seem to have been a significant cause of discontent. The alienated areas were never really large, nor were they contiguous so that they did not have a very marked effect on Wahehe settlement and society. A certain amount was written by men who wished to encourage others to settle near and some remarked that the Wahehe were lazy and not such good labourers as the Wabena.<sup>2</sup>

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1. M. von Prince pp.92, 123.

2. Leue D.K.Z. 1902. p. 254 ff. Zur Frage der Beseidelung. A good bibliography and summary of the literature on European settlement in Uhehe is contained in Battré's thesis.

After Mkwawa's death von Prince had to set up some more systematic local administration in Iringa district, over a famous (or notorious) tribe and in an area which was considered economically, politically and strategically important. (Anyone wishing to go to Lake Nyasa and central Africa whether from Dar es Salaam or from any part of north eastern Tanganyika would pass through Iringa district). There was no overall plan for local administration and there was much variation from district to district for historical reasons. German East Africa was divided into three residencies, Bukoba, Ruanda and Urundi, twenty civil districts and two military districts, Iringa and Mahenge.<sup>1</sup> Iringa was a military district because the Wahehe had resisted German authority so vigorously and Mahenge was maintained as a military district because of the part its inhabitants had played in the Maji Maji rebellion. The general policy was to prevent any chief becoming very powerful and in many areas it was possible to rule through men who had formerly been independent chiefs of small areas. Iringa district covered a much larger area than it did under the British. It included most of lowland Ubena, most of highland Ubena which was later placed in Njombe district, and also much of Usangu which was later placed in Mbeya district.<sup>2</sup> Thus Iringa district included most of Mkwawa's chiefdom, except that

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1. Admiralty Handbook of German East Africa. H.M.S.O. 1916. p. 17. This book gives a useful summary of the administration and of the population of each district.
  2. This is shown by Nigmann's map facing the title page.

part which was north of the Great Ruaha. Chief Kiwanga of lowland Ubena and Chief Merere of the Wasangu were each recognised as chiefs over their tribal areas as a reward for the assistance which they had given the Germans against Mkwawa, but this still left the major part of Mkwawa's chiefdom without a ruler. The effort to rule through a substitute chief Mpangile, had failed and the possibility of making Merere Chief of Uhehe never seems to have been taken very seriously.

Von Prince had already recognised as jumbes certain Wahehe who had gone over to the Germans while Mkwawa was still alive, but these were not systematic appointments and their authority by no means covered the whole district. It is probable that immediately after Mkwawa's death he assumed he could govern the district through jumbes alone, each of whom would be immediately responsible to the district commander. A policy of divide and rule had caused the Wahehe to be divided among themselves so that von Prince had been able to break down their loyalty to Mkwawa and it was explicitly stated to be the method by which the Germans hoped to keep them in subjection.<sup>1</sup> This may not have been as necessary as they thought it was because the Wahehe after Mkwawa's death had no leader to draw together those who had a desire to resist further, if indeed any were capable of prolonging their struggle. There is abundant literary and oral evidence that a large number of people had fled from their homes,

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1. Meyer. p. 186.

many had lost contact with their relatives, some had lost their cattle in the war and most were short of food because planting and harvesting had been disrupted.<sup>1</sup>

After Mkwawa's death von Prince travelled the district laying down the boundaries and appointing more jumbes, so that through them he might control the whole area.<sup>2</sup> Soon he discovered that it was not possible to deal with so many minor officials directly and he appointed two akidas, Farahenga in Usungwa and eastern Uhehe and Mtaki in the rest of Uhehe which included the area around Iringa garrison. Both these men were of local origin although they were appointed several years before the Maji Maji rebellion had taught the Germans that one unpopular aspect of their organisation was the appointment of literate men from the coast as akidas and liwalis. In another way the choice of Farahenga and Mtaki was exactly in conformity with the general policy of divide and rule, for they were personal enemies.<sup>3</sup> Farahenga had been one of the first Wahehe to go over to the Germans but Mtaki, who had been a sort of war minister for Mkwawa, had at first opposed the Germans and had been

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1. I have a tape recording of Bonifas Mkwawa telling of his escape from the Germans after the fall of the Kalenga fort and also an account he wrote about it for Gordon Brown in 1933. There are many people who can explain how they or their parents were scattered and fled between 1894 and 1898.
  2. There are a number of reports of his journeys. M. v. Prince p. 189 ff. D.K.B. 1899. pp. 732 ff. T. von Prince's report of 12.8.98. also that of 20.8.99.
  3. Tomaschek. D.K.Z. 1905. Der Aufstand in Deutsch Ost-Afrika und die Wahehe. p. 410.

betrayed by Farahenga and condemned. He had then been reprieved, was rehabilitated and given the important position of akida. When Farahenga had been hanged for suspected disloyalty during the Maji Maji rebellion Mtaki who had assisted Nigmann by recruiting Wahehe auxiliaries to help the regular forces fight the rebels, was made "Sultan" of Usungwa where he ruled from Ifua in the north east. He was presumably still Sultan of Usungwa in 1914 when Dempwolff's article was published, but it is uncertain when this Sultanate was abolished or how Mtaki ended his political career.<sup>1</sup>

Soon after the Maji Maji rebellion had been put down and Nigmann and other Germans realised how much they owed to the fact that the Wahehe had not only refrained from joining the rebels, but had even helped them in their campaign, the official German attitude towards the Wahehe began to soften. Sapi, the eldest son of Mkwawa, had been taken to the coast at the time of his father's death together with most of his close relations. He had then been sent to be educated in a German monastery for three years and on his return was appointed akida of a coastal district near Dar es Salaam. In 1912 the Chief Secretary Methner went to Iringa to advise whether a civilian administration should be introduced. He decided that it was possible but not an urgent matter. On this journey he took

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1. Nigmann p. 88, Dempwolff p. 107.

His son Saidi Mtaki, who was made Regional Commissioner of Songea Region in 1962, claims that his father was executed by the Germans, but I have found no written record of this.

with him Sapi Mkwawa in order to discuss whether he should be reinstated as paramount chief.<sup>1</sup> Sapi was received with great honour by his people, but the war broke out two years later before any changes had been made so that to the end of the German period Iringa remained a military district and the Wahehe lacked an official chief.

There is quite a lot of literary and oral information about the men who were jumbes and about their duties even though there is no evidence that there was a systematic hierarchy of authority under the military commander and his akidas. In 1910 there were supposed to be 259 jumbes in Iringa district excluding the Sultanate of Usungwa and the chiefdoms of lowland Ubena and Usangu, and the commander intended to reduce the number following deaths or depositions. The jumbes each received a certificate and they were entered in a register which was kept up to date when they went to Iringa once a year for a Jumbentag (jumbes' day) to receive orders. This has been taken as a clear indication that the distant headmen were acknowledged rather than appointed, something which seems quite consistent with our general knowledge of local administration and communications at this period.<sup>2</sup>

In the memories of older Wahehe there were two types of jumbe

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1. Information from John Iliffe.
  2. For this information I am indebted to John Iliffe who expects to include a more detailed description of this in his thesis.

during the German period, ana kitabu (he has a book) and hapana kitabu (an incorrect rendering of haana kitabu meaning he has not got a book). In the German land grants which were usually witnessed by the local jumbes some are simply entitled jumbe and others are entitled gross jumbe (big jumbe). However, those described by the Wahehe as jumbe ana kitabu include many who were in the land records simply entitled jumbe, so it seems unlikely that jumbe ana kitabu was the Kihehe equivalent of gross jumbe and jumbe hapana kitabu was the equivalent of jumbe. It is much more likely that there were relatively few men known as gross jumbe and that they were not superiors of those known simply as jumbe, but were merely the more effective and important jumbes ruling large jumbeates, such as Vangidunda who ruled the area around Iringa garrison and Msatima of Luhota. Thus those who were known to the Wahehe as jumbe ana kitabu included both those whom the Germans called jumbe and gross jumbe. Those known to the Wahehe as jumbe hapana kitabu were probably men appointed by the recognised jumbes themselves with whom the Germans had no direct dealings and whose names were never recorded. Ana kitabu was most likely used to describe the jumbes recognised by the Germans because the names of these jumbes were written in the tax books one at the beginning of each section which contained the names of the tax payers in that jumbeate.

The duties of jumbes included a number of things which had been the duties of Mkwawa's vansagila. They had to keep the peace and

report any trouble in their areas. The news of the Maji Maji rebellion first came to Jumbe Pangamasasi MwaMusuva of Muhanga in Usungwa near the route which people were accustomed to take into the Ulanga valley. He sent the news to the Iringa garrison.<sup>1</sup> The jumbes and their subordinates also judged most of the day to day offences and disputes which arose within their areas. There appear to have been no written records of these and the German commanders had little concern about most offences and litigation. For many jumbes the Iringa garrison was more than a day's journey away and for some it was as much as four, five or even six days' journey. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the Wahehe were left to conduct much of their litigation without supervision. There are a few examples of disputes which had arisen during the German period and which finally were brought to a sub-chief's court as late as 1930 when court cases had to be recorded. The German commanders did judge disputes where serious crimes such as murder had been committed and when the authority of their African officials was threatened or when cases came on appeal. The following extract is taken from an official account about justice in Iringa district by the District Commander, Styx.

"The administration of justice is public and takes place every Wednesday and Saturday. It lies in the hands of the District Commander or the commander of the Military

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1. von Götzen. p. 112. Also in tape recording from a Muhehe who joined Nigmann's forces.

Post (i.e. Ubena Post), under the responsibility of the former. It is so handled that all criminal cases come to judgement in the sessions of the court. Lesser, petty disputes are brought before the Station Commander. Popular customs must naturally be given the most extensive attention, but the station attempts to do away with hateful abuses. .... After each verdict has been given, there follows a brief instruction concerning the grounds for the judgement, which, in many cases, would not otherwise be understood by the people. 1

The land records show that jumbes were called to witness land alienation and to help mark out boundaries and organise the removal of any people who were living or pasturing their cattle on the land to be alienated. These records show that a number of these jumbes were at least capable of signing their own names. There were of course a large number who could only make a thumb print or a cross, but the usefulness of writing for people in authority, even if they were very subordinate officials performing mainly traditional tasks, had been recognised. Where land transfer involved only Africans no records were kept and it can be assumed that land was divided and transferred much as it is today or even less formally because there was then a much smaller population. There was plenty of land for European settlers, for members of other tribes who lived and worked in the Iringa garrison and for the Wahehe themselves. When land alienations were made it was unusual for more than four or five

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1. Land Office Dar es Salaam, 1 A 8 Vol. XIX d., Jahresbericht, Iringa, 1910. For this extract I am indebted to John Iliffe and it is given in his translation.

hut-holders to be listed for receiving compensation although any owner of a hut on the land to be alienated was entitled to a small amount of compensation paid in money.

As had been the case with Mkwawa's vansagila so it was with the men who served the Germans as jumbes, some were descendants of former rulers on whose graves they were expected to make offerings for rain and others had no connection with the traditional rulers of the area which they ruled. Various members of the German administration remarked on the way Wahehe made offerings on graves. Nigmann mentions sacrifices for rain, but does not state who made them. Apparently one jumbe Fariabadassi from Malangali used to make offerings on a grave every time he had been summoned to the station but this was probably only a family grave and was concerned only with his personal affairs.<sup>1</sup> Nigmann himself attended a ceremony at which offerings were made on the grave of a Muhehe who was assisting the Germans in the Maji Maji rebellion.<sup>2</sup> The most convincing evidence that some people, including a number of jumbes, did continue to sacrifice for rain during this period is the fact that they are known to have done so later.

Another task jumbes were expected to perform was that of turning people out for portorage, or road work, or generally for the service of Europeans and soldiers when they were travelling. This was not

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1. Nigmann p. 24.

2. Ibid. p. 38.

an entirely new duty as the vansagila had always been responsible for maintaining the chief's houses, or sending people to help build the Kalenga fort and also finding porters to follow the soldiers to war. Von Prince paid tribute to the excellent discipline of the Wahehe when doing communal work on the roads and attributed this to the fact that they had in the past been used to working under good discipline.<sup>1</sup> However, such duties were not regarded at all favourably under the new regime and the duty of organising people to supply the needs of caravans was understandably difficult. Caravans often exploited the people whose territory they passed through. Von Prince saw the injustice of this and instituted standard rewards for those who let their huts to travellers, 5 rupees per night when the travellers cleaned the huts before they left, and twice that if they left the cleaning to the owners.<sup>2</sup> People often did not want to sell food to caravans and officials on tour even though they were paid for it. There is one somewhat abusive term known to have been used for minor officials, perhaps jumbes, or their assistants, who had to persuade their subjects to supply food, karani wa mayai. This is a Swahili phrase meaning "egg clerk", which, being a Swahili expression, is unlikely to have been invented by the Wahehe. It is not in current use.

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1. Ibid. p. 4.

2. M. von Prince p. 32.

The jumbes had one totally new duty. They had to collect tax of 3 rupees from each able bodied adult male. This was undoubtedly an unpleasant task except where it offered opportunities for "eating" some of the tax money. When this was discovered by the German authorities it was undoubtedly punished and the offender was probably sacked and given a severer punishment as well. However, in the early years before most people understood how to defend themselves against being exploited like this, when no tax receipts were issued and when supervision of jumbes was superficial and there was little concern for justice, many jumbes could have exploited their subjects with impunity. Jumbes were paid a salary of 20 rupees every month by the administration which, in the conditions of the time, was quite significant. The only other people who could have acquired much money without exceptional effort were the owners of large herds of cattle. In addition to the wages received officially in payment for their duties, particularly that of tax collecting, the jumbes and their assistants received a number of presents including those, regarded as obligatory, brought by the litigants who wished a jumbe to judge a case. This is sometimes referred to as mibehe (derivation or other meaning unknown) and sometimes as mbadula luvanza (kubadula means to split, and luvanza is an area of cleared ground, such as that where litigants and their judges would assemble). Jumbes and their assistants would also have received a certain number of presents from litigants "to help them in their cases".

Some jumbes and akidas also had to organise their subjects for war at the time of the Maji Maji rebellion. One of the most important officials was Mtaki who started by collecting volunteers from the area immediately around the Iringa garrison. Two others who had to do this were Msatima, jumbe of Luhota, and Hamisi, jumbe of Ihimbo, both places on the route from Iringa to Muhanga from where the forces descended into the Ulanga valley. Nigmann suggests that a number of the Wahehe were forced to join the German army in order to prevent them joining the rebels.<sup>1</sup> However, various Wahehe who took part claim to have joined the forces of their own free will for the joy of being permitted to fight against the Wapogoro and Wambunga. Whatever the truth about the Wahehe attitude to the war it is clear that the jumbes of the area had to spread the news and organise their men and help the soldiers pass through or spend the night in their areas. When the Germans met with obstruction or even suspected organised non-co-operation the jumbe paid heavily for it. Farahenga, such an important supporter of the Germans before the death of Mkwawa, was hanged because the people of the upper Lukosi at Likininda had rioted. Pangamasasi MwaMusuva, who had refused to join the rebels and who had sent news of the rebellion to the Iringa garrison was also killed. His descendants claim that his subjects had chased and killed some of the soldiers in the German forces when they were in search of food in his jumbeate,

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1. Nigmann. p. 88.

and so he was summoned before one of the German commanders to whom he denied having told his subjects to do this. The soldiers were sent to make further enquiries in the area where the trouble had occurred, but instead of doing so they took Pangamasasi and killed him on the way. The Germans declared that he had run away, but some of his relations found his rotting body and identified it because he had worn a bracelet like a woman and a necklace of elephant teeth. Mtaki, Sultan of Usungwa, may have been killed by the Germans. There may well have been other jumbes in Iringa district who were hanged for suspected disloyalty.

The German commanders might have decided that any mnzagila who had continued to fight against them after the fall of the Kalenga fort was unfit to serve them as a jumbe. Indeed, they might have gone further and suspected nearly all Wahehe and placed members of other tribes, perhaps Wasangu and Wabena or other enemies of the Wahehe, to rule over them. In fact they did not. Some of the jumbes were men who had changed their allegiance during the German advance and others had to be appointed afterwards so that there might be enough to cover the whole district and to organise tax collection and compulsory labour. This was accomplished stage by stage in an informal manner. In some places the old vansagila acquiesced, and accepted their new overlords and were accepted by them. In other cases a German party arrived on tour to investigate the state of a particular area and asked who was in charge of the

place. If there was no obvious candidate they accepted any suggestion without much further questioning, or if the most likely person was not about at that time, perhaps because he had fled in the war, they appointed anyone about who seemed reasonably suitable. Thus, the appointments were made piecemeal and with little planning, yet enough is known about it to describe the various types of men who were appointed and what effect these appointments had on Wahehe society.

In the first place there were two and possibly more descendants of former chiefs who had been displaced or were in exile under Mkwawa and who returned to rule in the neighbourhood in which their ancestors had ruled. The most important of these was Msatima Myovela, of the ruling family of Udongwe, who got back the most significant part of his father's chiefdom near the mountain called Luhota. He had returned from Ugogo before the death of Mkwawa and the fact that he was an enemy of Mkwawa may explain why Magdelene remarked that the Wadongwe were so loyal (that is to the Germans).<sup>1</sup> The other man was Mtalamile, son of Msambila MwaMudemu who returned to rule in the Malangali area where his father had been defeated and brought under the rule of the Muyinga chief. Like Msatima, Mtalamile was given an area rather less than his father's original chiefdom. Merere chief of the Wasangu had his chiefdom restored to him by the Germans. His father who had been driven into Usafwa by the

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1. M. von Prince p. 85.

Wahehe had died in 1893.<sup>1</sup>

Secondly, there were a large number of men who had held some office under Mkwawa and had managed to become jumbes under the Germans. Sengidunda MwaMugongolwa continued to rule on one side of the river at Kalenga, although at some point his territory was divided and an area to the south was ruled by his half-brother Kiwanga whose mother lived there. Mnyahenza MwaLuhwavi, who had formerly ruled the other side of the river at Kalenga, also appears to have acquiesced and been appointed jumbe. Bwanangondo MwaKimbe remained in the Mugama - Iwawa area where he had formerly been an mnzagila and was appointed jumbe. Banamutwa MwaLumato of Rungemba, who had been mnzagila in charge of Munyigumba's burial place there, became jumbe of the area. Kayela, chief of part of Ukosisamba in the Idodi area on the ill-defined border between Uhehe and Usangu, was made jumbe although it seems probable that his territory was reduced in size and part given to Mwanamhavi, son of Merere, who was quarrelling with his father. Mkanulupembe MwaMakombe remained in the Kasanga area where he had been placed as mnzagila by Mkwawa and was made a jumbe. Pangamasasi MwaMusuva who had been mnzagila in the Ulanga valley, presumably in the country of the Wambunga, was placed by the Germans as jumbe of the Muhanga area on the frontier between Uhehe and Umbunga. Even after his death for supposed disloyalty his sister's son was appointed to succeed him.

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1. Nigmann p. 21.

This was a category of relation whom he himself might have chosen to succeed him had he wished to retire in old age. The choice of a sister's son does not suggest that the Germans were intentionally avoiding Pangamasasi's descendants because of his suspected disloyalty, rather they permitted a successor to be chosen from among those who could traditionally have been expected to succeed.

There were a number of people who seem to have been made jumbes by the Germans although they had not been particularly important under Mkwawa. Simbamwaka MwaChonya claims that his father Salimboga was made a jumbe of the area which included the present Malangali settlement, because Mutitima MwaMusovela and Mtalamile MwaMudemu had run away and were not present when the Germans came. In the Pawaga area some people said that a German patrol turned up in the area and one German asked a gathering of people who was the senior person in that area. It was not clear who fitted this description, but someone replied, "Kidako", and the Germans wrote his name down and proceeded on their way. Kidako was then jumbe and one of his sons succeeded him and he in turn was succeeded by one of his sons who was ruling there in 1963. Chotaukali MwaMbugi was an affine of Mkwawa and had served him and been sent to Usagara, but had not held any particularly distinguished position. During the Maji Maji rebellion he was sent to rule on the border of Usagara and Uheke because the Wasagara were involved in the rising. He was the most important jumbe in this area which had a large number of jumbes in

relation to the population. There was a Musangu Sadala who was set up as a jumbe at Maganga Matitu below the escarpment in the Pawaga area where there was no mnzagila already established. There was also Muviligwamasasi MwaNyingo, a jumbe at Tanagosi who is not remembered to have held any position before the German period although people say that he was among the Wahehe who went to attack the Wasangu camp at the time when Elton and Catterill were passing through. He committed suicide in about 1908, but was succeeded by one of his sons, Lusinde, just as many traditional rulers were succeeded by their sons or close kin. That Lusinde made certain that his relations would continue to dominate the area by taking more than 30 wives and begetting well over a hundred children. He was alive in 1963 and one of his sons had succeeded him as jumbe. Vangidunda who later took the Moslem name Mfaume and who is listed as a gross jumbe in the land records appears to have held no position earlier. Mtaki had evidently been sufficiently important to have been sent to the coast on Mkwawa's business, but there is nothing known about him to show why he should have become akida or sultan of Usungwa under the Germans. He is said to have been responsible for the appointment of jumbe Muviligwamasasi at Tanangosi. There were also jumbes specially appointed to rule on the mission land. Presumably this was arranged so that the missionaries could appoint a convert or at least some man who would co-operate with them. Many jumbes of Tosamaganga were not Wahehe

and were Christians because the missionaries allowed the freed Wahehe war captives and other non-Wahehe freed slaves whom they had redeemed and brought with them from the coast to settle on their land.

It is generally acknowledged, though nowhere explicitly stated, that jumbes often appointed their own assistants (the jumbe hapana kitabu) who were roughly the equivalent of those known as karani wa kijiji (village headmen) under the British. There are no records of the names of these men, but a few old men have memories of those they appointed or those whom their fathers appointed, or those whom they or their fathers served. The pattern appears to have been much the same as it was at a later period and as it is reputed to have been earlier. The jumbe chose from among his friends, relations and affines, men to whom he delegated some of his authority in part of his area, to help him with tax collection, the judgement of disputes and distribution of land. How each jumbe appointed and removed these men and how many he had and what he expected them to do was his own affair. Ex-jumbe Saidi, the son of Sengidunda MwaMugongolwa, remembers five men whom his father appointed as his assistants. This agrees with what is known to be generally true about their numbers in relation to the size of the population and the number of jumbes. Jumbes have if anything decreased in number, at least since the end of the German period, and the population has greatly increased. In these circumstances when the numbers of

subjects of each jumbe has so greatly increased, it is reasonable to assume that there has been a tendency for each jumbe to increase the number of assistants he appoints. This is consistent with the general impression gained that in an area where a jumbe today has five or six assistants his predecessor fifty years ago or more probably only had three and where a jumbe today only has two or three assistants his predecessor may not have had any.

It is possible to argue with some reason that not much changed immediately as a result of German occupation. The number of men who were akida or jumbes was probably much the same as the number of important vansagila, vatambule and vigendo under Mkwawa. On the whole it seems that over the period 1894-1900 there was not a greater turnover among those holding positions of authority than there had been less than a generation earlier, (for example during Mkwawa's exile and return at the beginning of his reign) even though the source of the authority had changed. In many ways their duties were much the same as the old vansagila: they settled disputes and during both periods there could be appeal to a higher authority: they watched over and witnessed the division of land: under Mkwawa they had supplied the chief and his armies when they were on the move and at this period they collected tax and attended to the wants of German patrols in their areas: at both periods they had to find men to be porters and they had to oversee the security of their areas and find men to perform public works and for war:

during Mkwawa's reign some vansagila had been of greater importance than others and had ruled over larger areas and the same was still true under the Germans: during both periods they were able to appoint men of their own choice to assist them.

Once people had returned home and settled down after the death of Mkwawa many would have found little change in their daily life. Apart from being forced to live in peace and to bury their dead, domestic life must have continued much as it had been before the fall of the Kalenga fort. The difference was mainly that of greater security and increase in population. There had been numbers of freed slaves in the district, some of whom returned to their original homes after the German conquest, but many of whom settled in Uhehe and married locally. This again was nothing new as a large number of people from many different tribal groups had been absorbed by the Wahehe for more than two generations before this. There is plenty of oral testimony today which corroborates the statements of the more observant Germans who stated that there was no typical Wahehe physical type because a large number of captives of other tribes had been absorbed among them. Nigmann explained how "true Muhehe" was a meaningless expression. Those with long ancestry in the area would prove it by naming their ancestors and the smaller area from which they came, Udongwe, Ufwagi, etc., but captives and those whose recent ancestors had come from

somewhere else might well claim to be true Wahehe.<sup>1</sup> Muhehe was then, as it is still today, a ~~prestigious~~ <sup>conveying prestige</sup> name which people of mixed ancestry and those of other tribes brought up in Uhehe are often glad to adopt. The only new aspect of this during the German period was the way in which two of these communities were somewhat set apart from the rest of Wahehe society, those at the Iringa garrison and those on the mission land at Tosamaganga.

The existence of these two communities did not appear as important at the time as it is seen to be in retrospect. The German Benedictine fathers started missions at Tosamaganga and Madebira in 1897 and the Berlin Evangelical missionaries based in Kidugala had worked in Usungwa before they founded Pommern mission there in 1912.<sup>2</sup> Fortunately this did not cause political and social factions in the area and the Roman Catholic and Protestant missions kept their distance and were on reasonably good terms. At the first adult baptism at Tosamaganga which was not performed in periculo mortis the Protestant missionary attended.<sup>3</sup> Nor did the Christians as a whole become an important political group in the district. They were very few in number and the missionaries seem to have been resigned to the fact that proud independent Wahehe would not immediately make good converts. There are very few German

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1. Nigmann. pp. 1-2.

2. Brown and Hutt. p. 215. Richter. p. 96.

3. M. von Prince. p. 203.

Christian names in use today and there are also very few in the column for the fathers' names of the present day taxpayers in the tax registers, nor in any part of the oldest surviving pieces of tax registers which date from about 1931. In 1926 the only two jumbes who had Christian names were Norbert, jumbe on the mission land at Tosamaganga, and Pancras, son of Mkwawa who had been sent to the coast and educated in a mission there.

The greatest significance of missionary activity was its part in spreading the art of reading and writing in so many places inland. The government needed men who could read and write and count money and it was not always possible nor desirable to import literate men from the coast. Those who learnt to read and write in mission schools could frequently find employment as government clerks keeping the tax books, or as mission teachers in bush schools. Many jumbes were happy to have a literate boy living near them and through informal clientship some literate young men became the favoured and trusted assistants of the important men whom they read and wrote. The government also encouraged the sons of chief and jumbes to learn to read and write. They were often the people most prepared to set the fashion in this. In the earliest years no school fees were paid so expense did not prevent polygamous jumbes with many children from sending many of them to bush school. The significance of literacy within Wahehe society became more obvious during the next generation.

Paradoxically the spread of European government and control which encouraged a great increase in Christian missionary activity also made possible the spread of Islam inland in the areas where it had never penetrated before.<sup>1</sup> Many of the soldiers employed by the Germans were Nubians from the Sudan or men from the coast, as were the porters. When government stations and military garrisons were established there, permanent communities of Moslems were established inland for the first time. Improved communications also increased social contact between people from the coast and the people of the interior. These groups of Moslems came into contact with the local populations through trade and by employing some, mostly young men of an impressionable age, as servants. Swahili is the language of the coastal Moslems. The government policy of making Swahili the official language throughout the territory coincided nicely with the efforts of these groups of coastal Moslems to spread their faith among the inland Africans with whom they came in contact. During this period the general pattern of Islam and the areas in which it would spread were mapped out. Swahili is spoken, the kanzu is worn, and the Moslem religion is practised mainly in towns and minor settlements by market places and at cross roads and near railway stations and in areas where a significant section of the population have been away to work near the coast.

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1. C.H. Becker. Materialien für die Kenntnis der Islam in Deutsch Ost Afrika. Der Islam. Vol. 2. 1911.

This does not mean that the government wished to encourage the spread of Islam as well as of Christianity. It was rather a by-product of other government activities. Most of the education was in the hands of the missions, but there were government schools in some centres where teaching was in Swahili and many of the pupils were Moslems, or were at least growing up in a community influenced by the Swahili - Moslem culture. The German officials actually saw that Islam might be a danger as it is an aggressive religion and a German government circular is supposed to have exhorted its officers to encourage pig breeding among the natives so that the prospect of conversion to Islam would be less attractive to them.<sup>1</sup> In Uhehe at least this was unsuccessful as there is no evidence that there was ever more than a very small number of pigs owned by Africans and today they are rare.

The Moslems, rather more than the Christians, were a community with a different way of life and a different culture. The Moslem community at this period was small and was a significant group in forming village type settlements and in trade, but the majority of the population can have had little contact with them. The only jumbe with a Moslem name who appears in the German records was Hamisi at Ihimbo. Ihimbo was on the road to Ulanga and so a place where Moslems might have lived, but there is no evidence that he

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1. Report on Tanganyika from the Conclusion of the Armistice to the end of 1920. p. 30.

was a Moslem in any more than name. Another jumbe on the borders of Iringa town (he might have been responsible for the town itself as well) was listed by his Kihehe name Vangidunda, but he is known to have become a Moslem and to have taken the name Mfaume. In 1926 Hamisi of Ihimbo was still the only Moslem name in the list of jumbes so it seems that the Moslems had no greater share of political power than the Christians.

From this it is clear that there were no important factions created by these new religious groups at this time. The chief was dead and his children and close relations were all in exile so there was no focus for local loyalty to challenge the efforts of the German government to make all inhabitants of German East Africa loyal subjects of the Kaiser. Magdelene von Prince, Nigmann, Meyer and some other writers believed there was a prosperous future for the inhabitants of Uhehe (and of Tanganyika generally) under the German flag. In schools and missions children were taught to sing "Heil dir im Siegekranz" (the pre-1914 German national anthem) in German and in local languages. There are still people schooled by the Germans who are able to remember it and sing it with enthusiasm today.<sup>1</sup> People were also taught to sing "Ich bin ein Preusse" (I am a Prussian) and other German songs.<sup>2</sup> Later German writers stress the importance

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1. I have a recording of Bonifas Mkwawa singing German songs and German and Latin hymns in a mixture of muddled German and Latin and Kihehe.

2. M. von Prince pp. 177, 212.

of all signs of loyalty to Germany shown by various Africans during the war and even after it,<sup>1</sup> but there is no evidence to suggest that this was a general feeling and none at all to indicate that in Uhehe it was an effective substitute for loyalty to chief Mkwawa.

There was one other way in which the German period was significant for the future of Uhehe. The places which were chosen for government stations at this period have remained important ever since even though the main roads have not followed exactly the same lines. Iringa town was an uninhabited site when they decided to build the garrison there near to the old Iringa (Kalenga), but in a higher and healthier place.<sup>2</sup> The town grew very quickly because of the garrison and it has remained an administrative centre from 1896 until today. It has been a centre for non-Wahehe, particularly Moslems, within Uhehe, and even after two or three generations many of these people have not become absorbed in the social and political concerns of the tribe. To a lesser extent the same is true at Malangali. Tosamaganga has remained an important centre for mission activities in an area extending much further than Uhehe. The community of Christian non-Wahehe families who settled there during this period have remained a distinct group, though less set apart from the majority of Wahehe than the Moslems. All other small

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1. G.L. Steer. Judgement on German Africa (1939) was an attempt to refute these German claims.

2. On most, if not all, German maps Iringa town is marked "Neu Iringa" and Kalenga is marked "Alt Iringa".

German forts were only temporary structures of mud huts with a stockade round them. These were allowed to fall down as soon as the war was over and they left no material or social effect on the areas where they had been.

The most important factors at this period other than the establishment of German control, was the abolition of the chiefship and the removal of all possible successors so that at an impressionable age they grew up and were educated in an alien environment. This break in the existence of the chiefship was very important for the future. There was virtually one generation between Mkwawa's death and his son Sapi's restoration in 1926. Although many important people survived this period, and some held authority from Mkwawa's time into the British period, a lot of memories and experience were lost which could not later be recovered. We cannot know to what extent Mkwawa's political and military organisation had built up some tradition and system which he and others had intended to maintain and preserve, or how far he did just as he pleased at any particular moment. Kalenga had been physically destroyed and the population had dispersed. Some Germans have recorded how quickly the people who had fought with spears and shields were forgetting their old skills and how quickly hunting declined.<sup>1</sup> Much in community life remained as it had been previously, or indeed returned to what it had been like before so many men were constantly engaged

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1. Nigmann. p. 80.

in preparing for or taking part in war. Many people after a short period of importance as good warriors (many of whom had acquired a significant amount of wealth in cattle and wives as a result of this) returned to a life of comparative insignificance and may have lost both cattle and wives when the Germans captured the cattle of those who supported Mkwawa and made it known that captive women must not be compelled to stay with their captors if they did not wish to do so.

One category of people who did well in this situation were those chosen to be jumbes. With a salary of 20 rupees per month they were probably relatively better off for cash than at any other time.<sup>1</sup> They had each month nearly seven times the annual head tax, whereas in 1963 the tax was 40/- and the majority of jumbes received only 45/- or 55/- per month. They were not closely supervised for the most part and had quite a lot of scope to establish themselves as if they were traditional rulers of an area where they had no claim by descent and tradition at all. There are a number of examples of this, the most obvious being the descendants of Muviligwamasasi of Tanangosi. Though the actions of German officials against them were sometimes arbitrary there are no grounds for suggesting that they were any more so than those of Mkwawa against his vansagila. Rather the reverse seems to be the case. As the German officials

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1. This figure of 20 rupees per month was given by a number of informants in different parts of Uhehe. It seems remarkably high considering the few taxpayers under some jumbes, whose annual taxes might cover such a small part of one jumbe's salary.

were not part of Wahehe society, there were fewer ways in which jumbes might appear to be a threat to the ruling power in the way in which Mkwawa's vansagila were to him. The jumbes were the only officials outside government stations as there were no local government officials, such as clerks, agricultural and veterinary instructors or medical dressers. The only possible competition for authority and leadership in the community which was also associated with a small cash income came from mission bush school teachers and they were few and had fewer opportunities to establish themselves, not least because they were not permitted to be polygamous.

There are no obvious explicit reference to the supernatural or medicinal power of the jumbes, but it is unreasonable to suggest that this association between political and supernatural power was absent when it is important at earlier and later periods. Jumbe Lusinde of Tanangosi is today commonly believed to have powerful medicine (one of the ingredients of which is a human skull) which he uses to cause elephants to stand still when he is hunting them. This belief may have started soon after he was first appointed during the German period. Furthermore, as some important Wahehe who had quarrelled with those in authority felt they had to live outside Uhehe at this time, it is likely that people thought supernatural powers were used in the contest for authority, and against those in authority.

However the changes in Wahehe society under the Germans and the continuity with earlier history are assessed, the cessation of tribal warfare, the exile of the chief and the sense of unity which outlasted the chief by whom it had been created remain the outstanding features of this period.

## CHAPTER 7

The Administration of Uhehe 1916-1961

The remaining years which fall within this study of the Wahehe are those of the period of British rule, 1916-1961. This is both a much longer period than either of those dealt with in the last two chapters and the one about which most is known so that it will be necessary to divide the material. This chapter outlines the general chronology of the period and discusses the system of government, of which the chiefship of Uhehe was a part, and the local effects of the government and development of the whole territory. The next is concerned with the description and discussion of the organisation of authority within the tribe and of the people involved. This way in which the material is divided between the two chapters is not the only possible one, but it seems the most satisfactory. If a chronological division were made only two years could be considered as suitable land marks: 1926 (the setting up of indirect rule), which would be unsatisfactory because little is known about the decade 1916-1926 while much is known about the 35 years 1926-1961: and 1940 (the year of Chief Sapi's desposition) which divides the period almost exactly in half,

but does not mark a point at which there were other far reaching changes.

There are a number of government publications which deal both with general government activities and with those in Iringa district in particular, such as the provincial and district commissioners' annual reports.<sup>1</sup> There are a large number of unpublished government sources, containing files of letters to and from the chief and members of the native authority, court books, tax books, administrative officers' safari reports, district council proceedings and the district books. Most of these have survived by chance, and incompletely, since the early 1930s and before that there appear to be hardly any unpublished records. There is the book Anthropology in Action by G.G. Brown and Bruce Hutt, written from material collected between 1930 and 1934, and a number of articles by Brown and his wife. In addition to this published material there are a large number of notebooks, mainly written in Kihehe, by Wahehe informants, and sometimes dictated to Brown and his wife by them.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of all this wealth of written sources much contained in these two chapters depends on local knowledge and verbal information acquired among a large number of the people involved in the

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1. The provincial commissioners' reports for the years 1929 to 1959 inclusive are available in Britain, but not district commissioners' reports.
  2. With the consent of the late Professor McIlwraith, 150 of these note books were posted to me by Mrs. Sparshott, who had been in charge of the books when they were taken to the Department of Anthropology at Toronto after Gordon Brown's death.

events. The quality of information and of the informants varies greatly, but there are so many people who can remember reasonably clearly the whole period, or at least since the beginning of indirect rule in 1926, that the general outline, and even much of the detail, is clear.

On the whole there is no serious conflict between written and verbal information. There are, however, many details where written report conflicts with verbal information, and written report with written report, and verbal information with other verbal information. On matters of fact it is not usually difficult to know which is right, for court books, made up day by day, are a more accurate guide to the date when a new sub-chief was installed than the memory of men who do not habitually think in terms of numbered years. On the other hand personal information is much more likely to be correct on names because official records often confuse a man with his father. Examples of this are easy to find. Many non-Wahehe refer to Chief Adam Sapi Mkwawa as Sapi and this has even found its way into a standard Swahili school history book.

"...lakini katika mwaka 1940, Sapi mwanawe Mkwawa aliwekwa na serikali ya Kiingereza kuwa Mtawala wa Wahehe". (...but in the year 1940, Sapi the child of Mkwawa was appointed chief of the Wahehe by the British Government).<sup>1</sup> One man, Soliambingo, who was the child of jumbe Salimboga, started doing his father's work

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1. Zamani Mpaka Siku Hizi p. 126.

long before he officially succeeded his father. When he did officially succeed his father and received the jumbe's salary he was always entered in the tax and court books as Salimboga, his father's name. This is known to have happened in a significant number of cases and further investigation would probably show that it has occurred in an even greater number.

Although many facts can be muddled, omitted, or forgotten, it is usually possible, given sufficient time and patience, to discover what people held positions of authority and certain facts about them. Many factors are interrelated, therefore contradictions emerge, and gradually the truth becomes clear. It is much more difficult, however, to discover how systems of administration actually functioned and how the Wahehe regarded them, as opposed to how such systems were intended to function and what some Wahehe think happened. There are certain checks and guides in this, such as correspondence and court records about the delicts of jumbes, but for the most part judgements of this kind are subjective.

It is clear that many judgements passed in safari reports and provincial and district commissioners' reports are likewise subjective. This is sometimes a valuable clue to the personal attitudes of various officials and how they dealt with the native authorities. Contained within these reports there is also an important amount of indisputable fact in the form of names, dates and places. They are remarkably revealing about the attitudes of various members of the

administration, but they give little evidence about its effectiveness and practically none about the attitudes of the Wahehe. The Provincial Commissioner of Southern Highlands Province, writing the annual report for 1949, discussed his experience of the difficulties of stopping embezzlement by native authority servants and remarked that he was intrigued by the provincial commissioner's report for 1930 where the then provincial commissioner had boasted his satisfaction with the progress in the functioning of native authorities, claiming he thought that embezzlement was rare because it was not worth while. In another case the provincial commissioner's report for 1958 mentioned "the enthusiastic co-operation of Chief Adam Sapi and his people" in organising a native authority council system while Hans Cory, the government sociologist who was involved in planning this, reported the great difficulties he countered and the suspicion with which many Wahehe regarded the council system.<sup>1</sup>

The period 1916-1926 is particularly difficult to learn much about. There appear to be no local records at all and what remains of central government records is patchy. There are a few government publications which give a rough idea of the circumstances in which a skeleton government was maintained once the army handed over to civilians. The British controlled much of German East Africa from 1916 when Horace Byatt administered the territory north of the central railway line from Lushoto and H.L. Duff administered

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1. Cory's papers. University College, Dar es Salaam.

the south from Songea. Though the campaign passed through Iringa district the only fighting seems to have been in the south-west near the German settlement of Malangali. Some Wahehe were involved in this campaign and one, ex-jumbe Chotisamba MwaKalinga, claims to have been wounded. Others remember the two armies encamping on hills opposite each other on either side of the valley at Weru. One of the hills is still sometimes referred to as Siginale (from signal), but there was no fighting there.

There are also a few men who claim to have been employed as servants of the British officers. On the whole the Wahehe remember little of the campaign and there is no evidence from any source that they played a significant part on either side. This is quite understandable because, apart from actual fighting and presumably the removal of personnel and the resulting decreased effectiveness of administration, the British victory made no immediate difference to local organisation. Perhaps the fact best remembered by Wahehe today is that people had to pay tax to a British "Bwana Johns" who had his office in the mission chapel at Tosamaganga. This is consistent with our general knowledge that the remnants of the German system of akidas and jumbes was made to function for the time being without change in personnel.

The future of German East Africa was not decided until 1919 and the details of the Treaty of Versailles which dealt especially with the boundaries and status of Tanganyika were not worked out

until 1920. After 1919 a few moves were made. Ruanda and Urundi were put under Belgian administration leaving 22 districts under the British known as Tanganyika Territory. Iringa and Mahenge had been military districts under the Germans and Bukoba had been a residency, but all became districts of the same status under British rule. In 1920 there are supposed to have been 108 officials in these 22 districts and although this was an improvement on the German situation with only 79, it still meant that there was very little supervision of the activities of the majority of akidas and jumbes. Iringa district included all the land settled by Wahehe south of the Ruaha together with part of Usangu in the south west and Ubena to the south. The akidas, who probably never had been, or had long ceased to be, important in Uhehe<sup>1</sup> were allowed to dwindle in number as they died off and their powers were restricted so that they had less chance to abuse their authority and so alienate people from the government. However much the British disliked the remnants of the system they inherited, they had to make it work until they had something else to put in its place. In the report on the administration which came out in 1920 it was officially stated that an energetic officer should deal directly with jumbes (that is, not with the akidas) but

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1. There is no record of any new akida being appointed in Iringa district since the execution of Farahenga in 1907, nor is there any record of akida (or sultan) Mtaki's death or deposition.

that it would be rash to dispense with the remnants of a system which had existed and that it was preferable to reconstruct on the ruins of the German system than to try to create a purely native and non-Swahili authority.<sup>1</sup>

Gradually in the early 1920s the administration of the territory was sorted out, the staff increased and some bills were passed. In 1921 an ordinance was enacted to regulate native authorities. This recognised the position of headmen (and this term included anyone who had been called chief, sultan, akida or jumbe), but the ordinance may not have made much difference except to decrease the power of the remaining akidas. In 1922 slavery was finally abolished, which probably made most difference on the coast where there was domestic slavery.

The evidence of life histories and other memories of the Wahehe suggests that most war captives of the Wahehe had returned home much earlier, soon after the death of Mkwawa, and among those were some women who had born children to Wahehe men. Other freed slaves had settled on mission land at Tosamaganga and, through intermarriage their contact with the mission had begun to form a distinct community. There had thus been no slavery in Uhehe since 1898. The German missionaries were expelled and one Swiss member of the same Benedictine order maintained the mission at Tosamaganga until the Italian fathers of Consolata took over in 1923. At some point

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1. Administration report (1920) p. 33.

between 1916 and 1926 one of the Tosamaganga priests was jumbe of the community on the mission land. The Berlin Lutheran mission station at Pommern in the highlands was not reoccupied until 1931.

A witchcraft ordinance was enacted in 1922. It excluded from the jurisdiction of native courts all matters concerning witchcraft and sorcery. If later experience is anything to judge by, this probably meant very little in practice, especially when the small number of administrative officers is taken into account. One of the most difficult problems facing the government was finance, but in these years the situation began to improve slowly. There was an administrative council in 1924 which suggested that local councils should rule with district officers as advisers rather than executives.

At this point local government began to be organised in a way which had far reaching effects on the future of the whole territory and no less on the Wahehe. This system of indirect rule, which was an adaptation of the principles which Cameron had developed under Lugard in Nigeria, was set up in Tanganyika in 1926, but for a year and a half before this much work had already been done preparing for it. In order to find out what the number and size of the native authorities should be and who should be appointed to work for them, district officers were sent to tour their districts and to collect the relevant information. The events of these few years and the attitudes of the governor and many of his

staff are important and merit describing in more detail.

In Northern Nigeria, where indirect rule had been most systematically developed, the tribal units were, in general, much larger and the indigenous system of government was more developed than in Tanganyika. In Tanganyika, however, it was often not clear what was a tribe, how many tribes there were, what was a chief, in what manner their subjects expected the chiefs to rule, or how indirect rule could be organised where there were no traditional chiefs. From 1925, the year when these enquiries were being made, there have survived a number of reports by district officers who were trying to discover the answers to these questions. It is perhaps significant that the earliest file found in the district store at Iringa is a translation of the answers to the German questionnaire Fragebogen which had been translated by a British district officer in 1925.

The idea was that local government should be divided, as far as possible, according to the units into which Africans wished to be divided and that their rulers should be those who had a traditional claim and who were acceptable to the people whom they were to rule. However, the aim of the administration was not to preserve the status quo or, with government supervision, to restore a system which had been partially destroyed about one generation earlier, but to graft on to local traditions more developed institutions of government and to assist Africans to develop their own institutions.

Putting this into practice involved quite a lot of experiment and changes in the first arrangements. There was an effort to avoid a sharp break with the remnants of the German system which had functioned until 1926. Instead they tried to tidy it up and sort it out in the light of local knowledge and tradition. The Provincial Commissioner of Iringa Province in 1926 wrote thus about the process: -

"It was obviously necessary to reduce the immense number of petty headmen who had crept into existence during the long period of direct control. "Jumbes" were found with 5 or 6 taxpayers and one, indeed, complained of the migration of his sole remaining subject". 1

In 1926 the various native authorities whose claims had been established in this process were given formal authority. This involved setting up a system of local courts and native treasuries administered by the chiefs and headmen who had been selected, and run by literate people appointed as court clerks and tax clerks. During the early years in many areas there was quite a lot of rearrangement of the units of local government. Some units which were too small ever to run a satisfactory native treasury were amalgamated with others and other units were divided when people realised that, if they claimed traditional grounds for their aversion to sharing a native authority with some others, they were likely to be allowed to organise their own independent unit. When the administration settled down, the financial situation of the whole territory

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1. Secretariat file 1733/4/.

improved and the number of administrative staff increased, the administrative districts were subdivided and closer supervision of native authorities and an increase in the number of native courts became possible. In 1916 there were only 22 administrative districts but by 1961 there were 59.

The position of the Wahehe in these later years is more easy to trace. In the 1920 report it had been noted that the two main tribes of the interior were the Wahehe and the Wanyamwezi.<sup>1</sup> The British had learnt from the Germans about their impressive fighting past and other aspects of their history. The Admiralty Handbook produced by the Intelligence Service during the war attaches considerable importance to the Wahehe and there is a summary of their history which appears to be taken from Nigmann.<sup>2</sup> There was no difficulty identifying the man who ought to become chief of the Wahehe because it was well known that the eldest son of Mkwawa was one Sapi, who had been taken to the coast by the Germans, taught in a mission there and then sent for further education to a monastery in Germany. He had then become a subakida in a district near Dar es Salaam (probably Kisarawe).<sup>3</sup> There had been a half-hearted attempt to restore him in 1920 before there was any definite policy of indirect rule and even

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1. Administration report 1920. p. 29.

2. Handbook of German East Africa. pp. 98-99.

3. Information from John Iliffe.

though he had been deposed then there was apparently no doubt or hesitation on the part of the British Administration in 1926 that he should be appointed again in 1926. There appears to have been no suggestion that the Wahehe of Mpwapwa district (in 1926 it was all part of Dodoma district) should have been placed under Chief Sapi. This area of Wota was far from a Ruaha bridge and also in a different district and province from Iringa. Unless there had been an exceptionally strong popular demand for the Wahehe of Wota to be united with those of Iringa district under Chief Sapi the provincial commissioners would not have permitted an arrangement which would be so difficult to administer.

In parts of Iringa district where the people had been subject to Mkwawa but referred to themselves as Wasungwa, Wakosisamba, and Wasagara, rather than Wahehe, the administrative officers were most pleased to find that they happily accepted the rule of Chief Sapi. Had they objected they would probably have been allowed separate native authorities. The only part of Iringa district not ruled by Chief Sapi was Pawaga, to the north west, on the borders of Ugogo, Ukimbu and Usangu. However, the independence of Pawaga only lasted 15 months until the chief, seeing that there was little his tribal treasury could do with only 3,500/- p.a., asked that the area might be amalgamated with Uhehe. "Thus from June 1927, there was recognised one Tribal Administration with one Tribal Treasury

for the whole Iringa District, a very satisfactory state of affairs".<sup>1</sup>

Thus far the introduction of the system of local authorities worked out extremely well for Uhehe and enthusiastic district officers recognised this. The most valuable and informative parts of the Iringa district book were inserted between 1926 and 1938 and, thanks to the industry of one, R. Leslie-Cooke, there seems to be more about the Wahehe in the Iringa district book than there is about any other single tribe in any other district book in Tanganyika. He translated the historical and legal chapters of Nigmann (42 of the 122 pages of text) and had obviously high hopes for the future of the Wahehe under the new type of administration.

In section 8 of the district book the organisation and possibilities of the restored chiefship were described thus:

"... the influence of Europeans did not interfere before the Wayinga Watwa had not only become chiefs, but extremely strong chiefs, so strong that 28 years' relapse was not sufficient to obliterate the position. There is no sort of movement now to oppose Sapi politically. His position is very greatly respected by all Wahehe and it merely rests with himself to consolidate by statesmanship a position won for him by the prowess of his father and grandfather. One must look forward to the day when the Wahehe will have to deal with other tribes over territorial matters, and from that point of view, in my opinion, it will be preferable for them to be able to do so through a Chief than through a Council, for the council would have to consist of clan heads and they are many, so would be less competent than the representative of the family which absorbed them all. We have in Sapi a man who for reasons differing from those which elevated his father and grandfather is beyond doubt pre-eminent amongst the Wahehe. He has produced a son,

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1. Iringa district book.

his eldest, who is one of the most intelligent children I have seen in a Bantu tribe. I consider that it can be said that the institution of Indirect Rule in this district has been an outstanding success."

"In reply to your letter, however, I would note that the Muyinga dynasty having produced chiefs of the area for such a very short time, had not by the end of the nineteenth century produced administrative institutions such as the "Public Executioner". They had a judicial system, vide infra, and though doubtless in time they would, undisturbed, have evolved a permanent administrative structure, they had not actually the time in which to do so. It therefore appears that the government policy being what it is, we have in the Wahehe a magnificent opportunity for guiding a tribe in modelling its institutions and for building up an ideal chiefship by tact and sympathy, since we have no antiquated or objectionable features to eliminate....." 1

This attitude to the Wahehe and the same type of enthusiasm is shown in many other reports of this period. A significant experiment in African education was started in 1929 at Malangali, in southern Uhehe, near the Usangu and Ubena border. The school was particularly intended for the sons of chiefs and other important people from the Wahehe, Wabena and Wasnagu so that they might be trained in leadership. The other significant point about it was the attempt to teach indigenous customs and skills together with a certain amount of European education, so that the most advanced

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1. Iringa District book, section 8. Two statements in this quotation are misleading: instead of "clan heads" it would be more accurate to say descendants of rulers of formerly independent tribes: the references to the eldest son of the chief were almost certainly meant to be to Chief Adam who was the second eldest son of Chief Sapi, but as he had already been recognised as the heir and is only 6 months younger than his eldest brother he might have been thought to be the eldest.

and promising classes learnt English. The boys each went to school with a cow which they had to look after, the school buildings were "an improved type of native tembe" and in the evenings they had traditional singing and dancing. They also had instruction in tribal history and customs from "tribal elders" who were important older men living at the school for this purpose. One of these was Mawala MwaMusavangi who was probably born before 1870 and was still alive in 1963. These ideas of education were later discredited and the school was organised in a more conventional manner, but during this period Malangali school was an important experiment based on the same ideas as indirect rule. A significant number of Wahehe boys who became local government servants or more important people had been educated at Malangali school during this period. Among these was Adam, the heir to the chiefship, who was said to be an exceptionally good head boy.

The development of this policy is well recorded because the men involved in it were keen to justify their ideas and to make them known. Among those on the staff were W. Bryant Mumford and the anthropologist, G. Gordon Brown. Mumford introduced his article on Malangali school thus:

"Last year I wrote a paper on 'Education and the Social Adjustment of Primitive Peoples to European Culture'. It was an attempt to analyse the problem of the downfall of native races brought into contact with Europe, and to suggest an educational policy which might obviate some of the evils resulting from such contact. The educational policy suggested was based upon two principles, firstly that the school should be built on native tradition and continuous with any system of training youths which existed

prior to the advent of the European, and secondly that these institutions should be developed and enriched to meet the needs of the changing environment and to train the pupils to be leaders in social and economic progress. The principles have thus a dual aspect, that of trying to ensure continuity of development from the past by basing the school on native tradition, and that of developing these traditions to meet the demands of improved standards of living and of improved methods of production." 1

The boys at the school were likened to the wigendo who had been young men gathered together at the chief's capital under the tuition of some vansagila in order to learn about war and the affairs of the tribe, while they made themselves useful to the chief by serving him and acting as his messengers. The respected older men, one from each of the three tribes who were sent to the school to advise the staff, were likened to the watambule, the chief's councillors and advisers. The school uniform was a mugolole, the toga-like garment derived from those worn in Mkwawa's time, made of long lengths of cloth which had been procured from the Arabs. The boys also wore a vest and shorts because the mugolole only leaves one arm free and so was unsuitable for wearing in classrooms and doing agricultural work. The whole theory was criticised and Mumford has catalogued the criticisms at the end of his article on the school. Malangali was compared with the other important central school for chief's sons at Tabora which was run in a more conventional European manner.

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1. W. Bryant Mumford. Malangali School. Africa July 1930. p. 265.

Another sign of the enthusiasm of certain officers for indirect rule was the experiment and research from which Anthropology in Action was written. Brown had apparently started his fieldwork in 1930, probably immediately after he left Malangali school and then returned for a second period in 1932, four months after Bruce Hutt had become a district officer at Iringa. It is not clear from whom this idea of combined research originated, but it received the blessing of P.E. Mitchell, the Chief Secretary, who, in the form of a letter to Hutt, outlined the purpose of the experiment and this letter is printed as the introduction to the book. The object of the experiment was said to be an assessment of the traditional forces, an indication of how well indirect rule was working after there had been 6 years for the system to settle down (1926-32), and a guide for the future, when they apparently conceived that much greater use might be made of anthropologists.<sup>1</sup> The book seems to be the only thing of its kind and is important evidence for the working of indirect rule within a particular district at this period and for the attitudes to it of a number of significant people in the government. Indeed, it is probably rather better evidence for that than for Wahehe history and social organisation, as Brown attempted to cover so much in so little space.

It is clear that this experiment and the book written about it influenced members of the administration. In some Iringa district

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1. Brown and Hutt. pp. xi-xviii.

and provincial annual reports there were passages which were taken from a draft of the book almost word for word. (It might be that these were first written in the report and later Brown decided to include them in the book, but it seems most likely that these passages were Brown's work because of their contents: for example, the passages about the groups of people who opposed Chief Sapi). Brown's research gave the administrative officers the knowledge necessary to correct Chief Sapi when he did not impose the traditional penalty on people found guilty in his court. For instance, when a man had been ordered in the appeal court to pay a fine for causing another man to lose his tooth Hutt altered this judgement and insisted that the traditional compensation for loss of a tooth was a heifer. In a later case of the same type Chief Sapi judged in accordance with Hutt's revision of this earlier case.

There is no doubt that the enthusiasm for indirect rule and developing indigenous institutions had a profound effect on policy and on the day to day dealings of administrative officers with Chief Sapi and other members of the native authority. It seems probable that there was more enthusiasm for indirect rule in Iringa district than there was in many other districts. This was partly the result of the particular administrative officers who were posted to Iringa and partly because something was known about the romantic warrior past of the Wahehe. The system permitted this variation from district to district, indeed, demanded it. Mitchell wrote

"In any case it was seldom possible to do more than set up a bare framework, leaving the rest to be filled in as the passage of time and growth of experience suggested."<sup>1</sup>

The framework in Iringa district was in outline much the same as that in other districts except that from 1927 district and chiefdom coincided exactly. The chief was a particularly well known one and probably had had more education than any other in the whole territory. He was installed with undefined power to rule over four sub-chiefs and then also over the sub-chief of Pawaga. The sub-chiefs were selected by a combination of the chief's suggestion and popular assent, that is the assent of men who expected to take part in public affairs, but it is not clear who took the initiative in this. These sub-chiefs ruled areas and numbers of people as great as, and often greater than, those of independent chiefs in other districts. They had messengers and clerks and, eventually, also brick courthouses, offices and lock-ups. Under each of them there were a number of jumbes or headmen, who, however, did not have any staff buildings provided out of native authority funds. All these people were listed and their names were known to the district officer. They were paid out of native authority funds which were almost entirely collected in hut and poll tax. The sub-chiefs and the jumbes were both appointed by the chief with the assent of those they would rule and the appointments were

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1. Brown and Hutt. p. xiii.

approved by the district officer. Each jumbe could appoint at his own discretion a number of subordinate or village headmen and these were usually known by the term karani wa kijiji. This is a Swahili term in widespread use throughout the territory and apparently accepted quite easily by the Wahehe. Karani literally means clerk, but the vast majority of these people could not write. There is nothing in Uhehe which could be likened to a Swahili kijiji or village, but neither the administrative officers nor the Wahehe attempted to reject the term on these grounds. These karanis were not paid until a few years before independence and their names were not listed anywhere although from about 1930, at least, they are recorded in the tax books. They in turn could appoint if they wished their own unpaid subordinates who were not listed in the tax book. These men were known as valunanzi (sing. lunanzi), but the origin of the term is not clear.

The activities and duties of the officers of the native authority of the chief of Uhehe were the same as those elsewhere. They had to keep peace and order; the police were too few and too widely spaced to do much work outside the towns. The officers of the native authority were responsible for nearly all the judicial work in the area. Many minor disputes were judged informally by jumbes and their subordinates. Others were judged formally at the sub-chiefs' courts, from which it was possible to appeal to the chief. From the chief's court people could appeal to the

district commissioner, from him to the provincial commissioner and from him to the governor, (<sup>not</sup> never to the High Court which dealt with appeals from non-native courts presided over by European magistrates). In practice, in Uhehe, there were remarkably few appeals even to the district commissioner and fewer still beyond that.<sup>1</sup> The district officers also exercised control over these local courts by inspecting the books, checking fines and receipts, and amending judgements. If one suspected that there were too few cases being brought, or too few of one particular kind, he would attempt to find out why and whether the sub-chief was hearing cases privately and taking the fees himself and not recording cases in the book. In practice, the district officers amended surprisingly few judgements and let the chief's judgement stand, unless there was a very strong case for altering it. Certain cases involving large sums of money, cattle theft, murder and rape of minors were outside the competence of the local courts, but these were a very small proportion of the total number of disputes and crimes. These local courts received warrants from the provincial commissioner establishing the limits of their authority. The sub-chiefs' courts were known as Grade B native courts and the chief's

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1. The only district in Southern Highlands Province which produced many appeals to the district and provincial commissioners was Rungwe (Unyakusa). The figures and comments on this given in a number of provincial commissioners' reports suggest that the Wanyakusa, not the Wahehe, were the exceptions in this. It was not unusual for there to be only 3 or 4 appeals to the district commissioner of Iringa each year and none to the provincial commissioner.

appeal court was a Grade A court.<sup>1</sup>

A second very important duty laid upon nearly all the officers of the native authority was the collection of tax. Part of this tax was retained in the native authority funds and part was a central government tax, for which the native authority received a fee for their services as tax collectors. The biggest charge on the native authority treasury was paying its servants, but there were also small amounts spent on social services and on buildings and other public works. Estimates had to be approved by the district officer in charge and a balance had to be left to meet the needs of a famine year or other contingencies, such as decrease in tax collection during the recession. All account books and receipts were also checked by district officers. Tax collection was one of the majority burdens on the jumbes and messengers because taxpayers do not usually offer their taxes without frequent reminders and pressure. Defaulters had to be captured and tried and tax books had to be kept up to date, mainly by the jumbes, who alone could know of all the able-bodied men who looked as if they were old enough to be taxpayers in each area. Again district officers were obliged to oversee and report on tax collection, because the functioning of local and central government depended on it so much. Appeals of the aged and infirm to be excused from paying tax also had to be investigated by the district officer.

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1. See Section 33 (1) of the Native Courts Ordinance 1929.

It was general policy to encourage chiefs to make rules and orders when certain changes in customary practices were thought desirable, to discourage varied judgements in different local courts and to enforce new rules concerned with such matters as forest preservation, soil erosion, sanitation and so on.<sup>1</sup> District officers were also supposed to oversee this and to make sure that chiefs used their powers where necessary but did not abuse them.

The officials of native authorities were supposed to make their own regulations and initiate their own projects for improvement of natural resources and for social services and district officers were not expected to impose such things against the will of the people concerned. In practice, however, the district officers often seem to have done a lot to persuade chiefs and others to adopt such schemes, but they could never do much if the chief and his subordinates were reluctant. The sort of schemes which might be undertaken were primary schools, tribal dispensaries, forest reserves and tree nurseries, communal fields of food crops, water conservation, and agricultural and veterinary instruction. Once the chief had been persuaded to initiate such projects they had to be inspected and supervised frequently and even with supervision a number faded out. Sub-chiefs and jumbes and their subordinates had to co-operate in organising these things in the

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1. There are copies of a large selection of these local rules and orders on microfilm in the library of the African Law Project at S.O.A.S.

areas for which they were responsible. They also had to organise porters for government officers on a journey and generally see that their wants were fulfilled.

The other major responsibility of native authorities was supervision of land holding. This involved apportioning land to people and giving permission to settle to Africans who came from another area. They also had to mark boundaries and judge disputes and witness agreements about land. In some places they ~~also~~ had to negotiate with government officers about land alienation and compensation of people who were moved, making sure that they did move when ordered to, and marking out boundaries.

Beyond this their duties are more difficult to define as they included transmission of messages or commands reporting such things as the advent of locusts, the activities of cattle and man-eating lions, unnatural deaths, the migrations of people and herds from other areas, and the like. The jurisdiction of courts and chiefs was laid down (though later some doubt was cast on the legality of the whole system) but very little of the rest was. There had to be considerable elasticity at the beginning because nobody could know how the system would work in practice. The remarkable thing is that the system was successfully enlarged and adapted over the period of about 30 years before much effort was made to organise local government according to a constitution.

During the 35 years between 1926 and independence in 1961

there were many events and changes in the rest of Tanganyika Territory and in other countries which affected conditions in Iringa district. Immediately after the system of indirect rule had been set up there was a period when both the administrative officers and the Wahehe were learning how it could work in practice. Before this process of settling down was complete Tanganyika was hit by the world depression, which meant the reduction of administrative staff employed by the government and by private individuals, a general scarcity of work and money, a decline in the amount of money which could be collected in taxes and a reduction in the expenditure of the native authority. Then a few years of economic expansion had permitted a recovery and <sup>increase</sup> expansion of government activity when the second world war broke out in 1939.

The second world war did not affect local government as adversely as it might have done. The question of German and other enemy citizens in Tanganyika occupied the attention of administrative officers who, anyway, were reduced in number during the war. Native authorities and private individuals were exhorted to save to help the war effort, making either interest free or low interest loans to the government.

A number of Africans were conscripted into wartime activities and a comparatively large number of Wahehe volunteered for the combatant forces and went into action in the Middle East. The total number of Wahehe in the forces was almost certainly much

lower than that of those in other types of work outside the tribal area, but it had particular significance because it was an occupation which was respected, to which they went with some enthusiasm which formed a sharp contrast with their normal experience of life and from which they returned with money and experience of a different world. To a certain extent this was true for members of all tribes who went to the war, but it was perhaps particularly important for the Wahehe who, right from the early years of the German period, had been known for not taking up regular employment.

Within the King's African Rifles the Wahehe were recognised as an important tribe. Various unofficial estimates suggest that they were as many as one quarter or one half of the members of the Tanganyika battalions of the K.A.R. Chief Adam was sent to visit the forces in the Middle East and was presumably chosen because of the high proportion of Wahehe among them. The part which the Wahehe played in the K.A.R. has since been recognised by the British Legion who presented Chief Adam (who is an honorary colonel in the K.A.R.) with a ceremonial sword in recognition of the Wahehe war record.<sup>1</sup>

It could reasonably be expected that the development of education and other social services was slowed down by the war, but it seems probable that the reverse was the case. In Uhehe the increase in the number of schools may have been the result of the

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1. P.C. (S.H.P.) 1956. p. 151.

Hereafter P.C. stands for Provincial Commissioner's Report.  
S.H.P. stands for Southern Highlands Province.

replacement of Chief Sapi by Chief Adam, but in general this was probably the result of more employment, more money in the hands of those who had never before had long periods of employment or much of a market for their crops, and better tax collection, together with a greater awareness of affairs and conditions outside their immediate vicinity. At the end of the war there was some difficulty in finding work for those who had discovered the cash benefits which regular employment could bring and because the war experience had made a permanent impression on all those who had travelled about, but one provincial commissioner, writing his annual report, expressed his views on the effects of the war thus:

"They (the returning soldiers) are delighted to return to their homes and, while they have obviously benefited greatly in physical condition and in savoir faire from their period of service, the vast majority so far show no signs of any spirit of unrest. They are the same men who went away, brushed up considerably, lacking the odour of the cattle byre and the honest dirt of the fields, lacking even the stench of pombe (beer) and its attendant thick speech and stupidity." 1

As well as the influence of returning soldiers there were in the immediate post-war period, many members of the British administration who, influenced by the war and change of political and social temper in Britain and Europe generally, were trying to speed up social and economic change. There were many factors outside their control which meant that the greatest progress in

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1. P.C. (S.H.P.) 1945. p. 83.

these matters did not take place until about 1950 or 1951. There was then a marked increase in the number of administrative and technical officers from overseas and many new schemes were started. Independence was expected and accepted as the ultimate goal, though not for several decades. There was an effort to encourage the development of councils in native authorities and to make the people in authority aware of various democratic ideas and practices which they were expected to adopt gradually.

In the more prosperous areas of Tanganyika, such as Uchagga and Unyakusa, the co-operative movement, popular demand for changes in the system of native authority government, trade unions and political parties developed more rapidly than in Iringa district, but to a greater or lesser degree the whole country was affected by this during the later 1950s. This tended to hamper other schemes for social and economic development and the whole process suddenly went ahead much faster than the members of the British administration, most rural Africans or even the leaders of the Tanganyika African National Union (T.A.N.U.) expected. Small local political parties such as the Hehe Democratic Union were swept away or swallowed up in T.A.N.U. Internal self government and Independence were granted suddenly and unexpectedly in 1960 and 1961 respectively.

This outlines very briefly broader trends which affected local administration in Uhehe. Now it is necessary to describe in more

detail the development of the particular forces which affected this. Even though several of these forces are interrelated, and time was a significant factor in the part which each played, it is possible to discuss this most clearly if the developments are not always presented in strict chronological order.

Education had a significant effect on the development of national and local administration and it was also a consistent and conscious concern of government policy. At the beginning of British rule the report for 1920 paid tribute to the German efforts in education. As in every other aspect of government there was an awkward phase when it was difficult to maintain, let alone expand, government education. At the same time the missions, which from the beginning had been responsible for most education, found it hard to continue their work, particularly where they had been organised by German and other enemy staff. When the Italian fathers took over Tosamaganga in 1923 some boys who had left school in 1916 returned to continue their education. It is a safe assumption that many others who had left in 1916 did not return and there were a few years before the schools recovered their earlier strength.

There is no evidence about the government schools in the district immediately after the war. It is possible that nothing happened until 1928 when Malangali central school was started and the next year Kalenga primary school. Presumably some bush schools were resuscitated and others started by the new missionaries. These

bush schools probably continued to account for training most of the people who were just able to read and write because there is no evidence that there were proper primary or central schools (that is, going beyond Standard 4 and teaching crafts and English) anywhere other than Tosamaganga, Kalenga and Malangali, and possibly Iringa township. Some fees were paid, but they cannot have been significant in meeting the cost of maintaining the schools.<sup>1</sup> A number of children at first even had to be co-erced into attending schools and isolated examples of this have occurred within the last decade. One of the difficulties in getting promising boys to attend Malangali school was that jumbes were inclined to send away to school the troublesome boys they wanted to remove from their neighbourhood. In 1940 the provincial commissioner reported that Kalenga school was in danger of being closed because of poor attendance; then Chief Adam succeeded his father and set about encouraging parents to send their children.<sup>2</sup>

It seems that up to the beginning of the war the Wahehe were particularly slow to understand the benefit of a little education. As a large tribe who in German times at least had been thought superior to many others, and with two central schools (Malangali and Tosamaganga) in their tribal area, more educational progress could reasonably have been expected. Tosamaganga school in its

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1. The payment of school fees is shown in the Uhehe Native Treasury Accounts for 1933. Brown and Hutt. p. 246.
  2. P.C. (S.H.P.) 1940. p. 53.

upper classes took boys from as far away as Usandawe and Uirangi, and Malangali school in 1940 had only 24 Wahehe boys compared with much larger numbers from other tribes particularly Wanyakusa.<sup>1</sup> One reason for the lack of primary schools was possibly the lack of funds in the native treasury; and it is possible that the disaster at Malangali girls' school had also had some effect. In 1934 over 30 girls had died from drinking sheep dip which had been administered to them in error instead of shark oil.<sup>2</sup> All the girls at the school were, however, Wabena and this ghastly tragedy is not remembered by many Wahehe today nor given specifically as a reason for not sending children to school. It seems unlikely, therefore, that this was mainly responsible for the lack of enthusiasm for education in Uhehe. Provincial Commissioners blamed this general lack of interest in education on Chief Sapi's own lack of interest. This is surprising when he himself had been educated in Germany and was clearly an able man. Even if the provincial commissioners were correct in this assumption, it can only have been one of a complex of factors.

During the war the position improved. From 1940 onwards, when Tanangosi native authority primary school was founded, educational progress is mentioned in the reports nearly every year and Chief

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1. P.C. (S.H.P.) p. 53.

2. P.C. (I.P.) 1934. p. 35.  
Hereafter I.P. stands for Iringa Province.

Adam is commended for his enthusiasm.<sup>1</sup>

After this there appears to have been fairly constant expansion, a number of new primary schools, and in 1945, a native authority boarding school were opened. After this it is more difficult to trace the changes in Iringa year by year as the figures are merged with the provincial ones, but there is the extraordinary fact recorded that in 1947 some prosperous Wahehe wanted an extra education rate to pay for primary education.<sup>2</sup> Many people would be surprised if this same request were made today nearly 20 years later. There was a territorial plan for education for the decade 1946-1956, and by the end of this Southern Highlands Province, taken as a whole, was supposed to have achieved the territorial target of 33% of all children of primary school age in school. Understandably Chunya was consistently the most backward of the five districts in this, but Iringa always had a poor record compared with prosperous and progressive Rungwe (Wanyakusa) and the poorer, and in many other ways less well developed, Njombe district. In Rungwe there had been sufficient demand to start a scheme for free primary education for girls in 1952. It became so popular that they could not cope with the numbers and had to charge half fees instead. Njombe was reckoned to have 40% of children of school age at school, against 39% in Rungwe and only 33% in Iringa.<sup>3</sup>

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1. P.C. (S.H.P.) 1940. p. 53, 1941 p. 54, 1942 p. 77, 1943 p. 75, 1945 p. 84.
  2. P.C. (<sup>S.H.</sup> ~~IR~~P.) 19~~34~~<sup>47</sup> p. ~~35~~<sup>117</sup>
  3. P.C. (S.H.P.) 1956 p. 166.

In 1958 Mbeya council was trying to finance free primary education by an increased rate.

The population of Iringa district, who are mainly Wahehe, were bound to be involved in, and affected by, this general growth of education throughout the territory, but it is quite evident that, comparatively, they were not particularly enthusiastic or cooperative. The general improvement in educational standards made possible the increase in the quantity and quality of native authority employes. This meant an increase in all types of native authority activities and in the efficiency of local courts and tax collection. It also meant increased opportunities for employment in semi-skilled jobs and for employment outside the district.

In all educational work, and in many other spheres of life, the missions have maintained a strong influence. Although some of what is written here is also true of the Lutheran mission, the Consolata missionaries and their converts are far greater in numbers than the Lutherans. The Lutheran influence is confined to the areas nearest Ubena, where they are strong, and in the Usungwa highlands near their first station of Pommern. They also started a station at Ilula, in an area already under Roman Catholic influence, during the Second World War, when the Italian missionaries were confined to the mission premises. There is also a Lutheran church in Iringa town serving the Lutheran community, which is

mainly composed of Christians from other districts, who have gone there to work.

The pattern of missionary expansion followed by the Consolata missionaries is to found bush schools dependent on the main mission stations. These bush schools are staffed by literate converts and catechists and visited and organised by priests from the main station in which area they lie. The more successful of these are then possibly built up into primary schools or, if the land is available and the local jumbe or karani wa kijiji favourable, they might take a grant of land large enough to support a whole mission station. This is then gradually built up with a resident priest, school gardens, dispensary and a very large church, until it becomes a self supporting and independent parish from which the isolated bush and primary schools in the area are organised.

In the early years of reconstruction after the war, missions, like everything else, expanded slowly. A Protestant review of missions in Tanganyika published in 1934 commented on the Consolata fathers thus: "During the first years they did not show much energy, but now they exhibit keen aggressive activity among the Hehe."<sup>1</sup> Brown gives a useful summary of the position of missions in Uhehe up to 1932. Assessment of numbers of converts and the religious influence of missions is extremely difficult. His figures for 1931 are: Moslems 9,000, Roman Catholics 3,000 converts and 11,000

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1. Richter p. 47.

adherents and an insignificant number of Lutherans.<sup>1</sup> In a later article he gives figures which apparently refer to the year 1938: Roman Catholics 9,000, Moslems 6,000 and Lutherans 45.<sup>2</sup> There is no serious estimate of the religious affiliations of the Wahehe or the population of Iringa district since this time, although the various Roman Catholic missions send in to the bishop their returns of the baptised and adherents of each station. As they baptise a number of weak babies and other people in periculo mortis their figures reflect the number of people who have been baptised rather than the number of baptised persons living at any one time. The sample census taken in three jumbeates of the 70 in Iringa district in 1957 was supposed to show religious affiliation, but it is no guide for the whole district, because the proportion of people belonging to any particular religious groups varies so much in the different localities. However, there are rough ways of finding out whether the general impression gained by living in different Wahehe communities is likely to be correct. This general impression is that there is a direct relation between the number of mission stations and mission schools and the number of baptised and adherents. The number of Christians has therefore increased with the continuous increase in mission activity and personnel, and

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1. Brown and Hutt p. 171.

2. Brown Human Organisation, 1958, Some Problems of Culture Contact with Illustrations from East Africa and Samoa, 3/5, p. 13.

The association of personal names and religion

Kalenga Tax Register. This includes the area of Kalenga village where there are a group of Moslems of non-Wahehe origin and no part of this is more than 6 miles from Tosamaganga mission.

	<u>Kihehe names</u>	<u>Christian names</u>	<u>Moslem names</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Taxpayers</u>	50	43	18	111
<u>Their fathers</u>	85	5	17	107

6 men with Moslem names have sons with Christian names.  
1 man with a Christian name has a son with a Moslem name.

Mtandika Tax Register. This is a settlement of Wasagara near the main road in Mahenge sub-chiefdom.

Of 179 tax payers 100 have Moslem names.

The fathers of 63 of the 100 men with Moslem names had Kisagara/Kihehe names.

Mlolo Primary School Register. This is a mission school at Malagosi about two miles from Mlolo Local Court. A few of the children may come from Tanangosi where there is a trading centre on the main road and a group of Moslems.

	<u>Kihehe names</u>	<u>Christian names</u>	<u>Moslem names</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Schoolchildren</u>	15	69	4	87
<u>Their fathers</u>	55	19	14	87

The average age of the fathers of school children is likely to be at least 10 years younger than that of the fathers of taxpayers. The average of taxpayers, which may include men between about 18 and 60, is obviously much higher than that of school children in their first four years at school who are unlikely to be less than 8 or more than 17.

Christians who in the early 1930s were probably slightly fewer than the Moslems have since increased to such an extent that they now greatly outnumber them.

The sort of evidence which can be brought to corroborate this is not very good, but it is good enough to show the general trend. When people give their names for anything which they feel is official, in court, for tax registers, or on school registers, they are likely to give a Christian or Moslem name if they have ever had either, as they think that this is what Europeans and government officials wish to hear. These names are known over a far wider area than Uhehe so they are easier for strangers to remember. It seems reasonable to assume that the number of Christian or Moslem names in use is a good guide to the influence of either religious group, though it is not a measure of the actual number of adherents. It also seems reasonable to assume that the number of Moslem and Christian names in use is always greater than the actual number of Moslem or Christian adherents.

The strength of the body of Christian adherents depends mainly on the attention the missionaries have paid to education, particularly primary education. The figure for primary schools and bush schools throughout Southern Highlands Province in 1952 were as follows: out of 135 primary schools 91 were conducted by voluntary agencies, (that is missions) and there were 491 bush schools which are all run by missions: the total number of children in primary schools

of all kinds was 18,842 while the total number in bush schools was 19,300. Therefore the missions were responsible for well over three quarters of the children who learnt to read and write.

The Wahehe have never lived in settlements which might be described as villages and even the facilities provided by a mission station do not persuade them to do so. However, they often do start to build within easy walking distance of a mission. Then they can benefit from the school and dispensary, the prospect of occasional employment, a road suitable for bicycles and trucks and the possibility of lifts to Iringa and sometimes a mission shop. In spite of occasional friction between missions and those who live near them it is generally recognised that they are useful institutions in any area and the present trend of mission expansion is accepted and expected by the vast majority of the population even though they are not Christians.

Islam has also been a significant religious and social influence in Uhehe throughout this period. The period when there were proportionately most conversions to Islam was before 1930, and possibly before 1920. Islam had certain advantages over Christianity; for its missionaries were mainly other Africans or Sudanese; it permitted polygamy; there were strong well established communities along the coast where people went to seek work; and, in the form in which it reached Uhehe, it made few exacting demands upon its converts. On the other hand there were distinct disadvantages.

It lacked the money, organisation and skill which were used in propagating Christianity, and in its more serious form it demanded fasting, circumcision and abstention from alcohol. Many Wahehe regard abstention from alcohol as a denial of an important tribal characteristic, and circumcision, while not expressly denying any of their cultural values, is often a subject for mild derision and dirty abuse.<sup>1</sup> Missions teach almost exclusively in Swahili and Moslems often tend to adopt Swahili as a domestic language instead of Kihehe. However, there are ways in which the Swahili or Moslem way of life is opposed to traditional Wahehe life whereas Christianity is not so opposed. Moslem communities have tended to grow up in peri-urban areas, where there is a group of huts at a cross roads or anywhere else along a main road. A high proportion of these people are newcomers to the area, children of mixed tribal marriages and they are not part of a rural community in the same way as most Christians and pagans are. Because they do not become involved in Wahehe social life as the Christians and pagans do they are often a little better off. They make beer and sell it to their non-Moslem neighbours, but themselves do not buy beer from others. They are involved in petty trade and some even own local buses and trucks. They feel culturally superior and look down on most of the rural population. In response to this the non-Moslems resent them. Among the minority with six or eight or

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1. For an example of this abuse see Mlolo Local Court criminal case 243/62.

more years of education and better jobs there is a majority of nominal Christians, but it is only in about the last five years that this has been a reason for friction.

This educational superiority of Christians and the predominance of mission primary education seems to be the main reason for the spread of Christian names, Christian influence and baptism and for the trend in which the Christian population has overtaken the Moslems in the generation since 1930. It is quite common to find men whose fathers, by contact with the coast or the Swahili and Nubian soldiers at Iringa garrison, became Moslems, but who themselves have become nominal Christians through going to mission schools.

Fortunately religious differences are not a significant factor causing division within the tribe. Only in one place have Roman Catholics and Protestants come into close contact and the friction between Moslems and Christians shows itself in a number of minor incidents rather than in a consistent struggle between two sides. The two religions together have been important agents in the spread of Swahili language and also other items of Swahili and European culture. Moslems often wear the round Moslem caps and a kanzu (the common gown of the coastal Moslems), their women wear kangas (the coloured cloths which are also typical of coastal Moslem women) and they are less likely than non-Moslem women to do the major part of the agricultural work. They also like to drink tea, often mixed with tinned evaporated milk, and do this on occasions when

Roman Catholic Christians or pagans drink beer. Christians are encouraged to dress in shorts and a shirt or a dress, are encouraged to learn to read and write, are given prayer leaflets and religious pictures which they sometimes pin on their house walls and they like to have church weddings with a white bridal gown. Swahili is the language of Islam, of mission Christianity and also of government.

Land alienation and settlement had started early in the German period and much that was true then was also true throughout the British period. It seems probable when comparing the German land grant records with the alienated land today that many of the German freehold grants were allowed to revert to the Wahehe during or immediately after the First World War. The British granted no freehold rights, but they continued to grant land to non-Africans to within the last five years before independence. Indeed the general impression is that most grants were made after the Second World War. In 1920 the population density of Iringa district was the lowest in the territory, 1.3 per square mile.<sup>1</sup> Even today after apparent increase of population, greater than in any other area, there is much uninhabited or sparsely inhabited land and there has clearly never been any real longer hunger. The general policy of the administration was to avoid conflict over land by

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1. This included much of the sparsely inhabited Usangu plains, as it referred to the larger Iringa district of German times, but it is still significant, see Administration Report 1920, p. 37.

restricting settlement, and granting only 33 years' leases, but it was also thought desirable to encourage settlement where this would give employment, and investment in road making and irrigation in otherwise neglected areas. In the 1930s some settlers made considerable efforts to encourage other settlers and after the Second World War there were large alienations in the sparsely inhabited Sao Hill area which Lords Delamere and Chesham thought suitable for extensive European ranching. The latest leases in the 1950s were mainly on lower dry land where Greeks grew tobacco.

There is no early record of <sup>Wa-</sup>Hehe objections to land alienation. There have probably always been a number of minor incidents with individual farmers who were unpopular or who found that their often ill-marked boundaries were not respected. Government alienation of land for forest reserve seems to have been a greater cause of friction because much larger continuous areas were alienated and there were always a stream of cases of people being brought to court for cutting wood in the forest reserve. Large alienations are obviously more likely to be troublesome than piecemeal ones and 497 Hehe families were moved in 1945 from the Uzungwa forest reserve area and settled on land from which non-Wahehe Africans had to be moved.<sup>1</sup> However in 1948, in the almost uninhabited Mloa area, the new settlement is said to have received the enthusiastic support

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1. P.C. (S.H.P.) 1945. p. 87.

of the local inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> That is of course the interpretation of an administrative officer, but it might well be correct as a new water furrow was made by the settlers. In 1952 it was reported that the newly constituted District Council expressed its opposition to granting more land leases, in 1954 there were complaints about afforestation and again in 1958 a request that there should be no further alienation within 30 miles of Iringa township.<sup>2</sup> There are a number of reasons why resistance to land alienation should only have been recorded comparatively recently. Earlier there had been no council to speak for the inhabitants of the district or the Wahehe as a whole and the chief who might have done so was unlikely to appear to disagree with the administrative officers unless it was a matter of great concern. The objections to alienation were probably also related to the growing needs of the expanding population; there was plenty of land, but not very much good land, and that is what both Wahehe and settlers would want. The first complaints appear to coincide with the early years of political parties and trade unions and the result of a number of small disputes might well have been to spread a general imprecise feeling of hostility to settlers who appeared to prosper from farming when the Wahehe did not. It is said that in about 1950, when the Isman

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1. P.C. (S.H.P.) 1948. p. 112.

2. P.C. (S.H.P.) 1958. p. 127. Much alienated land did fall within that area.

area was hardly inhabited at all, a European was rumoured to be trying to take out a lease on 1,000 acres there. People believed that if a European wanted the land it must be good land and therefore a number of them hurriedly erected huts so that they could claim the area was inhabited and prevent the lease being granted. The plan was successful and the land was not alienated. This has since become the most important area of the whole district for Africans growing maize as a cash crop.

The Wahehe have been consistently unenthusiastic about earning money as farm labourers. Most money comes into the district through the Tanganyika Tea Company, but they have always recruited the majority of their labourers from Njombe district, mainly Wakinga.<sup>1</sup> Other types of agriculture have been practised on a smaller scale and have flourished to a lesser degree, pyrethrum, coffee, vegetables and tobacco. Most of the labourers have come from other districts and some have later settled in Uhehe. The chief benefit to the Wahehe of all this was that these labourers working for a cash wage have then been able to buy meat and beer from them. In times of famine Wahehe have gone out to work to raise enough money to buy food, but in general if a Muhehe man intended to work consistently and receive a regular cash income he

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1. The census figures for both 19<sup>4</sup>78 and 1957 show that the Wakinga were the largest tribal group on Tea Company land.

went right away from the district, probably to the sisal estates, because while he remained within Uhehe the demands of his social ties prevented him from fulfilling long periods of consistent work. Irregularity at work is frequently given by employers as a reason for not employing Wahehe.<sup>1</sup> There is also the point that most wages are calculated to give a man a cash income for extras, rather than a living wage with which to buy food as well as other things. The labourers must continue to grow their own food and this means that often they wish to work their own land during the planting season when the demand for labour by employers is at its greatest. Although potentially there is an almost inexhaustible supply of unskilled labour in Iringa district, employers have often complained that they are unable to get enough except for short periods after a bad harvest. Since the collapse of the tobacco trade and the recession after independence certain changes have occurred and it is difficult to tell what will happen in the labour market now.

It is difficult to produce an accurate estimate of cash income today, and much more difficult to work out how it has increased throughout the whole period and to relate this to inflation. The only study of the income and expenditure of a group of Wahehe

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1. See Brown and Hutt. p. 151 ff. Much of what he wrote about Wahehe in employment remains true today.

seems to be that done by Brown in 1930 and 1932.<sup>1</sup> At least it is certain that not only has the amount of money in circulation increased, but also all classes of people have become more prosperous and are able to buy more things than they were able to buy 40 years ago or more. There have been occasional set backs such as the recession in the 1930s, but on the whole there has been a gradual increase in wealth. As the amount of money in circulation has increased and so has the number of people who could read and write well enough to make them fit for some slightly skilled employment, the activities of the native authority of Uhehe have expanded until in 1962 the Uhehe District Council employed a large range of messengers, clerks, sweepers, forest guards, game scouts, veterinary and agricultural instructors, dispensers, community development assistants and midwives. This marked increase in the growth of native authority income and expenditure greatly exceeds the rise in prices and the growth of population in the district.

The figures for the rate of tax which have been quoted in provincial commissioners' reports and local treasury accounts (only a few of which have survived) are as follows:

1926	10/-	
1932	8/-	(reduced from 10/- because of the recession, but there was an ineffective attempt to introduce a plural wives tax of 2/- for the second and each subsequent wife)
1947	11/-	
1949	12/-	(7/50 of which went to the central government)
1951	15/-	
1961	42/-	(12/- of which went to the central government)
1962	40/-	(none of which went to the central government)

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1. Brown and Hutt p. 259-263.

In the years 1926, 1932, 1947 and 1951 there is no record of what proportion of the tax went to the central government, but in the years preceding 1949 it seems probable that at least half did. These figures are inadequate for anything more than a bare outline of the trend for tax to increase, but they make it clear that the general tendency has been for tax to increase more quickly than the price of goods and possibly more quickly than wages. The local treasury, particularly since the Second World War, was able to increase its expenditure on social services to such an extent that it spent £12,461 more on social services in 1958 than it had done in 1956.<sup>1</sup>

Throughout the period of British rule, the native authority was almost always the agent of government with which the majority of the rural population came into contact. Many of the Wahehe had no dealings with any other government officials. In the German period these native authorities were the jumbes and any subordinates they chose to appoint. After the institution of indirect rule they included all the officials of the native authority from the chief down to the valunanzi, all messengers and clerks and other people paid out of native authority funds. Between 1926 and 1961 the population of Iringa district had at least doubled, and may have trebled, and there was an increasing amount of movement within Uhehe and outside it, but even so the native authority (which became Uhehe

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1. P.C. (S.H.P.) 1958. p. 124.

Council and in 1962 the Iringa District Council) has maintained its influence over the rural population. The number of jumbes has remained constant since 1926 (allowing for the fact that the four jumbes of Iringa town were removed from Chief Adam's authority when Iringa township was removed from the jurisdiction of the native authority in 1945) and the population has increased, but the creation and increase in the number of sub-chiefdoms and the increase in the number of village headmen (vakarani wa vijiji) and their subordinates, the valunanzi, has more than compensated for the change in the proportion of jumbes <sup>to</sup> and their subjects. The overall trend has been for the native authority to become increasingly active, little by little, more efficient in control of the district and in extending the number of activities for which it has been responsible.

Immediately after the beginning of indirect rule the native authority, which was financed mainly from taxes, could do little more than pay the small salaries of the chief, sub-chiefs, jumbes, and messengers and clerks. Gradually brick courts and offices were built, and the number of sub-chiefs and their subordinate staff was increased. Little by little this made tax collection, judgement of disputes, and the dissemination of rules and orders more efficient, reaching a larger proportion of the population. As the organisation of these basic activities of the native authority improved and extended it was possible to introduce other services.

Dispensaries were started, improved in quality and then increased in number. There were various schemes to help people economically; the manufacture of ghee, which was made, transported and sold by the native authority; a scheme for the improvement and sale of hides and skins; tribal plantations worked by communal labour for public relief in case of famine; and a few primary schools.

In spite of the difficulties involved in estimating Wahehe incomes and expenditure it is possible to say that not only has there been an increase in the normal and average income, there has also been an increase in the number and quality of goods which many people can buy. There has by no means been steady and consistent progress over this period of 35 years, but in spite of the depression and periodic famines, the tax collected by the native authority has increased sufficiently to continue the expansion of the schemes for economic and social improvement which have been undertaken. There are tree nurseries, poultry farms, and agricultural and veterinary instructors, all financed by the native authority. This has depended not only on an increase in the real income of the native authority from tax, beer licences, shop licences and court fees, sale of gun powder and the like, but also because of the increasing number of people with sufficient literacy and the elementary skills to run these projects. Compared with other government departments or private employers the native authority has never paid high enough wages to have very much choice of staff.

In 1951 a dispensary sweeper's wages were 12/- per month and the only possibility of getting anyone to take the job in some areas was to employ children. Even though there is potentially an enormous supply of unskilled labour, people value leisure more than money, unless they have pressing needs, or think that the financial reward is well worth while. From about 1951 onwards there were demands from native authority employees for increased wages which had to be granted, on the assumption that they would then perform more energetically and efficiently. The last development in this sphere came when the District Council agreed to a demand from the Union of Local Government Employees and then drastically reduced the number of staff and <sup>stopped</sup> paying wages to village headmen.

Throughout all this development much of the advice and many of the ideas came from the administrative officers. They were frequently on tour inspecting the various activities of the native authority, checking accounts and tax returns, and suggesting new schemes. At first it seems that their influence was necessary to persuade the native authority to start schools and to maintain dispensaries. As late as 1951 there were apparently often as few as four patients per day at Kiponzelo dispensary even though at other dispensaries in Iringa district there were too many to be dealt with properly and an insufficient supply of drugs. Indeed the usual criticism of administrative officers in recent years has been that they spent too much on social services and too little on

improvement and conservation of natural resources.

The administrative officers also led and guided the gradual reform of the native authority so that it became the district council. Although in 1926 it was considered of great importance that the officers of the native authority should rule by consent, there was no scheme for electing or advising its officers. There were tribal gatherings at Kalenga annually from ~~early~~<sup>about</sup> 1930 and there were quarterly meetings of the sub-chiefs from 1941 but the sub-chiefs were all the chief's nominees. The first step was to form an advisory district council which was composed of five sub-chiefs, and five men with no official position, who were selected from the sub-chiefdoms not represented by their chiefs. Then sub-chiefdom councils were formed and also village councils and this, as the chief remarked, gave people an opportunity to express their feelings so that they had no need to start making trouble in beer clubs.<sup>1</sup>

These reforms were formally sanctioned when the Uhehe District Council constitution was worked out in 1958. A printed Swahili version of this was then supplied to each local court. The provincial administration had requested the help of the government anthropologist, Hans Cory, in order to work out the constitution.

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1. From a Swahili speech Chief Adam made at Mlolo Local Court explaining the purpose of the changes in the system of local government. It was duplicated and a few copies have survived.

This shows how there was still official concern that the institutions of local government should combine traditional systems with certain elements of democratic government. Even at this late date, the same year as the first elections for the national legislative council, there was considerable resistance on the part of the sub-chiefs and others who were asked to confer with Cory, to any changes which would bring about the election of officers and an elected council with authority over its officers. After considerable effort a constitution was devised which provided for a pyramid of elected councils and the election of officers as the posts fell vacant. The fact that the system worked tolerably well until 1962 shows that on the whole administrative persuasion was effective. A number of the administrative officers involved in introducing this at least realised the fundamental principle - that the government, by introducing a democratic institution against the will of the employees of the native authority, creates a conflict with the very people on whom it depends for smooth administration.<sup>1</sup>

The other reform in which the administration played a leading part was the introduction of stipendary court elders in the local courts (later stipendary magistrates with assessors) instead of allowing sub-chiefs to judge the cases without any guarantee that

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1. This was one of the important points made by Cory in his report. Cory private papers.

they would take advice. This process can be traced in the Provincial Commissioners' reports between 1953 and 1959. Although there was no apparent enthusiasm for the change it was achieved more quickly in Uhehe than in Ubena and other parts of Southern Highlands Province.

Although the initial concern for indirect rule had passed before the war a certain number of administrative officers at least retained an interest in and respect for the Wahehe. Chief Sapi, who in 1936 received the King's medal for native chiefs, was known to be one of the best educated chiefs, but not necessarily one of the most satisfactory. His deposition in 1940 was an extremely important event which had to be approved by the governor. The administrative officers concerned wished Adam to remain at Makerere to finish his education before he returned to succeed his father as chief, but they decided to give way to Wahehe pressure and allowed him to return to Iringa district immediately. Chief Adam was not only one of the best educated chiefs, he was also one of the most successful from the point of view of the British administration. His activities were watched over with some interest and pride as he was co-opted onto a number of government committees and was the second African member of the Legislative Council. The various district commissioners who had to deal with him as chief were sometimes concerned about his absences on central government business, and it is clear that he was regarded as one of the more important chiefs who ruled one of the more important tribes. In

1961 he was given an O.B.E. The correspondence and the official publications about the search for Mkwawa's skull and its ceremonial return to Kalenga also indicate a certain concern which even the Governor had for the Wahehe.<sup>1</sup> When Governor Twining had managed to negotiate the return of the skull from Germany and arranged its ceremonial presentation to Chief Adam at Kalenga, the event was considered sufficiently important to merit an article in the Times British Colonies Review entitled "A chief's skull returned to his people".<sup>2</sup>

In October 1957 there was a mass boycott of the compulsory cattle dipping scheme which had been planned in order to eradicate East Coast Fever. It made a deep impression on members of the provincial administration and on many non-officials in other parts of Tanganyika. A significant number of those leading the boycott may have been non-Wahehe members of T.A.N.U., or at least were men whose chief interests were not in Wahehe society, but members of the provincial administration knew enough about the Wahehe reputation for stubbornness and pride to abandon the scheme and write off a loss rumoured to be about £26,000.

Much changed between 1926 and 1961, and there were administrative officers in Iringa with very varied attitudes and abilities, but a

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1. See the pamphlet printed by the government printer in 1954, The Skull of Chief Mkwawa of Uhehe.

2. Times British Colonies Review. 15, autumn 1954, 11-12.

certain official respect for Wahehe society and institutions remained. In many ways the high hopes that the Wahehe would flourish and progress under indirect rule were not justified, but there is little doubt that it was a system which the vast majority accepted easily, and through which gradually improving local administration was achieved.

## CHAPTER 8

The Chiefdom of Uhehe under Indirect Rule (1926-1961)The chiefdom and the chieftainship

From 1927, when the inhabitants of Pawaga agreed to be ruled by Chief Sapi, Iringa district and the chiefdom of Uhehe were co-terminous, which was an unusual situation in Tanganyika. Although there were always a number of Wahehe outside Iringa district and the chiefdom of Uhehe and a number of non-Wahehe within it, for the present study the most important thing is that by Chiefs Sapi and Adam, the majority of the Wahehe, members of other tribes and the administration, it was accepted as the area in which the Chief of the Wahehe should rule. Comments by district officers in the district book, tribal affiliations given in local court records and an article by Mumford<sup>1</sup> all show that the names of smaller groups among the Wahehe were often, even usually, given in answer to the question of which was a man's kabila (the Swahili word usually rendered in English as tribe), by people who were at the same time prepared to accept the label Wahehe. If the resistance to being ruled by the descendants of Muyinga had been strong the chiefdom would not have been constituted the way it was.

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1. W.B. Mumford. Hehe-Bena-Sangu peoples of East Africa. American Anthropologist 36, 2, 1934. p. 204.

For the Wahehe the boundaries of the chiefdom were generously drawn. Although it was a far smaller area than that over which Mkwawa had ruled between the conquest of the Wasangu and 1894, it was greater than the area over which he had ruled at the beginning of his reign. Only in three areas are the Wahehe closely settled outside this chiefdom: in a small area around Madebira mission which is just over the boundary in Usangu, between the Ruaha and the sub-chiefdom of Wota in Mpwapwa district and in Umbunga in the Ulanga valley. There are substantial communities of the neighbouring tribes at all other points within the boundary. To the north-east there are Wasagara who have apparently shown no desire to unite with the Wasagara of Kilosa or Mpwapwa districts. It seems clear that in most cases it was only the grandfathers of the present Wahehe in this area who went to live below the escarpment in the Lukosi valley during the reign of Mkwawa. A few others may have migrated since in search of land. Amongst those who call themselves Wahehe there are people of diverse origins, ways of life and physical type. Although there has been considerable intermarriage a few groups of Wasagara remain distinct because a high proportion of them are Moslems. There have never been any Christian missions in this area although the Roman Catholics have been given a plot near the main road, by the Moslem settlement of Mtandika, and the Lutherans have a bush school at Nyanzwa.

Along the border between Uhehe and Umbunga which is at the

bottom of the Usungwa escarpment, there can only be a few hundred Wambunga within Uhehe, but there are a number of Wahehe within Umbunga. This is partly a result of the conquest of Umbunga by the Wahehe in the precolonial period<sup>1</sup> and partly as result of recent migrations from the Usungwa mountains in search of work, food and other goods. The local court messengers at Mahenge who visit this area occasionally suggest that there are more people in this area who appear to them to be Wambunga than the number of people who were listed as Wambunga in the census returns. Further south west along this frontier there are fewer Wahehe within Undamba or Ubena because between Uhehe and the chiefdom of "Ubena of the Rivers" the frontier was finally drawn to increase the size of Uhehe and decrease that of Ubena. To the south of Uhehe, within the more accessible country through which the Great North Road passes, again there seem to be a number of Wabena in Uhehe but fewer Wahehe over the border in Ubena.

Turning north along the south west frontier of Uhehe and Usangu there is another disputed area, but here much of the Wahehe settlement on the Usangu side of the boundary has probably taken place quite recently as a result of shortage of good land in the Malangali sub-chiefdom of Uhehe. Further to the north on the western boundary

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1. I have recently found confirmation of Nigmann's statement that the Wahehe raided the Wambunga in A. Engelberger's Wapogoro Tagebuch (microfilm) where he has recorded the memories of a Mupogoro called Mgombire. (p. 416)

of Uhehe near the old established mission at Madebira there are a substantial number of Wahehe, among a great mixture of other tribes, within this area of Usangu. There seems to be no evidence to show why this area, which was part of Iringa district under the Germans, was (presumably before 1926) transferred to Mbeya. Before Mkwawa's conquest of Merere it undoubtedly belonged to Usangu, but there seems no good reason why Madebira should have been just excluded, rather than just included, in Uhehe. Further north on the western border of Uhehe, where the boundary turns to the west to include the sparsely inhabited regions between the Ruaha and Njombe rivers, much of which was set apart as Rungwa Game Reserve in 1957, areas which were once part of Usangu were included in Uhehe although most of the people in this area who did not claim to be Wasangu claimed to be Wakosisamba or Wakimbu. The Wakosisamba have been classified as Wahehe in each census under the British, but they regard themselves as different from other Wahehe. The northern part of this area between the Ruaha and Njombe rivers falls within the area which as early as Lief bin Saied's journey in the 1830s, had been known as Pawaga or Mawaga. Here there appears to be no one group of people known as Wapawaga, but a mixture of Wakosisamba, Wagogo, Wasangu and Wakimbu in roughly that numerical order, and since about 1934 there have been Nile Hamitic Baraguyu there. The Pawaga sub-chiefdom extends right across the Great North Road to the east to meet the area where Wahehe are mixed with Wasagara.

The Germans and the British recognised that the people of the Usungwa mountains often called themselves Wasungwa rather than Wahehe, but there was no clear distinction between Wahehe and Wasungwa, no generally acknowledged boundary, and no independent political head of the Wasungwa. Differences in dialect, customs and material culture are all that distinguish those generally known as Wasungwa from Wahehe. This is a basis for local prejudice, as when the Wahehe on the central plateau accuse the Wasungwa of eating rats, but there has never been a united group of Wasungwa opposed to a united group of other Wahehe and there was apparently no claim by any of the Wasungwa to have a chiefdom of their own independent of Chief Sapi.

The only really large community of Wahehe outside Iringa district and Uhehe was, and is still, in the south of Mpwapwa district between the Wota plateau and the Ruaha. There is no record of any thought being given to the possibility of uniting these Wahehe with those of Iringa district under Chief Sapi. The small groups of Wahehe who are mainly living among the Wagogo in Dodoma and Manyoni districts were too small and isolated to make it possible to unite them in a native authority of their own or to unite them under a sub-chief subordinate to Chief Sapi.

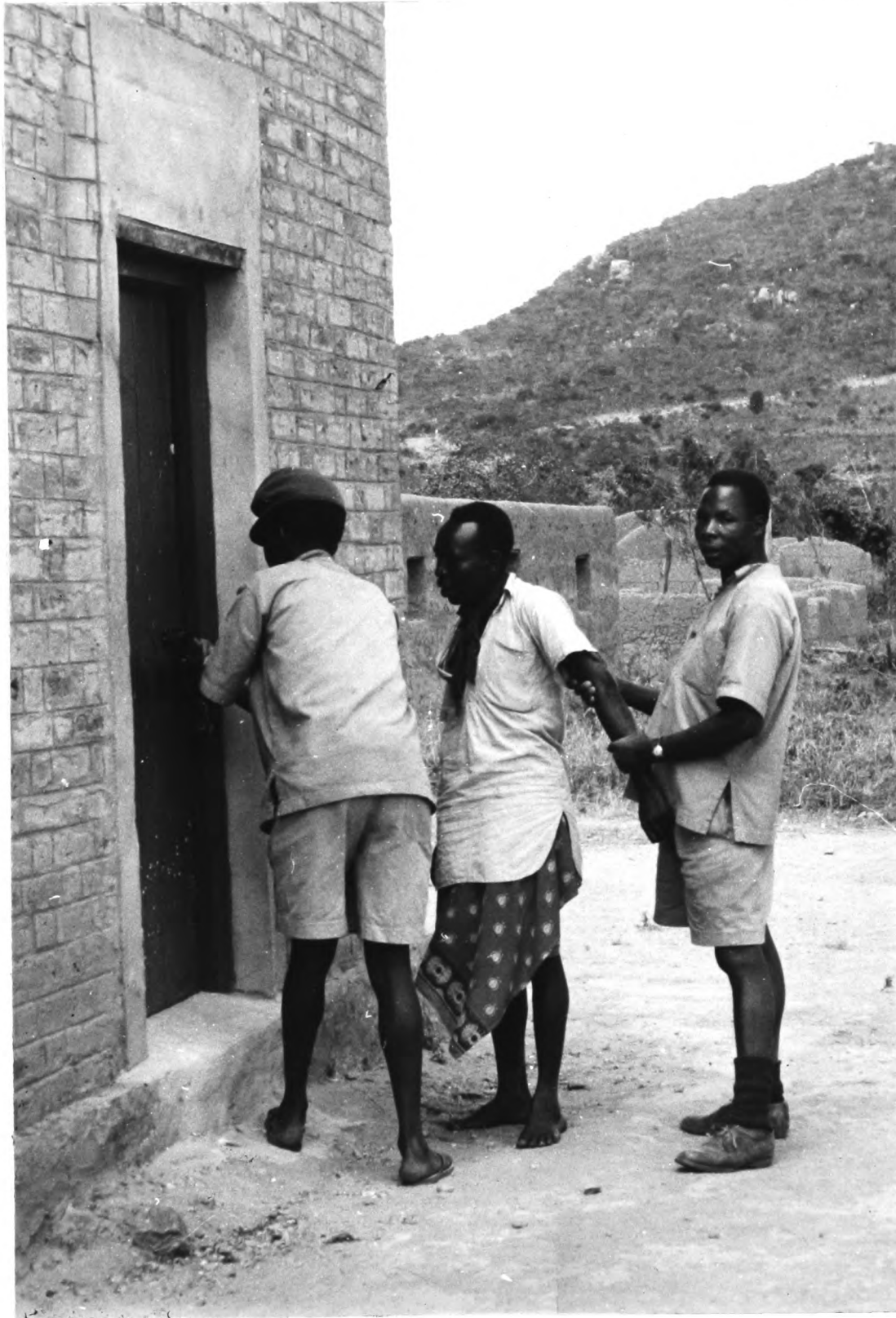
The Uhehe chiefdom of 1926, or that of 1927 including Pawaga, was much smaller than the area over which Mkwawa's authority was

accepted in 1891. Various efforts to estimate the size of Iringa district put it at about 14,000 square miles. Even if as much as one third of this is virtually uninhabited it still remains a chiefdom of an impressive size and this created some difficulties for tribal administration. When there were only five sub-chiefs' courts there must have been very great difficulty in reaching and controlling the remote areas. Even in 1961 with 12 sub-chiefs' courts and much improved transport this was quite difficult enough. Only in one of these sub-chiefdoms, Mlele, could all the jumbes walk to court and return home in one day. In three others this might have been possible for all if some of them had been able to get a lift part of the way along a road.

The most remote areas are still Pawaga, Idodi and Usagara. Of the jumbes of Pawaga sub-chiefdom one was always within easy reach of the court, two could nearly always walk to the court and return home in one day unless the river, which each had to cross, was very high, one other could just reach court and return home in one day if he walked hard all day, did not spend long at court and was lucky with the river crossing, three more could usually get to court in one day and return the next, but each of them had a river to cross and one had to cross three rivers, one had two days' walk to reach the court and the last three days' walk. Only two of these jumbes could ever hope to get a lift part of the way. In Idodi sub-chiefdom the position was much the same.

One jumbe was very near the court, one was 20 miles away on a waterless road where there was much big game, but with good fortune he might occasionally get a lift, and the third was about 30 miles away also through game country where he might get a lift for part of the way. Until the new game reserve was started in 1957 there was a small community living at Mdonya where there had once been a jumbe. This was at least three days walk from the local court and involved crossing the Great Ruaha river. In the Usagara sub-chiefdom when the court was at Mtandika and later when the court was moved to Mahenge there was the same difficulty. One jumbe was very near the court, another 15 miles away along the road where he might get a lift, three had one full day's walk to reach the court and the last had to spend four nights on the way each way because the inhabited places where he might spend the night were not evenly spaced to permit a good day's walk between each.

All these jumbes were responsible for a number of vakarani wa vijiji, their subordinate village headmen, who were often in remoter areas another whole days walk away from the jumbe and sometimes two. Some of the settlements ruled from Mahenge local court are said to be easier to approach from the Ulanga valley side and are so remote and so small that no messengers or tax clerks go there unless they think there had been a good harvest. They assume usually that the people will have no money or will have gone to work in Ulanga.



Tax defaulter being put into the lock-up at Mlolo Local Court by two uniformed messengers.

Thus, although the number of local courts has increased, roads and transport have improved and the number of clerks and messengers has also increased, most of the day to day delivery of messages, capture and trial of criminals and collection of tax involves a lot of hard walking along narrow bush paths by messengers, jumbes and their subordinates. Even in 1961, when transport was far better and more reliable than in 1926, some prisoners had to walk for three days under guard of messengers when going into prison in Iringa after being convicted at the local court. Prisoners from less remote local courts were likely to have anything from one hour to a whole day's walk before they got a lift. The delivery of letters from the native treasury (later district council) office in Iringa, the post office or the chief's office at Kalenga is slow and uncertain even today. Malangali local court is within half a mile of a post office: Mazombe and Mahenge local courts are within a few hundred yards of the main road where buses carrying the post bags pass and a messenger can easily take the post bag from the driver. Communication with the other 9 local courts is much more difficult. They depend either on messengers meeting a bus at some considerable distance from the local court or going by foot or bicycle to a sub-post office or waiting until a messenger goes to Iringa or the district council lorry goes out to the local court.

The result of these great distances and the system of communications is that the business of local government can only be transacted slowly. Most messengers and tax clerks go into Iringa to have their revenues and receipts checked at the end of the month and while they are away tax collection and the hearing of cases is often held up for several days. There is no noticeable enthusiasm to see that letters reach their destinations without delay. It is a common occurrence to see a box of undelivered letters in a local court, where many have been post marked as much as six months before. Post bags probably reach local courts no more than half the number of times they should in theory. People often receive a summons to a meeting several days after the meeting has taken place. The effectiveness of administration of the chiefdom or district continues to depend to a large degree on the amount of walking done by messengers, jumbes and their subordinates. In most places there is little that can be done if they are unco-operative and their senior officers have not the time, knowledge or energy to travel extensively and find out whether all is happening as it should.

When Chief Sapi was made Chief of Uhehe in March 1926 neither he nor the administrative officers can have had a very clear idea of what his traditional and other duties would be. There had to be some system by which he could delegate his authority and employ people to carry out his commands and there had to be some tribal

finances and some organised system of justice. As Sapi had been old enough to bear arms at the fall of Kalenga he must have had some idea of Mkwawa's position and the organisation of the chiefdom at its greatest and he must also have understood that his position could never be much like that of his father. His duty was to receive instructions from the district officers and see that the instructions were carried out. He also had to bring before the district officers any ideas, feelings, desires and objections of himself and his subjects and negotiate on behalf of the Wahehe with government officials. He had to act for the Wahehe in negotiations with chiefs of other tribes, as in the boundary dispute with the Wabena of Ulanga.<sup>1</sup> He was responsible for appointing his staff of messengers, sub-chiefs, jumbes and clerks. Because he had been an akida near Dar es Salaam he was able to do some of the native treasury work himself and write letters and sign receipts. The Provincial Commissioner of Iringa Province wrote this about him:

"Chief Sapi of Uhehe, having been educated in Germany, is thoroughly literate and able to take an active part in the compiling of native treasury budgets and thereafter in the clerical work in connexion with receipts and payments of the cash in his treasury." 2

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1. There is a whole file on boundary disputes all of which involved the Chief of Uhehe and other chiefs. The most important of these disputes was that between the Wahehe and the Wabena of Ulanga.
  2. P.C. (I.P.) 1931 p. 19.

The immediate tasks for the chief in 1926 were to appoint his subordinates, organise the local treasury and start hearing appeals in disputes. The first of these tasks is dealt with later in some detail. It is not clear how the rate of tax and the remuneration of tribal officials was decided on in 1926, although the rate already being paid and the opinion of the district officer must have influenced the decision. Once the amount of the Hut and Poll tax which was to be retained by the native treasury had been fixed one of the main concerns of the tribal administration was to collect it. There appears to be no surviving accounts for the first years of Chief Sapi's reign, but it is safe to assume that as in 1933 (the native treasury accounts for that year are published in an appendix to Anthropology in Action) the greater part of the revenue was derived from Hut and Poll tax and most of the expenditure was wages of those employed by the tribal administration. There was a small secondary source of revenue from court fees, liquor licences and sale of gun powder. Other expenditure was mainly concerned with the cost of running the court and on the maintenance of roads and bridges. Court buildings and offices had to be erected one by one as funds permitted and until these employees of the tribal administration had learnt their duties, the necessary court buildings had been erected and other equipment procured, there was no question of spending much on social services and natural resources. However, the chief's ability and interests

and the amount of co-operation he was able to obtain from his subordinates must have had considerable effect on the progress that was made in the affairs of the tribal administration.

Chief Adam ruled for 22 years compared with Sapi's 14 and during Adam's reign the tribal administration altered and achieved far more than it had done under Sapi. The number of tax payers in the district is said to have doubled between 1939 and 1952,<sup>1</sup> and so presumably did the real value of the tax collected. The increase in the activities undertaken by the tribal administration which have been outlined in the last chapter and the provincial commissioners' reports, show that the administrative officers at least regarded Chief Adam's interest an important factor in this. There is no reason to doubt their assessment here for there is plenty of evidence that the increase of schools and dispensaries and the efforts made to improve agriculture and stock-farming depended on his own effort, in having the ideas or accepting them, co-operating in setting up new projects and continually supervising them once they were under way. He himself was the first pupil of Kalenga primary school, he was a head boy of Malangali school with its emphasis on tribal tradition and agriculture, then he went to Tabora school for chiefs' sons and finally he was at Makerere college reading agriculture when he was summoned to return to become chief of the Wahehe in his father's place. With this

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1. P.C. (S.H.P.) 1952. p. 153.

background it was quite reasonable to expect him to have more zeal for improved agriculture and education than most other chiefs or other Wahehe. The selection of sites for schools or dispensaries, some of the work done in persuading people to send their children or ordering jumbes to see that enough children were sent to school, discussion about the amount of native treasury revenue to be spent on such things, were all done by the chief. Under Chief Sapi there were only very few schemes of this sort, one school, possibly only one dispensary, a scheme for the production and sale of ghee from milk bought locally and the scheme for tribal plantations worked by communal labour at each headman's residence to provide a food reserve against famine. The first three of these schemes only worked then because of the persistence of the district officers and the fourth was given up probably only two or three years after it had started. This type of work demanded that the chief should go on tour just as much as he attended to office and court work. Chief Sapi had more difficult conditions for travelling than Chief Adam did, at least within the last 10 or 15 years when he could go in his own car. Any journey by foot or public transport to the distant sub-chiefs' courts could take days, whereas during the dry season in his Mercedes car Chief Adam could reach any local court in four hours. Chief Sapi travelled a little, but not nearly enough to satisfy the administrative officers. Chief Adam travelled more and from 1949 he

had his own transport so that in spite of his long absences on national committees and Legislative Council business, he must have known his chiefdom, and been known within it, better than his father did and was known. Only by frequent travelling could the chief administer his chiefdom intelligently and know how his subordinate officers were performing their duties.

The work of the chief as the court holder of the appeal court of the whole district is relatively easy to trace. It is generally assumed that court records must have been kept from 1926, although the earliest surviving books are those of 1930. These early Kalenga appeal court books were kept in Chief Sapi's impressively regular and tidy handwriting which shows German influence. Later a court clerk was employed to write the case reports and the chief or his deputy merely signed the report. The cases heard by the chief in the appeal court (generally known as Kalenga A in contrast to Kalenga B, the sub-chief's court) were mainly appeals from sub-chiefs' courts, but there were also cases concerned with the conduct of his subordinates and disputes between them and cases involving larger amounts of property, fines or terms or imprisonment which were beyond the competence of the local courts. There were also limits on the type of case, size of fine or length of imprisonment with which the chief was permitted to deal. As well as writing case reports there was a certain amount of clerical work necessary to summon the parties concerned and the witnesses,

to collect fines and compensation and to issue receipts and letters to jumbes and sub-chiefs, telling them of the judgements in the cases which had come from their subjects. This either had to be done by the chief or done by clerks whom he appointed and supervised. In court the chief himself presided and in some cases conducted the prosecution as well as giving judgement. However, there were frequently, if not always, about three court elders or advisers, often jumbes or sub-chiefs who happened to be at Kalenga, who could advise the chief or question the litigants during the trial, and to whom the chief might turn to discuss the verdict. There were no real rules of court procedure and as cases were heard in open court anyone might speak during a trial. Silent and respectful behaviour was generally expected in front of the chief so it seems unlikely that interruption happened as often as it did in front of his subordinates.<sup>1</sup>

The chief was the only African in the district who could not be tried by any local court. There is no particular pattern in the number or type of cases in which people appealed to the chief's court. The cases in the appeal court register do not fairly represent the proportions of the different types of cases brought to the sub-chiefs' courts and the numbers of appeals coming from the different sub-chiefs' courts show little consistency. In

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1. For a case where a man was fined for being insubordinate in the presence of the chief see Kalenga A 27/45.

the earliest years there were frequent comments in the court books from the district officers even when they did not change the judgements. In the 1930s the district officers did query and revise a number of judgements even where there had been no appeal beyond the chief. Later this happened much less frequently.

The court records cannot be used for evidence of the type of argument and evidence accepted by the courts. To hear a court case in one language and then to compose a report on it in another showing the essential points in the argument and the way in which the judge and his elders arrived at the verdict demands both trained intelligence and considerable fluency in Kihehe and written Swahili. That cannot be expected of men with only six years (or even fewer) of primary education and it is not possible today when some clerks have had 10 years of rather better education: yet in spite of the limitations of these case reports they are useful records of the number and type of cases which were judged in local courts and of some important cases and judgements.

The way in which the cases have been entered in court books is often inconsistent. In some court books all cases are said to have been tried under Native Law and Custom even when they were accusations for not obeying new regulations issued by the forestry officer. This muddle probably occurred because the phrase Native Law and Custom meant little to the clerks who wrote the case reports and in their view the chief and sub-chiefs had authority

to punish people cutting down trees in forest reserves in just the same way as they had authority to try and punish adulterers. The difficulty was that there was no definite code of Native Law and Custom, nor of district rules and orders. The rules and orders were concerned with matters like soil erosion, forest preservation, compulsory cattle dipping, handling of native authority cash boxes, locust control and occasionally there were changes in, or standardisations of, local customs, such as those concerned with marriage or divorce. Some of these may at first have only been issued as verbal instructions which sub-chiefs and jumbes were supposed to make known to their subjects. Later they were definitely written down and copies were sent to each sub-chief's court and one was also sent to the provincial commissioner. In the School of Oriental and African Studies in London there is a microfilm copy of Iringa district rules and orders on Custody of Children, Adultery, Inheritance, Land and Marriage and divorce, but in 1962-63 there were no copies available in the Iringa district office, nor in the sub-chiefs' courts.

There is little concern for precedent in court cases either in the chief's court or in the sub-chiefs' courts. The chief, and probably some of the sub-chiefs, played a part in agreeing on and formulating rules and orders, even when the initiative came from the District Commissioner or an agricultural, forestry or veterinary officer. In this the chief, and later the chief

with the district council, can be seen as a law maker.

In another way the chief was responsible for changes which really were matters of tribal custom. The Germans are reputed to have forced all Wahehe to bury their dead instead of leaving the corpses to be eaten by vultures and hyenas. Chief Sapi is reputed to have forbidden another traditional funeral practice, that of paying an ox to the mother's brother who removed the bed posts and hearth stones from the house of the dead man.<sup>1</sup> He is also reputed to have forbidden anyone to mention the fact that certain people were descended from the wafugua who had been slaves set apart for his personal servants and to herd his donkeys.<sup>2</sup> To demonstrate this change of status of the wafugua in Wahehe society he allowed his eldest daughter to be married to a man from a family of wafugua and he made this man, Juma MwaKayugwa, sub-chief of Malangali, which was then sometimes known as Idunda, the name of the place where the first court was. When this marriage broke up a number of people considered that it was the result of contracting a forbidden marriage. However, the status of the wafugua did change, even though it can be argued that this would have happened anyway because the British government would not have allowed the chief to revive their traditional functions which they had not performed for a whole generation while he was in Germany and in

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1. See chapter III p. 59.

2. See chapter V p. 157-8.

exile on the coast. Few, if any, other marriages have taken place between descendants of the wafugua and the Vayinga, but most of the younger men, for example those born since Sapi's return in 1926, do not show much interest in the subject and probably cannot name the descent names of the wafugua. In ways such as this the chief regulated tribal custom. During Adam's reign it was decided that the woman was as guilty as the man in adultery cases. Therefore the ruling was changed and instead of the man paying 2 head of cattle in compensation and being fined 10/-, while the woman only paid one head of cattle and was fined 5/-, both man and woman had to pay two heads of cattle in compensation and each was fined 10/-. Later when all payments in cattle had been given a standard money equivalent each person guilty of adultery paid 120/- in compensation and was fined 30/-. It is probable that the chief organised these changes and it was his authority which caused them to be accepted.

The chief apparently made no move to limit the amount of bridewealth which should be paid, although in other districts chiefs and district councils did limit the rapidly increasing amounts being paid as bride wealth. This is interesting because it is generally agreed that in Mkwawa's reign none of his subjects could ask for cattle to be paid as bride wealth for their daughters without permission from the chief.

There are two other cases where it can be shown that the chiefs did not preserve local custom, but, possibly unconsciously, seemed to be taking the lead in changing it. The case has already been mentioned where Chief Sapi fined sub-chief Juma MwaKayugwa for striking a man and knocking out his tooth and then the district officer, Bruce Hutt, revised the judgement insisting that the traditional judgement should be that the offender gave the victim a heifer in compensation. In a second remarkable case in Kalenga appeal court Chief Adam reversed the judgement of a sub-chief because he said that to claim a man could sell two mango trees without selling the ground on which they grew was like a fairy story in which a man sold the top floor of a house and then tried to take away the ground floor which was still his. The district officer reversed Chief Adam's judgement and stated that a man could sell the mango trees without selling his rights in the land on which they grew.

There is one case where the chief has insisted on preserving Wahehe custom in spite of efforts of administrative officers to change this. The British administration had demanded that local court cases were classified as criminal or civil. The most important difference between criminal and civil cases in Wahehe eyes was that the accuser had to pay a court fee to open a civil case, but not to open a criminal one. Adultery had always been classified as a criminal offence in Iringa district, but by the late 1950s

it was classified as a civil one in a number of other districts. The district commissioner in Iringa suggested to Chief Adam that this was a change which could well be made in Iringa district as well, but he disagreed and in insisting that adultery should remain a criminal offence he was undoubtedly expressing the opinion of the vast majority of Wahehe who would not be able to see why adultery became a civil offence while theft remained a criminal one.

The traditional, as opposed to official, duties of the chief are fewer in number and more difficult to discover. Mkwawa had clearly spent most of his time organising war, going on campaigns or dividing the booty and no chief under indirect rule could do exactly that. The only dealing that Chief Sapi and Adam had with war was to encourage their subjects to join the King's African Rifles. Many of the chief's official duties were developments of some of the tasks Mkwawa had performed such as appointing his vansagila, sending messages to them to provide labourers for works of public utility: in the precolonial period this meant building the fort (lipuli) and in the colonial period making roads or clearing ground for native authority buildings: judging special cases or cases on appeal from the vansagila and negotiating with members of other tribes or indeed even with Europeans. Under indirect rule the chief had not a large enough income and did not receive enough presents to distribute much to his servants or to reward those who pleased him. It is clear that a certain amount

of present-giving continues between the chief and vansagila (that is sub-chiefs, jumbes, vakarani wa vijiji and valunanzi) and their subjects, but it is also clear at all levels that people in authority from chief to the valunanzi feel they are not rewarded spontaneously as they used to be and therefore cannot afford to be as generous as their predecessors were. When the chief no longer had the monopoly of the ivory trade and the booty of war he could not give away cattle and cloth as Mkwawa had done. As both Sapi and Adam were each the richest men in a very large widespread family they had to distribute a certain amount for merely family reasons. They helped their relations with oxen for funerals, bridewealth for weddings and school fees, but this was the duty of a rich relation rather than that of the chief.

If there had been many traditional duties of the Vayinga and other chiefs many had probably been forgotten by 1926 as they definitely had been one generation later. It is still remembered that Mkwawa sent people to consult the spirit of Chanci through his medium to find out about the fortunes of the Wahehe and particularly their prospects in war. It is possible that Sapi sent people to consult Chanci, but as Moslems he and Adam were both less concerned to be involved in pagan religious practices than many of the vansagila at different levels were. It is uncertain whether Sapi was ever involved in making offerings for rain on the graves of Munyigumba or of Kilonge. An Italian priest claimed

to have met him once returning from a journey to Kilonge's grave and in the district book one district officer wrote thus:

"Today all Wahehe idolise Mkwawa. This may be because he actually beat the white men in battle, and was certainly a distinguished warrior. But I consider it possible that they do so more since his is the family with the most potent graves in the area. The two occasions when the Wahehe should sacrifice (at the graves), are at the beginning of the rains and of war. Other clan heads still sacrifice regularly for rain. The Wayinga do not, since apparently the Government in 1924 considered that Sapi's projected sacrifice at Nguruhe might be warlike. It is possible that it may be considered desirable to encourage Sapi regularly to sacrifice for rain." 1

Whether Sapi actually made offerings on the graves of his ancestors or not is uncertain, but he was expected to by many Wahehe, and the graves at Rungemba at least continue to be cared for by the jumbe of the area and also by a MwaKindole who is involved in this because of his relationship with SeKindole the mother of Munyigumba.

As Sapi was a young man when he was taken to the coast by the Germans it is not surprising that in spite of years of Christian and Moslem influence he was interested in the traditional religious practices of the Wahehe. However, Chief Adam was born into a Moslem household, even if not a very strict one, and was sent to school at about the age of eight, where although not in direct

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1. By Nguruhe he presumably meant Uleling'ombe where Kilonge's grave is. The information given by this district officer may be as inaccurate as some other statements in the district book are but he is unlikely to have invented the idea that Sapi might go to make offerings on his ancestors' graves.

contact with organised Christian or Moslem propaganda, he was under the influence of people with some education almost all of whom were at least nominal Christians or Moslems and who lacked knowledge of Wahehe traditional religious practices. It is therefore understandable that Sapi probably took some part in these rites whereas Adam did not. In spite of Chief Adam's own lack of enthusiasm for such ceremonies many Wahehe think these practices should be maintained. In 1962 the Muchagga Area Commissioner thought fit to tell the people of Idodi area that the rains would be good because Chief Adam had made offerings on the graves of his ancestors even though this was not true and it occurred only four months after he had been relieved of his duties as administrative chief.

#### The hierarchy of subordinate officials and their duties

The hierarchy of officials under the chief has been described briefly in the last chapter. This section describes their duties and organisation in greater detail. All this is described in the past tense referring to the period 1926 to 1961 but much of it remains true today.

The sub-chiefs, at first four and finally twelve, who were the immediate subordinates of the chief were usually known among the Wahehe as vansagila. In this pyramid of authority, chief,

sub-chief, jumbe, karani wa kijiji, and lunanzi, there was no direct continuity between any one of these offices and the vansagila of Mkwawa, but there was far greater continuity between jumbes and the old vansagila, both on grounds of the areas they ruled and the people who held the office, than there was between the sub-chiefs and the old vansagila. The sub-chiefs ruled larger areas, and had more taxpayers and more jumbes under them than many chiefs in other areas had. The sub-chiefdoms were not traditional units although in the early years of indirect rule some district officers appeared to think that they were. The sub-chiefs had clerks and messengers and court books and later they also all had brick court buildings and offices. They were the only subordinate officials of the chief who had these things and they were tied to the area where their court and office were. There were no official quarters for sub-chiefs (and today there are only sub-chief's quarters built by the native authority at Ifwagi and Kibengu) and many a sub-chief had wives in several different places, but the centre of his work was always his court house. Courts were sometimes rebuilt within the same sub-chiefdom, but at some distance from the first one; this happened in Usagara, Pawaga, Usungwa, Ufwagi, Kasanga and Malangali, that is in half of the twelve sub-chiefdoms, and in four out of the original five. However, the courts and sub-chiefs' offices did not move to the residence of each new sub-chief as the headquarters of lesser officers moved with them.

The sub-chief's main duties were to transmit the instructions of the chief and see that they were carried out. This usually meant passing on the instructions to the jumbes and court messengers or clerks and seeing that they persuaded other people to fulfil them. Sub-chiefs were also meant to tour their sub-chiefdom themselves to see that their commands were being carried out and that all was well in the different areas. When the district officers or the chief travelled round inspecting parts of the chiefdom they would send notice of their coming to the sub-chief, almost always visit him, and inspect the court books, accounts, and the school and dispensary when there were such things near the court. At times he could accompany them part of the way and he would be responsible for seeing that porters and whatever else was necessary for the journey were provided.

Sub-chiefs were also responsible for the day to day running of the court and the activities of the clerks and messengers. It is probable that some of the first sub-chiefs could not read and write, but nearly all of them could read a little even in the 1930s. By 1962 half of them had virtually the equivalent of full primary education (8 years). The least competent were probably in the hands of their clerks when they tried to supervise court work, if they tried to supervise it at all. As they were responsible to the chief and the district officers for their sub-chiefdoms they had to report anything out of the ordinary:

famines, murder, suicide, people who disappeared without trace, suspicious people who strayed into their area, the invasion of locusts and the collapse of bridges and so on. Attempts to cover up and not report any of these matters were regarded as a serious breach of duty and led to the desposition of a number of sub-chiefs. In all this the sub-chiefs were dependent on their jumbes and on clerks and messengers and so had to treat them in such a way as to make them aware of their obligations and to encourage them to co-operate with the government. After 1958, when there was an official Uhehe constitution, the sub-chiefs were said to be expected to encourage meetings in the sub-chiefdom, in each jumbe-ate and in each kijiji (village) and to put up notices about these meetings in the courts.

The sub-chiefs were responsible for judging all cases which were brought into their courts and also for initiating criminal cases against people. In some cases the sub-chief was both the prosecution and the judge, for instance, in those of people being dilatory in paying tax, messengers failing in their duty by being late on a journey or going to the beer club when they had been sent to catch a criminal, people who brewed beer without a licence or failed to comply with local orders by not working in their fields, or cutting down trees illegally in the government forest reserve. All these cases were classed as criminal ones and the accuser was usually stated to be the local court (Baraza ya Kalenga etc.)

but occasionally the clerks departed from the normal procedure and gave as the accuser the name of the jumbe or messenger who had reported the wrong-doer. In fact this was merely a way of recording punishments for default of duty or failure to comply with local rules and orders. It appears that these cases were never entered in the court books unless the accused had accepted the verdict of guilty or the sub-chief was convinced of the strength of his own case. There are occasional appeals from these cases, but no verdicts in the sub-chiefs' courts of "Not Guilty." Most of the judgements were small fines because all sentences of imprisonment had to be confirmed by the district officer and any serious embezzlement (known as eating taxes), involved sentences beyond the competence of the local court.

There were a number of other cases classed as criminal where the accuser did not have to pay a court fee. These were mainly assault, abuse, adultery and theft. Criminal cases consistently outnumbered the civil cases. Civil cases were mainly concerned with ownership of property and land, maintenance of wives and children and divorce.

The sub-chiefs were usually assisted in their work as judges in the local courts by other people. At first there was no obligation for them to summon or consult anyone else while they were judging, although it was assumed by the administration that they would hear cases in an open court, where anyone who chose



Trial in Kalenga Local Court 1963. Behind the table was a newly appointed local magistrate (Mnyakusa). Seated on the right were Wahehe court elders (elected) who interpreted when necessary. Standing on the right was a Baraguyu accusing the Muhehe on the left of cutting the legs of his cow.

could listen, and with the court clerk present. Later, on the suggestion of the district officer, Chief Sapi ruled that no sub-chief could hear a case unless three men from a list of men of that area, approved by him, were present.<sup>1</sup> From the evidence of surviving court books it appears that in most sub-chiefdoms these were often jumbes or vakarani wa vijiji who had some business to do at the court on that particular day.

In Chief Adam's reign men were either selected or elected to act as paid court advisers, usually called in Swahili wazee wa baraza or even majumbe wa baraza. They received their salary from the native treasury funds. It is difficult to trace the changes in this, year by year, sub-chiefdom by sub-chiefdom, but by 1962 every sub-chiefdom except Mlolo and Kiponzelo had three judges (vahisi in Kihehe and hakimu in Swahili) who were each paid 50/- per month and whose deliberations were written down by the court clerk. At Kiponzelo and Mlolo (where the sub-chiefs were most secure and therefore had least to fear from having articulate stipendiary magistrates) there were elected stipendiary magistrates earning 155/- per month, which was just slightly less than the lowest paid tax clerks. These magistrates also had court elders who were supposed to assist them and who were said to be paid 10/- per month, but they did not appear in the district council wages list. These stipendiary magistrates who were to the Wahehe

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1. District book. Section on Judicial institutions. ?1929.

usually unofficially known as vahisi, wrote their own case reports. This changed the sub-chiefs' important role as judge, although most sub-chiefs were able to influence court proceedings if they so desired.

The sub-chiefs never had authority to appoint their subordinates or native authority servants working in their sub-chiefdoms. They had considerable influence on the appointment of messengers, who were supposed to hold their appointment from the chief and native authority, and they could often influence the transfer, if not also the deposition of clerks, dispensers, veterinary instructors and other subordinate staff. The reports on two of these cases are worth quoting. A safari report from a district officer visiting Idodi in 1950 contained the following paragraph:

The Mnzagila was feeling very sore on the subject of the tribal dresser - both literally and metaphorically. This man, Liwinus by name, appears to have been using a hypodermic needle without proper sterilisation. In this way he has partially incapacitated several people including the Mnzagila and one of his wives. Liwinus has never had any training in the use of a needle according to the Sub-chief, though, as I pointed out to him, such work is very elementary, requiring only the most scrupulous cleanliness. Liwinus does not seem to be such a bad sort of chap, but, nevertheless, he has succeeded in putting himself in very bad odour in Idodi, and arrangements are now being made with the Medical Officer, Iringa, for his recall.

In December 1951 the safari report of a district officer drew attention to the need to transfer another tribal dresser like this:

Dispensary. The tribal dresser, Daudi, has been before the Sub-Chief's Court on a charge of adultery, to which he confessed. He was fined 30/- for the adultery itself and a further 20/- for obstructing the course of justice. Having thrown his house open to search by the witch hunters he refused to open one particular door which he said had been forbidden by the government. This did not completely satisfy the searchers who called in Mwatenga (sub-chief). Mwatenga promptly made preparations to break the door down, warning the somewhat chastened Daudi that the bill for damages would be addressed to him. This sufficed and the wretched female accomplice crawled forth to the great satisfaction of the searchers and the great benefit of Mwatenga's prestige. Daudi has already paid both fines and the compensation. Arrangements will be made for his transfer at the first convenient opportunity.

The only jobs which were directly in the gift of the sub-chiefs were the appointment to cook food for the prisoners in the local lock-up or to clear the space round the local court and cut the grass, or to build a mud hut for a native authority servant, for example a new midwife.

As the sub-chiefship was an institution invented by those responsible for setting up indirect rule they <sup>he were</sup> had no particular traditional duties, yet the Wahehe expected them to use their influence and wealth to the advantage of their kin and affines in the same way that all other office holders might. Some sub-chiefs encouraged people to use special greetings for them, men to take off their hats or turbans in court and women to kneel before them, but all this was variable and depended on each sub-chief's personality and social status. Those who were

brothers and sons of the chief could encourage their subjects to use the greetings Ase Senga or Ajenjali<sup>1</sup> which they expected not because they were sub-chiefs, but because they were the chief's agnates.

Although all sub-chiefs might be involved in ceremonies at their own parents', grandparents', or other relations' graves, only five of all the sub-chiefs, excluding those who were the chief's sons and brothers, were descendants of men on whose graves offerings for rain were made. It is not certain whether any of these men took a leading part in deciding when to perform the ceremonies. They were Motomkali MwaMkini, his son Stambuli MwaMkini and his son John MwaMkini, all descendants of Munyivanga, whose grave is still maintained near the present mission of Pommern, and Dindilimahuti MwaKalinga and Hamisi MwaKalinga (often known by his father's name Chotisamba) who were both descendants of Mwansindava who had been an independent chief of Ukalinga.

The immediate subordinates of the sub-chiefs were the jumbes. This is the term by which they were usually known to Wahehe and district officers. English speaking people also called them headmen while the Wahehe often used the general term mzazila. Cory used the term mnyalutanana when he drew up the Uhehe constitution and he presumably did this with the agreement of the

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1. See chapter V p. 154

Wahehe who had assembled to discuss the constitution with him. Literally translated this term means "owner of the rising ground".<sup>1</sup> It is probable that Cory got this term from the Wabena of the rivers because Culwick had described the subordinates of their chief who were known as mwenyelutanana.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Cory might have invented the term from his general knowledge of East African ethnology by associating lutanana with the common Bantu word migongo meaning ridge, and settlements are usually on ridges. However, this term munyalutanana was hardly used between 1958, when Cory drew up the constitution, and the post Independence reorganisation, when their official title was changed to "sub-divisional executive officers". Jumbe is the term in most frequent use among the Wahehe and the one which is generally used in this thesis.

The large number of jumbes when the British took over from the Germans were reduced to only 75 in Iringa district by 1926. The numbers remained remarkably steady for the whole period. Four jumbe-ates were removed from Uhehe when Iringa township was placed outside the tribal area in 1945 and in 1962 there were 70 jumbes in Uhehe. This means that they were greater in number

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1. mu is the personal prefix, nya means having and lutanana is a hillock, but it is often used to refer to ground which barely rises at all. The plural is usually vanyamatanana although I have seen nanana written on a public notice board as the plural of lutanana.

2. Culwick. p. 212.

than those of Mkwawa's vansagila, who are still remembered, and fewer in number than the jumbes under the Germans. If any of the present office holders are seen by the Wahehe to be the successors of Mkwawa's vansagila, the jumbes are. A general analysis of the areas they ruled, the people who ruled them and the tasks they performed shows there is good reason for this association. They were the first link in delivering commands which arrived at the sub-chief's court from the chief and district office to the general population. They had to go to court regularly to receive instructions and report on their areas and collect letters and summons. In some areas, where the jumbes were only half a day's walking distance from the court, they were expected to attend regularly once every week and when they appeared to take all their vakarani wa vijiji with them. This was, in theory, the system at Mlolo local court in 1962, where it had a better chance of working than anywhere else. In many cases, particularly in the early 1930s when there were fewer sub-chiefs, most jumbes appeared only once every month at the sub-chief's court unless there was a special reason, such as a trial in which they were witnesses, a special meeting or a tax round-up. They had good reason to go at the end of the month, if at no other time, because all were supposed to receive a salary every month. In 1926 most jumbes were paid 5/- per month and a few were paid 10/- per month. These salaries were worth collecting regularly.

In 1962 they were paid 45/- per month or 55/- and in a few cases 70/-. Those jumbes who had to walk more than one day to reach the court went there only 4 or 5 times a year and then perhaps only under pressure. This is borne out by the evidence of clerks and messengers, by the jumbes themselves and by surviving court books. The jumbe of Mdonya (from which the inhabitants were evacuated when the area was set aside as a game reserve) was frequently charged by his sub-chief with failing to attend Idodi court. Chotisamba MwaKalinga who, when he was first jumbe under the Germans and later under the sub-chief of Usungwa at Kidabaga, had to walk at least three days each way, said that he would sometimes send a karani wa kijiji in his place. There were probably a number of places where this happened.

One of a jumbe's most important tasks has always been tax collection. They were responsible for compiling the lists of tax payers in their jumbe-ates. Except in the areas immediately surrounding each court the sub-chief and his clerks and messengers could not know which young men were about the right age to start paying tax, nor could they know of all the newcomers in the area. Their only way of carrying out a tax round-up was to go to every beer club or market or other place where people gathered or were paid and demand to see each man's tax receipt, an article most men learnt to carry with them wherever they went and to guard more carefully than most of their other possessions. Anyone who

could not produce a tax receipt on demand might be tied with ropes or with handcuffs (in Kihehe bangeli, presumably from bangle) and taken to the local court where the tax register could be checked. This method could catch a number of people who wished to appear in public places and move freely, but not the really determined tax defaulter.

Jumbes were unlikely to know all adult men in their jumbe-ates, but they were likely to know roughly who each one was, in terms of being the son of another man he did know, a stranger who recently married a woman of the area whose father he knew, or a newcomer from the next district who had asked permission to settle a few years before. With his own knowledge and that of his own relations and friends and subordinates a jumbe who really wanted to could probably find out what he needed to know about any man in his area. As few people knew their ages, and even where the date of birth had been written down they either could not, or did not, desire to work out how old they must be, much depended on the jumbe and his subordinates in deciding when young men should be considered old enough to be put on the tax list. In theory this was anyone over 18. Once on the tax list the only way to get off it, other than migration or death, was to plead "old age and poverty" and get a letter from the sub-chief to go to the district officer who would decide whether the man had good grounds for exemption and if necessary the medical officer was consulted

about the man's health and disability. Some sub-chiefs were said to refuse to give people the necessary letter to go to the district officer unless they had first received a present.

It was generally assumed that the number of tax payers should not decrease in any jumbe-ate, but rather increase slightly. As the number in the whole district doubled between 1939 and 1952 some jumbe-ates must have shown very large regular increases. When lists of tax payers did not increase as they were expected to, the district officer might send a hut counter to the area and if the number of huts greatly exceeded the number of tax payers the sub-chief would be made to check the situation. It was generally accepted that there should be roughly one tax payer for every five people. The correspondence was probably very erratic in 1926 and when the 1957 census figures are compared with the number of the tax books in 1962 there is considerable local variation, from Kasanga sub-chiefdom with a tax paying population of 1 in 4.2 to Mlolo with one of 1 in 6.1.

In both tax collection and in compiling tax lists jumbes were the key people. There were limits within which they had to keep if they were not to be deposed for inefficiency and refusal to co-operate, but within these limits they had considerable latitude. A jumbe could omit to enter on the tax lists a man in his mid-twenties whom he knew to be older than others paying tax, but whose exact age he did not wish to prove. Such a man might

find ways of avoiding messengers and tax clerks when they came on their rounds, by keeping out of the way or wearing the uniform of a primary school child. Children at school, of whatever age, were exempt from paying tax and in secondary school boys of 26 were not uncommon. Other young men might be informal clients of the jumbe or sub-chief, perhaps carrying out the duties of overseeing the herd boys and repairing the houses of his wives or even ironing his clothes, which his wives did not know how to do. Such young men might be fed and clothed by their patron until they were at least 25 and wished to get married. While they were in the service of a man with authority they would be omitted from the tax list. They would probably also be rewarded by assistance in finding suitable land on which to settle and by receiving a contribution towards their bride wealth. On the other hand a really zealous jumbe could conduct a tax drive by going round the houses at night and finding those who took great care not to be seen by him during the day. He could call frequent meetings and check ~~on~~ the number of people who had paid their tax at every public gathering. He could make life difficult for persistent defaulters by looking for every other delict they might commit, such as brewing beer without a licence, burning trees where it was forbidden, or selling meat which had not been inspected by the veterinary guard.

Although jumbes were not obliged to collect tax money from people and take it to the court, but merely to see that all their subjects obtained tax receipts, in practice they nearly always took the money to the court themselves. Most people knew that it was only wise to hand their tax money to the jumbe in front of witnesses because no type of official, from the sub-chiefs downwards has been shown to be exempt from the desire to "eat" taxes. The jumbes took the money to the sub-chief's court and were given tax receipts made out in each man's name which they should then deliver to those who had paid their tax to them. Revenue collection was always the jumbe's most important duty and this mainly involved Hut and Poll tax, although there were also beer licences, bicycle taxes and gun licences.

The third type of work which a jumbe had to perform was generally considered the most honourable, that of judging disputes. When people brought their disputes to be judged before a jumbe no records were kept and the decision had no binding authority, although there might be considerable social pressure to accept it. As the decision had no binding authority no fines, floggings or terms of imprisonment could be imposed. The jumbe's informal judicial gathering was to reconcile the two parties, make arrangements for small amounts of compensation to be paid, or to give the case a hearing so that as, for example, in a divorce case, the woman could decide after the matter had been discussed in front

of the jumbe whether she was likely to be successful at the sub-chief's court. Grosser criminal cases such as rape of minors, serious bodily assault and cattle theft had to be reported to the sub-chief's court, where the sub-chief or the clerks were responsible for reporting the matter to the police, but petty thefts, minor abuses or the milder cases of wife beating were often decided in front of the jumbe or his subordinates. Sometimes the accuser was content with the amount of compensation the accused was ordered to pay, but still took the case on to the sub-chief's court, not because he thought he might gain personally from this but because he hoped that the accused might be fined as well as ordered to pay compensation and would therefore suffer greater loss. The number of cases which were decided in front of the jumbe and which did not reach the sub-chief's court depended on an involved complex of factors: the prestige of the jumbe, the social as well as geographical distance between the jumbe-ate and the sub-chief's court, the popularity of the sub-chief's court, the amount of money the particular litigants were prepared to spend on their case, and the extent to which the unsuccessful party might feel kinship and other relationships had misled the judgement given in front of the jumbe.

The jumbes had a complete and independent right to select their immediate subordinates who were known in English as village or subordinate headmen and in Kihehe as karani wa kijiji.<sup>1</sup> Recently,

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1. See chapter VI p.271.

possibly as many as half could read and write a little but in 1926 there can have been only very few indeed who could. Sometimes the distinction is made in local notices between karani used to mean clerk, and kalani, used to mean village headman, but the Wahehe do not make a consistent differences in pronunciation. Another word sometimes heard is one which Cory used as his Kihehe translation of karani wa kijiji, munyachole. A chole was the word for one of the gateways in the Kalenga fort<sup>1</sup> and mu-nya-chole (plural vanyafyole) simply means "person having a gateway". This expression was not often used, although it was used a little more often than munyalutanana (jumbe). In 1962, when sub-chiefs officially became divisional executive officers and jumbes were renamed sub-divisional executive officers, no new title was suggested for these lesser headmen. On most official documents they are now known as village headmen, occasionally as village executive officers. The term mnzagila has always been used for these people and is still used when it is unnecessary to distinguish between them and the other ranks of people who are called vansagila.

From 1926 until well into the 1950s these subordinate headmen were not paid and so it was not important to list them or limit their numbers. The first complete list of them is that for 1957. It is possible to find out a certain amount about them and their responsibilities somewhat earlier from the fragments of tax books

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1. See chapter V p.167.

which survive, giving the lists of tax payers names under each karani wa kijiji. There are court cases where some of them, like the jumbes, were accused of failing to appear at court, eating taxes, or committing other delicts. Their status was recognised by district officers and members of the tribal administration long before there was any effort made to reward them financially. The first move in this direction was to give each karani wa kijiji a free tax receipt. A few years later (?1957) they were paid in cash for the first time at the rate of 10/- monthly. In 1962 this was raised to 14/- per month for one year only. From January 1963 it was stated that the Iringa District Council could not afford to pay this, so they were invited to work kujitolea (a Swahili word usually made to mean voluntarily).

It is clear that the number of vakarani wa vijiji had greatly increased between 1926 and 1961.<sup>1</sup> The tax payers allotted to each karani wa kijiji varied between 36 in the most remote areas of Usungwa ruled from Mahenge local court to over 400 in an area which includes Kiheza, a newly built suburb of Iringa which is not within the township area. The usual number is between 150 and 220. In the more settled parts, at least, there were definite boundaries between the kijiji (or chole) of one of these karani and the next.

When these vakarani received no pay each jumbe could appoint

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1. This is reasonable as the number of jumbes has slightly decreased and the tax paying population has more than doubled, and probably tripled.

them as he wished and in whatever numbers he desired; he used them as his own general assistants delegating whichever he wished of his own tasks and powers to each karani in his area. They played a recognised part in tax collecting, assisting the jumbe to know who was a defaulter and who ought to be entered in the registers. Often in a tax drive, the jumbe, who was held responsible for his whole jumbe-ate, would be accompanied by his vakarani, each one in his own area, because they were expected to know every house and every adult man for whom they were responsible. They went to court and they also met at the jumbe's own residence and were given messages and instructions to pass on to their subjects, about communal labour, the latest rules and orders, about not brewing beer during a famine year, paying their taxes by a certain date or taking their cattle to be dipped and the like. These vakarani might deputise for the jumbe when he had reason to be away, or gave up his official duties for a period after bereavement, and they might go to court for him when he was unable, or unwilling, to walk there himself. When an older jumbe had appointed his son as karani that son often did nearly all his father's work as well as his own. Indeed, this was an accepted way of training a son to succeed his father.

The vakarani held their own meetings for hearing disputes at their huts, or the most important hut, if they had more than one. The cases they heard and the decisions they were able to give

were the same as those of jumbes. There might be no difference between the two hearings even though many cases were heard first by the karani and then by the jumbe. As in every other place where disputes were judged informally the karani himself might take little part in proceedings and allow others to lead the discussion. It is quite common to see this type of discussion going on when there are hardly any people except the litigants. Usually two or three cases are heard on the same occasion and the accused in one case may be most active in giving judgement on the accused in another dispute immediately preceding or succeeding his own. Some people say that it was customary for each litigant to pay 1/- mibehe or mbadulaluvanza to the karani at the time when they received no salary.

The most distinctive task of the vakarani was to deal with the distribution of land. Land disputes in the sub-chiefs' courts were rare except at Kalenga B court, when they came from Ismani, an area where members of many different tribes grow maize as a cash crop. This absence of land disputes may show how effective these vakarani were in allotting land and witnessing the arrangements and transactions. All land which had not been alienated freehold or leasehold in a land grant belonged to the government and was for the general use of the African population. Theoretically, this land could not be bought or sold and the use of the land was regulated by local custom and district rules and orders. In the

more heavily populated areas of central Uhehe most people cultivated their fields for at least three years or more before resting the land and the pieces of land close to the huts, (or around old hut sites which are always the most fertile) are usually cultivated continuously for longer.

Most people have acquired their right to cultivate some part of their land from their relations, but there are always a significant number of people who wish to increase their acreage, move to a new area, or mark out new marsh gardens (fyungu, sing. chungu). Borrowing land for a few years is a recognised procedure and the borrower and the lender do not necessarily go to the karani to tell him about their agreement. However, the really significant thing is when one man not only allows another to farm his land, but also allows him to build a hut there. This is regarded as a sign of giving away a permanent right to cultivate the land and build on it, so the vakarani are nearly always called to witness these transactions, just as they are when a man wishes to clear a piece of uncultivated bush. The karani usually acts both as a go-between and a witness. He will discuss the boundaries, perhaps instruct a man to plant sisal or mountain bamboo to mark a boundary and perhaps witness an agreement about any fruit trees or standing crops. According to the district council rules and regulations (probably laid down by the native authority in 1952) any land which had not been cultivated for three years in succession

could be given away to another man without the permission of the owner. The Wahehe consider it an extremely discourteous act to do so without the permission of the previous owner and if this happened at all it can have happened very little. If a man wished to cut grass or reeds, or set game traps, outside the kijiji in which he lived, he was expected to ask permission from the karani of that area. This permission would hardly be refused, but it was considered a courtesy to let the karani know so that he would not think the strangers had a sinister purpose in his area. Land alienated to missions was often chosen by a karani or a jumbe for that purpose. The distribution and growth of missions has been influenced considerably by the attitudes of jumbes and their subordinates to them.

A karani was regarded as a local official witness in all manner of circumstances. He was usually called to inspect the property of a dead man, to write down every item, or to ask someone else to do so, and then supervise, or at least witness, the distribution. They knew of all funerals in their areas and were meant to be told when anyone had disappeared or a corpse was found or anything was stolen.

These vakarani often appointed their own subordinates. These lowest headmen, or vansagila, have never been paid and the tax payers for whom they were responsible were never listed under their names in the registers. The smallest grouping of tax payers

listed was that under each karani. The lowest headmen have no official Swahili or English title, but when the Wahehe want to distinguish them from their immediate superiors or any other vansagila they use the work lunanzi (plural valunanzi). This word was accepted by Cory, but it had definitely been in use before, as it appears in earlier court records.<sup>1</sup> Nobody seems to know the origin of the term. Some court clerks who were under the impression that it was a Swahili word wrote "runanzi" because they know that the letter 'r' occurs in Swahili and English but is not usually used in Kihehe. Neither lunanzi nor runanzi appears in the Swahili dictionary. No special title was given to these valunanzi at the time when the titles for sub-chiefs and jumbes were changed. There is no word for the areas over which the valunanzi ruled, equivalent of ujumbe for a jumbe-ate, or kijiji for the area over which a karani ruled, but the neighbourhoods ruled by the valunanzi may have individual names.

The number of valunanzi increased during the period of indirect rule for the same reasons as the number of vakarani did. Often a karani had appointed a lunanzi or several when he has found the number of his subjects increasing. In other places where it is difficult for a karani to reach part of his area during the rains, perhaps because it was across a river or a swamp, he appointed a lunanzi to look after that area for him. In every way the

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1. See Idodi court book 1952.

lunanzi was just a general assistant of the karani and there were no duties peculiar to him as lunanzi. He helped in tax collection, he heard disputes, he helped keep order generally, was involved in some land negotiations and helped organise people for meetings and spread news and instructions. Occasionally a lunanzi went to court instead of his karani, but one of the things that made his task much easier than that of his superiors was that he was not generally expected to do so. There was no local court where the tax clerks and messengers were capable of naming all the people who were valunanzi in the sub-chiefdom, or even the jumbe-ate where the court was situated. They were, however, always able, with a little thought, to name all jumbes and karanis, together with their respective father's names and descent names in many cases.

At the bottom of this pyramid of authority were the ordinary subjects. In Kihehe the word mukami has often been translated "subject" and it is usually used in order to show that one man is ruled by another. Another expression frequently used to show a man held no position is munu hela, "just a person". Though comparatively few people have held office at any level, the majority acknowledge some kinship or affinal link with one who has held the office of karani, jumbe, or sub-chief. No group of people, whether Wahehe or more recent settlers in the area, have ever been absolutely cut off from the possibility of holding political office within the chiefdom. The most insignificant man might, by allowing his

daughter to be married to the jumbe or the jumbe's son, have found himself honoured and treated with respect by the jumbe and might then have been asked to assist the jumbe as his karani.

Every man had a degree of responsibility in his own house and on his own land which derived, not only from his position as head of the household, but also from his public duty to keep order within it. This meant that he was expected to settle, or take the initiative in organising the settlement of, disputes which arose. It did not mean that he could judge any quarrel he wished to and, provided the two parties agreed, tell nobody else. Nor did it mean that a man's dependents could not appeal against him to any mnzagila. Many cases of wife beating and even some of incestuous rape reached the sub-chiefs' courts. However, when a jumbe or karani went round looking for tax defaulters and wished to enter a man's house, <sup>he was</sup> ~~they were~~ expected to ask permission from the owner of the house and to let him take the initiative in capturing the offender. Any official who presumed to walk in and pursue criminals in other men's houses without permission would have been considered guilty of a gross breach of good manners.

The Wahehe themselves expect all people to assist in keeping law and order, to catch thieves, help search for the lost and the drowned and to spread news and messages. They expect to be ruled, and after more than 60 years of colonial rule they have become used to being ordered to accept the paid work of carrying government

tax or drug boxes, being porters for administrative officers, being turned out for various communal works, being forced to plant crops for famine relief and to pay tax. This does not mean that people enjoy doing these things, but all accept the inevitability of them and only a small proportion actively resist. The need of the various vansagila to co-operate with their superiors and the government was widely recognised and it was accepted that they had to get a reasonable number of taxes paid and see the rules were kept, even when this involved the unpleasant duty of forcing their friends and relations to perform unpopular tasks. It is common knowledge that vansagila and other local government servants might be sacked and most people could name without difficulty officials they know who were sacked.

This then was the bare structure of political authority, with minor variations, throughout the period 1926-1961. Until the 1958 constitution and, indeed, even after that, very little was laid down about how the chiefdom should be organised other than general principles explained in memoranda on local government and local court procedure. Much always depended on verbal instruction and there was little concern for precedent. Until the rise of TANU and local political parties, such as the Hehe Democratic Union, there was no criticism of the system as such, even though there was always a certain amount of criticism of particular officials.

### The subordinate rulers

In outline there was a pyramid of authority, but not a symmetrical one, and orders were passed downwards from the chief while disputes were passed upwards from the lesser vansagila to the courts. Taxes also passed upwards from lesser vansagila to sub-chiefs' courts and finally into the native treasury. The social implications of all this and the way the system worked are shown up more clearly by considering the type of people who held these offices, the way in which they were selected and the reasons for depositions.

It is possible to present life histories of all 39 men who have ever been sub-chiefs. When the first four were selected in 1926 local public opinion was probably allowed to play a larger part than at any time since until the last two sub-chiefs were elected, that is until after 1958. All other appointments were made by the chief who could take local feeling into consideration. District commissioners took the matter of the appointment of sub-chiefs seriously and they had to inform the provincial commissioner of every move. They could prohibit the appointment of a particular man although there is no evidence that they ever did so. It was a general principle of indirect rule that the chief should appoint and discipline his own subordinates. There are, however, a number of instances where administrative officers encouraged the chief to depose sub-chiefs.

The four sub-chiefs of 1926 were all oldish men, or at least, if not so old physically, well beyond their best health. Sagamaganga MwaMusovela at Malangali was said to be an old man when appointed, he retired in 1928, and died that year or the next. Motomkali MwaMkini, the first sub-chief of Usungwa, had been a full grown man in 1898 and in 1926 was not able to walk around his sub-chiefdom energetically. He was replaced by Sapi's younger half brother, Mwanzali, and later reappointed, but gave up again in 1934 because of ill health and he died soon afterwards. Chogamalinga MwaMugumba of Kalenga and Chotaukali MwaMbugi of Usagara must both have been over 40, and may have been as much as 50, when appointed. Chotaukali had ruled in Usagara since 1906 and Chogamalinga can be reckoned to have been at least as old as his surviving wife who is about 85. These two men held office until the first year of Adam's reign (1940-1), but both were ill and working very slowly before they retired.

In all later appointments younger men tended to be selected. Mwanzali Mkwawa was born in 1898 and so became a sub-chief when he was 30. Juma MwaKayugwa who succeeded Sagamaganga at Malangali was about the same age. Many others can be shown to have been between 30 and 40 when appointed and the youngest of all were Musa Sapi who was about 20, John Stambuli MwaMkini who cannot have exceeded 25, and Daudi Sapi Mkwawa who was not more than 26. Although those who were not deposed earlier for more sinister

reasons usually ruled until they were encouraged to retire because their slowness and ill-health made them ineffective, seniority in years has never been considered a desirable quality for a sub-chief. Not one died in office as all were persuaded to give up the work when they had been ailing for some time.

The earliest group of sub-chiefs may not have been able to write more than to sign their own names. Motomkali seems to be the only one whose signature has survived in the court books. From 1930 onwards it is certain that all could sign their own names and probable that most could read their notices adequately as well. They also all had a reasonably fluent, if not accurate, knowledge of Swahili. Chief Adam appears to have had a definite policy of appointing men with something near full primary education (8 years). Gaudensio MwaMalangalila had been a medical assistant for 13 years and had travelled in Ethiopia during the war. Daudi Sapi had started training as a hospital assistant, Mustapha Sapi had been a court interpreter, Eleuter MwaLuhunga a medical assistant and later became an assistant district officer, Magnus MwaMugongolwa had been a hospital clerk and John MwaKasuga had been the native treasury accounts clerk. Chief Adam did appoint as sub-chiefs a few jumbes, messengers or clerks with less than 8 years' primary education, but he had a clear preference for men who had at least as much education as the better educated native authority clerks.

There was no <sup>one</sup> clear group of men who could expect to be offered sub-chiefships. Both Sapi and Adam selected some men who were their close relations and affines, but there were many others in this category who might have been selected and were not. Among those who were selected were Mwanzali, Sapi's half-brother, Juma MwaKayugwa who had married his eldest daughter and so was mwanamutwa, Musa Sapi his eldest son, Daudi and Mustapha Sapi also his sons, but each of a different mother, and Eleuter MwaLuhanga another mwanamutwa who had married Sapi's daughter. Rashidi MwaKayugwa who became deputy chief (an office which later became known as executive officer of the district council) was the son of ex-sub-chief Juma and Zenabo the daughter of Sapi. He was ~~therefore~~ Chief Adams sister's son (mwipwa), and therefore also mwana si mutwa.

A number of other sub-chiefs were ex-jumbes or members of a lineage which had for some generations been associated with ruling a particular area. The following sub-chiefs all belonged to this category: Chotaukali and his sons Mwendavanu and Karangalichuma in Usagara, Malambila and Mwachengula at Masombe, Dindilimahuti MwaKalinga and Hamisi, son of Chotisamba MwaKalinga, at Ifwagi, Mwatima MwaMakombe and his sons Adam and Samwel at Kasanga, Sagamaganga MwaMusovela, Soliambingo and Simbamwaka, sons of Salimboga at Malangali; Motomkali, Stambuli and John MwaMkini were all agnatic relations of the chiefs and descendants of

Munyivanga, mnzagila of Usungwa under Mkwawa. Chotewahe MwaMugongolwa and Magnus MwaMugongolwa were both sons of jumbes who were also the chiefs' agnatic relations, although they had lived in their sub-chiefdoms they were appointed as sub-chiefs. Other men had often shown themselves to be particularly capable in some way. Hassan MwaKibumu and Vangisada MwaMakendi had both been messengers before each was appointed as sub-chief of Idodi. Hassan Sofu, a Manyema from Iringa town, had been a tax clerk and John MwaKasuga a clerk at the Uhehe native treasury in Iringa.

The reasons for a few appointments are more difficult to understand, such as that of Musa Saidi the Nubian at Pawaga, Mwatenga Mtemi also at Pawaga and Ahamed MwaMsawinyi at Kalenga. These men may fit into any of the categories already mentioned, but it is more difficult to find out much about them. It was only by chance when pursuing another genealogy that it emerged that Ahamed MwaMsawinyi and Chief Adam were related through their common mother's mother. Pawaga is in many ways a law unto itself. Musa Saidi was selected as the only man who could be found who might have a chance of keeping order in Pawaga after Chotewahe MwaMugongolwa had embezzled the funds and the five jumbes, who were supposed to take it in turns to be sub-chief each for a month at a time, had failed to get anything done. The safari report of the district officer who visited Pawaga in 1939 is worth quoting:

"General Administration. A court house the darkness of whose interior may reflect the amount of enlightenment in the present rulers of Pawaga, a really miserable little tribal dressing station with a dresser possibly not inaptly named Kazimbaya (Swahili for Bad Work) and a market building one side of which has collapsed, represent the Native Administration at Kimande."

"The present system under which five jumbes take it in turns for one month to control affairs in Pawaga, appears to give full scope to the vast ramifications of "Fitina" (discord). Complaints that the accused persons are not being called to court no doubt often arise from the fact that the complaint was lodged when one jumbe was in charge, but that no proceedings were taken during his period of charge and the matters thereby became relegated to the "bado" (not yet) class. A very brutal assault by five persons using viboko (whips of rhinoceros hide) was committed in early January and no proceedings had yet been taken when I arrived at Kimande on 24th March."

"It appears that the real rulers of Pawaga are the cattle, which in the dry season wander where they will. The result is that not one stick of cassava remains in the country....."

"The local industries are cattle theft and tax default; and obviously the local jumbes have done little to remedy the position as regards tax default..... It may be possible that a visit by Chief Sapi, say for a period of three months, would result in the solution of the problem as to who will constitute the best Native Authority for Pawaga - after discounting the usual Sapi solution of filling up the vacancy with a relative of his."

"I interviewed this man and tried to get some information as to how things were being carried on in Pawaga. He told me that the Baraza (court) was more like the deliberations of half-witted donkeys rather than those of grown men and that even children get up in the court and interrupted proceedings....."

It was an advantage in Pawaga to be rich because rich men were less likely to be attracted by the bribes which were often

offered. Although the religious issue has never been really important in appointments in Uhehe, there are a significant number of Moslems, many of them non-Wahehe, among the cattle owners and traders and Islam gives some order and social grouping in an area where many social ties and traditions are lacking. Musa Saidi was a rich man, an ex-clerk and a Moslem and was thus suitable for three reasons. Mwatenga was also a very rich man and Chief Adam has stated that this was an important consideration in appointing him. In addition he was recognised to have particular ability in judging disputes. A district officer stated in a safari report that with a rather different education Mwatenga could have made an excellent high court judge.

It is interesting to note that the two sub-chiefs who were elected in the brief period at the end of indirect rule were men who might have been chosen by the chief himself. Benedict Simbachaka was a well known and respected clerk in the native treasury, who had been head clerk of the cattle dipping scheme and had been at Malangali school in the early years with Chief Adam. John MwaMkini had likewise been a clerk in the dipping scheme and he was also the son and grandson of former sub-chiefs.

It was rather a subtle collection of different qualities, descent, local and tribal standing, education and intelligence (which the Wahehe do not consider are generally related) and the chief's own personal feelings which influenced the appointment of

sub-chiefs. Many people emphasise Sapi's peculiar love for his younger half brother Mwanzali whom he refused to depose. There was a slight tendency for the position to become hereditary, but as the oldest sub-chiefdoms existed for barely 36 years, there is not enough evidence to judge how strong this tendency would have been if indirect rule had not been abolished. It was well recognised, at least in the later years, that a sub-chief was a civil servant, and more of one than any of his subordinates. He had full time employment with a full time wage and paid into a pension and provident fund. Although some sub-chiefs were appointed to rule areas where they already lived others were sent by the chief to rule an area with which they had no former associations. There were even two sub-chiefs who made no claim to be Wahehe at all. Hassan Sofu was a Manyema and Musa Saidi was a Nubian; both of them had been born in Iringa town. In spite of these clear indications that they were civil servants the sub-chiefs made the best they could out of their positions as the chief's vansagila.

It seems that only one of the 39 sub-chiefs did not have more than one wife. The unlimited number of wives which men are permitted to marry, and the fact that important men are generally expected to have many wives, made it possible for sub-chiefs to contract political marriages with women from all the important families in their sub-chiefdoms. A few examples can illustrate this. Gaudensio MwaMalangalila was sent to rule the new

sub-chiefdom of Mlolo when it was separated from Kalenga in 1952. He did not decide to have the court built where a number of people expected it to be built, in the jumbe-ate traditionally ruled by the descendants of Myovela from among whom a sub-chief might have been selected, because they were the traditional rulers of Udongwe. However, he married two women SeMyovela, one of whom was the daughter of Fungamesa who had been a jumbe in the area for 20 years. He married one SeNyingo (a daughter of the famous polygamist jumbe Lusinde to whom nearly everyone in the area was related because he had over 100 children and a large number of adult grandchildren) and also his classificatory cross-cousin, the child of a SeMuyinga, who came from the only Moslem family living near the court. Likewise Musa Sapi, when he was sent to be sub-chief at Kiponzelo, took for his second wife, a SeNyenza, from the traditional ruling family of Usavila in which area the sub-chiefdom of Usavila lay.

Chotaukali and his son Karangalichuma both married a number of Wasagara wives from the area on the borders of Usagara where they lived. Magnus MwaMugongolwa when he was appointed to the sub-chiefdom of Kilolo in Usungwa had only one wife, but there he married two more wives who were both of a local Lutheran family. Kilolo is an area where there had never been a Roman Catholic mission, but there were a number of small local Lutheran congregations and one Lutheran church was very near the court. The Roman Catholic priests interpreted his plural marriages with Lutheran

women, as an attempt to please the Lutherans, but this is only their interpretation and they were understandably annoyed that he has become polygamous after marrying his first wife in a Roman Catholic church.

A sub-chief's salary was for many of the less educated sub-chiefs the only, and the best, full time wage they could get. For every sub-chief there were additional non-cash benefits. There was a certain amount of free beer and other larger presents. They had a chance of getting the best land in the area and had a number of people always willing to work for their keep or for very small wages, knowing that the sub-chief had many ways of assisting those who helped him and of hindering those who did not. It is interesting to see how, when the sub-chiefs realised that they might be sacked or transferred in the reorganisation of local government in 1962-1963, their response was always to increase their area land under cultivation and try to make a reasonable living by farming for profit. This requires quite a large area of good land, capital or good credit and the ability to attract very cheap labour. Few sub-chiefs tried to imitate other civil servants earning about the same wages by living in houses with corrugated iron roofs, owning bicycles, transistor wirelasses and a number of chairs and tables. They tended to have traditional houses with thatched roofs and large beer halls and meeting places. On the whole they were more likely to send their children to school than

their subordinates or ordinary people, but less likely to do so than clerks or town dwellers earning the same salaries. There is no record of a man being offered a sub-chiefship and refusing it because he had better ways of earning a living, but it might have happened. However, there is good evidence that a few of the more important sub-chiefs gave up jobs with better salaries in order to become sub-chiefs.

The majority of sub-chiefs got into trouble at some point and were tried in court. A few were encouraged to resign while others were deposed. Some of the reasons for this are clear from the court books and from district commissioners' reports. Mulongiwo of Pawaga was tried by Chief Sapi for not bringing news of the locust invasion and was fined.<sup>1</sup> Soon afterwards he was relieved of his office and the district officer noted that this was because of his inefficiency. Again, according to the district officer Juma MwaKayugwa was deposed because of some trouble over the collection of Hut and Poll tax in which he had sheltered a defaulting clerk. He had also been tried in the chief's court for assaulting those who refused to carry his luggage on a journey.<sup>2</sup> Jumbe Simbamwaka said Juma was finally deposed because he got annoyed with a stranger who had not taken off his turban to him in court. Simbamwaka's brother, jumbe Soliambingo, had explained

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1. Kalenga Appeal Court 4/32.

2. Kalenga Appeal Court 26/32.

that the man was a stranger and did not know he was standing before the sub-chief whereupon Juma beat jumbe Soliambingo who was later made sub-chief in Juma's place. Chotewahe at Pawaga was found to have been helping himself to the messengers' wages and they complained to the district officer that they had not been paid for some months. Chotewahe then explained that he had been making his own thumb mark on the wages list "to save time".<sup>1</sup> The district officer wished Chief Sapi to try his own subordinates, but thought that the case would be delayed too long if they waited for a suitable opportunity for that, so some of the Pawaga jumbes were allowed to try him and they sentenced him to only two months in prison "because he was a relation of the chief". He died soon after his dismissal when he was probably not much over 40 years of age.

Mwandavanu Mwambugi must have been in trouble in Usagara. He only ruled for one year before he was dismissed and replaced by his younger brother Karangalichuma. Hiyari MwaMugumba was tried three times by Chief Adam in the appeal court, twice for not judging boundary disputes between his jumbes and once for giving a divorce certificate to a woman whom he wished to marry.<sup>2</sup> Soon after that he resigned or was deposed, (?1949). One sub-chief was apparently dismissed in 1945 for receiving stolen property<sup>3</sup> and, by a process

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1. There is a whole file on his dismissal.
  2. Kalenga Appeal Court 24/46 and 3/47.
  3. P.C. (S.H.P.) p. 79.

of elimination, this must have been either Soliambingo of Malangali or Dindilimahuti of Kalinga (Ifwagi). The latter seems most likely. His successor Hamisi MwaKalinga got into trouble with the forestry officer and was probably also dismissed. Hassan MwaKibumu was also tried in the chief's court for receiving a bribe of honey. Andreas MwaMaki was deposed for the first time because he was found to have prepared beer for his son's wedding at a time when brewing was forbidden because of the famine in 1949. He implied that the district officer had him deposed for setting a bad example. His successor Ahamed MwaMsawinyi also got into trouble for not being in his office at the right time. The chief tried him and deposed him and put Andreas back in office. The reason for Andreas' second dismissal is not clear. Daudi Sapi resigned after only 8 months as first sub-chief of Kibengu and it is understandable that he did not like the extremely barren and unpopulated place in which the court is situated, but there is again evidence of pressure from the district officer to encourage him to resign. Mustapha Sapi had two or three months as sub-chief at Kalenga and then about 2 years at Malangali. He was either dismissed or made to resign under pressure. This was probably the one occasion when a provincial commissioner intervened in the dismissal of a sub-chief. Sub-chief Karangalichuma appears to have been the only sub-chief who, when dismissed, accepted a jumbe-ate.

Other sub-chiefs got into trouble but were not dismissed.

Adam Mwatima was tried in the chief's court for not hearing cases properly and for threatening the discontented litigants.<sup>1</sup> He was found guilty and fined but no more. Eleuter MwaLubanga was accused of hiding ivory in his hut. The case was heard in Iringa before the resident magistrate. The ivory was indeed found there, but he claimed that it had been put there by his enemies to get him into trouble and the case was dismissed. This does however, point to the fact that an unpopular sub-chief was always vulnerable.

A number of sub-chiefs were finally removed because of their unpopularity. A single person having a case against the sub-chief was unlikely to accuse him in the appeal court and even if he did he might not have had much success. A generally popular sub-chief, who was thought to be efficient, would not have been dismissed unless the charge against him was definite and serious, such as a clear case of embezzlement. If a man was unpopular with his subjects, but popular with the chief and district commissioner, it was difficult for his subjects to have him dismissed, but never impossible if they were brave enough to be persistent. Two sub-chiefs in the sub-chiefdoms of Usungwa, where many people expect to be ruled by a descendant of Mkini, made themselves so unpopular by exploiting their position as sub-chief in order to commit adultery, (something regarded much more seriously by the Wasungwa than by the Wahehe of the central plateau, or in Pawaga

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1. Kalenga Appeal Court 59/44.

where Wagogo customs and attitudes are widespread) that they were dismissed or encouraged to resign. In each case the offending sub-chief had not been brought up in Usungwa. Furthermore, if a sub-chief was very popular, or greatly feared, it would be very difficult for the chief or a district officer to prove a case against him or dismiss him. The subjects of a newly appointed sub-chief could refuse to co-operate with him if they resented the dismissal of his predecessor.

No sub-chief could administrate his sub-chiefdom without the co-operation of his jumbes. He could not be continually travelling round his sub-chiefdom, nor could he know what was happening when he did unless a number of people with a good knowledge of the local society were prepared to give him information. Jumbes were always appointed by the chief and could be sent to rule over areas far from their own homes, but in practice this happened little. The majority of jumbes had lived in their jumbe-ates, if not from birth, at least for a considerable time so that they knew all the paths, all the important people and quite a lot about the disputes and rivalries of their subjects over a number of years. Many jumbes retiring because of weakness and old age, had had time to train a son or another relation or favourite over some years, even to try out several of them, before formally handing over. This and the continuity in many places from the independent vatwa, Mkwawa's vansagila, the jumbes under the Germans to the jumbes under

indirect rule, meant that there was a far greater chance for the office of jumbe to become hereditary than for that of a sub-chief to do so. At any time the chief could dismiss or refuse to appoint a jumbe or his expected successor, but he did not often do this. A number had to be dismissed for the same type of offences for which sub-chiefs were dismissed and a few died in office or were killed. The chief usually notified the district commissioner when he was going to a place to appoint a new jumbe and there was then always a chance for the chief to speak to the people and learn of local feeling at a meeting when he did so. This appointment of jumbes was often merely an official confirmation of the authority of the man already doing the jumbe's work.

A number of men are known to have refused to become jumbes, or to continue as jumbes, because the wages did not justify the amount of time they would have to spend on the work which prohibited them spending so much on other money-making activities, usually cash crop farming. They were permitted to appoint deputies when they had to be absent, perhaps attending mourning and inheritance ceremonies for a kinsman at some distance, or when ill, but not for two or three months every year during hoeing and harvesting. A jumbe's wage was always a useful addition to the normal income from cattle and crops, but never enough in itself to make a man wealthy. All this meant that the jumbes, although appointed by the chief, were usually part of the society over which they ruled

and their rule was more often based on local choice and the consent of their subjects than was that of the sub-chiefs. There is no record of the number of jumbe-ates which fell vacant from 1958 when Cory laid down how they were to be elected and the beginning of 1963 when they all had to resign and apply for re-election as sub-divisional executive officers. What evidence there is and the results of the election of sub-divisional executive officers suggests that in one or two cases popular election meant that a member of a past jumbe's family was consciously rejected in favour of a popular man with no association with former jumbes, often there was a conflict between two or more members of the last jumbe's family and occasionally a popular man who had been dismissed earlier was restored. However, in general appointments followed much the same pattern as when the chief had been responsible for them.

There have been so many more jumbes than sub-chiefs during the whole period that it is difficult to enumerate their individual qualities or to generalise about them. Some had very long periods of office, 30 years or more, while others were dismissed, gave up or died after only a few months or years. The ones who did hold office for a long time had a much better chance of doing so than sub-chiefs because their work was less demanding and it was easier to allow sons or affines to do most of their work for them. A number of the sub-divisional executive officers elected in 1963

were the sons of the old jumbes and had been doing most of their father's work for five or even ten years before the elections provided a convenient opportunity for their fathers to hand over to them officially. The court records reveal only a few jumbes being tried for offences and then being dismissed although, from the rapidity of their succession in a few areas, and from a few other records it is clear that this happened. In the Kalenga jumbe-ate on the Lunguya side of the river where the chief's house is, there have been at least eleven jumbes since 1926, when Mnyahenza MwLuhwavi who had ruled continuously from Mkwawa's time until they retired. A number of his sons and grandsons were appointed, but they died or were deposed and as Mnyahenza's descendants proved incapable and unsuitable the chief, and the inhabitants of this area, found this a good reason to appoint other men. The office was finally given to a messenger from the chief's court who was not related to any former ruler, but it was a choice which proved popular and successful. He was chosen again by election in 1963. In contrast to this in the Kalenga jumbe-ate on the other side of the river there were only two jumbes during this period: Chotewahe MwMugongolwa ruled until 1933 when he was made sub-chief of Pawaga and he was succeeded by his younger brother Saidi who ruled until he retired at the elections in 1963 to be succeeded by his eldest son.

There have always been obvious advantages in having jumbes who could read and write, but this only became a necessary

qualification in 1963. The Germans had made a particular effort to have literate jumbes and to force the children of jumbes to learn to read and write, a forward looking policy which had its effect on the number of people who were in a position to apply for election as sub-divisional officers in 1963. Thus there were always some literate and some illiterate jumbes, and the proportion of literates was always higher among jumbes than among ordinary people. Very few had had more than four years of primary education, but there were a few exceptions to this. As the proportion of literates among the general population increased, so the proportion of jumbes who were literate remained larger than that among the general population. Hardly any jumbes had been in regular permanent employment before they were appointed. The only exceptions seem to be an ex-mission carpenter,<sup>a</sup> retired soldier from the K.A.R. and a messenger. A jumbe's position and wages were not attractive to any other than those in the lowest paid jobs who wanted something which would demand less of their time while continuing to bring in a cash income.

The work of jumbe did however give men considerable prestige among the majority of people over whom they ruled. In addition to their wages they received presents of meat and beer and other things, and to a lesser degree a number of willing and either cheap or free labourers for house building or the various tasks of farming. The majority of jumbes had more than one wife and as a group they

tended to have a greater average number of wives than their subjects. Ex-jumbe Lusinde MwaNyingo of Tanangosi who had over thirty wives is the most famous polygamist in the whole chiefdom. A number of other men, mainly jumbes or sub-chiefs, had as many as twelve or fifteen wives. Very few jumbes by about the age of forty had less than three or four wives.

A large number of wives and of houses spread throughout their jumbe-ates made it possible for them to fulfil the social responsibilities of entertainment which were expected of men who otherwise had many privileges. Two wives of an ex-jumbe refused to let strangers sleep in their beer hall on the grounds that their husband was no longer getting paid. The wives of jumbes had to accommodate messengers and other lesser government servants on business and prisoners in transit, all for a nominal fee or none at all. Like any other important men they were expected to distribute a number of the benefits they received and the fact that their declining wealth in relation to that of ordinary people in employment made them less able to do so than in the past is frequently heard as a reason for criticising them.

Jumbes often remained in office longer than sub-chiefs and further into old age though a corollary of this is that they did not succeed as young or any younger than many sub-chiefs did. The office of jumbe had always been seen to require men with intelligence for judging disputes with a certain dignity and social

bearing and, more recently, literacy and knowledge of Swahili. However, tradition remained important and no man who was comparatively ignorant of the affairs of the community he was to govern was likely to be appointed. Religion was not generally an important matter unless it was used to emphasise other divisions in the community. There were Moslem, Christian (very nearly all Roman Catholic) and pagan jumbes. The lists for 1962 reveal that there were more Kihehe jumbes' names than Moslem and Christian ones together, so the restricted influence of both religions on the most influential members of rural communities is clear. It would be very surprising if the number of jumbes practising either Christianity or Islam had ever been as high as the proportion of people doing so among their subjects. Christianity is strongest among the young, those who have been to bush schools or mission primary schools, and particularly among those who have been mission employees or have been to a mission boarding school. Islam is strongest among those who have been away to work, particularly among those who have lived in a town. Neither of these groups of people has ever been likely to include people who became jumbes because nearly all jumbes lived away from towns and main roads and were polygamous.

A number of the jumbes at the end of the period of indirect rule were descendants of independent vatwa. The important and well known ones were agnatic descendants of Mudemu at Ndevelwa,

Myovela of Udongwe (two of his descendants ruled in neighbouring jumbe-ates), Nyenza of Usavila, Kayela of Ukosisamba, Kalinga of Ukalinga (two of his descendants held jumbe-ates at the same time), and Mudemu of Malangali. Members of these families and of a number of other vansagila who were not descended from independent vatwa held power continuously, or almost continuously, for 3 or 4 generations. The descendants of Mugongolwa, a descendant of Muyinga, but never an independent chief, have held power for four generations and in all have provided more subordinate rulers (sub-chiefs, jumbes and vansagila under Mkwawa) than any other lineage. These relations of the chief and the descendants of independent vatwa had a better chance of becoming jumbes than most others, but there are plenty of examples of other lineages which have managed to establish themselves as jumbes of a particular area. Of the 70 jumbes in office in 1962 at least 25, and possibly 30, were descendants of men who have been jumbes in 1926. The majority of these 25 or 30 were also descendants of those who had held office at the end of Mkwawa's reign, or in the early German period, families which held power for three generations or more. Among these, as well as lineages associated with ruling a particular area, there were a number of men from the more distant branches of the chief's agnatic kin, descendants of Muyinga and of lineages associated with them, Mahembe, Kitosi, Lalika, Kapande and Mkini.

Payment of jumbes always varied a little. Although the differences in salary were never exactly related to the number of tax payers, size of territory or efficiency in tax collecting, a number of boundary disputes occurred between jumbes who hoped only for the prestige of ruling a larger jumbe-ate. The way in which a jumbe was regarded and the amount of respect owed to him depended very much on the individual characters of the men and the history of the areas over which they ruled. In many parts of Uhehe at least where there had been some continuity in the succession of the various vansagila, people deferred to the jumbe because he was their mnzagila, the direct representative chief with whom they were most likely to come in contact. A good number of people probably fancied themselves as jumbes, but never expected to be appointed. Many of these people would have feared to take a position from the descendants of dead men whose spirits could make their displeasure known. One descendant of Myovela called John, who was also a grandson of the famous jumbe Msatima, was appointed to succeed a very disobedient jumbe Magayumbe MwaMyovela at Luhota. During the first three months of his tenure of office two of his children died and he concluded that it was safer to resign. The deaths were attributed to the sorcery of a jealous relative. At least two jumbes have been killed within the last seven years when their subjects thought they were being ensorcelled by them, but feared to go to the

chief and ask him to remove the jumbe. In other places people say that they have accepted as a jumbe a man whose behaviour was not sinister, but who appeared to lack the necessary qualities, because they respected the chief's choice.

Throughout this period these were always a number of non-Wahehe who were jumbes in Uhehe. The number of these non-Wahehe jumbes probably remained fairly constant, between 8 and 11, throughout the period. The majority of them ruled the frontier areas inhabited by the members of the tribes to which they themselves belonged, such as the Wagogo jumbes in Pawaga and the Wasagara jumbes in the sub-chiefdom usually known as Usagara. The prestige of these men among a tribe without a strong tradition of vansagila was probably less than that of the descendants of men who had once been independent rulers in central Uhehe. However, there are examples of the way in which some of these men established themselves and their descendants in office, such as Kidako and his descendants in Pawaga. There is even a recent example of a Mnyakusa medicine man being chosen to succeed a Muhehe jumbe who had been killed in Malangali sub-chiefdom. This shows the way in which men of other tribes may have come into the district and established themselves in the past.

Thus the office of jumbe was always an office of tribal importance, although it was very much influenced, both in the way it was regarded and in the men chosen to hold it, by local

circumstances. In contrast to this the office of subordinate headman or karani wa kijiji was purely a local appointment. Until 1958 they had always been appointed by their own jumbes. According to Cory's constitution they were supposed to be elected one by one as each post fell vacant, but even after this a member may have been selected rather than elected by the people of the area over which they were to rule. Jumbes had been able to divide their jumbe-ates how they wished among their vakarani, but over the years these divisions had acquired some sort of permanence. The divisions in the tax registers, where the names are grouped under that of each karani have helped to do this. There was not infrequently a gap between the death of a karani or his resignation and the appointment of his successor. When a jumbe was considering the appointment of a karani it may not always have been clear who was responsible for the work normally done by the karani.

Some vakarani were slightly more wealthy than their subjects, but they were not necessarily so. There were always a small number of men who, although they had never held any office and lived away from towns and centres of employment, were noticeably wealthy in cattle, cash crops, and other possessions such as corrugated iron roofs, bicycles and even maize grinding machines with which they could do business. This type of wealth never seems to have been closely related to the likelihood of being

appointed as a jumbe or karani. Indeed, it probably made a man likely to refuse the office because the amount of time he had to spend on the duties of a karani would interfere with attending to his possessions.

In 1963 it appeared that about half, or slightly fewer, of the vakarani could read and write. This varied much from one part of Uhehe to another. In places where there had been long established primary or bush schools the majority of the vakarani could read and write, but in remote areas, where some of the jumbes were illiterate the vakarani were very unlikely to be literate. The proportion of literate vakarani<sup>was</sup> only slightly higher than the proportion of literate men in the whole population.

This was probably also broadly true of the extent of polygamy among the vakarani. To a certain extent polygamy has always been a matter of social prestige and it remains a common way in which a man establishes his social position and insures himself and his children against times of adversity. There appears to be no general pattern of polygamy among the general rural population of Uhehe, and because of the number of women who are married to more than one man in their lifetime, it is always very difficult to estimate the extent of polygamy. It seems probable that the majority of vakarani were polygamous at any one time and that as a group they tended to have two or more wives more often than their subjects. It was generally easier for them to do their

work if they had a wide circle of relations and affines in the area and so had a good knowledge of their subjects and their affairs. On the other hand a number of vakarani were always the sons or other young relations of jumbes who because of their age had not yet taken a second wife. It was less difficult for a karani to be a conforming monogamous Christian than for a jumbe or a sub-chief to be one.

A large number of vakarani were always drawn from the relations and affines of jumbes, chiefly their sons and sisters' sons, brothers-in-law or sons-in-law. Where the office of karani was held by members of one family for some time, not the same family as that of the jumbe, this was often because there are many marriage links between that family and the jumbe's family, or because one man held the office for some time and was well liked and successful, polite when asking people for tax or telling them to work on the roads and skilful in judging disputes, and so out of respect for him, one of his sons or sister's sons was appointed to succeed him.

It is difficult to generalise about the length of time for which the vakarani usually held office. The evidence must be gleaned from fragments of old tax registers and court books and from verbal information. There were some who held office for 30 years or more, but these were exceptions. On the whole it depended on the man's feeling about his duties, his relationship with his jumbe, and his general popularity. It was unusual for men to hold

onto this minor office when it was a burden to them because, for such a small salary or none at all, there was no point in holding on and getting another man to do the work. In some areas there was a rapid turnover of vakarani as they got tired of the work, were disliked by their subjects, feared their opponents were using medicines against them, were caught committing some offence (usually "eating" taxes) or decided they did not wish to support a new jumbe. Generally a new jumbe accepted all his predecessor's vakarani and as they gave up the work for one reason or another he replaced them by men of his own choosing. A conflict between the jumbe and some of his vakarani would of course hasten this process.

Because the financial and other rewards were so small karani had either to be a man who had a desire to rule other people, or who particularly enjoyed the prestige associated with the office, or who had a concern to serve the community. No doubt these attitudes were mixed in different proportions. There was a feeling quite often expressed that the office was worthwhile when people gave large presents of goats or cattle, but more recently when they only gave a little beer or meat, it was a burden. There was always a certain amount of prestige in being a witness of land agreements and inheritance and in judging disputes, but none in collecting tax which generally aroused hostility. There were cases where unpopular vakarani had their huts burned down by their

subjects who were annoyed with them. Some men were said to enjoy ruling so much that they tried to enlarge their territory and increase the number of their subjects even though there were no direct material benefits of doing so. In one famous case the dispute ended with violence and the murder of one karani because it was thought that he had been using medicinal powers against the subjects of another karani. There were also a number of men, usually members of a family which had a traditional association with the area, who would continue to rule, or at least perform the <sup>honourable</sup> ~~prestigious~~ and traditional duties, because they felt that they had a responsibility for the community in that area.

The valunanzi whom the vakarani appointed to assist them, were generally indistinguishable in wealth, education and birth from all other inhabitants of the area. There was a tendency for vakarani to appoint their own relations and affines, not because they particularly wished to honour these people by giving them a position, but because only their friends and relations were likely to agree to assist them in a number of small and troublesome duties for no more than a little free beer and occasionally being referred to as mzagila. Because it was not a matter of particular concern who was lunanzi it is extremely difficult to find out the succession of people who have held office except in a community where one knows most of the people involved. It is virtually certain that the valunanzi have never been listed for

official purposes. The number of valunanzi has increased with the increase of population and the demands that higher officials made on them. There were also some places, such as European farms and labour camps, where a lunanzi was chosen to be the spokesman of a community of immigrants of another tribe. The general impression is that the office was often passed round a number of people in a small community of between 30 and 100 tax payers and then when many were tired of the demands it had made on them, the karani either had to manage himself without anyone accepting a permanent position of lunanzi, or fall back on one of his kinsmen who first agreed to assist him and out of pity and loyalty to his relative did so again. There were always a number of people who would have enjoyed being a sub-chief, who might have accepted a jumbe-ate if nothing else had been available, but who would have been insulted if they had been asked to be a lunanzi.

All sub-chiefs and a number of the more important jumbes were known, or known about, by many adult men even in parts of the chiefdom 100 miles away from where they lived. Among these important families there was a marked tendency to intermarry, which was intensified and made easier by the fact that cross-cousin marriage is a preferred marriage and therefore ties can be maintained over several generations. Brother-sister exchange marriage also occurs rather more than accidentally among these families. There was a less easily explained tendency for wives

of various vansagila, particularly those who had more than five or six wives, to leave one mzagila and go to another. In spite of this the former husband and the current one often remained at least outwardly on good terms.

All the vansagila described here had a territorial jurisdiction such that every part of the chiefdom was ruled by a sub-chief, a jumbe, a karani and often also a lunanzi. This had certain implications for hearing disputes and for land holding and tax collection, but none of this had been worked out rigidly. Any karani, when asked by a newcomer for land, should first have sought evidence that he was a tax payer. If he was already a tax payer in Uhehe it did not matter (except to the karani's prestige) whether he continued to be listed where he had previously acquired land or in the area where he had been given new fields. Many people held land in two or more parts of Uhehe. When a man came from another tribal area and wanted land he was supposed to be given it only if he agreed to start paying tax in Uhehe. There were many cases where this probably did not happen, at least until the large number of men coming from other districts, often working in Iringa town, and having quite large holdings of land at Isman on which they produced maize as a cash crop, forced the chief and district council to make an issue about it. On the whole there were more immigrants than emigrants and so the Uhehe treasury stood to gain when the rule was enforced. The Uhehe native treasury clerks could, if

energetic, extract tax from people from other districts earning in Uhehe, but not holding land there. Any adult man could be forced to pay tax if he did not already hold a receipt from some district for the year in question.

In theory offences were tried in the area in which they had been committed. In the early court registers the tribes of the litigants were always given and also the names of the jumbe and sub-chief of each. From this it is possible to see that there have always been a number of people from other districts who were judged in the courts of Uhehe according to the rules and orders which were classed as "Native Law and Custom". In criminal cases this can have made little difference, but in civil cases it could have made a lot of difference where ownership of children, marriage, divorce or inheritance was involved. There are some records of the conflicts which arose where a marriage broke up between a woman from a matrilineal tribe and a Muhehe man, though no evidence that this was a regular point which caused concern. Because of the way in which anyone listening to the dispute could join in and the lack of a written code of law and concern for precedent, it was often possible for the customs of the tribe from which the litigants came to be discussed in court and judgement given in the light of it. It was a general policy of the administration not to interfere if

it could be avoided if no Christian or Moslem law was involved. Some administrative officers had expressed their hope that in mixed communities such as Iringa town "a rough code of Bantu equity" would gradually emerge.

Thus the Uhehe native authority, later the Uhehe district council, under the chief of the Wahehe provided the local government of Iringa district for 35 years. Although it is possible to criticise the slow progress of Iringa district and the Wahehe in some respects, there is no doubt that compared with a number of other districts and tribal areas this system provided a reasonably stable and united system of local government. The tribal unity of the Wahehe helped to make these administrative arrangements possible, just as the administrative arrangements tended to support Wahehe unity and the chiefship. It is impossible to decide the exact force to be attributed to these two elements, but it is worth considering certain facts and events which show to what degree the Wahehe were united and what was the basis for their unity.

It has been made clear that about 20% of the Africans living in Uhehe did not regard themselves as Wahehe and that there were always a number of Wahehe living outside Uhehe and outside the jurisdiction of the chief of the Wahehe.

Throughout this period Wahehe society was an open society. At all levels in the tribal administration, from sub-chiefs downwards, there were members of other tribes; some of them even without any



Wahehe of Pawaga performing traditionally Wagogo initiation ceremonies.  
Top: Girls dancing. Bottom: Boys in camp at night wearing masks.

particular social connections with the Wahehe held office without apparent difficulty. The only evidence for any discontent about these matters was recorded by a provincial commissioner when a non-Muhehe was given the job of native treasury clerk on the grounds that he was the only person fit for the job. This may have been not so much because the person chosen was not a Muhehe but because one or more Wahehe who felt themselves qualified for the post were rejected.<sup>1</sup>

It remains impossible to define who should be called a Muhehe and who should not. The position today is little different from that at any other time, except perhaps that one generation ago or more, there were fewer people who could not name the particular part of Uhehe, (Usavila, Udongwe, Uhafiwa etc.) from which their ancestors, or patrilineal ancestors, came. In general it seems to be an <sup>honorable</sup> ~~prestigious~~ tribal affiliation to possess. There is no way of finding out how much or how little it means when a man calls himself a Muhehe except by genealogical enquiry. It seems probable that Wagogo initiation rites, including Kigogo songs and male circumcision, have been spreading further and further into the Pawaga area among people whose ancestors came mainly from highland Uhehe, but there is no suggestion that they cease to be Wahehe because of this.

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1. P.C. (S.H.P.) 1952 p. 142.

It has been generally recognised that Kihehe is the language of most Wahehe and yet there has been no effort to preserve Kihehe, standardise it or commit it to writing. There are a large number of words of Swahili origin in daily use; many of these words have been accepted in Kihehe with certain standard sound changes. There are others including some kinship terms where a Swahili word is often used, but where a Kihehe word would be as explicit or more so. The majority of adult men expect to be able to express themselves in Swahili and understand speeches (but not necessarily make speeches) in Swahili even though they are quite illiterate. Kihehe is known quite widely outside Uhehe and among members of other tribes who have spent some time working in Uhehe, but this is a matter of convenience more than a sign of the Wahehe asserting their political supremacy. The only occasions in which the use of Kihehe is symbolic of tribal pride is when someone tries to assert his superiority, either because he is a Moslem or because he considers himself too educated to speak the common language of the rural population, uses Swahili in a gathering where people normally use Kihehe. This can arouse a tribal pride and assertiveness which is not always evident.

In general the fact that the inhabitants of Uhehe and the people who called themselves Wahehe did not exactly coincide did not matter, yet there were three boundary disputes when tribal feeling was aroused. The dispute over the boundary between Malangali

sub-chiefdom and Usangu which was the least important of these probably lasted about 5 years and was settled in 1961. The two most important boundary disputes were over the boundary between the Usungwa escarpment and the Ulanga valley. In the 1930s the old rivalry between the Wahehe and the Wakinamanga was revived when a Muhehe jumbe was captured by a messenger of the chief of the Wakinamanga (Wabena of the rivers) and put in the lock-up there. His release had to be brought about by a telegram from the Iringa district commissioner to the district commissioner at Kiberege, some distance from the area in which the trouble was. The historical claims of the Wabena were presented at great length by their administrative officer A.T. Culwick. The Wahehe had no such enthusiastic champion of their rights, but the various district commissioners in Iringa saw no reason to cede part of Iringa district and Iringa (later Southern Highlands) Province to Ulanga district and Eastern Province. The matter reached the Secretariat at Dar es Salaam and Chief Sapi and Chief Towegale of Ubena were invited to visit Dar es Salaam and discuss their differences there. The trouble had occurred because the inter-tribal, inter-district and inter-provincial boundary had been drawn on an inaccurate German map which did not represent what actually existed on the ground. In spite of the efforts A.T. Culwick made on their behalf the Wabena lost the dispute. A few months after this had been settled a Mubena man was forced out

of Uhehe because he tried to continue cultivating his fields on the Uhehe side of the boundary, but built his hut in Ubena and paid tax to Chief Towegale.<sup>1</sup>

The other boundary dispute in Usungwa was caused by the formation of the West Kilombero forest reserve and the movement of small groups of people who lived on the frontier because of the danger of sleeping sickness. They were told that they could move either down the escarpment into Umbunga which would be easier for them or much further down the west side into Uhehe. They resented being moved and when pressed to do so they are reported to have told the district officer "Adam is our chief and no other". Presumably they then moved down into Uhehe. This represents an attitude towards the chief, or at least towards the chiefship, which is not often openly displayed. In contrast to these attitudes are two events in the history of Pawaga. It appears that small numbers of Nilo Hamitic Baraguyu from Central Province had moved into the Pawaga area temporarily in about 1928 and 1934. By 1939 some were well established and a number have been permanently resident in the Pawaga area ever since. These original immigrations of Baraguyu and others since have precipitated less inter-tribal friction than there is in other areas where the Baraguyu live near agricultural tribes.<sup>2</sup> There have been a number of official complaints about

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1. Kalinga Local Court 10/38.

2. See T.O. Beidelman. Beer Drinking and Cattle Theft in Ukaguru: Inter-tribal Relations in a Tanganyika Chiefdom. American Anthropologist. June 1961 p.

the Baraguyu creating over grazing problems in Pawaga and moving livestock without a permit, but there is no evidence of constant and consistent hostility between them and the other inhabitants of Pawaga. This may be because the two tribes with military reputations respect each other and the Wahehe see the economic benefits they derive from the presence of the Baraguyu, while the Baraguyu consider that prompt payment of tax and refraining from cattle theft is a reasonable price to pay for their right to graze in Pawaga. When some unwise Baraguyu stole some of Chief Adam's oxen they were criticised by some Wahehe, not so much for stealing cattle, but for being foolish enough to steal from the chief who was their superior. In general the inhabitants of Pawaga seemed to accept that there can be, as there has been, immigration of any people who are prepared to accept the nominal authority of the chief of Uhehe.

In late 1950 and 1951 there was a move to change the district boundary so that part of Ukosisamba (that part of it which lies in Pawaga) would be included in Dodoma district and thus cease to be part of Uhehe. There is no record of any Wahehe objecting to this suggestion which would have deprived Uhehe native treasury of 654 Wakosisamba tax payers, which was 2% of the total. This transfer never took place, not because there was any opposition to reducing the size of the chiefdom of Uhehe in this area, but because the Uhehe native treasury was unable to pay the Dodoma one enough to

make a reasonable road and other provisions for the administration of Ukosisamba as part of Dodoma district.

There are a few signs of the part of the chiefship in maintaining tribal feeling. The role of the Vayinga chiefs in uniting the various independent groups, creating the Wahehe tribe and giving it a common purpose, is generally acknowledged. The return of Mkwawa's skull was also well known outside Uhehe, but it is more difficult to assess how strong the feeling of most Wahehe was about this. The following quotation is taken from G.L. Steer's Judgement on German Africa which was published in 1939:

"The Germans cut off Mkwawa's head for a trophy, which they sent to Berlin. A special clause was inserted in the Treaty of Versailles directing that it should be returned to the Wahehe. It has not been found: and today the Wahehe, so short are African memories, show today no interest in its whereabouts which, if they are anywhere, lie in the fighting past." 1.

However, there must have been some incident or request which caused Governor Twining to attempt to recover it in 1953. It was presented to Chief Adam with great ceremonial and as so many Wahehe travelled far to attend the ceremony the Governor's desire to please the Wahehe clearly met a significant response. The lack of enthusiasm at the annual celebrations for the anniversary of its return, at Kalenga in 1963 might have been the result of the chief's absence or of the failure of the district council to provide free beer.

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1. G.L. Steer. Judgement on German Africa (1939) p. 255.

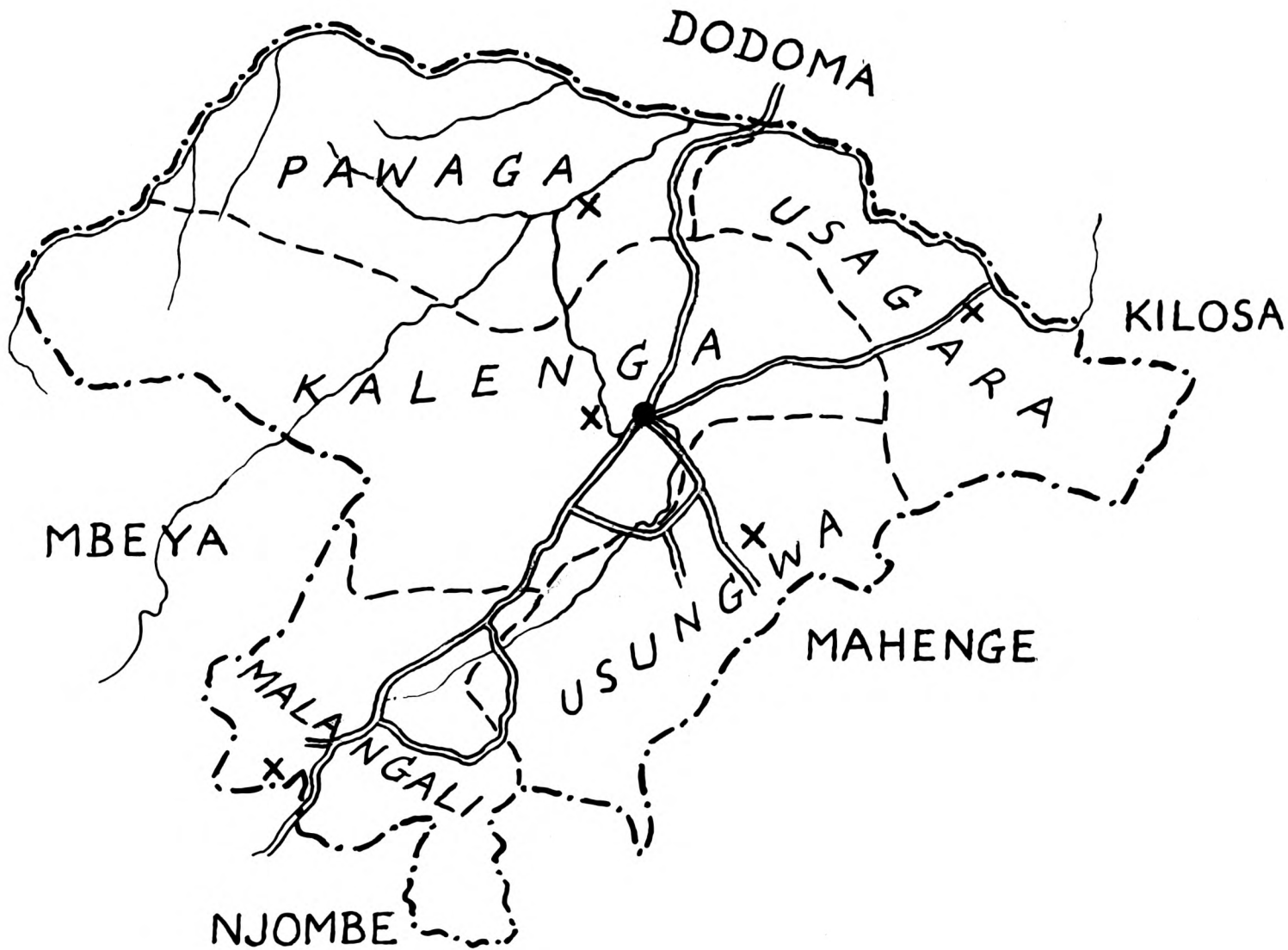
There had been an impressive indication of tribal feeling when Chief Sapi died in exile at Mwanza. He was buried at Kalenga and it seems probable that the corpse was flown from Mwanza to Iringa at the expense of many Wahehe. The government had earlier refused requests to allow Chief Sapi to return home during his old age. There is no indication how strong the desire for him to return home in his old age was, but there is no doubt that very large crowds gathered at Kalenga for the funeral.

The attitudes of the Wahehe to Chief Adam or to his office as chief are also difficult to assess. It seems quite safe to claim that these attitudes varied, as they still vary, according to age, social position, education and the area in which people live. There were events which showed unmistakable hostility to the chief. When cattle dipping was made compulsory and cattle owners were also forced to pay for it, the chief was held to be responsible for agreeing to the charges. Some people named him "Yes" because they said he could not say "No" to a European. When there was a rabies outbreak and any dogs which had not been vaccinated (for which the owner had to pay 3/- of the 10/- which one dose of the vaccine was supposed to cost) were shot by the veterinary guards some people took a dead dog and put it in the chief's car. This was definitely intended to be a pointed insult. Against these two actions of hostility towards the chief must be set the protests of loyalty to him in the Usungwa boundary

dispute, the comments on the Baraguyu who stole his cattle, the way in which people accepted appointments of subordinate officials even if they did not like them on the grounds that they were the chief's choice and the generally respectful behaviour in the chief's presence. Today most Wahehe stand up in Chief Adam's presence even today and they were expected to stand up when a European government official entered a meeting, but they refuse to stand up for African officials who have replaced them. Some men who knew that they had been cheated in a case at the appeal court judged by the chief's deputy refused to appeal to the district commissioner because they said that in the past the chief was the last man to whom they could appeal. When sub-chief Chotewahe was judged by the jumbes of Pawaga they stressed that he was imprisoned for only two months "because he was the chief's relation". Some Wahehe cared enough about themselves as an independent tribe ~~of~~ to subscribers to send their own representative to the coronation and because Chief Adam had to take part in the celebrations in Tanganyika sub-chief Gaudensio went in his place. Later there were enough people willing to subscribe for them to enable Chief Adam to buy a Mercedes car and then again to build his impressive mansion at Kalenga. In a few years time when the Wahehe have been without an administrative chief for rather more than two years it may be possible to see how much tribal organisation and loyalty depended on the official recognition of the chief and his role in local government.

Generally speaking the system of authority which was set up and developed under indirect rule was, and still is, widely accepted. This system depended on the association of the chiefship with that of Mkwawa. It depended as well, on the fact that the delegation of power and the creation of subordinate rulers had evolved very rapidly in the immediately pre-colonial period and the Wahehe therefore could not have claimed that changes in the system of delegated authority and in personnel were a violation of their traditional organisation.

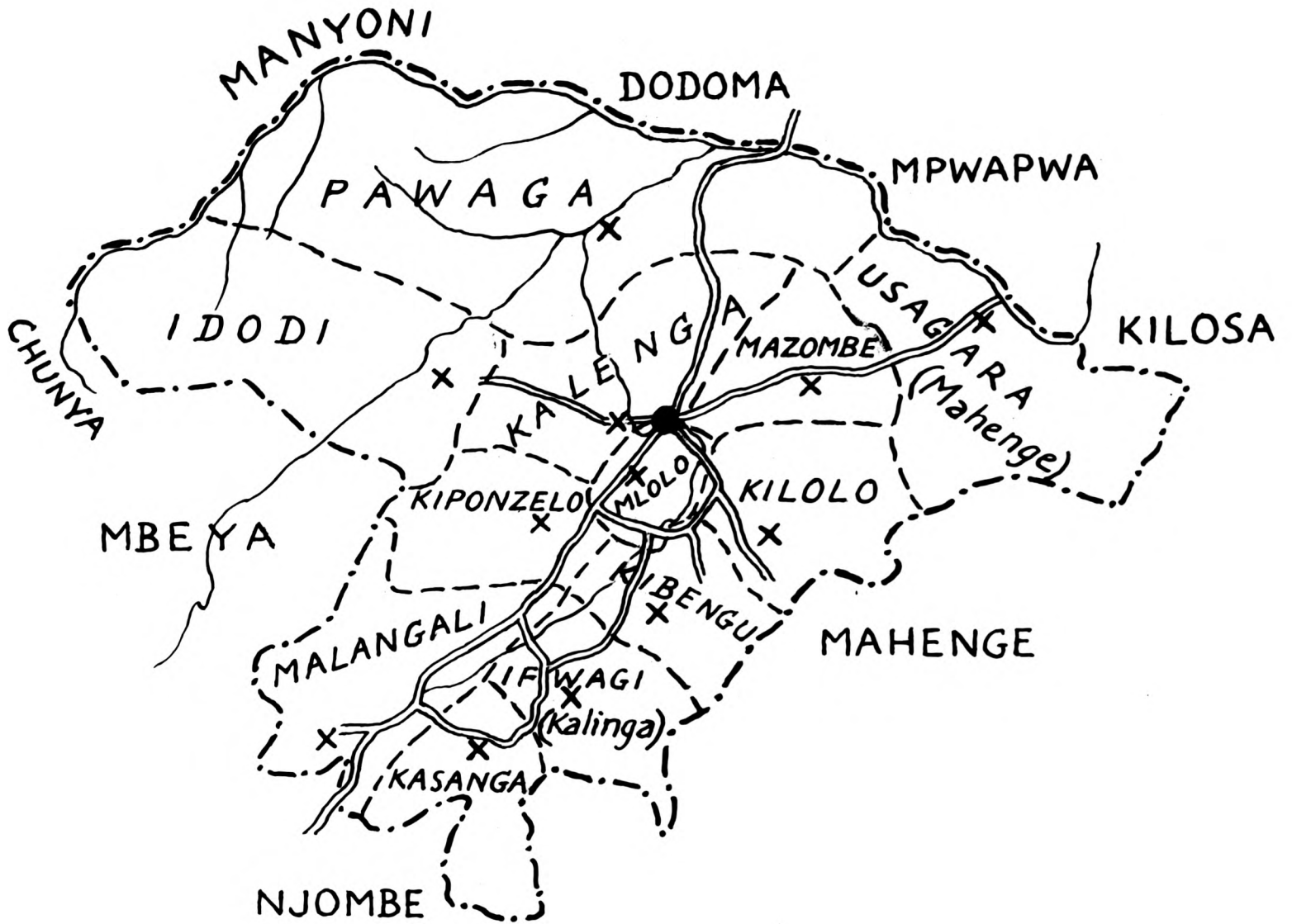
# SUB-CHIEFDOMS OF UHEHE 1927



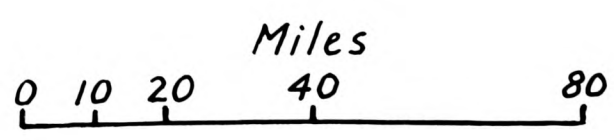
- == Roads
- ~ Rivers
- Sub-Chiefdom boundaries
- x Sub-Chiefs Courts
- .-.- District boundary



# SUB-CHIEFDOMS OF UHEHE 1961



- == Roads
- ~ Rivers
- Sub-Chiefdom boundaries
- x Sub-Chiefs Courts
- .-.- District boundary
- Iringa Town



## CHAPTER 9

Conclusion

It now remains to consider what significant continuity or development there has been in the political organisation of the Wahehe during these 100 years. It is possible to argue that at any particular period the type of political organisation was not sharply defined and that at every point there were several principles involved, but that the emphasis given to each varied at different times.

The rulers of the small independent tribes owed their position partly to heredity, partly to their acceptability to their subjects (many of whom were likely to be their relations or affines), partly to the fact that they were able to maintain themselves in their position, partly to supernatural sanctions which people felt justified their rule. The Vayinga were in the same position as their fellow chiefs, but as they began to conquer and absorb the others there was an ever increasing number of subordinate rulers who derived their authority in two ways: either Munyigumba or Mkwawa had appointed them, when formerly they had had no position, or had accepted them as subordinate rulers because they were prepared to accept his

authority. Mkwawa even at the height of his power had little traditional organisation of authority through which he could achieve his ends, although in retrospect he appears to have built up a military and political organisation which might have proved suitable for governing such a large chiefdom for generations had not the Germans intervened and defeated him. He was attended with more glory and ceremony than either of his successors have been, his rule was partly justified by its own success and he was regarded as having more supernatural support and power than anyone else in the history of the Wahehe. It was probably during his reign that the name Wahehe came to refer particularly to his subjects.

The principles of political authority during the period of direct rule are more difficult to assess. All Wahehe office holders were such because the Germans had either appointed or recognised them but, on the other hand, the Germans did not intend to appoint or recognise people who were not sufficiently acceptable to their subjects to be effective. There is no indication that any men not recognised by the Germans offered a parallel and alternative leadership in political affairs though this possibility cannot be excluded. Though Mkwawa's empire has passed away his memory proved sufficient to give many of his former subjects a cultural and tribal unity in their own eyes and in the eyes of other Africans and Germans.

When, under British administration, Sapi was recognised as

chief, all Wahehe must have realised that his effective authority depended on the will of the colonial government, but none thought therefore that mnzagila (subordinate ruler) was a more fitting title for him than mutwa (chief). Although there was slight resistance to his appointment the overwhelming majority of Wahehe acknowledged that he was the only man who could rule them. The hereditary claim of Mkwawa's descendants was more secure under colonial rule than his own had been or that of any of his less illustrious predecessors. This change was partly the result of Mkwawa's exceptional achievements and partly the result of the pax Britannica. Chief Sapi's and Chief Adam's sub-chiefs and jumbes both owed their positions directly to their chief, while the vakarani wa vijiji owed theirs to their respective jumbes, and the valunanzi theirs to their respective vakarani wa vijiji. The chief could intervene and dismiss those not directly appointed by him if they committed gross delicts, but there is no evidence that he ever took the initiative in appointing them. Some of the subordinate rulers owed much of their esteem to their descent and position in the communities over which they ruled but this, in the eyes of the Wahehe, made them no less vansagila (whose right to office depends on the fact that they have been appointed by their superiors). Although the chief could always respect local opinion in his appointments he was not obliged to and there were well known cases where he had not. The supernatural sanctions

for his authority were less widely accepted than they had been in Mkwawa's reign, but there were plenty of instances to show that many people gave some weight to it, not least among these the way in which people have interpreted misfortune and strange events since the abolition of the administrative chiefship in July 1962.

There are two ways in which generalisations about the Wahehe and their political institutions might be tested: one is to examine what has happened during the first two years of direct rule under the government of independent Tanganyika and the other is to study the communities of Wahehe north of the Ruaha which have been independent of any chief since the death of Mkwawa. The first of these is difficult because the files and records are not available and many of the people involved do not themselves understand what is happening. Furthermore it is uncertain what has been caused by changes in personnel and the system of authority in the district office, not by the behaviour of the Wahehe themselves, and to verify much of the apparently pertinent gossip. The second way in which generalisations about the Wahehe political system might be tested, by considering that of the Wahehe north of the Ruaha, requires further fieldwork because there is no published material.

From this general outline of Wahehe political history two types of political office emerge as of major importance, that

of mutwa (chief) and that of mzagila (subordinate ruler). The success with which Wahehe political organisation was adapted in extremely variable conditions owed much to the fact that the idea of kusagila was so adaptable. It meant only that one person was given (territorial) authority under another. It has served to describe variously the position of the chiefs who submitted to Munyigumba and Mkwawa, then or their successors who were subordinate officials to the Germans, all levels in the hierarchy of officials under the chief during the period of indirect rule, and their successors at the present time. This concept (mzagila, pl. vansagila, vb. kusagila) may have proved so adaptable because of the remarkable continuity in the personnel of these subordinate office holders throughout the changes of regime so that at each change, however differently their superiors regarded them, the same word was used by the Wahehe to refer to the same men. The word mzagila appears very frequently in the early literature on the Wahehe<sup>1</sup> and recently it has even been used in preference to the word mutwa, chief, to describe the President of Tanganyika, on the grounds that the President has been appointed to rule whereas a chief rules by right, because Nguluvi (God) supports him. This striking observation may represent an attitude which

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1. John Iliffe has remarked that in the vast literature of conquest and German administration this word stands out in all the accounts of the Wahehe because of its frequent and consistent use.

is not widely expressed in so many words, but which demonstrates a generally accepted view of political authority and the difference between mutwa and mzagila.

The chiefship of the descendants of Muyinga stands at the centre of Wahehe history and at the centre of the way in which most of them understand their own political organisation. The different aspects of chiefship have varied in importance at different times. The fame of Mkwawa must have done much to preserve the story of Muyinga and his descendants and perhaps to magnify its strictly historical importance. Mkwawa may have contributed as much to the importance of Muyinga as Muyinga contributed to the position of Mkwawa. It is impossible to know how much Mkwawa created and how much he destroyed, but there is no doubt that all political power centred in him and that he delegated what he chose to not what he was obliged to by tradition. Many people, both those who had always considered themselves his subjects and those who became his subjects by conquest, believed that he possessed supernatural power and that, as proved by his success in war, his intelligence and exceptional abilities had been bestowed on him by Nguluvi (God) with special intent.

During the period of indirect rule the supernatural sanctions were less pronounced but not entirely absent. It was widely accepted that throughout the hierarchy of vansagila many had medicines to strengthen their authority, and the successful ones

were believed to have been given their intelligence and wisdom in handling disputes by Nguluvi (God) because he intended them to rule.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand the hereditary principle of chiefship was strengthened. The importance of the chiefship in Uhehe can be made clearer by comparing it with that of other tribes. At no point was the chief living in Uhehe without any recognised authority to govern his tribe. When Sapi was not recognised as chief by the government he was kept in exile. Mkwawa, Sapi and Adam were all men of exceptional ability who led the conduct of government personally. Thus, at the top of the political hierarchy and among the more senior subordinate rulers there was never any question of one man performing the traditional duties of the mzagila for that area while another carried out the tasks which the government demanded of him. Chief Adam had to appoint a deputy when he was so often away on national government business, but his deputy chief was never regarded as anything other than an mzagila. In the constitution which Cory worked out for Uhehe this was the only appointment for which the chief did not have to consult other Wahehe, but merely had to get the district commissioner's approval. The Wasafwa are said to have accepted a position throughout the colonial period where government recognised

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1. In 1934 Brown was able to stress more strongly and with less qualification than I can today the close association between political office and the possession of medicines to strengthen one's position. Brown and Hutt pp. 63-64.

headmen performed the tasks required of them by the government while descendants of the traditional rulers remained the moral leaders of the community. They settled disputes informally, led the sowing and harvest ceremonies, community duck shooting, made offerings for rain and other traditional duties.<sup>1</sup> There were some instances in Uhehe where men who held no political office (and sometimes whose fathers and grandfathers held no office either) made offerings for rain on the graves of their ancestors who had been independent chiefs, but these men were in no other way leaders of the community by virtue of their descent from those chiefs. Some Wahehe have erroneously stated that certain jumbes who have no connection with traditional ruling families make offerings for rain thus showing how they accept the indivisibility of the functions of subordinate rulers. Soon after the recent changes in the local government of Uhehe had taken place a number of members of the district council tried to appoint themselves to well paid posts as divisional executive officers and were very puzzled when told they could not do this. They could not understand this new division of executive and administrative authority and the vast majority of Wahehe are equally puzzled about the new position of the chief when they are told that he is still chief, but that he has no authority to govern his people.

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1. Information from Alan Harwood.

It is common knowledge among the Wahehe, their neighbouring tribes and the administrative officers of the colonial service who governed them, that before the rise of Mkwawa there had been a number of independent tribes in the area more recently known as Uhehe. In other parts of Tanganyika and elsewhere there are examples of a paramount chief succeeding in dominating a wide region for a limited period but leaving no permanent mark on the areas which had only come under his control temporarily, so that when his paramountcy was ended the inhabitants of these areas had no difficulty in organising themselves once more into independent units. A recent article on the Wabena of Njembe district shows how their village organisation had remained practically unchanged throughout these past 100 years in spite of the coming and going of Wasangu and Wahehe overlords.<sup>1</sup> After the death of Mkwawa, Usungu, which had been under the constant control of the Wahehe for less than 10 years, was restored to Chief Merere and has been independent of the Wahehe chiefs ever since. When Msatima, son of the formerly independent Chief Myovela of Udongwa, returned from exile to become gross jumbe of Luhota under the Germans the same process might have been expected to take place there and in the other larger and better known chiefdoms of central Uhehe and Usungu, but it did not. Brown recorded that there had been a

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1. Marc J. Swartz. Continuities in the Bena Political System. S.W.J.A. Vol. 20. No. 3. Autumn 1964. pp. 241-260.

little opposition to the restoration of Sapi but it became clear that the number of people who resisted the restoration (or re-creation, as Brown called it) of the chiefship, or who disapproved of Sapi personally, was not sufficient to prevent this or make indirect rule through the chief unworkable.<sup>1</sup> There were no parts of Uhehe which could stand alone as independent units and the only change of this type after 1926, the amalgamation of Pawaga with Uhehe, extended not reduced Sapi's chiefdom. Some descendants and affines of Muyinga, or more particularly of Munyigumba and Mkwawa, had been jumbes throughout the period of direct rule and when Sapi appointed his sub-chiefs and jumbes their number tended to increase. It has been recorded in writing on several occasions that some people objected to this but the position remained much the same even when Cory produced the written constitution in 1958. Because of this period of roughly three generations during which the Vayinga chiefs appointed many of their kin and affines as subordinate rulers it is no simple matter to remove the chief, his relations and affines from positions of political authority and to create or recreate another system of local government or tribal authority. Even after the abolition of the chiefship in 1962, the chief's relations and affines generally remained in office or, rather, were reappointed as divisional executive

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1. For Brown's views on this point see Brown and Nutt pp. 43-44.

officers, sub-divisional executive officers and magistrates. The Vayinga are so numerous and have been spread throughout the chiefdom for so long that any system of local government will employ a number of them at different levels in the hierarchy unless extraordinary precautions are taken to exclude them.

There are undoubtedly a number of trends in Wahehe history which are not mentioned here, but which may later prove to be significant. Looking back in 1964, over the past hundred years there is good reason to summarise the political history of the chiefdom in the same way as Nigmann introduced his chapter on Wahehe history "A history of the tribe calling themselves and known as Wahehe cannot be separated from the history of the ruling clan, the Qwawa dynasty".<sup>1</sup>

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1. Nigmann. p. 8.

## Appendix A

The Sub-Chiefs and Sub-Chiefdoms of Uhehe 1926-1962KALENGA - established 1926

	Chogamalinga MwaMugumba	1926-1940
	Hiyari MwaMugumba	1940-1949
(J)	Andreas MwaMaki	1949 (8 months only)
	Ahamed MwaMsawinyi	1949- ? 1952
(J)	Andreas MwaMaki	1952-1954
	John MwaKasuga	1954-1962

MAZOMBE taken from Kalenga - 1929 headman given B warrant court, ? 1930 made a separate sub-chiefdom

(J)	Malambira	(1929) 1930-1943
(J)	Mwachengula MwaDuma	1943-1962

IRINGA TOWN taken from Kalenga - 1929 headman given B warrant court, ? 1930 made a separate sub-chiefdom of Uhehe, 1945 excluded from the tribal administration.

Mohamed	1930- ? 1945
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IDODI taken from Kalenga - ? 1931 made a separate sub-chiefdom

	Mwanzali Mkwawa	? 1931-1949
	Hassan MwaKibumu	1949-1953
	Vangisada MwaMakendi	1953-1962

KIPONZELO taken from Kalenga 1940

Musa Sapi	1940-1962
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MLOLO taken from Kalenga 1952

Gaudensio MwaMalangalila	1952-1962
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MALANGALI established 1926 court (first) at Idunda, brick court house later built at Malangali

	Sagamaganga MwaMusovela	1926-1928
	Juma MwaKayugwa	1928- ? 1935
(J)	Salimboga MwaChonya	1935- ? 1946
(J)	Simbanwaka MwaChonya	? 1946- ? 1956
	Mustapha Sapi	? 1956-1958
	Benedict Simbachaka (elected)	1958-62

KASANGA also known as Mufindi - (first) at Kasanga, brick court house later built near the main road. 1929 headman given B warrant court. ? 1930 made a separate sub-chiefdom

(J)	Mwatima MwaMakomba	(1929)? 1930-1941
	Adam Mwatima MwaMakombe	1941-1954
	Samwel Mwatima MwaMakombe	1954-1962

USUNGWA established 1926 first court at Kidabaga, brick court house later built at Kilolo

	Motomkali MwaMkini	1926-1928
	Mwanzali Mkwawa	1928- ? 1930
	Motomkali MwaMkini	1931-1934
	Stambuli Motomkali MwaMkini	1934-1954
	Magnus MwaMugongolwa	1954-1962
	(John Stambuli MwaMkini)	(1963- )

KALINGA taken from Usungwa 1934. ? 1957 court house rebuilt at Ifwagi and sub-chiefdom renamed Ifwagi

(J)	Dindilimahuti MwaKalinga	1934- ? 1945
	Hamisi Chotisamba MwaKalinga	? 1945- ? 1956
	Adam Mwatima MwaMakombe	? 1956-1962

KIBENGU taken from Usungwa 1953

	Daudi Sapi	1953 (8 months only)
	Eleuter MwaLuhanga	1953-1960
	John MwaMkini (elected)	1960-1962

USAGARA established 1926 first court at Mtandika, brick court house built later at Mahenge

	Chotaukali Mwambugi	1926-1940
	Mwenadavanu Chotaukali Mwambugi	1940- ? 1942
(J)	Karangalichuma Chotaukali Mwambugi	1942-1949
	Hassan Sofu (Manyema)	1949-1962

PAWAGA 1926-1927 separate from Uhehe. 1927 becomes part of Uhehe. First court at Kisilwa, brick court house built later at Kimande

	Mulongiro	1926-1934
(J)	Chotewahe MwaMugongolwa	1934-1937
	Committee of 5 <u>jumbes</u>	1937-1939
	Musa Saidi (Nubian)	1939- ? 1947
	Mwatenga MwaMsawiki	? 1947-1962

(J) denotes a man who had been a jumbe for some time between 1926 and the date when he was appointed sub-chief.

The Jumbe-ates of Uhehe. 1926-1962

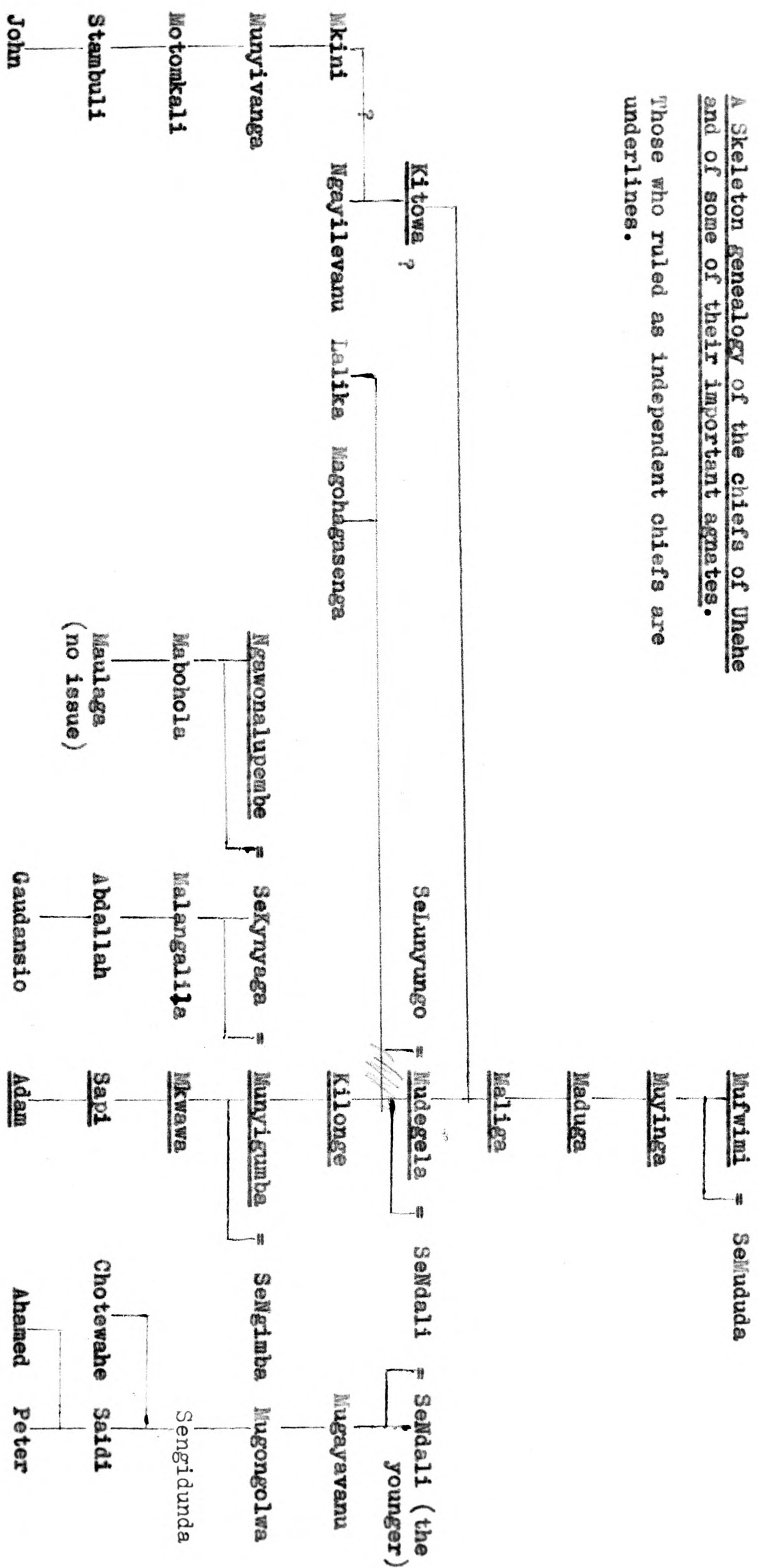
1926	Kalenga sub-chiefdom had	32	<u>jumbe-ates</u>	
	Malangali " " "	7	"	
	Usungwa " " "	19	"	
	Usagara " " "	12	"	
	Pawaga " " "	<u>9</u>	"	
	Total	<u>79</u>	"	
1938	Kalenga sub-chiefdom had	20	<u>jumbe-ates</u>	
	Mazombe " " "	5	"	
	Iringa town " " "	4	"	
	Idodi " " "	3	"	
	Malangali " " "	9	"	
	Kasanga " " "	3	"	
	Usungwa " " "	11	"	
	Kalinga " " "	5	"	
	Usagara " " "	8	"	
	Pawaga " " "	<u>11</u>	"	
	Total	<u>79</u>	"	
1957	Kalenga sub-chiefdom had	9	<u>jumbe-ates</u>	
	Mazombe " " "	5	"	
	Idodi " " "	3	"	
	Kiponzelo " " "	6	"	
	Mlolo " " "	6	"	
	Malangali " " "	7	"	(and the minor settlement)
	Kasanga " " "	4	"	
	Usungwa (Kilolo) " " "	5	"	
	Kalinga (Ifwagi) " " "	5	"	
	Kibengu " " "	6	"	
	Usagara " " "	6	"	
	Pawaga " " "	<u>10</u>	"	
	Total	<u>72</u>	"	(and one minor settlement)

These are the three years for which a complete list of jumbes survives. In 1962 there were still 72 jumbes but the minor settlement headmen of Kibao and Malangali were no longer responsible to any sub-chief. It is now the policy to amalgamate jumbe-ates where any jumbe has less than 600 taxpayers unless this would make the territory too large for one man to manage.

Appendix B

A Skeleton Genealogy of the chiefs of Uhehe  
and of some of their important agnates.

Those who ruled as independent chiefs are underlines.



Notes on the genealogy of the chiefs of Uhehe

Munyivanga was an mnzagila under Munyigumba and Mkwawa. Motomkali fought for Mkwawa, was taken to the coast by the Germans and was made sub-chief of Usungwa in 1926.

Stambuli succeeded Motomkali as sub-chief of Usungwa in 1934 and held office until 1954. John was elected sub-chief of Kibengu (Usungwa) in 1960 and was then appointed Divisional Executive Officer of Kilolo (Usungwa) in 1963.

The descendants of Ngavilevanu use his name as a descent name today. Lalika and Magohagasenga were the children of Mudegela and his first wife Selunyungo but for some reason not explicit she rendered her children incapable of becoming chief. Lalika and Magohagasenga are used by their descendants as descent names. Descendants of Lalika have been jumbes of one area of Malangali sub-chieftom.

Kilonge was the child of Mudegela and SeNdali the elder. Mugayavanu was the child of Mudegela and SeNdali the younger. Ngawonalupembe (whose mother was SeKindole the mother of Munyigumba) succeeded Kilonge as chief and was killed in battle in Usungwa. His child by SeKynyaga was Mabohola who was too young to inherit the chieftom at the time of his father's death. His child Maulaga died on the coast during the German period.

SeKynyaga was inherited by Munyigumba and bore Malangalila who was a little older than Mkwawa who was Munyigumba's first son in his own wife SeNgimba. Some people claim that Malangalila should have succeeded Munyigumba. Malangalila was sent to rule Ubena by Mkwawa and was known as Munyaubena.

Abdallah, son of Malangalila, was born shortly after his father's death. He never held office but his son Gaudensio became sub-chief of Mlolo in 1952 and ruled until 1963 when he resigned. Some descendants of Mugayavanu use his name as a descent name today, but the descendants of his son Mugongolwa use Mugongolwa as a descent name. Mugongolwa may have been an mnzagila and his son Sengidunda was an important mnzagila on the west of the river at Kalenga. He was then a jumbe throughout the German period and until about 1926. Chotewahe succeeded him as jumbe and was then promoted as sub-chief of Pawaga. When he was promoted his younger full-brother Saidi succeeded as jumbe at Kalenga and ruled until 1963 when he was succeeded by his eldest son Ahamed. One of Saidi's other sons of a different wife, Peter, is M.P. for Iringa District and in 1963 was made Area Commissioner of Njombe.

## Appendix C

The following translations of Kihehe texts are presented to show what type of material can be collected and has been used in this thesis. Four of these texts are translations of Kihehe stories which have been written down from a tape recording and two are translations from essays written by Wahehe, the one with 7 years' and the other with 14 years' education.

As I have not yet been advised what orthography I should use for Kihehe I have not attempted to present the Kihehe versions of these stories. Later I hope to prepare a number of Kihehe texts for publication and will present them in Kihehe with an English translation. The tape recordings of the four recorded stories translated here have been copied by the British Institute of Recorded Sound. The translations I have made are a compromise between an accurate rendering of everything which was said or written in Kihehe and an English rendering which is easy to read.

The Story of Chavala and Mudemu translated from a tape recording of the story told in Kihehe by Gungayena MwaChavala.

Long ago Chavala came as a hunter to the country of his subjects and he came to Chamumbwe,<sup>1</sup> from Chamumbwe he journeyed until he came to Ipwani<sup>1</sup> and he had a wife SeKiduko. When he had settled she bore a son whom they called Chavala, and then later she was mocked because she was always bearing children who died. When she had children who died she was called Mufwisa,<sup>2</sup> he discussed this with the local people "I am always having children who die, why?" They said "Go to where Chanci<sup>3</sup> is in a stone". When he went to Chanci he divined for her and said "Your wife has kihesa,<sup>4</sup> she has children who die". When he had told him this he gave him medicine for his wife SeKiduko to drink. When she had drunk it she became pregnant. And when she was pregnant he returned to Chanci, then he said "Indeed Chanci that medicine which you gave me ... my wife has conceived". He told him "She has conceived and when the time for her to give birth has come they will just cut open that woman, she has a male child". Indeed, when the time was come, really, in truth, they opened up that SeKiduko, the wife of Chavala. When the child was born, the child whom they had cut out, then <sup>they</sup> said "That child's name is Mudemu",<sup>5</sup> that is because they had cut open his mother". And that is how

Mudemu got his name. And Mudemu survived and begat many children, he said his children were MwaMudemu, and then the children which his elder brother Chavala begot were called MwaChavala, because that was the old name of Chavala. The name Mudemu was (given) because they had cut open (his mother). And this is the reason why they divided with this name and Chavala, the elder brother. They had one father and one mother but are now separated one being MwaChavala and the other MwaMudemu.

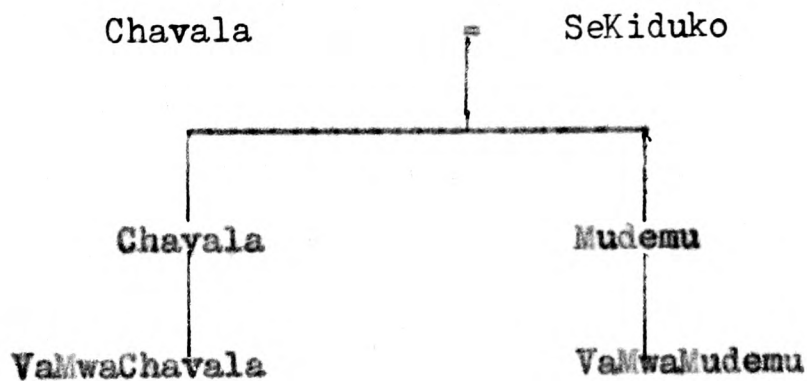
#### Notes

1. I have not been able to identify these places.
2. Muf<sup>u</sup>ursa means a person who causes people to die. It is a noun formed from the causative form of the verb kufwa to die.
3. This is the spirit Chanci who is said to speak through a medium somewhere in the Ulanga valley. It is not quite clear when he is referring to the spirit Chanci who lives in a stone or to his medium.
4. Apparently a name for a disease.
5. Mudemu is a name formed from kudemula to cut or tear.

People assume that SeKiduko was dying and that she was cut open and the child was saved although his mother died. This is the only story about the origin of descent names which I have found. The descendants of Mudemu were chiefs in the neighbourhood of

Malangali until Msambila was defeated by Munyigumba (? or Mkwawa). Since then some of them have been subordinate rulers in the same area. I have no knowledge of any descendants of the younger Chavala holding political office but the narrator of this story was a court elder at Malangali court.

The relationships in this story can be represented thus:



The defeat of the Wasangu and the Marriage of Mkwawa,

translated from a tape recording of Galakwila Mwamkini telling the story in Kihehe.

This story is particularly difficult to annotate and at points it is necessary to explain nearly every sentence. As it is a dramatic story the narrator imitated the conversations which took place and did not think to explain who was speaking every time. It therefore seems best to present this summary.

Munyigumba decided his son Mkwawa was old enough to learn to fight and that he must show himself worthy in battle before he took a wife. Munyivanga and Mafimba, who were both classificatory mother's brothers of Mkwawa, were sent to escort him to battle and Munyigumba appears to have followed in the rear. Mkwawa was brave and keen to fight while Munyigumba tantalised him putting off the battle. Then they fought the Wasangu and were victorious.

On his triumphant return Mkwawa was permitted to marry SeMusilamugunda. Munyigumba was evidently trying to provoke Munyivanga and Mafimba when he told them to arrange to provide the beer and meat for the wedding feast. Munyivanga went submissively to Munyigumba at first offering to be killed by him and then reminding him how on the death of Ngawonalupembe, Munyigumba's elder brother, he had gone personally to summon

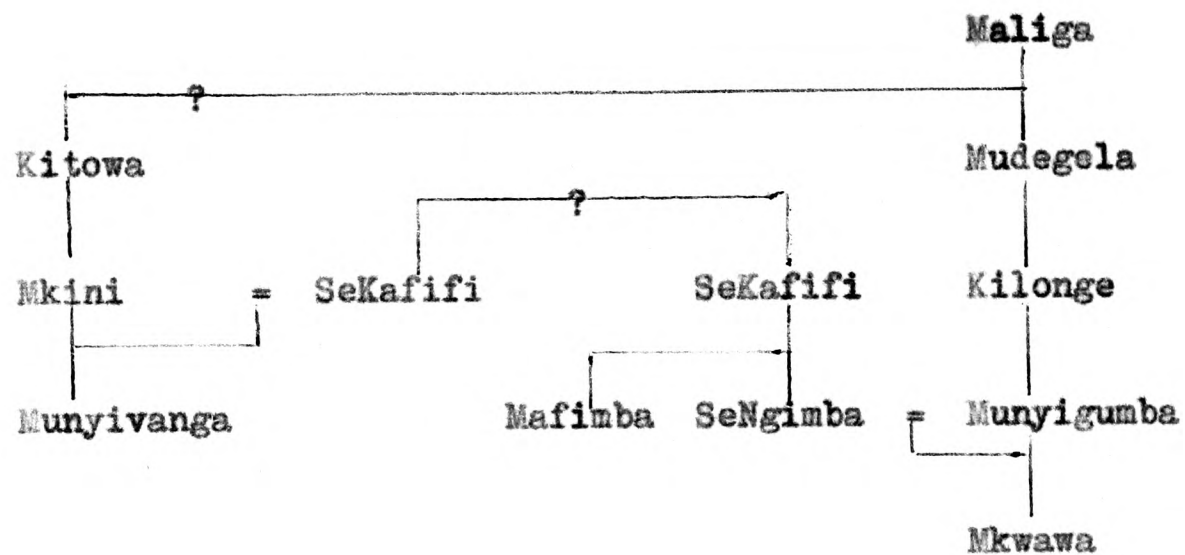


Diagram to show how Muniyivanga and Mafimba were mother's brothers of Mkwawa. Mkwawa could call Muniyivanga either dada (F) or yaya (MB).

Munyigumba back from Udongwe where he was in exile, herding cattle for his classificatory mother's brother Myovela who was also known as Muyoveling'ombe. Munyivanga also pointed out that Munyigumba should be kind to Mkwawa and value his son. Munyigumba's own chiefdom might have been conquered by one of the neighbouring chiefs had Munyigumba been a woman. Munyigumba was then reconciled with Munyivanga and Mafimba. The wedding took place between Mkwawa and SeMusilamugunda with a great feast and the child of the union was Sapi.

These events have been discussed in chapter 5.

In the time when the VaMuyinga ruled independently the father of Mukwavinyika, Munyigumba said "You Mukwavinyika, you will not try to marry a woman when you have not beaten an enemy". Munyivanga I tell you and you Mafimba, I am Munyigumba, I am the father of that boy your sister's son. Look for a very tough battle where I may send him to go to begin to fight, to spear the enemy." They said "We have heard you Munyigumba, we are Munyivanga (? and Mafimba) the mother's brothers of that child of whom you told us you are the father. Let us start out on the way we shall go, let us go to fight the Wasangu, to Merere".

They started out, they went to Usangu, they met the Wasangu on the way, those enemies. He said "You, Vapokavilongava - Mwambambe".<sup>1</sup> He said "You," he said "Go and say to Munyivanga that the chief

said here it is too narrow, we shall not fight the enemy, No". They came to tell the youth Mkwavinyika. He said "If my father has said let us withdraw, let us withdraw". They withdrew a short distance as when you go twenty five paces. He stopped and said "Here we are, I his father have said we should stay and fight here. Now go and say to the child again, again the second time, I find that it is too narrow we cannot fight very much". Said Mkwavinyika "Go and say to my father, your son said he is very hungry, hunger is hurting a lot, he is not going to move away" They went and told the father. Muniyigumba said "He said, this child, this young man, said he is hungry?" he said "Yes," he said "Take this beer and this dried meat, and porridge cooked with the cream of the milk, and take it for the boy to eat, after which we shall withdraw." They took the porridge to his son, he said, "Yes, go and say to my father, have I said I am hungry, I have a pain in my stomach? - I am hungry for enemies when I see them here. I will not withdraw, now this is the second time, now I have said Ha, Here I am hungry for enemies." The messenger of the chief Muniyigumba returned, he went to report saying, "Your son is hungry for enemies". Muniyivanga began to make a speech, "You Mwambambe" he said "Yes" "Now then let us fight here the boy has refused". Mwambambe gave a speech, they started out, even Muniyivanga and Mafimba fought those enemies, fighting at Ing'enyango. They fought the enemy and then they

were completely defeated as far as Usangu, at Chombomupala, the enemies were finished.

When they had defeated the country of Usanga they came home, Munyigumba came and said to his 12 messengers. "Go to Munyigumba and Mafimba, say 'You, your sister's son whose wedding I said we shall all celebrate together, he has got engaged to Semusilamugunda,' Go say they should prepare the beer themselves, and they should provide the cattle themselves." Munyivanga said "Mafimba if you go to Munyigumba he will behead you when you go, let me go myself, to face Munyigumba. If he beheads anyone let him behead me." Munyivanga went and he looked for his messengers, he came and reached Rungemba, he said "You messengers go and take greetings, you door keepers go and greet the chief, tell him I have arrived". They greeted him in the courtyard. He said "Who is it?" They said "it is Munyivanga, he has come". Munyivanga entered into the house, he said to the chief "Ase Senga" (traditional greeting to chiefs) He said "Ase". He said "How is your home?" he said "Well" "What?" he said "Mulugu, I have brought this neck". He stretched his neck like this. He said "What for?" he said "Cut it" he said "That I may behead you Munyivanga?" He said "Yes, behead me, yes, Mulugu" he said "What is the meaning of this" he said "I found it very serious, you said, I and Mafimba should find your son's bridewealth". He said "Yes," He said "I thought this - on that day when we were at Ing'enyango, when we were fighting the

Wasangu, you said you had taught your son yourself, I see when you are with your son he is fit to kill." "Yes Munyivanga" "When I tell you I am Munyivanga, I have brought you the neck for this reason. On that day, you know what happened to Ngawonalupeabe, what did I do? You Binini,<sup>2</sup> did I not find you with the calves?" He said "Yes" "Then I stole you from your uncle Muyoveling'ombe". He said "Yes" he said "Today I am asking you, had you been SeKilonge whose would that country be, the country which you have today?" He said "Are you asking me about that?" He said "Yes, today I tell you had you been SeKilonge, you a girl, today this country would belong to Msambila or to Muyoveling'ombe or to Manga. But in fact you are a son. Now today why do you hate your son when you are fierce?" Munyigumba said "You speak truly, Munyivanga, so you warn the chiefs, others had cheated me, let us be reconciled". Munyivanga stood and became reconciled with his uncle (Munyigumba) the matter finished. "Now I will send a message to your home. Go home and tell Mafimba, his uncle (for Mafimba and SeNgimba have sucked the same woman, both children of SeKafifi) about this."

When he (Munyigumba) got home he caught a black ox. Munyigumba said "Take this ox, go and say you Mafimba and you Munyivanga, he is apologising, he asks you to be reconciled with him, wars should end, let us visit each other and celebrate the weddings together, the wedding of SeMusilamugunda, when Mkwavinyika is married. Now let us share in the celebration all together." Munyivanga said

"Now I also understand, go on ahead, let us go home" he also caught an ox, he went to the chief at Rungemba. He reached Rungemba and said "I have come Mulugu, We be messengers who have come, Munyivanga sent us, he said he apologises about the wars and the wedding". Munyigumba thanked him and said "Good" That is when they brewed beer and gave cattle to send to Udongwe<sup>3</sup> to take away SeMusilamugunda to become the royal bride of Mkwavinyika. And when Mkwavinyika lived there he begot Sapi.

#### Notes

1. Mwambambe at this time was a trusted assistant of Munyigumba.
2. Binini was the name Munyigumba had used as a child.
3. SeMusilamugunda came from Udongwe and the cattle were sent there for her bridewealth.

The death of Munyigumba, the flight of Mkwawa and his return and triumph, Translated from a tape recording of Galakwila Mwamkini telling the story in Kihehe.

I am Galakwila talking, and I was told this by my father Motomkali, I was not there at the battles which I am talking about.

At the time when the Vayinga ruled, when they were at Rungemba, Munyigumba was broken.<sup>1</sup> When chief Munyigumba was broken, Mwambambe his son-in-law was living at Igavilo in the country of Usangu. He heard that his father-in-law Munyigumba was broken. He said to his wife, the daughter of the chief. "I am going to the mourning at Rungemba". (At Rungemba) he said "Where is the young brother of Munyigumba the chief?" He said "He is there in the courtyard". He went into the courtyard and found the young brother of Munyigumba who was known as Muhalwike, he seized Muhalwike and beheaded him. He went out with him through the door and took him into a very deep well, known at Rungemba as being in the east. Mwambambe returned, he said "All the sons of Munyigumba we are settled" When they said kwilamula in the old days it meant "to behead". All the chiefs<sup>2</sup> began to escape into the bushes, they are escaping. Mwambambe then began the war on that very day in the morning. He defeated all he fought, and those he defeated he caught and beheaded.

Mukwavinyika<sup>3</sup> went with Munyivanga,<sup>4</sup> they ran away to Isolwa<sup>5</sup> escorted by Mwambalinga.<sup>6</sup> They stayed and one year passed while they were there. They said "No we should return, that we may go to fight, that man. Are we running away and dying in a strange place in Ugogo?" Who was the man who went to bring them back? The man who went to bring them back was Mwambalinga. Those people returned from that country of slavery, there in Ugogo. When they returned from Ugogo they came and began a war. After Mwambambe had heard that the chief had returned he said "Mkwavinyika has returned?" He said "Yes," crowds came to help him, he arrived at Rungemba. When he arrived at Rungemba he said, "Let me make an offering here at the grave where his father is asleep so that I defeat his son"<sup>7</sup>. He forced a sheep to swallow medicine,<sup>8</sup> so that when he had killed it they would come and eat. Mkwavinyika he knew, (because of his intelligence and power of divination which had been given him by Nguluvi) he said "Nobody should attempt to eat this sheep, I see that it has got medicine forced into it by Mwambambe" They left there, they came to (? Rungemba)<sup>9</sup> again he did the same as he had done at Rungemba, putting medicines on the graves "When I have come here which I know to be the grave of his father, the father of his father and it is where he will eat even if it is forbidden food."<sup>10</sup> He said "Let us run away". He failed. He went to Muhwana,<sup>11</sup> he went and did the same "I should only use medicines". And the chief

was also making offerings like this on the graves. "I your son, this Mwambambe Mwalunyungupoka-vilonga, truly he has taken the chief's daughter. Now I see that he is asserting himself too much, you chiefs, if it is you who begot me, and today I say it is better if I died here as he beheaded Muhalwike, so Mwambambe should also kill me".<sup>12</sup>

He went there when he came from ? . He crossed the river to a place called Ilundamatwe,<sup>13</sup> in the old days they said in Usavila. Then he reached there the enemies came, the people of Mwambambe, very many, four columns, beginning at Kifwa up to Ruaha at the riverside, - there is a small hill there. Mkwavinyika himself had two columns. Mwambambe came, he said "Hullo, Mugombavanu MwaUgulumu,<sup>14</sup> you are cheating the chief, he has got medical powers, where has he got it from?" "Listen" Mugombavanu MwaUgulumu said "Yes, son of the chief,<sup>15</sup> just walk quickly, do not be lenient today" . There the chief said himself that nobody else should talk to him, - they should speak only to Mugombavanu who had taken war medicine. "You Mugombavanu tie him (Mwambambe) tightly with medicine today". Indeed Mwambambe was truly tied up. Now when they were beginning the battle he said "Sulya" and they fired the medicine gun. (Mwambambe had been firing his gun on his order long before) They were coming from Usangu with the Wakonongo.<sup>16</sup> When they were firing he said "In the air" which is up, they have charmed him so he is unable to

aim his guns at the people. They defeated Mwambambe, those enemies died, they died there in the Ruaha at Ilundamatwe, which was formerly in Usavila. They called it Ilundamatwe<sup>13</sup> because many heads died at that place. They crossed the enemy, the soldiers of Mkwavinyika all followed immediately, just there. They chased them up to Idobogo at a small hill across the Ruaha. They heard them saying "Help the Ngalulilwa is here" Now the Ngalulilwa<sup>17</sup> himself was Mwambambe - poke-vilonga-chungu-cha Magenge MwaLunyungu.<sup>17</sup> When the chief had gone and found him he said "We are face to face MwaLunyungu". He was in a bush. They were spearing him but Mwambambe was breaking the spears with his teeth, he was like an animal in breaking the spears, but the chief had tied him up<sup>18</sup> with his intelligence and medicine, and Mwambambe did not throw those spears to hit people so that he killed them. When they hit Mwambambe the chief said "If a person does not die you do not know him". He sent his soldiers known as vigendo, much liked by the chief and who knew the war medicines, he said "Go and get me a piece of burned plaster of a house". They went to pick the burned down plaster of a house. The chief took that stone and hit Mwambambe with it. Mwambambe replied, he said "Wangahilaki?" When he said wangahilaki it meant "With what have you hit me?" It was Mwambambe, now they cut his liver and he died.

This story I am telling, I heard it when my father Motomkali was talking, he was there with the soldiers and he was told by his father Munyivanga. It is finished.

I have other rather disjointed accounts of these events. The different versions do not agree in all details, but the outline of the narrative which is certain has been told in chapter 5.

#### Notes

1. This phrase is used for the death of chiefs and it implies that Nguluvi (God) breaks them.
2. That means the sons of Munyigumba.
3. Mkwawa is a shortened form of Mkwavinyika.
4. Munyivanga Mwamkimi the narrator's father's father who was related to Mkwawa in such a way that he was both his classificatory father's brother and mother's brother.
5. A place in Ugogo.
6. Malavanu Mwambalinga who was an important mzagila on the way to Usagara and Mukondoa.
7. A daughter's husband would not normally make offerings on his father-in-law's grave.
8. That is medicine which would harm those who ate its meat.
9. He probably meant to say Uleling'ombe.

10. Mkwawa's father's father Kilonge is buried at Uleling'ombe.
11. It is not clear what the significance of this is. Muhwana is probably a place further into the Usungwa mountains through which Thomson passed.
12. Mkwawa's ancestors should assist and thus protect their chiefdom which is now his.
13. This place is known today. It is roughly 10 miles from Iringa and it is named after the battle. The name means a place where heads are piled up and people are to have picked up a number of bones there recently.
14. He is known to have been keeper of the chief's war medicine.
15. Mugombavanu is addressing Mkwawa.
16. Mwambambe had been to Ukonongo in the west and returned with some Wakonongo allies.
17. These were the praise names of Mwambambe.
18. That is, he was ensorcelled so he could not attack.

The Story of the battle of Lugalo told by Makusanya MwaLugenge was written by his son Daima MwaLugenge.

On that day at Lugalo<sup>1</sup> Mkwavinyika<sup>2</sup> moved his forces up to meet the forces of Nyundo.<sup>3</sup> When the enemy approached the soldiers rushed (on them). The forces of Nyundo had guns, machine guns and cannons. The man from the coast<sup>4</sup> said he would act, he would strike to the right and strike to the left, but the forces of Mkwawa never moved - Mahanzala<sup>5</sup> the spokesman from the fortress said "The rain it rains on the cultivated ground."<sup>6</sup>

At Lugalo a real man died, he was Ngosingosi<sup>7</sup> the son-in-law of the chief, Mkamatamanyoka MwaMkanumkole, child of SeKasilo fell there, Simbanumoto MwaKikungwe the commander of the whole fortress fell there and Palangukali fell there, these were all Vatambule<sup>8</sup> at the fortress - and I cannot count all the others. The grass which grows in the wet season will sprout again.<sup>9</sup>

And not one of Nyundo's people remained, they were stone dead there, the enemy forces were stretched out, and Nyundo himself died there. Mwampunza<sup>10</sup> enjoyed killing the enemy.

That was indeed a battle at Lugalo, the Wahehe wiped out the enemy forces of Nyundo.

Notes

1. Lugalo is about 13 miles from Iringa on the road to Dar es Salaam.
2. Mkwawa is an abbreviation of Mkwavinyika.
3. Nyundo was the Swahili name generally used for Zelewski. It means "hammer".
4. The man from the coast is Zelewski because he had come from Dar es Salaam.
5. Mahanzala was the Musangu spokesman of Mkwawa.
6. This was apparently a saying to raise their morale which meant that God (Nguluvi) or the forces of nature would be kind to them.
7. Ngosingosi MwaMugumba was the subordinate ruler of one half of the Kalenga fort. He has no children but in order to honour him Sapi made Chogamalinga, son of Ngosingosi's brother Ligungile, the first sub-chief of Kalenga.
8. Vatambule were influential men summoned by the chief to assist him.
9. This means that in spite of the heavy losses the Wahehe could recover and fight again.
10. Mwampunza is said to be the man who killed Zelewski.

The battle of Lugalo when the Wahehe ambushed the advancing German columns was fought in August 1891. Zelewski and about 10 Germans and many of their soldiers were killed but the author of this account is clearly exaggerating the German defeat. The Wahehe acknowledge that their own losses were great and that Mkwawa

forbade any mourning ceremonies as he thought it would lower their already low morale.

The battle is discussed in its historical context in chapter 5.

The Maji Maji Rebellion.

These are translations of two versions of a story told by Tanangosi MwaMwangamila. He volunteered to go with the German forces from Iringa to fight the people of the Ulanga valley who took part in the Maji Maji rebellion which is discussed in chapter 6. The first version is a translation of the story as it was transcribed from a tape recording made as Tanangosi told the story to a number of his relations, and the second is a translation of an essay written in Kihehe by his grandson Anthony MwaMwangamila who made notes while the story was being told and also asked questions before and after.

The Notes are given at the end of each text.

Translation of the tape recording of Tanangosi MwaMwangamila

Jumbe Panagmasasi,<sup>1</sup> the jumbe of Muhanga,<sup>2</sup> brought the news, then we went at night to tell the Europeans, that Pangamasasi had brought the news that the Vahonga<sup>3</sup> had reached his country, they told him to agree to drink the medicine, now he refused, Pangamasasi has come to break the news here. We set off, when we set off we journeyed until we arrived at Muhanga, they said, "The enemies are at Mungeta".<sup>4</sup> We set off at midnight. We went right over the

hill, by the time it had dawned we had descended on the other side. Those Vahonga had run away, they said "Here it is too near the hill, the people will run into the hills, we will not kill many people". Then they withdrew, they went to the marsh, they went right into the elephant grass, - at Kapalala we met. Now at Kapalala when we reached them, we found some asleep, the whole army had gone to lie in ambush in the grass there and then some said, "We shall go in the morning to our friends" - actually it is those whom we found asleep, and then we captured them. When we had caught these people we said "Where is the battle?" They said the battle is on the path which goes to Ifakara". Our leader Bwana Fungashenzi<sup>5</sup> said, he said "I do not want to go there, I want to go to Mudemu".<sup>6</sup> We returned on the road to Ifakara. Now we are going to Mudemu. We went there and then we heard the noise coming from behind, we said "People are coming shouting behind, where have they come from, these people?" - and we passed on, the European said "Hy, you will go with soldier Mpandajumula, he will fire a gun, after that man has fired a gun the Vambunga will run away, You, - You will run after them, you will go, you will run after them with stabbing spears only."<sup>7</sup>

We started at a run, we are running, we are running, we are running, after not a long time our leader said "BEEP" and we stood still. He said "Stop - I see a lot of enemies"<sup>8</sup> we stopped. We saw those people were emerging, he saw them and said, "All to the

right". We went to the right, and then we just lay down, we lay in the grass. When we lay there in the grass they began, but did not see us, then they looked, now they are looking at the Europeans shoe prints, the shoe prints of the soldiers, they were not on the road; again they returned, they were moving back and forth in a group, they returned they are looking for shoe prints, there were none there, actually we had hidden, we were there, we were there in the grass where we were lying. The European then saw that they were really all gathered together, the people gathered together were many, he passed behind, we saw he had gone to the back. He said "Les ali" and they lifted their guns to their shoulders "Fiya" uwoco<sup>9</sup> - after the guns had sounded, then they came all together, the enemy, they were coming, now they were coming towards us. Then they reached us, soldier Malijali Daudi, they stabbed him, they reached soldier Mpandajumula whom they stabbed, they reached another soldier Lisasi, whom they speared, then - "Kais malis, malis"<sup>10</sup>. Thus he has given the order, now we are running away, we are going into the grass, we go into the grass, because here in the open space we shall all be finished. We entered the elephant grass. The commander turned, he said "EEP". Thus they all turned and put their guns to their shoulders. Now the Vambunga are trying to come, they are following the tracks which we had made. It strikes, he is on the ground, it strikes, he is on the ground. They try to

come, they are unable to pass on the side. The Wambunga failed completely, now the battle was getting hot. We shot, they were quite finished, they tried to run away out there and we ourselves went out. As we looked we saw they were quite finished.

Very many Wambunga died - thus they had now run away and we ourselves returned - they were running in front and the soldiers were behind, while the guns were firing, they finished by running into the grass, and then they left the road for us, we ourselves went along, now we are going back where we had come from, where the porters were because we ourselves had gone by night. Now we are going to meet the porters because if the two parties met, the porters will be finished. These people are fierce they will finish them. Indeed we arrived and then found the porters, but the enemy had not gone to the porters, they had just scattered. We had taken the victory from them that day, they themselves had run away. We went to ? we are going to Ifakara. We reached the water, then we went into the water, and we entered the water, we failed, the water reached up to here (he showed it was shoulder high). Actually they had hidden themselves just here. They (enemy) said "When the soldiers are in the water, then we shall completely finish them". We crossed and the Europeans they did not cross, they said, "We cannot go into the water, we want you to stay in front".<sup>11</sup> Then they started off, those from there, the enemy, then we began chasing each other in the water, then we began chasing each other

in the water, we went back where the Europeans were, we were unable to run in the water, then we were just wading because you cannot run quickly. We reached there, then they began by firing the guns again, the enemies were shot there, on our part two of our friends died there. Then the soldiers shot the enemy, and they turned back, and others were shot there and they fell into the water with the enemy.

Now then when they had returned we went as far as Ifakara, we found they had cut off the head of a soldier who had had three stars, they cut it off and put it on a stick, and placed it like this (he showed something on the top of his spear). This is the head of the soldier, Mbishawashi,<sup>12</sup> - they put it on a stick to frighten us. Some of our soldiers recognised their friend, they said "This is Mbishawashi of this place, Ifakara". They recognised him by the head. We spent the night, the next day the enemy began to emerge, we saw them when they were emerging from the houses, now the enemy are emerging, the commander said "You will move to this side, I want to stay here to put the canons on the road".<sup>13</sup> They put the canon on the road, he was Bwana Oppman<sup>14</sup> the commander, he was on the road standing with his soldiers. Bwana Oblisman<sup>15</sup> with one star, he also came and stood about this distance away, and Bwana Muganga<sup>16</sup> also stood about there with his soldiers. Then they began firing the guns when the enemy were far away. They came and got near and came until they could even

hold the canon, even the commander ran, the enemy in pursuit. And the soldier Saidi they killed there on the road. They ran now until they entered in, because we had built a small stockade which was round, and they entered in the stockade into which the Europeans had escaped. On that day they would also be finished. It was our turn on that day, but we entered the stockade, and they failed to break in, they failed now they returned. That is how it was, then we had known those enemies, that these were enemies, and even the commander knew that they were fierce, he was absent when we were fighting at Kapalala, he was at Mungeta, we were with Bwana Optanan Fungashenzi, that is whom we were with, this was the fighting at that place.

After we had returned from there, we then found information here (back near Iringa), they said the VaSagara had rebelled there, on this road to Kilosa. They said "There they have rebelled and our friends of Image<sup>17</sup> are helping the Wahehe of Muvinge".<sup>18</sup> Muvinge went, he said "Let me go and face them myself", they fought and killed our friends, our friends who were running away, they even killed Muvinge himself, they killed some others there, and the survivors were only those who had run away. Ten Wahehe died there at Mahenge,<sup>19</sup> they were killed by the VaHonga, we were calling them Honga by name. When they had run away like this we heard "There they killed even Muvinge, who had been helping". A large group of people moved like this, now then they were woven

into a group, all the Wahehe helped, formerly it had only been us helping, we of Luhota and those of Ihimbu,<sup>20</sup> we had first been alone when we fought at Lulanga.<sup>21</sup> Now when we were going to Usagara, now then the enemies said "The country is getting ruined" Now all were enemies (of the Wasagara)<sup>22</sup> from as far as Malangali<sup>23</sup> they came, they reached here and the Wasagara did not try anything again, they went home and we did not fight. They failed, they tried to stand at Mandongo,<sup>24</sup> they said they want to come to fight us, they came together in a great number. We said "Yes, the enemy is ready". We found them and they began to push us Wahehe on either side, they went here and they went there - but what what success? The VaHonga were in the middle, we still were moving further out and still further. They ran away, they were just running away now, they said "We cannot fight these people, they are just surrounding us, today we cannot escape". They stood open eyed when they saw us and we said that they have finished off our friends of Image, today we shall settle it. They ran away, when they ran they scattered, now they (soldiers) went on taking their women (the women of the Wasagara), and those where they had run away.<sup>25</sup>

But now we chased them only on the tracks, we went in for capturing goats now. Those who had been running away with the goats took the goats in the mountains. The goats indeed - we took nearly all the goats of Usagara, and the women were captured. Now we brought them here to become slaves. The goats indeed, became our

property. This is what it was, the enemy had failed, and the Wasagara thought of themselves as fierce when they had killed our friends of Image. Now they were completely exhausted, the whole of the rainy season they were finished by hunger, hunger had also exhausted them - they lacked strength. Now we just chased them, haa, and we did not start to fight again, and they are defeated now. Thus, now they had failed because - "No, we have been cheated - this medicine," they said, "the guns will not sound, only water will come out when they fire, they know that they cheated us".<sup>26</sup>

Thus we left and returned, they began to surrender in the rainy season. But we began fighting in the dry season when the cattle had grazed on the stubble - that war went on until they were hoeing, the whole of the rainy season until the maize had ripened.<sup>27</sup> They were exhausted by hunger when they had not cultivated anything again. Thus was the battle of Maji Maji, this is the end. They surrendered, they came here and were hanged. They were all called to go and watch, they were hanged and it was a big feast we were given cattle and we killed 10 head of cattle during that feast.<sup>28</sup>

#### Notes

1. Jumbe Pangamasasi Mwamusuva who is mentioned by von Götzen.
2. Muhanga is the frontier jumbe-ate in north eastern Usungwa and is adjacent to Umbunga in the Ulanga valley.

3. Honga is a name for the rebels which was said to be the name of one of their leaders and also their war cry.
4. Mungeta is where the old track up the Usungwa escarpment reached the valley.
5. This nick-name is said to mean that he was always looking people up without good reasons. He was one of the German commanders who had been stationed at Iringa but he was not Nigmann who was known as Oppman Lingerman.
6. Mudemu was apparently an Mbunga jumbe.
7. The Germans speech is given in poor Swahili.
8. Again his words are in bad Swahili.
9. The sound of guns.
10. The words of the German commander.
11. These words are again in bad Swahili.
12. Presumably one of the coastal Swahili soldiers or a Nubian.
13. Words in bad Swahili.
14. Nigmann - Oppman is presumably a form of Hauptmann.
15. I cannot identify him.
16. The military doctor.
17. The large mountain at the north-western corner of Uhehe.
18. Presumably he was the jumbe there.
19. Presumably the Mahenge below the Image mountain where the local court is today, not Mahenge above the Ulanga valley.
20. Ihimbu is on the road between Luhota and Kilolo.
21. The Ulanga valley is usually called Lulanga in Kihehe.
22. That is Wahehe from all over Uhehe went to fight the rebels.

23. Presumably the area around the present Malangali settlement.
24. I have not been able to identify this place.
25. That is the regular African soldiers from the Iringa garrison were taking the women of the fleeing rebels.
26. The comment of the defeated rebels when they realised their magic medicine would not turn the German bullets to water.
27. This means throughout the rainy season which usually starts in December, until about June.
28. I do not know where the rebels were hanged but the Wahehe volunteers were given a beer and meat feast at the Iringa.

Translation of Anthony MwaMwangamila's essay on the story of Maji Maji

The Swahilis were going to Ulanga to trade and to catch fish and grow rice.

We were at home when we saw them coming, they were running away, they said the Wambunga and the Wapogoro had turned fierce. Again and again they were killing Swahilis and they wanted to fight the Germans. When the Germans saw that the number of Swahilis running away was increasing they collected their forces and they left Iringa, they went to Muhanga where they said they would meet the Wambunga. The leaders of that force were Mpandajumba and Kopololo Mbaga.

The first day they slept at Ihimbu, the following day they slept at Dabaga, then the third day they arrived at Muhanga (on the top). There they found jumbe Pangamasasi MwaMusuva who had refused to drink the medicine and to help them (the rebels). It was he who told them (the Germans) "When you have just gone down the hill you will meet the enemy, they are waiting for you." The nucleus of the enemy was at Kapalala. The European commander himself said, "All those with guns will go to fight, all those without guns and the porters will remain behind with Pangamasasi." The commander of the enemy was Bwana Honga. Just at night, at about 11.0 p.m. they blew the whistle for going to battle so that the soldiers would meet the enemy while it was still early and so that they would surprise some who were still sleeping. They went down the hill past Mungeta, but they found only a few Wambunga who had slept in their houses hoping to join their friends in the bush in the morning. The enemy had gathered at Ifakara and when the army under German command had passed Mungeta, the army made for Mudemu's country. The Wambunga saw this and they began tracing them by their shoe prints. When the army under the Germans had proceeded a short way they heard shouts behind and turning round they saw a large body of Wambunga. All had reeds mixed with castor oil round their foreheads and they were armed with spears, axes, and a few clubs. The commander ordered the army to lie down before the Wambunga saw them. While the latter were deciding

which way to take the soldiers took their opportunity. The commander ordered a volley fire, but this did nothing except rouse the Wambunga who began rushing towards them shouting "Maji Maji Maji tu".<sup>1</sup> The soldiers saw that their firing had no effect but that they themselves were being killed. When three of the soldiers had fallen - Marijadi Daudi, a Nubian, Pandavilima, a Musukuma, and Ngohele MwaKimbe had fallen the commander order the army to run and the soldiers made for the elephant grass where they all hid. As the grass was so dense and the Wambunga could not make ways of their own through it they pursued along the tracks which had been made by the soldiers in single file. This enabled the soldiers to shoot them one by one until the Wambunga saw that many of them were being shot. They retired and stood at a distance away from the soldiers. The soldiers started to fire and the Wambunga dispersed making the end of the first day's battle. The soldiers began to trace their steps back to Pangamasasi to relieve the porters in case of attack. On the way they had to shoot down the Wambunga who went on trying to attack them until they arrived. Korguso was wounded and died on the way while two other soldiers who were wounded were carried on stretchers back to Pangamasasi's country.

From then the Wambunga spread throughout the country which marked the beginning of the Maji Maji war which was fought from the dry season and went on to the rainy season when the Wambunga and the

Wapogoro were exhausted with hunger. When the soldiers had come back to Iringa from Pangamasasi's country they stayed only a short time and the news was brought that in Mahenge<sup>2</sup> there was a rising of Wambunga. All the Germans and Swahili's had shut themselves in a fort which was being besieged by the Wambunga. The latter could not get in because there were only two doors at each of which there was a cannon which was spitting bullets in a stream. In spite of this the Wambunga tried to catch the muzzles when a stream of bullets was coming out and in vain they tried to drag them away. When they saw that getting into the fort was impossible they turned to the town and burned all the houses. The soldiers from Iringa under Oppman relieved the Germans and Swahilis.

Immediately on their return to Iringa they found a rising of Wasagara who were approaching Iringa from Lugalo<sup>3</sup> and they also wanted to fight with the Germans. The soldiers had no time at Iringa and they at once left for Usagara. At Image they found that place had been attacked by Wasagara and jumbe Muvinge Mwamukolomi had been killed. The people of Image joined the army of the Germans and they marched together into Usagara where they defeated the Wasagara and captured many of their goats. From there the soldiers crossed to Kilosa whence they went to Mahenge again where they found the Wambunga utterly exhausted with hunger in the rains. Five wansagila<sup>4</sup> from Lulanga went to the Germans and explained

their desire not to go on with fighting. These were Mdapo, Ndisi, Kalambo, Kadunda and Kaganga. All were hanged.

### Notes

These notes only deal with points not covered in the notes on the first version.

1. This was the war cry of the rebels which is the Swahili for "Water, Water" etc. The bullets of the enemy were then supposed to turn to water.
2. This is the Mahenge above the Ulanga valley where the Germans built a fort and where the district headquarters is today.
3. Luaglo is the place where Zelewski was defeated and lies on the way from Iringa to Image and Usagara.
4. Subordinate rulers who were presumably known as jumbes to the Germans.

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Kiponzelo Local Court	-	from 1940	(almost complete)
Mlolo Local Court	-	from 1952	(complete)
Malangali Local Court	-	from 1953	(poor)
Kasanga Local Court	-	from 1953	(poor)
Usungwa (Kilolo) Local Court	-	from 1931	(almost complete)
Kibengu Local Court	-	from 1953	(almost complete)
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Papers of Hans Cory including: -

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African leaders of the past - typescript of an article on Wasangu history.

Bibliographies on ethnology of Tanganyika.

District books of Dodoma (includes sections on Mpwapwa  
and Manyoni districts)

Kilosa

Mbeya (including a history of the Wasangu)

Njombe

Swahili history of the Angoni from Songea district office.

Margaret Bates      Tanganyika under British Administration  
1920-1955.      (D.Phil. thesis Oxford)

The notebooks of the late G. Gordon Brown.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Am. J. Soc.	American Journal of Sociology
Ber. Miss.	Berliner Missionsberichte
D.K.B.	Deutsches Kolonialblatt
D.K.Z.	Deutsches Kolonialzeitung
D.O.A.	Deutsch Ost Afrika
D.O.A.Z.	Deutsch Ost Afrika Zeitung
J.R.G.S.	Journal of the Royal Geographical Society
M.D.S.	Mittheilungen von Forschungsreisenden aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten
M.S.O.S.	Mittheilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen
M.St.B-G.	Missionsblätter der St. Benedictus Genossenschaft
P.R.G.S.	Proclamations of the Royal Geographical Society
Soc. Rev.	Sociological Review
T.N.R.	Tanganyika Notes and Records
Z.A.O.S.	Zeitschrift für Africanische und Orientalische Sprachen
Z.f.E.	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie
Z.K.S.	Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen