We are one: the emergence and development of national consciousness in Tanzania

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WE ARE ONE: THE EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN TANZANIA

by

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DEDICATION

To Lubears, my Baboo, and Booger.
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My journey to my Ph.D. began in 2001, when I came to Boston as a freshman undergraduate in the University Professors Program. My deepest thanks go to the committee that decided which students to admit to the program. Without the unwavering support of those affiliated with the University Professors Program, I would neither have met the incredible minds that I did, nor have started or finished this project. Thank you to the UNI administrators Edna Newmark and Susan Tomassetti who always made UNI students feel like people and not BU ID numbers. Thank you to the directors that led such an awesome college, especially Hans Kornberg, who served as Director for the majority of my time in UNI. Thank you to the University Professors for teaching the most challenging and interesting classes that I ever took at BU. Geoffrey Hill, Renata Adler, and Lance Morrow pushed me to be a better writer. Charles Lindholm, Lucien Richard, and Jeffrey Mehlman exposed me to interesting ideas and topics.

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This thesis examines the emergence and development of national consciousness and identity in the East African nation Tanzania. A work in the science of humanity, it connects traditional social sciences through the approach of mentalism. To date, research on African nationalism centers on the nation-state and national party, and on the teleological assumption that nation building implies cultural unification within the boundaries of the state's territory. National sovereignty is seen as a natural desire; nationalism in Africa is conflated with anti-colonialism and treated as the inevitable transition from the colonial to post-colonial order. Yet this approach to the study of African nationalism cannot account for many important processes, such as why many African states have failed, why corruption is rampant, and why authoritarian regimes predominate.

I argue many aspects of modern African history are impossible to understand without recognizing that nationalism ushers in modernity and transforms and affects the major cultural institutions. I show how the process of national identity formation within Tanzania was the same process that occurs elsewhere. Nationalism did not exist in Tanzania among the native inhabitants prior to independence. Moreover, the creation of a
shared sense of national identity began only after independence: the independent state was not a nation. In examining the national image created by several integral Tanzanian intellectuals, I reflect both on the significance they placed on their narratives and how it shaped the wider social world and the identities of those they influenced.

My argument regarding Tanzania may apply to Africa more generally. The processes I described appear true of social and political developments across the continent. Many in Africa do now see themselves as equal members of sovereign societies and believe that the people are the ultimate source of political legitimacy. This work provides a methodology and argument that can be applied to address additional questions of how specifically nationalism has transformed African societies.
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is a scientific study. It is also a story—several actually—from the history of Tanzania. The stories concern the people and events important in the emergence and development of the modern society and culture in Tanzania. As a scientific study, these narratives serve as evidence which supports the argument that many aspects of modern African history are impossible to understand without understanding nationalism: it is nationalism which ushers in modernity and, once summoned, transforms and affects the major cultural institutions. The argument that nationalism is the foundation of modernity is not new, and not my own. Liah Greenfeld first spelled it out in 1992 in Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity. I am also not the first to test her theory and find, rather than refuting it, additional evidence to support it. Her theory (which was based on the analysts of England, France, Russia, Germany, and the United States) has been tested against the historical evidence from Greece, Italy, Spain, Latin American nations, the Caribbean, Rwanda and Eritrea, among other places.¹ In regard to Africa, I am the first to make explicit that certain implications of her argument are supported by what we know to occur within Africa, especially within the east African country of Tanzania.

This project addresses core social science methodological and theoretical questions: How do you study a dynamic, ever changing reality? How does a new social

reality come into being? How does it draw from existing forms of social organization? What moves people: what inspires them to act? These days it is nationalism. Nationalism is neither an inevitable motive of action nor necessarily a lasting one. What exactly is nationalism? What makes a nation? Where did national sentiment come from? What problems did it solve for those who adopted it? In this work, I analyze pertinent examples and data from Tanzania and demonstrate this evidence relates to major themes and issues within the social sciences on a cross regional scale. I also make explicit the nature of my methodology, so that too can be logically assessed and replicated.

This project falls outside the norms of traditional disciplinary boundaries. This is a work in the science of humanity, connecting traditional social sciences through the approach of mentalism. It builds bridges across fields of knowledge. Instead of approaching nationalism from a historian's, political scientist's, sociologist's, economist’s, psychologist’s or anthropologist's perspective, this research is situated in the common ground within the theories and methods of all the social sciences.

To critique this argument, to weigh and judge its logic, we must all begin on the same page. How do we get there? We need to share the same foundational vocabulary. Clear your mind from what you think you know and go back to the basic nature of inquiry.

**Leading Theories of Nationalism: Problems and Strengths**

Many popular and prevalent scholarly definitions of nationalism are too narrow or too broad. Either nationalism is equated with the state and is taken to be coterminous
with the existence of a state, or it is too broadly defined as any constructed identity and loses all meaning. For instance, for Adrian Hastings, anything is nationalism. The biggest hindrance to the study of nationalism is the lack of a proper definition. Without a clear conception of what nation and nationalism are, scholars and commentators can run the gamut of interpretations, but lack the means of adjudicating among them.

The works of Benedict Anderson, John Breuilly, Ernest Gellner, Liah Greenfeld, Eric Hobsbawm, and Anthony Smith epitomize the major theories currently employed to explain and define nationalism. There are two main opposing positions regarding the origin of nationalism, the primordialist view (Smith) argues nations reflect ancient ethnic communities and the modernist view that argues nations are a modern development. Among the modernists, which represent the dominant understanding, one can distinguish two positions: forms of structuralism that present the nation as a product of the state (Breuilly), or as a product of capitalism (Anderson), or as a product of industrialization (both Gellner and Hobsbawm’s basic argument), and mentalism (Greenfeld) in which cultural phenomena, such as nationalism and nations, are viewed as symbolic products of the mind that must be explained historically in terms of changes in meaning. Most of the major theories of nationalism derive from a materialist understanding of the nature of human social reality, and therefore view it as a product of structures and the process of modernization. The primordial/perennialist view is also fundamentally materialist as nationalism is seen as an innate quality or capacity that will be realized when the proper

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3 These works override the literature of previous generations, such as Hans Kohn’s *The Idea of Nationalism*. 
conditions arise. The major exception to the materialist arguments is Liah Greenfeld’s mentalist theory, which focuses on nationalism as a form of consciousness and argues that nationalism is the constitutive element of modernity.

Nationalism, for Gellner, is the product of modern economic processes:
“nationalism is indeed an effect of industrial social organization.”

There is a limited list of material factors that must exist in order for nationalism to take root. Much like Karl Marx, Gellner implies that a society has to pass through various stages of unilineal development in order to reach the industrialized nationalist point; the cultural continuum is predetermined. Nationalism is a necessary corollary of a certain stage of economic development, inherent in the structures and technologies of a certain advanced age.

Gellner explains:

Nationalism—the principle of homogenous cultural units as the foundations of political life, and of the obligatory cultural unity of rulers and ruled—is indeed inscribed neither in the nature of things, nor in the hearts of men, nor in the pre-conditions of social life in general, and the contention that it is so inscribed is a falsehood which nationalist doctrine has succeeded in presenting as self-evident. But nationalism as a phenomenon, not as a doctrine presented by nationalists, is inherent in a certain set of social conditions; and those conditions, it so happens, are the conditions of our time.

Breuilly, in distinction, makes the case that nations are a product of the state. The core argument of his Nationalism and the State is that “nationalism should be understood as a form of politics that arises in close association with the development of the modern

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4 Ernest Gellner, Nations and Nationalism, 40.
5 Ibid., 125.
Breuilly sees the centrality some scholars attribute to national identity as misleading: “To focus upon culture, ideology, identity, class or modernisation is to neglect the fundamental point that nationalism is, above and beyond all else, about politics and that politics is about power. Power, in the modern world, is principally about control of the state.” Breuilly’s argument does not indicate a causal mechanism that can explain either nationalism’s emergence or persistence.

Anderson is the most often cited—and sometimes the only cited—theorist in analyses of nationalism in Africa. Since publication of *Imagined Communities*, many use his term "imagined communities" to signify creating a nation as a conscious process. His argument however, has significant flaws that render it problematic. Anderson's definition of a nation as an "imagined political community. . . imagined as both limited and sovereign" is too general: all communities extending beyond face-to-face relations are imagined, while "limited and sovereign" does not clearly distinguish a national political community from other types, such as dynastic, for instance. Furthermore, he injects "imagined" with several contradictory meanings throughout his analysis. While most scholars take Anderson's "imagined" to reflect a sense that nationalism is a consciously created phenomenon, Anderson's analysis lends weight to social structures causing the development of nationalism, and does not ascribe creative agency to individuals. His work also contains significant historical inaccuracies, such as identifying

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6 Breuilly, *Nationalism*, xii.
7 Ibid., 1.
8 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Peterson, *Creative Writing*; Sorenson, *Imagining Ethiopia*.
9 Eastwood, *Nationalism in Venezuela*.
the emergence of nationalism in the Americas when numerous sources point to its
English (or, at any rate, European) origin.\textsuperscript{11}

In \textit{The Ethnic Origin of Nations}, Anthony Smith questions whether or not nations
are modern phenomena by analyzing their ethnic roots. A nation is neither a primordial
given nor wholly modern. According to Smith, new identities draw upon past “myths,
memories and symbols.”\textsuperscript{12} He coins the term “ethnie” to encapsulate primordial forms of
association of culturally homogeneous groups. How ethnies differ from genealogically
based ethnic communities is unclear. While stating that nations are not reducible to
ethnicity, his argument implies that ethnicity is a central and defining characteristic to all
nations: “there are ‘ethnic roots’ which determine, to a considerable degree, the nature
and limits of modern nationalisms and nations.”\textsuperscript{13} Smith argues that ethnicity “has
provided in a very general manner, a potent model for human association which has been
adapted and transformed, but not obliterated, in the formation of modern nations.”\textsuperscript{14}
While attempting to find the middle ground between the primordialists and modernists,
Smith’s argument ultimately embodies the primordialist position. This is clearly seen in
his explanation that within the two types of nations, “civic-territorial” and “ethnic-
genealogical” the first type is a “Western mirage;” such nations are in fact multi-national,
which implies a nation corresponds to one ethnic community.\textsuperscript{15} Smith's theory cannot

\textsuperscript{11} Eastwood, \textit{Nationalism in Venezuela}.
\textsuperscript{12} Smith, \textit{Ethnic Origins}, 3.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., 18.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., x.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 216.
account for the abrupt changes in orientation seen in the historical record in the shift from traditional societies of orders to modern nations.

These arguments do not amount to a causal explanation of nationalism's emergence or persistence. It is important to note that implicit within many of these theories is the sense that a nation should be a monocultural unit derived from some pre-existing ethnic sense of community. Although a civic definition and an ethnic definition of nationalism are typically recognized—Rogers Brubaker describes the difference as related to *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis*—any civic nation is seen to be a flawed manifestation of the essentially ethnic phenomenon.\(^\text{16}\) Scholars call multi-ethnic societies multinational societies, indicating that a nation equals an ethnicity. This is explicit within Smith’s argument and never questioned within Gellner, Breuilly, and Anderson’s work.

None of the theories mentioned in the preceding pages can adequately account for nationalism’s global reach and enduring significance. All represent offshoots of the historical materialist understanding of history, which is fundamentally ahistorical. Therefore, they cannot offer a satisfactory, empirically based, causal explanation as to why nationalism is such a powerful force and why so many people think in its terms. According to historical materialism, specific historical causes are insignificant, because stages of history are predetermined by the logic of economic development from the very emergence of humanity. History is seen as natural, inevitable, and based on the underlying or fundamental and ultimately causal material factors.\(^\text{17}\) Anderson, for

\(^\text{16}\) Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood*.

\(^\text{17}\) Marx, *Marx-Engels Reader*, 57.
instance, explains how the pre-national consciousness fell apart, but offers no explanation of why the resulting vision became nationalism, rather than something else. These theories seek to explain human reality, including ideas and beliefs, by postulating various economic or social structural processes independent of individual agency. The implication is that one is never in control of what is produced in one’s own mind; exposure to certain physical or ideal configurations necessarily result in certain reactions to them. Cultural phenomena are seen as reflecting more fundamental structural forces.

Yet, as we all know, no combination of structural forces (which are themselves culturally constructed) has brought about an inevitable result. By reifying social structures and ascribing agency to them, these theories fail to capture and explain the reality of the societies they investigate.

**Nationalism: The Definition**

Nations are not constituted by any “objective” characteristics which many of them share, such as territory, language, cultural similarities (often referred to as “ethnicity”) or physical similarities (referred to both as “ethnicity” and as “race.”) Neither do they derive from presumed ancestral history. To each of these it is possible to find important counter examples. Nevertheless, nations do have universally valid objective characteristics of a different sort: all nations reflect the same image of reality, which differs sharply from the images of reality characteristic of societies not defining themselves as nations. It is this image of reality—or a specific consciousness—that is nationalism.
Nationalism is a secular view of the world in which people belong to sovereign communities of fundamentally equal members. Such communities that are referred to as “nations;” because of the egalitarianism and principle of popular sovereignty implied in nationalism, membership in nations connotes dignity. This definition highlights the cultural, symbolic, meaning filled nature of human social reality. Nationalism is a complex historical phenomenon that fundamentally alters how people identify themselves and orient their actions. Nationalism is “a form of consciousness, an essentially secular view of reality, whose socio-political component rests on the principles of fundamental equality of membership in a community and popular sovereignty.” The “nation,” is “defined as a community of equals and as sovereign.”\(^{18}\) There are two ways of interpreting equality in shared sovereignty. It can be seen as individual liberty or as collective independence from foreign domination. This definition does not discount the infinite variability seen within the actual realized experience of nationalism. Every case of nationalism retains the original meaning of the "nation" in which the people are defined as sovereign and fundamentally homogenous, while molding these concepts to suit their specific historical conditions.\(^{19}\)

Nationalism is not a necessary and natural stage in human social development. It is an historical, thus contingent, phenomenon. As such, its emergence and development can and must be studied empirically. Its specific historical manifestations can and must be compared.

\(^{18}\) Greenfeld, *Mind, Modernity, and Madness*, 2-3

\(^{19}\) See Greenfeld, *Nationalism and the Mind*, 76.
The Treatment of African Nationalism

There is a lack of agreement over what should be classified as nationalism or nationalist inspired activity in Africa.\textsuperscript{20} Most Africanists do not clearly define what they mean by the term, which makes it difficult to ascertain their meaning.\textsuperscript{21} Anderson is the most often cited theorist in literature on nationalism in Africa, although the phenomenon is most often understood as a necessary corollary to the development of modern states (Breuilly’s basic argument). Research on African nationalism centers on the nation-state and national party, and on the teleological assumption that nation building implies cultural unification within the boundaries of the state’s territory.\textsuperscript{22} The terms “state” and “nation” are used interchangeably.\textsuperscript{23} National sovereignty is seen as a natural desire; nationalism in Africa is conflated with anti-colonialism and treated as the inevitable transition from the colonial to post-colonial order.\textsuperscript{24} As Susan Geiger noted, “the job of the historian interested in African nationalist history was to demonstrate how and why particular groups of Africans were “ready” to be ignited by the spark of nationalism introduced by educated male elites.”\textsuperscript{25} In this formulation, nationalism is conceptualized generally as any independence seeking political movement and investigations into the history of nationalism center on events surrounding the independence period.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{20} Odhiambo, \textit{Siasa}.
\textsuperscript{21} Birmingham, \textit{Frontline Nationalism}; Marcum, \textit{Angolan Revolution}.
\textsuperscript{22} Apter, \textit{Political Kingdom in Uganda}; Hyden, \textit{Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania}.
\textsuperscript{23} Herbst, \textit{States and Power in Africa}; Young, \textit{African Colonial State}.
\textsuperscript{25} Geiger, \textit{TANU Women}, 7; Ibingira, \textit{Forging of an African Nation}.
\textsuperscript{26} Lonsdale, “Emergence of African Nations,” 11.
The dominant interpretation uses nationalism to mean the struggle to attain independence and power for Africans, with the main difference being in how broadly or narrowly nationalist activity is defined. Thomas Hodgkin’s definition is the most generous; it considers any resistance against colonial intrusion as nationalism. He uses the word “nationalist” to “describe any organisation or group that explicitly asserts the rights, claims and aspirations of a given African society (from the level of the language-group to that of ‘Pan-Africa’) in opposition to European authority, whatever its institutional form and objectives.”

Stricter interpretations use the term “nationalism” to refer only to those political movements aimed at obtaining independence and self-government from colonial powers. A third definition ties nationalism to Pan-Africanism. These different interpretations are also occasionally joined into a metanarrative that unifies various historical episodes. Atieno Odhiambo notes that in East Africa the academic trend is to connect all resistance as successive stages of African nationalism: “primary resistance was succeeded by messianic movements and the rise of African independent churches, which in turn were overtaken by the leadership of ‘new men’, the founders of voluntary associations who laid the roots for the country-wide parties of the 1950s.”

Early scholarship on nationalism in Africa often exhibited a marked ideological bias, with optimism in the 1960s giving way to pessimistic analysis in the 1970s; dependency theory imported from Latin America replaced the inevitable progress within

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29 Odhiambo, *Siasa*, 92
“modernization theory.” Wallenstein’s *Africa: The Politics of Independence* captured the passion and optimism of the 1960s: “Africa believed in itself, in its future, and in its past, and the world took note.” By the 1980s nationalism fell out of favor as a subject of investigation by historians and political scientists; research looked at ethnicity or class instead. In the past twenty years, the scholars who examine nationalism remain puzzled by it. For Ackah:

Nationalism is a curious phenomenon at the best of times but in the African case it defies its own strange logic. Arbitrary and illegitimate boundaries become legitimate, and people who were as different as chalk and cheese were suddenly expected to assume a common national identity. It was all rather bizarre. In the second instance why did socialism become the dominant theme of the second wave of independence? Pan-Africanism as an ideology had the scope to assume any identity it wanted, so why did African leaders opt for the dominant world ideologies of the time, namely nationalism and socialism. Was this not inviting long term disaster?

Recent studies of nationalism in Africa explore its nuances and contradictions. Assumptions that ethnic and linguistic groups represent single interest groups, and that countries contain unitary nationalist movements are giving way to scholarship on identity that demonstrates the diversity of populations and movements.

Despite the merits of recent literature, the prevailing paradigms are unable to explain certain contradictions between theory and data. Alemseged Abbay, for instance, is puzzled by why in the Horn of Africa, structural factors failed to give rise to a common
political identity. G. S. K. Ibingira acknowledges that it seems odd that in Uganda subjected people “felt and lived in contentment under their foreign rulers from 1893 until the 1950s” but cannot offer a plausible explanation for this behavior. Goran Hyden notes that dominant theories cannot account for the lack of change in peasant modes of production. Africanist scholars who assume nationalism reflects fundamental economic processes and is the inevitable progressive transition from the colonial to the post-colonial order are unable to answer why many African states have failed, why corruption is rampant, why personalistic authoritarian regimes predominate, and why nationalism developed in unlikely places—like Eritrea and Tanzania. Not all contemporary societies are nations. The many failed African states serve as clear examples that nationalism is but one form of consciousness; it does not necessarily or automatically triumph over others.

The Study of Nationalism in Tanzania

In many important respects, the historiography of nationalism in Tanzania mirrors the approach to nationalism in Africa overall. Formed by the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964, Tanzania possesses both curious contradictory attributes that set it apart from the nations of Europe and other states in Africa, as well as similarities. As one of the few states with relatively little violence since independence and no serious threats to its sovereignty, Tanzania has long been heralded as one of the "success stories" of

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38 Smith, *State and Nation*, 58.
Africa. It contrasts sharply with neighboring Congo, Rwanda, and Kenya. Yet, some scholars argue that Tanzania's national homogeneity and unity is dissipating. There are a number of social, political, and linguistic differences between Tanzania mainland and Zanzibar; examining colonial history alone does not explain these differences or the meaningful similarities that exist. This confluence of factors makes it ideally suited for a comprehensive study of the development of national identity.

To date, the studies of nationalism in Tanzania are fragmentary, exploring only one facet or a narrow slice of time. Narratives end in 1964 or earlier; nationalism is only discussed in relation to the mainland in the period leading up to the formation of the Republic of Tanzania. John Iliffe's *A Modern History of Tanganyika* ends in 1961. His treatment of nationalist sentiment refers only to the mainland; Zanzibar is cursorily mentioned in relation to Tanganyika's history. Several scholars examine the creation of a Swahili political vocabulary. It contributes to understanding how a novel national worldview was established, but is rarely incorporated into studies of nationalism. Susan Geiger's key contribution challenges the meta-narrative that places the first president Julius Nyerere at the heart of "building the nation," by focusing on women’s involvement. By centering on women, unfortunately, she relegates the men they worked alongside to brief footnotes, which creates an incomplete picture. Moreover,

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39 Campbell, “Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Religion.”
42 Presley, *Kikuyu Women*, is a similar study of the Kikuyu that inserts women into the narrative.
Geiger's work is not comprehensive as it focuses only on the years 1955-1965. More recently, Kelly Askew's *Performing the Nation* explores the interconnection of Swahili music and the creation of national identity. Again, the research is centered on one facet and therefore limited in scope. Scholarship thus far has failed to combine these disparate elements together into one cohesive narrative. The only work that approaches this goal is Giblin and Maddox's edited volume, *In Search of a Nation*. The picture derived from these essays, however, is not meant to be a complete representation of political history, but to provide a glimpse into the non-linear progression of conceptualizing Tanzania's disparate groups into a national collective.

There is a palpable tension in much of this work as scholars try to look beyond equating the nation with the state, but lack an adequate explanatory model and definition of nationalism from which to begin. There is no cohesive narrative because there is no overarching explanatory paradigm. Giblin and Maddox's book, for instance, takes the nation for granted as an assumed entity, equated with independence movements. Askew’s discussion of the tensions between local performing artists and agencies of state implicitly posits a division between state and community. Yet, many of the essays in Part II of the volume seek to move beyond this approach by emphasizing that in order to understand the full history of nationalism's development within Tanzania one must look beyond nationalist politics. These essays highlight multiple political discourses and identities contributing to the process of nation building. No one, however, questions why nationalism developed.

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43 Askew, *Performing the Nation*, 2.
Scholars are unable to address important issues due to prevailing assumptions regarding the nature of nationalism which are rooted in materialist understandings of cultural reality. Those focused on East Africa struggle to find a paradigm that bridges between generalization and descent into complete cultural relativism. As Feierman notes: “we’re accustomed to thinking expressive culture is a reflection of deeper social forces—as a superstructure erected over a base of material relations.” Among East Africanists dissatisfaction with the reigning materialist paradigms is growing as these paradigms fail to capture the complex dynamics of Tanzanian society. Hyden criticizes the “social science fiction” these prevailing paradigms produce. Cooper’s discussion of globalization, in “What is the Concept of Globalization Good For? An African Historian’s Perspective,” states that there is a lack of understanding surrounding “the historical depth of interconnections and a focus on just what the structures and limits of the connecting mechanisms are.” He argues for “modest and more discerning ways of analyzing processes that cross borders but are not universal, that constitute long-distance networks and social fields but not on a planetary scale.” Locating such a solution requires understanding of the basic premises underlying social science research. Extending into my research interests, I have come to identify several assumptions that may hinder unbiased scholarly inquiry. (When I say “we” I most certainly mean American researchers, and less certainly extend these assumptions equally to all others. I imagine there are slight, culturally based variations.) We assume that all peoples desire

44 Feierman, Peasant Intellectuals, 24.
45 Hyden, African Politics, 5.
national sovereignty, which manifests itself in one state. We believe (wrongly) that economics are the foundation of everything else; that open markets are tied to democracy. We conceive of globalization as a secular trend tied to the growing size of communication networks, that the global village of the world is a progressive trend. For many observers, scholars, and for many westerners, it is natural and unquestionable that democracy is a good in itself and should be desired, worked towards, and attained by all people in the world. Those who do not believe so are called corrupt. A value judgment is substituted for empirical generalization. The undemocratic rulers are “bad men,” and “bad rulers” because the only acceptable way to rule is to follow the alleged desires of the majority of people. Implicit in arguments such as these are certain assumptions regarding how culture operates and changes, about agency and identity.

If we do not begin, however, from the premise that an independent state is automatically a nation-state, we can then ask several important questions. Is Tanzania a nation? When did it become one? Why did it become one? Do people on Tanzania mainland and Zanzibar see themselves as belonging to the same national collective or are there competing nationalist visions?

The Mentalist Theory of Nationalism

Greenfeld’s theory of nationalism is a dramatic departure from the previously described theories, although it does build upon some of the most interesting and illuminating insights within them. Her historically deduced definition does not discount the infinite variability seen within the actual realized experience of nationalism, yet is
more specific than Anderson's and the other theorists I mentioned above. Greenfeld locates nationalism's emergence in sixteenth century England, signified by the first appearance of the concept “nation” (the word “nation” used in its present sense), and is therefore able to approach the phenomenon in its precise historical context. Her argument posits that nationalism's emergence as a source of identity results from the fact that it solved the condition of anomie (the psychological discomfort felt by individuals in positions of great influence suffering from status-inconsistency). She further defines her central explanatory concept, anomie, as “a condition of structural inconsistency, that is, systematic inconsistency among collective representations,” saying: “anomie directly affects individual experience, creating profound psychological discomfort. This discomfort motivates participants in a given social situation to resolve the bothersome inconsistency.”

Following the destruction of the feudal aristocracy during the War of the Roses, there was a sustained 100 year period of upward social mobility. This unprecedented social mobility created an anomic situation in sixteenth century England. Those who moved to the top of the social hierarchy needed to make sense of their experience since it contradicted their religious image of reality in which humanity was naturally divided into three orders—nobility, clergy, and plebeians. As the experience was positive, these upwardly mobile Englishmen searched for an explanation to legitimize their newfound ability to achieve elite status based on merit, rather than birth. They reasoned that all Englishmen were part of the elite, using the word nation (which at that time meant an

48 Greenfeld, *Mind, Modernity, Madness*, 8. This characterization of anomie has its roots in Emile Durkheim, Robert Merton, and Talcott Parsons.
elite) as a synonym for the word *people* (designating the lower orders of society) and effectively elevating the entire English populace to the dignity of an elite. This semantic transformation marks the launch of the era of nationalism.

A unique set of historical factors led to the emergence of nationalism in England. This form of consciousness, and identity and society based upon it, was subsequently imported and adapted because influential sectors of other societies were similarly open to adopting this specific set of ideas to reorder their social and political institutions, due to suffering other anomic situations (that is situations different in character but similar in structure). Greenfeld explains:

The adoption of a new, national, identity is precipitated by a regrouping within or change in the position of influential social groups. This structural change results in the inadequacy of the traditional definition, or identity, of the involved groups—a crisis of identity, structurally expressed as "anomie"—which creates among them an incentive to search for and, given the availability, adopt a new identity. The crisis of identity as such does not explain why the identity which is adopted is national, but only why there is a predisposition to opt for some new identity. The fact that the identity is *national* is explained, first of all, by the availability at the time of a certain type of ideas, in the first case a result of invention, and in the rest of an importation. (It is this dependence on the idea of the nation, ultimately irreducible to situational givens and solely attributable to the unpredictable ways of human creativity, that makes national identity a matter of historical contingency rather than necessity.) In addition, *national* identity is adopted because of its ability to solve the crisis.\(^{49}\)

This explanation counters arguments that it is naturally "progressive" to become a nation. Rather it implies that understanding why nationalism takes root in any society requires examination of the historical conditions that made an influential sector of the population choose a national identity:

\(^{49}\) Greenfeld, *Nationalism*, 16-17.
The availability of the concept alone could not have motivated anyone to adopt a foreign model, however successful, and be the reason for the change of identity and the transformation which such fundamental change implied. For such a transformation to occur, influential actors must have been willing, or forced, to undergo it. The adoption of national identity must have been, in one way or another, in the interest of the groups which imported it. Specifically, it must have been preceded by the dissatisfaction of these groups with the identity they had previously. A change of identity presupposed a crisis of identity.\(^{50}\)

A crisis of identity creates an incentive to search for and adopt a new identity, which “defines a person’s position in his or her social world.”\(^{51}\) A national identity is promoted by specific groups for one of two reasons: they either deeply believe in it, or because it helps them by increasing either their status or prestige vis-à-vis other groups and nations. Furthermore, these groups must have some sort of influence—whether status, power, wealth, or control of communication—that enables this new identity to be spread to the rest of society.\(^{52}\)

Greenfeld demonstrates that the variety seen within the experience of nationalism is explained by the fact that each society importing it differs in its interpretation and understanding of nationalism’s core principles. Since the anomie the importing groups suffer is itself the product of aggravations unique to their society, the nationalism they fashion will also be unique. The development of national identity is often affected by ressentiment, a complex emotional and psychological state of existential envy that results from an inability to satisfy feelings of envy and inferiority and therefore leads to their suppression. It emerges when the model nation individuals hope to imitate is seen as

\(^{50}\) Ibid., 14.

\(^{51}\) Ibid., 16.

\(^{52}\) Ibid., 22.
superior to their own burgeoning "nation." In order for *ressentiment* to develop, two structural conditions must be present: first, the subject and object of envy must be seen as comparable; second, there must be an actual inequality that rules out the practical achievement of the theoretically existing equality. Out of this crucible of psychologically unbearable inconsistency, emerges a "transvaluation of values," in which the core principles of the imported nationalism are reinterpreted in the process of rejecting the model as inadequate. Certain elements of indigenous traditions are emphasized, often supporting values hostile to the principles of the original model of nationalism.\(^5^3\)

There are three ideal types that represent the spectrum within which the nation and membership in the people (nation) is defined. The “nation” may be seen in either collective or individualistic terms: in the former case, the entire community is imagined as one individual with one will. In the latter each person is seen to be a member of the people that compose the nation. Membership within the nation is determined in civic or ethnic terms. Ethnic nationalisms, which believe that membership in the nation is an inherent genetic characteristic, are always collectivistic. However, civic nationalisms, where membership is identical to citizenship, can be either collectivistic or

\(^{53}\) Ibid., 17. The concept derives from Nietzsche and Max Scheler, etc. Friedrich Nietzsche was the first to categorize and name this phenomenon, while Max Scheler defined and developed the concept. Greenfeld, however, demonstrates how this concept is inextricably bound within many nations' national consciousness. Ressentiment is a psychological problem manifested by an existential hatred borne out of an all consuming inferiority complex. It leads to a poisoning of the mind and attitude, since that which was defined as good becomes viewed as evil by those unable to ever obtain the status of "good." Greenfeld uses it to refer to “a psychological state resulting from suppressed feelings of envy and hatred (existential envy) and the impossibility of satisfying these feelings.” *Nationalism* 15.
individualistic. In principle, this type of membership is open and voluntary, with the possibility of being acquired. What is important to recall in these three possible permutations of nationalism is that they are models. No nation ever perfectly fits into one of these categories, but the mixed composition of all nations varies enough towards one of these models to make classification in these terms useful for the sake of analysis. All national identities fall within this spectrum of the three ideal types: they are individualistic and civic like the United States and England, collectivistic and civic like France, or collectivistic and ethnic like Germany and Russia.

Understanding why nationalism takes root in any society requires examination of the historical conditions that made an influential sector of the population amenable to altering their identity and adopting (and adapting) this specific set of ideas to reorder their social and political values. We have to explain how a new particular and unique form of consciousness, such as nationalism, emerges: identities do not reflect structural changes and cannot be deduced logically and \textit{a priori}. In order to understand what transpired to successfully create a national identity in an influential group and make it appealing to the larger society it is necessary to look at the specific conditions present leading up to the formation of this novel identity and to examine the historical actors.

As nationalism results from a fundamental shift in perceptions, it is necessarily accompanied by semantic shifts, which give expression to the novel experiences. In \textit{Nationalism}, Greenfeld traces the semantic permutations that resulted in the word "nation" transforming from the derogatory meaning of a "litter" to connote its present elevating sense. The first society to import this concept of “nation” (and with it
nationalism) from England, she shows, was France. In the process of France becoming a nation, one final alteration was made to the conceptualization of the word: a nation was seen to be a unique sovereign community of equal members. Subsequently Russia, Germany, and the United States became nations, after re-conceptualizing their social order within the parameters of this definition of nationalism. By taking into account the enduring diversity and strength of national cultures, Greenfeld offers an explanation for the great variety within global phenomena such as the adoption of democracy and the persistence of economic growth. As noted, this theory has been tested against empirical data from Japan, the Czech Republic, the Caribbean, Greece, Italy, Venezuela, and Brazil, among other nations and regions.

A Mentalist Theory of African Nationalism

Greenfeld’s mentalist paradigm and theory of nationalism allows us to move beyond the prevailing materialist ideas regarding how societies operate. One’s epoch is determined by the predominant world-view from which core social and political values derive. Since we live in a world of nations, it is easy to see why scholars, themselves members of nations—and therefore engulfed in a national world-view—see nationalism as an inevitable stage of history. Today, the global political sphere is judged within the framework of nationalism. Nationalism—the idea that people are equal members of sovereign societies and that “the people” is the ultimate source of political legitimacy—is the foundation, the organizing principle of modern society. The desire for national sovereignty is seen as natural. All polities are assumed to be nation-states or aspiring
towards that goal: this is evident in much of the scholarship on African politics. The world’s nations have social structures that have been transformed into national institutions, and even codified in terms of new national identities. Whether or not a nation-state exists, or is in the process of formation can be deduced by examining the extent to which it reflects the processes of institutionalization and cultural development Greenfeld outlines. In order to understand the global reach of nationalism, it is necessary to understand that nationalism is the cultural foundation of modern society and therefore is also the cultural foundation of modern politics.

To understand what transpired to construct a national identity and make it appealing we must look at the specific conditions leading up to this creation and examine the historical actors involved in it. We have to explain how this new, particular, and unique form of consciousness emerges. The focus on the significance of nationalism as a source of identity leads to investigation of the dominant assumptions within the scholarship on African nationalism—such as the belief that all African polities should and would constitute themselves as nation-states based on the Western model of representative government—and brings to the fore a critical examination of the structural and intellectual historical context. It leads scholars to consider a wider purview of literature and forces one to begin with a clear definition of nationalism. To evaluate what changes occurred a clear sense of the world-view that preceded it is necessary, and a grasp of the wider historical development of nationalism: which actors articulated such ideas, where and how were they exposed to these ideas, and why would this novel image of reality appeal to them?
Outline of the Argument

This work is a historical sociological inquiry in the mentalist tradition. I use Greenfeld's historical definition of nationalism, but do not *a priori* accept her theoretical explanation as universally valid and unquestioned. Instead, my study of the emergence and development of national consciousness in Tanzania serves as a test of her hypotheses.

For all the major processes and episodes of modern African political history—from the first confrontations with European colonial powers, to independence, to the formation of states, state collapse, and civil unrest—nationalism is a central part of the story. These various processes, however, should not be equated with nationalism.54 A concise, historically constructed, definition of the phenomena allows one to differentiate between activities that were merely anti-colonial versus nationally motivated actions or to distinguish between those who clung to nationalism bandwagon as opposed to those who were truly committed and converted nationalists.

Employing the mentalist paradigm, i.e. concentrating on the participants actually involved in the development in question and understanding the connection between the mind and culture, demonstrates that the defining feature of modernity is nationalism—the idea that people are equal members of sovereign societies and that “the people” are the ultimate source of political legitimacy.55 Modernity began in Europe and spread beyond Britain and France by the middle of the 1800s; it is, therefore, possible that the first signs

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54 Carr, “Nationalism in the African Context.”
55 Greenfeld, *Nationalism.*
of modern Africa could be found as early as the first European encounters. Likewise, Africa can be said to have modernized when the world-view of Africans similarly transformed to embrace a nationalist understanding of reality.

Few historians have inquired into when Africa began to exhibit the modern cultural mentality. Based on the current knowledge of African history, I do not think it can be stated with a definitive certainty when Africa became “modern.” But, it is clear today that nationalism ushered in a new world of experience in Africa. Many in Africa now see themselves as equal members of sovereign societies and believe that the living community is the ultimate source of political legitimacy. This image of social reality (this consciousness) has become the foundation of their individual and collective identity within their society. Applying the mentalist historical paradigm allows us to address the question of when this happened and how specifically it has transformed African societies.

Many of the problems intellectuals face revolve around the issue of national dignity; even the use of a foreign language is fraught with such tensions. While historians recognize that nationalism “diminished the significance of invidious distinctions” and “ensured everyone a modicum of dignity,” it is not treated as a central explanation of why Africans adopted and adapted nationalism. Geiger describes the symbolic force of first Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere standing next to Bibi Titi Mohammed, the leader of the women’s TANU league, as “a moment of ‘truth’ regarding Tanzanian nationalism as an historical process in which people drew on their social experience to construct a

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56 Davidson, *The Black Man’s Burden*, locates the intellectual origins of nationalism in African political discourse in Sierra Leone and Cape Coast in the 1860s.

‘nation’ in which they might experience freedom from colonial overrule and dignity as human beings.”

Until nationalism, the great majority of human populations never experienced such dignity or had any hope of attaining it. Other scholars note the role of status anxiety and the desire for dignity in the emergence of nationalist sentiment, however, it is given only cursory attention, since the belief still prevails that nationalism is inevitable, thereby negating the need to identify specific causal explanations.

This work begins with an analysis of Tanzania on the cusp of colonialism. I find, through examination of the available source materials—early-nineteenth-century Swahili literature, early African language dictionaries, and travelers’ descriptions—that national consciousness did not exist prior to the German colonial presence. I show that the various indigenous peoples' polities and social structures embodied principles that were diametrically opposed to a nationalist worldview that sees people as sovereign members of nation that is fundamentally egalitarian and secular.

Prior to the coming of European colonialism, many parts of Africa had long-standing contact with outside cultures. The difference between European colonial presence and cultural contact that preceded it was not a matter of degree, but of kind. Looking specifically at Tanzania, the British presence affected the native population much more deeply than the Portuguese presence and Omani sultanate did. The European colonizers and missionaries differed in their very consciousness from the other foreign cultures Tanzanians had previously interacted with: those arriving at Tanzania's shores in the nineteenth century came from nations, they were themselves nationalists, and

58 Ibid., 5.
therefore viewed the world in nationalist terms. Through an analysis of their writings and lexical sources, I show how unwittingly these foreigners in their language, modes, and manners of thinking introduced this novel national worldview to the indigenous inhabitants.

Pinpointing foreign origins, however, explains neither why individuals chose to adopt a national identity, nor the shape that nationalism took within Tanzania. In much of Africa, the first nationalists were new intellectuals, educated in Western institutions.\textsuperscript{59} These individuals, who saw it as their duty to guide and transform their societies, consciously and purposefully articulated the ideals of nationalism.\textsuperscript{60} British colonial ways of thinking, their bureaucratic structure and way of organizing institutions was seen as the proper and correct way by many of the African elite. While there are legitimate grievances regarding the detrimental effects of colonialism, the extent to which Europeans are vilified is out of proportion to their actual significance. I believe nationalism explains much of this vilification. The Tanzanian case will illustrate that the first nationalists were responding to the same acute status-inconsistency underlying the rise of national consciousness in other societies.

By the late 1800s, globally, nationalism had become a force to be reckoned with. A cultural phenomenon, originally a product of individual minds, it was the effect of specific historical conditions within England, which soon began to affect the entire world. Globally, political legitimacy now requires real or pretended allegiance to principles of

\textsuperscript{59} Odhiambo, \textit{Siasa}, 103.
\textsuperscript{60} Shils noted: "It was the intellectuals on whom, in the first instance, devolved the task of contending for their nations' right to exist, even to the extent of promulgating the very idea of the nation." \textit{The Intellectuals}, 387
nationalism. One cannot be a military dictator anymore without paying lip service to democracy and upholding the dignity of the people ruled with an iron fist. Not all Western educated intellectuals became nationalists. Some were interested in preserving the status quo, or in removing foreign domination while maintaining the existing colonial structures and just substituting African born personnel into the positions within them. Some political leaders used the nationalist intellectuals’ rhetoric to their own advantage, for decidedly not nationalist ends. During the anti-colonial period, the rhetoric of nationalism was used to cloak ulterior motives, and had become the only legitimate basis for authority recognized by foreign powers as well as African intellectuals. The pervasiveness and prevalence of nationalist rhetoric can be attributed to two factors: 1) It became the only legitimate basis for authority; would-be dictators recognized that they must have the formal sanction of the ballot box, even if it was stuffed, and 2) Actual nationalists were passionately committed to the ennobling ideals at nationalism's base: the possibility of dignity for every man.

Although national identity is in a constant process of development, one can pinpoint the moment of its crystallization: when the definition of national membership achieves some measure of standardization and agreement within the most influential social sector. I find that such shared national vision only crystallized post-independence—and in fact may still be in the process of formation into a civic and

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61 Cartwright notes that elsewhere in Africa, “The rulers who have left their countries in the greatest shambles, such as “Emporer” Jean-Bedel Bokassa and General Idi Amin, had no discernable vision of how they would like to make their countries better places, but only a desire to keep themselves in power.” Political Leadership in Africa, 35.
63 Greenfeld, Nationalism; Geiger, TANU Women, 5.
collectivistic type—which helps to explain certain features of Tanzanian society.

In Shaaban Robert's day of the 1940s, there was growing sentiment that could later be characterized as nationalist, but it is unclear what the people were after, and what they thought. Some did propagate something that later could be labeled "nationalism." During the 1940s and 1950s a few nationalists emerged, often without a clear sense of to which nation they belonged. A few cultivated a sense of Tanganyikan identity; others carved out Zanzibari identities. Some inhabitants with historical ties elsewhere, for example those of Indian heritage, came to identify with that nation. Certainly, there was no sense of Tanzania before the state entity emerged. The 1960s and 1970s were a very important time for the development of this sentiment, expanding it, and acting in its interest. Today, among those with formal schooling, nationalist principles are taken for granted. It forms their basic understanding of the world. The youth are now standing up and fighting for ideas which did not exist in their land 100 years ago and existed only among a small minority even fifty years ago.

In summation, Greenfeld offers more than a theory of nationalism: she offers a theory of society and social change which is able to account for the global reach of nationalism better than other dominant theories, such as Anderson's and Smith’s. I apply her approach and test her argument to an African case, Tanzania. In the course of this application, I will attempt to demonstrate how this theory sheds light on related phenomena such as political transformations, globalization, development and underdevelopment. In the introduction to her 1992 book, she briefly alludes to some of the implications of her argument, but does not herself explore the development and
spread of nationalism within a society from the center to the periphery or really delve into the implications. I address some of the most important of these implications, which affect policy issues and decisions. Perhaps the most important is, as she states, that democracy may not be exportable: it may be a quality of certain nationalisms that is not found in others. This hypothesis is here tested on the case of Tanzania’s history.
CHAPTER TWO: ASSUMPTIONS BEHIND THE ARGUMENT AND METHODOLOGICAL PREMISES

Before initiating the analysis of nationalism generally and Tanzania specifically, I outline the basic concepts and approach underlying my argument. This includes explaining my methodology and the fundamental concepts of culture and the mind. In the introduction, I provided a quick “fly by” road map of the major points of interest and began the discussion of nationalism. It will be featured a lot more in other chapters so I will not touch on it here. In this chapter, I share the underlying ideas of and logic behind the mentalist approach as compared to other dominant approaches. This will clarify how others can replicate this methodology to not only test my own study, but also apply it to other areas of inquiry. Please suspend skepticism through this methodological and epistemological explanation. As mentioned, this work builds bridges across fields of knowledge. I must describe the terrain on which I build before explaining the construction of my bridge and the benefits it brings.

In the introduction, I touched upon the mentalist theory of nationalism and what the mentalist theory of African nationalism would look like. When I presented a first draft, my introductory chapter stirred up many questions among a group of Africanist graduate students. Why explicitly say this is a scientific study? Does that not go without saying? How is mentalism different from materialism? Is this not simply a constructivist explanation? How can I claim to not fall prey to the same shortcomings of other theories
and approaches? To address such basic issues, and ensure all are on the same page, I will start from the elementary building blocks of my argument. To begin, I explain what science is and how my project is a scientific study. Then, I describe why I insist on pursuing my transdisciplinary study outside disciplinary social science literature, while, obviously, it owes so much to existing social science and humanities discourses. I will show how it is different. This will lead logically into the culture and mind discussion which will allow me to talk about a specific form of culture—nationalism—and its place in our world. This, in turn, will lead to my exploration into whether nationalism is (or is not) a part of Tanzanians’ understandings of the world in which they live.

This Work is a Scientific Study

This work is a scientific study. While this should go without saying, sadly, this is not the case. Debates continue about whether or not social sciences generally are sciences. Certain fields regularly change their consensus on the matter.\textsuperscript{64} Scholars freely admit they strive to “sound scientific” but whether or not they are engaging in scientific research is debatable.\textsuperscript{65} Therefore, there is a need to make my position on the matter explicit and justify it.

\textsuperscript{64} Nicholas Wade discusses the American Anthropology Association’s change to their core purpose statement in, “Anthropology a Science? Statement Deepens Rift,” \textit{New York Times}, December 9, 2010. Also see American Anthropological Association Executive Board “What is Anthropology?”

\textsuperscript{65} At a meeting of the ASC Dissertation Discussion Group meeting on February 9, 2012 in discussion of Political Science PhD candidate Joseph Robinson’s paper “Atavistic city: Segregation, Social Exclusion, and the Struggle for Shared Community in Belfast and Johannesburg,” he mentioned the invention of language and formulations in order to “sound scientific” in scholarly work.
Science is the systematic study of empirical reality. What gives it its “systematic” (or “methodic”) nature is the consistent use of conjectures and refutations. A conjecture is a guess; an “I think this to be so because...” type statement. It can be any guess, however wild, in so far as it is subject to empirical refutation. To make a conjecture subject to empirical refutation (i.e., refutation by empirical evidence) it must be logically formulated so that empirical evidence could contradict it. Logical formulations, in their turn, depend on the clear definition of one’s variables. Therefore, definitions (such as I have attempted of nationalism in the introduction) are the essential first step in constructing a scientific argument. What makes something “scientific” is not sounding scientific, but adherence to this specific methodology. If the hypothesis is not framed in such a way that it can be proved wrong, the subsequent analysis is not a scientific inquiry. It instead falls within the realm of mere speculation.

The subject matter of science is empirical reality, the entire realm of experience. Most people think that scientific subjects must be objective and material, but this claim is a misconception. Empirical reality is not exclusively material. Human social reality is part of empirical reality despite most of human experiences being subjective and mental. Subjective reality is, as we all know, an important part of our experience, and therefore subject to objective scientific investigation.

Science does not necessarily deny the transcendental (consider Newton and other believers among famous scientists), but merely states that things that cannot be empirically accessed need to be put aside. Religious believers may be correct that it all boils down to god, but this can never be proven or disproven and so cannot be a matter
for scientific inquiry, which depends upon the world being ordered and knowable. Yet, the tricky thing about “putting belief aside” because it is unknowable is that science itself is predicated on several beliefs that support its existence. Science is predicated on the belief in an objective world that is consistently ordered. Individuals, however, cannot prove that reality is outside of them, that their mind is not the only thing that exists (this is the fundamental problem of solipsism). We assume there is such objective reality, because it is impossible to function and survive without this fundamental belief. Science is also founded on the belief that the world is ordered. Science is the discovery of this order. These are the basic beliefs underlying science. The only direct knowledge we have, that is knowledge not based on belief (but solely on experience), that is purely empirical is the knowledge of our own mind.66

A scientific theory is one that is formulated in such a way that it can be logically refuted. No evidence is needed to construct a theory; evidence comes into play at a later stage. Without evidence, it is impossible to judge the merit of a theory, that is, to test it. A theory can and will be wrong if there is a piece of contradictory evidence. The evidence we bring to bear on a theory must be relevant. This is its essential quality, not the fact that it is quantitative or qualitative, based on a large number of cases, or as they say, anecdotal. Anecdotal evidence is not by definition unscientific evidence. The problem with an anecdote as evidence is that it may not be representative. If it is consistent with other types of evidence we may use it to support the theory. If it is inconsistent with other types of evidence, we must examine it very carefully because it just may be that one

66 See Greenfeld, Mind, Modernity, Madness, 42.
counter fact that refutes the theory. This is why a good scientist, eager to uncover the truth, will labor to collect any and all evidence applicable to the hypothesis and present it for others to use and determine if in fact any of it invalidates the conjecture. Some may think that quantifiable data are more scientific than data of another type. This is wrong. Data are not “scientific” or “not scientific,” science uses empirical evidence to test theories. A person’s individual experience, which is empirical by definition, may be as useful for the testing of a scientific theory as a statistical aggregate. In fact, it may even be more so, depending on how relevant the two are to the problem in question. The best test of a theory is to bring all relevant evidence, which implies evidence of different kinds, to bear on the hypothesis and find consistency among and within it.

Science’s value lies in the fact that it is progressive in the sense that it accumulates reliable knowledge about the world. The merit of conducting a scientific study instead of a speculative interpretation about Tanzania is that only science can actually increase reliable knowledge. The scientific method of conjectures and refutations is based on Aristotelian logic, which stems from the principle of no contradiction. Proving any scientific hypothesis true is impossible. Through refutation, however, science can bring us closer and closer to what is true.67 There is never ultimate truth with a capital “T,” but the approximate truth, based on a set of assumptions, is still very useful because it aids in understanding the world around us. In science, while no argument can be absolutely right there are plenty of arguments that are wrong. Once a theory is proven wrong, it must be changed. It does not mean that the entire piece of scholarship is useless,

67 Popper, Objective Knowledge.
but it has more specific uses now. Its dataset can continue to be mined. Its sources could be reconsidered and provide support for another theory that has replaced it.

**The Science of Humanity**

Having settled in what way this is a work of science, I must now turn to the question of what kind of science, or a science of what exactly? The sciences are divided by the realm of experience under investigation. Physical sciences study the realm of material reality. Biological sciences study the realm of organic, living reality. Each of these spheres of reality has its own distinct laws. What is the subject matter of the science in which I am interested here in this book? Could we say simply that it is “society”? No. Society, in general, is a part of life in numerous animal species. Many animals have advanced social lives; this is not the interest or domain of those sciences which fall under the umbrella of social sciences—anthropology, economics, sociology, political science, psychology (and sometimes history). These fields are all more specifically interested in human social reality, or humanity.

Humanity is that which makes us human (in the sense which is above biological). What distinguishes human society from other often very sophisticated animal societies is that other animal societies are close to uniform over great distances and periods of time within the same species. Wolves are wolves are wolves. The rules to escape and avoid a bear attack in the Pacific Northwest are no different than how you deal with a bear in Russia because the bear’s behavior is a given. In contrast, human societies are infinitely variable. Phrased another way, human social organization is not carried within human
genes while organizations of other animals are. Clearly genetics are important within human societies too, but our minds are capable of overwhelming, suppressing and changing even the most basic survival biological urges and impulses. As humans, we lack a sufficient instinctual nature that provides an inborn blueprint of how to construct our societies. When born, we do not know how to behave in society. We guess appropriate behaviors. What is socially acceptable are those guesses that fall within the cultural framework. All of our life is a very imaginative (guessing) process. The transmission of information from generation to generation is symbolic, not biological, in nature. Information is carried, maintained, and transmitted by means of symbolic systems, generally known as culture, and described as traditions, institutions, and social structures. The human mind, which creates culture, separates human society from societies of other social creatures. Therefore, science of humanity therefore is concerned with the realm of culture and the mind.

The word “culture” is commonly used to refer to outward manifestations, such as differences in dress and speaking. This is not inaccurate, but culture is more than that. Culture can be defined as “the process of transmission of human ways of life.”68 We, humans, are fundamentally cultural beings: our biological characteristics do not determine our society. It is misleading to discuss “culture and politics” or “culture and society” because both society and politics are fundamentally cultural phenomena. Since we are constantly immersed and engaged in the process of creating, transforming, and transmitting culture we become blind to its ubiquity. The role of culture in human life is

68 Greenfeld, *Mind, Modernity, Madness.*
paramount; it is not a minor (or even a major) element.

Culture foremost is a process. This process is symbolic and mental. It is the transmission of our ways of life symbolically through the mind. It is in the mind, through our imagination, that meanings are formed. But our imagination in its work uses symbols taken from our cultural environment. Everything that results from symbolic construction is a part of culture. As this process is continuous and ongoing, culture, like life, can only be studied in its effects. Languages, roads, buildings, laws, literature, music, are all examples of products of this complex symbolic and mental process. It is these products that we are able to study, but they do not capture completely the nature of the phenomenon itself. As instinct’s functional equivalent, culture provides a structure for individuals to live by in the form of identity. Through identity, which acts as a “social genetic code,” people receive instructions on how to live.  

Culture is a dynamic, ever changing reality due to its symbolic nature. Symbols are vehicles of meaning. They are signs whose significance changes according to the context, or the other symbols among which they are used. This makes culture an historical process: it occurs in time every unit (period) of which is unique and absolute, the preceding units serving as necessary conditions for—though never determining—the succeeding ones. The contents of culture, the meanings and information that symbols convey, are never exactly the same, they are constantly changing, which helps to understand the relative flexibility of social arrangements based on culture, in distinction to organizations embodying genetic information. It is never precisely the same society which one generation—be it in the family, the church, the economy or politics—transmits to another. Culture never stands still; for this reason, “structure” is a poor metaphor for it, it fails to capture this pervasive fluidity.  

69 Greenfeld, “Praxis Pietatis,” 68.  
70 Greenfeld, Mind, Modernity, Madness, 73.
As I mentioned, a chapter of my work was read recently and critiqued by a body of my peers. Every single one of my major ideas was misunderstood completely. In my estimation, this is a preeminent example showing the extent to which our world is symbolic. Every single reader read the same text but did not end up with the same understanding; the meanings they derived from it were different and depended more on preexisting beliefs than on the text itself, which presented a novel (to them) approach. In essence, every individual person has a different culture in his or her mind.

Culture is only alive and active within the mind. Outside of our minds are products of culture, that is, fossils of the creative processes in our minds. Culture is created, recreated, maintained, and changed within individual minds. Culture is essentially “collective mind” or what Emile Durkheim called “collective consciousness” while the mind is the “individualized culture.” Culture and mind are:

one and the same process occurring on two different levels—the individual and the collective, similar to the life of an organism and of the species to which it belongs in the organic world. The fundamental laws governing this process on both levels are precisely the same laws and at every moment, at every stage in it, it moves back and forth between the levels; it cannot, not for a split second, occur on only one of them.71

The cultural process—the symbolic creation and transmission of human ways of life—occurs on two levels simultaneously, and therefore cannot be studied without taking both into account:

The mind—the emergent process that happens in the boundary conditions of our organic being and, specifically, by means of our brain—is a cultural process. Culture—the process of symbolic transmission of human ways of life which happens in the mind—is a mental process. We can never talk just about the one or the other, we must remember that it is always mind-

71 Greenfeld, Mind, Modernity, Madness.
in-culture or culture-through-mind that we are discussing.\textsuperscript{72}

Whenever speaking about one or the other, you are in fact talking about both.

**Mentalism**

This understanding of culture began to develop in the late nineteenth century. The central idea of this understanding was that the distinguishing characteristic of humanity is culture and that culture is a process that takes place in the human mind. This idea was conceptualized under different guises and has been articulated to varying degrees by historians, sociologists, and anthropologists, but it has not been given a clear name or been systematically described as such until recently. In 2005, Greenfeld proposed the term *mentalism* to encapsulate this mind-centered approach that focuses on the meaning actors attach to their actions.\textsuperscript{73} This *mentalist* tradition can be traced back to the works of Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, and Marc Bloch.\textsuperscript{74} While Bloch labeled his “science of man in time” as “history,” and Weber and Durkheim used the word “sociology,” their basic understanding of the nature of human social reality reflected a similar approach. Reading these authors’ works in tandem, it is clear that they were moving toward a similar theory.

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{73} Greenfeld, *Nationalism and the Mind*, 181.

Mentalism’s core premise is that human reality exhibits its own laws, irreducible to biological or physical reality, what Durkheim called a reality *sui generis*. In biology, a similar idea of life as a reality sui generis is connected to the concept of an *emergent phenomenon*. Using this concept, we may say that the human mind operates within the boundary conditions determined by the capacities of the human brain, the physical human organism, and material reality. (Without air, ground to stand on, a body to circulate blood, the mind would not exist.) Yet, nothing produced by the mind that then enters cultural reality can be explained by the existence of these material boundary conditions. They do not *cause* the products of the mind; they only provide the necessary environment in which the mind operates. Within the writings of Durkheim, Weber and Bloch one finds the recognition that the mind is ruled by laws that are autonomous of, but not independent from, the laws of the material and organic reality of biology and physics. As Durkheim formulated it, one cannot "deduce society from the individual, the whole from the part, the complex from the simple. Society is a reality *sui generis*; it has its own particular characteristics, which are not found elsewhere and which are not met with again in the same form in all the rest of the universe."75

It is difficult to grasp what it means by saying that culture is a reality “sui generis.” While dependent upon life, as it exists within the boundary conditions set by life and by physical reality, culture is not reducible to them. This means that while any cultural phenomenon may have a biological and physical component, these components do not explain it. Causes of cultural phenomena are always cultural, even though their

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75 Durkheim, *Elementary Forms*, 22.
conditions are often biological and physical. Analogies between life and culture are helpful for conceptualizing this unique type of relationship. Life is also a reality sui generis. It is separate from the order of physical reality in the same way that cultural reality is separate from both life and physical reality. Life is governed by its own set of laws. What makes life cannot be reduced to physical laws alone. Life begets life. Culture begets culture.

Individuals, as Durkheim said, are the only active elements of culture. Because cultural action is a process and meaning does not exist in a vacuum, the best way to understand the meaning actors attach to actions is to look historically. Bloch saw it as the task of the historian to reconstruct and make sense of this process of creating, transforming, and transmitting culture that man is all the time immersed and engaged in. Bloch’s definition of history appears very simple, but encapsulates his complex understanding of the nature of human society: history is the science of man in time. This implies, among others, the unique relationship that man has with the material world: “man is constantly acting upon things at the same time that they are acting upon him.”

Bloch’s understanding is an example of the integrated approach of mentalism, which acknowledges the interplay of material and cultural forces in the individual mental processes of imagining and creating new cultural realities. It is on these meaning creating processes that the social scientist must focus to discover causes of whatever cultural phenomenon one studies.

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76 Bloch, *Historian’s Craft*, 150.
Like Bloch, Durkheim recognized society as a constraining force on the individual’s mental activity, but this force was not deterministic. Due to the unpredictable ways of human creativity, structural analysis alone would never uncover what caused one imaginative spark to light instead of another. The social constraints were historical—they changed depending on the context. Durkheim’s awareness of the double nature of cultural reality is in particular suggestive:

Collective representations are the product of an immense cooperation that extends not only through space but also through time; to make them, a multitude of different minds have associated, intermixed, and combined their ideas and feelings; long generations have accumulated their experience and knowledge. A very special intellectuality that is infinitely richer and more complex than that of the individual is distilled in them. That being the case, we understand how reason has gained the power to go beyond the range of empirical cognition. It owes this power not to some mysterious virtue but simply to the fact that, as the well-known formula has it, man is double. In him are two beings: an individual being that has its basis in the body and whose sphere of action is strictly limited by this fact, and a social being that represents within us the highest reality in the intellectual and moral realm that is knowable through observation: I mean society [J'étends la societe]. In the realm of practice, the consequence of this duality in our nature is the irreducibility of the moral ideal to the utilitarian motive; in the realm of thought, it is the irreducibility of reason to individual experience. As part of society, the individual naturally transcends himself, both when he thinks and when he acts.77

Max Weber's exposition of basic sociological terms is perhaps the most explicit expression of the mentalist focus on the mind without the name. He defines sociology as the science oriented towards the uncovering and understanding of meaning. Sociology, he says, is:

a science concerning itself with the interpretive understanding of social action and thereby with a causal explanation of its course and

77 Durkheim, *Elementary Forms*, 16.
consequences. We shall speak of ‘action’ insofar as the acting individual attaches a subjective meaning to his behavior – be it overt or covert, omission or acquiescence. Action is ‘social’ insofar as its subjective meaning takes account of the behavior of others and is thereby oriented in its course.\(^78\)

Meanings are therefore the subject of sociology. Meaningful action can be contrasted with reactive behavior, although there is a fine line distinguishing the two. The attaching of meaning to action can be through omission or acquiescence as well as being overt or covert. This meaning can be the actual meaning given by a specific actor in a given case or the average, approximate meaning that can be attributed to a given plurality. Such an analysis, however, never implies reification; through methodological individualism, it is possible to extrapolate specific individual meanings as being representative of the group, without losing sight of the fact (as Durkheim also agreed) that individuals are the only active elements of the reality studied. Durkheim and Weber were interested in the same cultural process on two separate levels: Durkheim drew attention to the "collective consciousness" beyond the individual while Weber drew attention to the process of culture within individual minds. Both were aware of man's double nature yet selected different aspects to emphasize.

The mentalist position is not to be confused with stating that material and ideal exist in a dialectical relationship in the Hegelian/Marxian sense that posits the two produce each other by interaction.\(^79\) Rather, mentalism insists that like life, culture is an emergent phenomenon with its own laws that must therefore be studied on its own terms.

In order to do so, it is necessary to understand its nature. Bloch, for instance, argued that culture is a context dependent historical process. Therefore, structural, cultural, and psychological factors need to be studied in tandem by focusing on individual actors as the creators and carriers of ideas. This is what Weber termed “methodological individualism;” it means to avoid reifying both structures and ideas by centering on the fact that the only active cultural element is the human mind.\footnote{Max Weber, \textit{Economy and Society}, 18.} Externalized culture exists as tracks to be studied, but meaning is given by the actors within and based upon the cultural context in which they live. In this regard, it operates according to its own laws, which cannot be reduced to laws of any other reality (in the same way that the laws of biology cannot be reduced to the laws of physics).

In summation, the mentalist paradigm is rooted in the philosophical position that human reality exhibits its own laws. Causes of human social phenomena therefore, cannot be assumed but must be looked for by focusing on what is unique to humanity: the fact that humans are cultural beings and that the world in which we live is largely a symbolic one given meaning through our minds.

Mentalism is neither a materialist nor idealist approach. It transcends this dualism while accepting the importance of both material and ideal factors, postulates a factor that is neither ideal nor material, nor belongs to the realm of ideas, but is instead the mind. Material elements provide some of the environment in which the mind operates, as do ideas, but neither determines the products of the mind. A mentalist approach is outside the dualist tradition. It supersedes the dualist material/spiritual debate that has stymied
research and offers a promising alternative that allows for a science of humanity to progress.

While Durkheim, Weber, and Bloch each in their own way and in their own language described elements of such an understanding of human reality, the pitfalls and limitations of language led to each being misunderstood in turn. The full import of their ideas was not appreciated for what it was: a radical departure from the typical explanation informing the study of human society. For example, Durkheim’s insistence that sociology could uncover its own laws led to his being lumped in with social evolutionists.\textsuperscript{81} Yet, when he spoke of studying the most simple, “primitive” form, it was for a different end. He did not believe that society advanced along an evolutionary trajectory, but sought biological metaphors and used biology as a previous example of a reality sui generis to explain the revolutionary new science of humanity that he proposed. He did not assume that history was necessarily progressive, or that all humans developed along the same trajectory:

History alone enables us to break down an institution into its component parts, because it shows those parts to us as they are born in time, one after the other. Second, by situating each part of the institution within the totality of circumstances in which it was born, history puts into our hands the only tools we have for identifying the causes that have brought it into being. Thus, whenever we set out to explain something human at a specific moment in time--be it a religious belief, a moral rule, a legal principle, an aesthetic technique, or an economic system--we must begin by going back to its simplest and most primitive form. We must seek to account for the features that define it at that period of its existence and then show how it has gradually developed, gained in complexity, and become what it is at the moment under consideration.\textsuperscript{82}

\textsuperscript{81} Hinkle, “Durkheim.”
\textsuperscript{82} Durkheim, \textit{Elementary Forms}, 3.
It is important to articulate precisely how the mentalist paradigm transcends the dualist mind/body debate. Recognizing that cultural reality functions in accordance with its own set of autonomous laws opens the way to approach its study scientifically. It is remarked that it is a fool’s errand to think that universal laws exist to explain human social reality. Yet, without an organizing theory researchers are reduced to collectors of data, cataloging phenomena. Before Darwin, there was no science of biological reality. Without an autonomous set of laws to differentiate biology from physics, the study of organic reality could not progress. Darwin’s theory of evolution allowed for a reconceptualization of life as an emergent phenomenon. It existed, and was governed by a set of rules in accordance with, but not reducible to the laws of material reality. This recognition alone enabled biology to become progressive. Without a basic set of laws to differentiate cultural reality from biology and physics, the study of this reality also cannot progress. Mentalism provides the possibility and justification of the study of cultural reality separate from both biological and physical reality. With this foundation, it is now possible to begin a progressive science of culture and the mind.

**Ontological Positions Within African Studies**

The idealist and materialist positions have been the two dominant ontological positions regarding the causes of change in human societies. There is also a vague third position, which combines the two in an uncommitted fashion. The most interesting insights about Tanzania come from such philosophically uncommitted scholars, but these insights often fall short of adequately explaining Tanzanian social reality, because they
lack a clear logical basis. Mentalism provides this logical basis.

Today, the idealist position can be quickly dismissed as it is not in vogue and seldom used. Idealism implies that ideas beget ideas. This makes sense only if we presuppose a divine agent. If a creative divine intelligence is not assumed, it is not at all clear how this would be possible. Religious conceptions of the world assume such idealist causality. Current scientific thought belies this perspective.

Today, the dominant perspective is materialist. The materialist perspective—represented in African studies by the Marxist, structuralist and statist paradigms—poses material factors, ostensibly existing completely independently from cultural definitions, as the only causal factors in history. In this perspective, culture is a byproduct of underlying economic and institutional forces. Many of such materialist theories are also historicist (to be clearly distinguished from historical), meaning that they see social change everywhere as happening in a number of predetermined stages. A unity of purpose among groups is assumed, eliminating the need to examine actual motivations. Such actual motivations, if noticed at all, are reduced to epiphenomena. Materialist paradigms are grounded in a sense that institutions and products of society have logics of their own which impose themselves upon individuals causing certain processes to develop as a result. For example, when Anderson posits the importance of print capitalism in creating nationalism, it is not the content of print media or the meanings actors vest in it, but the existence of the phenomenon alone that is relevant. Since the 1980s, Africanist scholars (especially historians) have been moving towards more nuanced explanations of how allegedly material structures and ideology interrelate since
materialist paradigms have been unable to capture and explain the reality in question.

Most works that I characterized as falling within the third mode of the philosophical materialist/idealist understanding of causation, ultimately attribute historical causation to material factors or fall back on materialist metaphors. John Iliffe’s monumental *A Modern History of Tanganyika* is a prime example of this type of argument. The first comprehensive and fully documented modern history of Tanganyika—densely packed with citations and drawing upon a wealth of sources—synthesizes the research of many scholars and concentrates on the late colonial period. While his vision of Tanganyikan history does not always explicitly ascribe it to structural and institutional forces outside of individuals, the metaphors he draws upon to explain changes reify both structures and ideas with the implication that structures and the natural environment seem to cause certain changes within men. He speaks of change in social status and ideas, but the psychological dynamics at play are not addressed; diverse attitudes are mentioned, but he cannot account for them. The core organizing principle of Iliffe’s text is man’s relation to the land, which determines the rest. The book is “an attempt to show how relationships between men and nature in modern Tanganyika have intertwined with relationships between men and men.”83 Behind the five themes tying his narrative together (the enlargement of scale, the impact of capitalism and growth of capitalist relations, African initiative, periodization, and people’s colonization of land and their struggles with their enemies in nature) is a sense that men follow “the dictates of the

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Yet, what is so fantastic about humanity is how little of culture can be accounted for by the dictates of the land. Within similar physical environments there are prolific variations in how to live, each of which also changes over time. Conditions do not equal causes. Given a set of conditions, we cannot ascertain the cause of people’s behavior without considering their minds, which are grounded in a specific cultural historical context.

The preceding discussion already implied that research priorities are in part governed by the scholars’ ontological assumptions. Researchers’ theoretical and philosophical understanding of their subject matter shapes their methods and analysis. All research begins with a guiding ontology that informs how the researcher questions the evidence, which shapes what, if anything, it will say. There is a necessary set of first principles, beliefs that cannot be proven, underlying any argument. Few are explicit regarding these guiding assumptions that inform their analysis, which is problematic.

This lack of clarity regarding the paradigmatic foundation of one’s work is a recognized problem within social sciences and African studies in particular. There is a growing dissatisfaction with the dominant existing explanatory paradigms, as they do not adequately account for all the phenomena in question. Historian Frederick Cooper, for instance, laments, “the poverty of contemporary social science faced with processes that

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84 Ibid., 6.
85 Philip, Writing African History, 26. Philip also points out that historians should be aware of their assumptions, and that theory, even minimally, is necessary.
86 See “Proceedings of the Boston University Conference on the State of the Social Sciences”; Hyden, African Politics. Hyden notes that political science by the late 1980s had grown introspective, like the rest of the social sciences, reflecting on what has been accomplished.
are large-scale, but not universal, and with the fact of crucial linkages that cut across state
borders and lines of cultural difference but which nonetheless are based on specific
mechanisms within certain boundaries." Cooper also has been vocal about the problem
of history based on assumed categories; *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present*
discusses processes that cut across the typical timeline divisions. The boundaries of
historical inquiry cannot be imposed artificially; they must be driven by the question to
be addressed.

**Methodology**

This work is within the tradition of a unified science of humanity. The basic
method employed is the scientific method of conjectures and refutations. The specific
methodological tools used to analyze evidence include those spelled out in detail by
Durkheim, Weber, Bloch, and the African historian Jan Vansina, which include
comparison, introspection, methodological individualism, and the construction of ideal
types. All science is implicitly comparative; logical deductions stem from weighing the
validity of a piece of evidence against other evidence. Comparative historical criticism is
necessary to distinguish causal from conditional elements. Ideal types—the construction
of a purely rational course of action—are also useful heuristic tools for comparative
analysis to determine the underlying meaning of actions. Self-analysis—introspection—is

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88 History is central to mentalist sociology because as cultural beings we are beholden to
historical time, that "concrete and living reality with an irreversible onward rush. It is the
very plasma in which events are immersed, and the field within which they become
one of the most important tools for the sociologist to make sense of empirical data.

Bloch in *The Historian’s Craft*, noted the best source is found “in the evidence of witnesses in spite of themselves.”

One must read sources with a critical eye because often their usefulness is far removed from their intended purpose. What can be used as evidence for reconstructing history is nearly limitless: “Everything that man says or writes, everything that he makes, everything he touches can and ought to teach us about him.”

No one would argue that a good historian is able to transport the reader to understand circumstances and events from a different time. Yet for a long time, the legitimate ways a historian was allowed to perform this task were limited by prejudices in favor of written sources. Especially in the African context, favor was also given to sources that came from people other than the Africans under study. Vansina fought hard, arguing for the place of oral literature within the realm of useable, reliable sources of African history. Consistent language and definition of terms is vital. It is the only way to ensure that one is dealing with comparable facts and not combining different categories under the same heading. Creating definitions itself requires thoughtful, careful work. On the one hand, the advent of a name signifies the moment when a phenomenon enters conscious awareness, yet on the other hand names can also serve as “false labels” which are “misrepresenting the merchandise.”

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90 Ibid., 66.
91 As Durkheim notes in the Introduction to *Suicide*: “the words of everyday language, like the concepts they express, are always susceptible of more than one meaning, and the scholar employing them in their accepted use without further definition would risk serious misunderstanding.” Durkheim, *Suicide*, 41.
words can be put to new purposes. “The onward rush of time” in which humanity is immersed, must also be consistently considered. Any historical phenomenon must always be placed within its moment in time in order for meaning to be evaluated. The researcher must spell out the object of inquiry clearly, to research a group of facts with definite limits and adhere to them. In order to talk about the “failed African political states” for instance, one must first have a clear, empirical, context derived sense of what makes a state before addressing why in another context the state was seen as failed (of course, determining why a state failed implies inquiring into why relevant actors saw it as failed, since scholars themselves should be value neutral and not declare in the course of their analyses any system to be failed or successful based on their own judgments).

Historians, in particular, work with traces of human created artifacts. Everything touched by the human mind is historical evidence, from ideas found within books and paintings to tangible products such as clocks and hoes. Called tracks, traces, or fossils, these terms all imply that historical evidence is the vestige of the imprint created by the human mind. The fossils of human culture, however recent or old, are fundamentally the same yet every source comes with its own inherent problems. The “tracks” that a historian works with do not speak for themselves. As mentioned before, the historian has an object or question in mind while examining them. Making tracks speak via cross-examination is sometimes an intuitive process of which the historian is unaware. This is why careful definition and understanding of philosophical biases is of utmost importance.

The historian’s and social scientist’s main tool of analysis is the value neutral logical comparative method. Data that fits within the scope of inquiry is selected and
compared against other data. All evidence, whether intentional or found through an across the grain reading is subject to the same rules of historical criticism that govern examination, comparison, and definition to verify the reliability of truth contained.\(^9^3\) It is a subtle, yet rational art to criticize testimony. Bloch’s description of this task highlight the complex, skilled, imaginative nature of the “historian’s craft.” A student of human society must be aware of its complex nature and forever remain critical. Not only does familiarity breed indifference, but there are many distortions of evidence, which serve as evidence of a different kind. How each piece of evidence is used and what it says depends upon the context created by summoning additional evidence or employing tools such as comparison against logical rational ideal types. Testimony may not report what was actually seen, but it does reflect what its age thought it natural to see. For instance, false rumors are useful to analyze what social conditions existed that favored their circulation.\(^9^4\) Louise White’s work on vampire rumors in East Africa uses precisely this type of historical analysis.\(^9^5\) The tools a student of human reality must deploy to logically criticize evidence are many and varied. The ultimate aim of all these tools that ask about the probability of a past event, as Bloch explains, is for the historian to:

transport himself, by a bold exercise of the mind, to the time before the event itself, in order to gauge its chances, as they appeared upon the eve of its realization. Hence, probability remains properly in the future, but since the line of the present has somehow been moved back in the imagination, it is a future of bygone times built upon a fragment which, for us, is actually the past. If it is incontestable that the event has taken place, these speculations have little more value than that of a metaphysical game.\(^9^6\)

\(^{93}\) Ibid., 89.
\(^{94}\) Ibid., 107.
\(^{95}\) White, *Speaking with Vampires*.
\(^{96}\) Bloch, *Historian’s Craft*, 125.
Mentalist research uses the method of critical logical comparison; all other historical methods are actually specialized methodological tools that help to uncover evidence and make it “speak.” Multiple strategies are used to compare and weigh evidence. Since its inception, African historiography and social science has had to develop its own tools to reconstruct Africa’s past. John Philip’s compilation, *Writing African History*, highlights some of the ways that historians uncover and interpret the traces of human society. These include such means as language word trees, oral traditions, folklore, artistic works—such as visual art, songs and literature—and biological and geological evidence. The use of unwritten sources and reading across the grain in order to obtain evidence in spite of itself, which is the norm within African historiography, should be the norm within African studies in general. As the interview snippets within Susan Geiger's study of female Tanganyikan nationalists and Feierman's work on peasant intellectuals illustrate, there are rich stories and important pieces of the historical narrative that are not adequately captured within preserved records. There is also a body of written source materials dating from the 1600s—mission archives, Arabic sources, and Chinese data. Some Africanist historians, like John Thornton and Linda Heywood, are known for their skill in harvesting small morsels of data buried within records. From the outset, African history employed a diverse range of methodological tools and has been open to interdisciplinary approaches. As Vansina points out in his

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98 McCann, *Maize and Grace*, uses botanical properties of maize in conjunction with other sources to trace its history in Africa.
100 Thornton and Heywood, *Central Africa*. 
historiography of African Studies, *Living with Africa*, the first African historians were typically also anthropologists by design. Confronted by the lack of data sets and archives, existing historical reconstruction was largely based on oral sources, as there was a shortage of authoritative written texts.

Any social science work based upon only one type of evidence will necessarily be flawed, as the best way to weigh the reliability of any given source is to weigh it against others. It can only be interpreted by placing it within a chronological series or a larger whole. Bloch explains, “Few sciences, I believe, are forced to use so many dissimilar tools at the same time. However, man’s actions are the most complex in the animal kingdom, because man stands upon nature’s summit.”

Evidence Used

Nationalism as a form of identity only came about because of a crisis of identity. Individuals undergoing such a fundamental crisis tend to be very vocal about it. As the framework of the new identity, nationalism comes to permeate every facet of life. Therefore, one should be able to see its effect and influence in most everything. What did people in Tanzania talk about during this period and what language did they use? One has to examine the prevalent sources and forms of their discussion. I began to study the emergence and development of national consciousness and sentiment in Tanzania by unearthing details about the specific individuals involved. I read all biographical and autobiographical material I could find. Biographies are still not a popular genre, but they

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are growing more prevalent. While the cultural process goes on on two levels, the collective and the individual, it lives and breathes in individual minds, and so individual personalities, their proclivities, their specific cultural understanding are important, some more so than others. Not all leave an equal mark on history, an equal footprint in the sand of cultural memory. Understanding the central actors allows one to see the broader picture. Even in the analysis of an individual mind, it is possible to discern general currents of thought, the imprint of different minds that swayed in a similar direction at the same time.

Secondary literature, obviously, is also very important. For instance, Laura Fair in Pastimes and Politics, focuses on football associations as a forum for debate and discussion. Some, like Jonathan Glassman, may think the importance of such associations is overstated, but they do provide a window into the important cultural changes among the inhabitants of what became Tanzania. I looked through all such windows that I could find: newspapers, literature, songs, political speeches, dictionaries. I sought out evidence of salons, organizational meetings, social clubs and societies. Fair also acknowledges the transformative effect these sources had on her interpretation:

If I had confined my analysis of political discourse to that summarized in the annual Blue Books, the debates of the Legislative Council, or the records of the provincial administration I would have been lead to conclude that the poor of Ng'ambo did not analyze or critique the impacts of various policy options and that they rarely voiced their opinions publicly. However, in the course of interviews about pastimes, as well as politics, I was awakened to the vibrant and seemingly endless debates about the social, economic, and political policy that permeated Ng'ambo.102

102 Fair, Pastimes and Politics, 57.
African writings—both scholarly and literary—are an essential source for analyzing the African mindset—individuals' thoughts, feelings, and preoccupations. African fiction written during the late colonial through the early post-independence period had the same goal as English literature of the nineteenth century: it was social commentary and provided the much needed interpretation of the changing social order. Some of the earliest nationalist sentiment in African countries is found in literary form in novels, short stories, plays, poetry, and song lyrics. Polemical writings and scholarly literature also reflect the changing nature of identity. African intellectuals' works examined these issues in an attempt to understand Africa’s place in the world, especially in relation to the West. Official colonial and government records are also helpful, as were census data and statistical abstracts. My conclusions were based on this sea of raw data.

There is a specific problem in African historiography: the written records do not cover a very large percentage of the events. As previously mentioned, Geiger's study of TANU women nationalists and Feierman's work on Tanzanian peasant intellectuals testify that there are rich stories and important pieces of the historical narrative that are not adequately captured within archives. “How closely do the contours of sources mirror the contours of historical experience?” may be an especially relevant question in these...
studies, but it is important in all the studies of Africa.\textsuperscript{107} Since one can only use the evidence that exists, it becomes especially important to cross-examine this evidence, to weigh multiple sources of different types against each other and read across the grain.

Each type of source has inherent limitations and each study encounters them. The first available Swahili texts are either family histories, usually tracing genealogies, which descend from early Arab or Persian settlers, or else town histories, which trace the origin of a town by following successive waves of immigrants. The oldest texts, which date back to the 1700s, are likely to have been modified by later scribes who altered them to fit within current conventions, thus they most accurately reflect their last date of print.\textsuperscript{108} The same applies to dictionaries. Whitely writes "No dictionary can, in the nature of things, be more than a temporary account of current usage, and nowhere is this truer than in the case of the modern languages of Africa receptive to so many technological changes", thus necessitating a larger source base to accurately reflect changes in vocabulary and better assess when certain terms and concepts were introduced and entered into general parlance.\textsuperscript{109} Unfortunately, for much of the early period, there are very few materials to go by in addition to dictionaries, thus necessitating their important position within this study.

The emergence of Tanzanian nationalism cannot be pinpointed to an exact day or time or utterance. Since culture as a process is occurring on two levels simultaneously—in the mind and in externalized symbolic representations of the mind’s products—we can


\textsuperscript{108} Nurse and Spear, \textit{The Swahili}, 8.

\textsuperscript{109} Whitely, \textit{Swahili}, 16.
only study what the mind has externalized. It is possible the modern nation was talked about, but until a consensus emerged which was written down explicitly, mentioned in writing, codified into laws, or expressed in the arts, it cannot be known and studied. It is clear, however, that at one point there was no such consensus that affected other cultural processes, and, at a later point, it came into existence and transformed society in very real, lasting ways. Being the framework of the emerging identity, the guiding logic and principles of nationalism can be seen in nearly all facets of life: economic, social, and political. One’s very sense of self becomes rooted in these core values. The feeling of belonging to a nation strikes at the core of one’s being.
CHAPTER THREE: NATIONALISM AS THE DOMINANT WORLDVIEW

Nationalism is a very particular perspective of reality. It, arguably, is now the dominant worldview for many around the world. This was not always the case. It is not my goal to tell the story of how and why this happened, but it is important to have some awareness of this history in order to examine nationalism in Tanzania. Understanding elements of some of the first cultural instantiations of this cluster of ideas helps to clarify what separates this worldview from others. This exercise is also worthwhile because several of the first nations were important influences on Africa throughout the course of its development during the 1800s and beyond. Often Western colonial powers are lumped together as a monolithic block in explanations of African colonial history, but there are important distinctions between the societies that divided the African continent into colonies. Some of these differences help explain why certain differences between African states emerged.

Nationalism as Modern Identity

Nationalism is the cultural foundation of modern identity. Every individual needs an identity; it acts as a blueprint for life, ascribing norms, roles, responsibilities that help guide and orient one’s actions. Each person at any given time has several identities (as a parent, as a professional, as a member of a religious community), and out of all those, in each situation, one of those is activated and dominates their motivations. One’s worldview, which provides the basic cultural fabric upon which they base their lives, informs all their specific identities and represents the general identity. It is one’s identity
with a capital “I” that provides the boundary conditions for all of their other identities. For one who has a national identity, all expectations, values, and thoughts as mothers, professionals, members of religious communities, etc. derive from this image of the world. That is, they see their reality through the consciousness of nationalism. As a result, this, national, consciousness is reflected in modern institutions, such as the stratification system, the state based form of representative government, and even the economy oriented to sustained growth. Nearly every aspect of experience is affected by the national orientation.

It is helpful to contrast modern identity and world-view with the religious identities and world-views that dominated Europe for so many centuries. Not that long ago in many parts of the world people had a fundamentally religious consciousness, which colored their experience; every experience in every sphere of life was affected by their basic religious orientation. It informed their views on marriage, on the proper family structure, on how the society should be ordered. It told them on which day of the week to rest, what foods were forbidden, whom they should not have sex with. There was very little freedom and flexibility to stray from the path God ordained. Very few were given the power by God to read and provide limited interpretations of sacred religious texts, like the Bible or Koran. People were concerned about their daily subsistence, but most actions were aligned towards the hereafter. The transcendent world was more important; it was their objective reality.
Why and When Nationalism Emerged

At a certain moment in European history, there was a tectonic shift in thought. This was the emergence of “nationalism.” This cluster of ideas took root and blossomed to form a novel world order. This world order came to such prominence that previous world orders, eclipsed by it, began to fade. Competing and conflicting worldviews, such as a religious worldview lost dominance in the minds of individuals in the world. The experiences of those affected by it was similar to religious conversion. Like in a change of faith, once experienced, it became impossible to think of oneself in the old way.

Nationalism emerged as a cluster of ideas which became a world-view by accident. That is, there was not a conscious concerted shift to reconceptualize reality. Nationalism emerged in Britain. In Britain, a large and important segment of the population experienced a break from the old order, the framework of their understanding of the world. Like other feudal societies, the English society of orders presumed that commoners had red blood while nobles had blue blood—it was believed impossible for someone to rise and change one’s blood. A unique circumstance resulted out of the aftermath of the War of the Roses. So many members of the feudal aristocracy were killed during battle that it left a social and political void in the hierarchy in England. The succeeding Tudor king reached out to the lower strata to fill the ranks. This was unprecedented. Many experienced a rise in status and position which did not fit with the image of reality at the time. This novel experience was both bewildering and positive.
because of the specific circumstances surrounding it. It created an anomic situation.\textsuperscript{110} Those affected sought to make sense of their new experiences. One’s identity is thought about and analyzed only when it is problematic.\textsuperscript{111} To resolve the inconsistency between what they believed to be possible and what they actually experienced, these people searched for an explanation that would reconcile the two. Out of this search, what we now know as nationalism arose. In the early 16th century, the explanation that spread and took hold among minds of the English was that the English people were a nation. The “people” at that time meaning the red blooded commoners, and the “nation” meaning “an elite.” Thus all Englishmen became the elite. All English blood was noble; it was not red or blue. By making “nation” synonymous with “people,” the equation of the two concepts effectively negated the significance of social classes because all Englishmen were elevated and, now possessing the dignity of the elite, endowed with political and cultural authority.\textsuperscript{112} Because the English people were now referred to as a nation, we call the implications of this equation—a society restructured on this basis, the nation—nationalism. The basic principles underlying nationalism at first captured and articulated a change in existential experience felt by some Englishmen. As these principles spread beyond its original sector, it caused an existential transformation in others.

\textsuperscript{110} The main vehicle for cultural change is anomie. An anomic situation is one in which lacunae within cultural system is exposed. All cultures are fraught with countless breaks in continuity due to the symbolic nature of the transmission of human ways of life. These gaps in meaning only become problematic when noticed; that is when they are experienced as such a break. The experience of those who notice such a gap in their culture’s ability to provide meaning is one of mental anguish. There are several possible reactions to such an experience. They tend to spark change as rationalizations are created to fill this cultural void.

\textsuperscript{111} See Greenfeld, Mind, Modernity, Madness, 98-99.

\textsuperscript{112} Greenfeld, Nationalism, 62.
Nationalism’s emergence was an historical accident. Several chance factors coming together helped it become a powerful image of reality. A few British wanted to solve their own problems. They did not set out to create a radical shift in thought and likely did not realize a monumental shift did occur as it did not lead to the transformation of England overnight. A set of circumstances—the increase in social mobility, the needs of the successive monarchies, and the Protestant reformation—all contributed to the continued development and internalization of national identity by an ever larger sector of the population. After the English Civil War, nation as the primary object of loyalty ceased to be problematic: it crystallized. The logic of this train of thought was extended into more and more spheres of life. As the concept of England’s nationhood spread, other long held beliefs and ways of doing things began to shift. These shifts were so seismic, they profoundly altered the structure of English society. People began to comport themselves differently. Gone are feudal estates. Gone is the idea that blue blood and red blood cannot intermix.

The modern concept of the nation was born in England. The combination of factors, which supported the development and entrenchment of nationalism in England was, of course, unique, that is contingent. It was a remarkable transformation. Equally remarkable, and contingent, was that it spread. Other societies, for their own reasons, imported nationalism’s underlying principles—egalitarianism, popular sovereignty and secularism—often reinterpreting and changing them sometimes in significant, nearly opposing ways. It was the differences in how membership in the nation was defined and how its equality was interpreted that formed the basis of the new imported nationalisms.
Every subsequent nation owes part of its character to its interaction with and reaction to nations that emerged before it.

France was the first society to import nationalism. The shape of its national consciousness is, in part, a response to the French views of England as a nation. The reinterpretation of the English import in light of native French concepts became the basis on which the unique idea of the French nation developed. Despite the proximity and intensity with which it encountered these new ideals, the emergence of nationalism in France was also not inevitable. In France, as it can be seen in every case, a unique set of circumstances led to the emergence and development of nationalism. Several factors contributed to its development. By the late 17th century, as the French nobility saw the influence of their kingdom decrease, they began to imitate England. The nobility was ready to redefine itself as its dignity eroded. The French elite found themselves in a predicament and adopted the idea of the nation as their solution. The idea of the nation took root around 1750. It became an integral, if not the central, part of the elite discourse. As it did not reflect existing changes in the political and social structure (as happened in England), the concept remained open to reinterpretation. Originally advanced by French nobility, the idea of the nation in the end led to the destruction of the class as it was advanced by other sectors of French society.\footnote{Greenfeld, \textit{Nationalism}, 154.}

In France, nation referred to an abstraction, not an empirical reality. The concept was reified. It became a collective person rather than a name for the association of free and equal individuals. England’s idea of individual liberty was reinterpreted as the idea of...
the nation as a collective individual. Alongside its collectivistic sense of nation, however, France was in principle open to all. Everyone who wished to become French, that is, adopt the French ways, including language, could be part of this civic society.

In contrast, the process of importation of nationalism into Russia resulted in a collectivistic and *ethnic* nationalism. Considering the complex evolution of Russian ethnic nationalism is helpful for understanding the interplay of phenomena in the development of many other national identities. The character of Russian national identity was created in response to specific psychological and intellectual needs borne out of *ressentiment*—a specific cognitive-emotional complex—which was also operational in many other cases. In the Russian case, *ressentiment* based upon deep anti-Western sentiment was central. In Russia, the Western model, embodied by England and France was turned on its head.

Peter the Great introduced the first seeds of nationalism that germinated under Catherine the Great's reign. He introduced key changes to official discourse, such as the idea of the “general good,” although Russians were still envisioned as his “lowliest slaves.” Not necessarily seeing his country as a nation, he cultivated among these “slaves” national pride, believing that by making Russia great, it would make him great. His experience of traveling abroad led to his disgust with how things were conducted in Russia. He forced his subjects to build a cosmopolitan city in the European style. The state was an extension of himself, and thus his subjects were also objects to be molded as he saw fit. The nobility were forced to undergo changes in customs and habits, and even residence in order to suit Peter the Great's desire for them to more closely mirror his
conception of Western nobility. Since the status of the nobility was entirely dependent upon the Tsar, they experienced personal discomfort, but not a crisis of identity during this forced transformation. Such a crisis, which is critical to understanding why a national identity came to appeal to this segment of the population came later when the nobility itself developed a sense of what it meant to be “noble” based on Western standards.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Catherine the Great differed fundamentally from Peter the Great in that she saw the world as comprised of nations. Catherine I's rule itself was an usurpation of the throne based upon nationalist claims gained through her reading and knowledge of Western European intellectuals. She sought to actively inculcate a certain set of values within those of her realm. Since Russians at this time were not behaving as a nation, Catherine the Great “set out to correct this defect.”114 Although her rhetoric was also a powerful tool in instigating change, her words were not enough. In order for Russia, or any other entity, to conceptualize itself as a nation, there needed to be situational changes that made such a redefinition appealing. Changes within the nobility's means of obtaining status lead to their investment in national identity. The nobles of Russia were part of a service estate, with their well-being and status entirely dependent upon the sovereign's satisfaction with their service. Catherine's attempts to give the nobility more freedoms had the reverse effect of creating more anxieties within this class. The nobility began to identify itself with the Russian nation in order to secure the sense of dignity it bestowed. What it meant to be Russian, however, had still yet to be defined.

114 Ibid., 199.
In Russia, *ressentiment* helped turn its nationalism into an ethnic nationalism. *Ressentiment* is a bitterness that stems out of an unrealized and unrealistic sense of equality. When equality is fully expected and then is systematically denied a sense of *ressentiment* can build if such inconsistencies in status are not resolved. The first impulse was that Russia needed to quickly catch up to be equal to its neighboring nations. However, reform policies were badly implemented and ultimately failed to bring about the radical changes desired. Thus, cultural relativism was appealed to to allay this sense of inferiority to the freely chosen Western national models. Dissatisfaction with cultural relativism led to a rejection of Western values and standards and their transvaluation (*transvaluation of values*) by the non-noble intellectuals. They were able to define Russianness in a way that appealed to both themselves and the nobility, solving both groups’ identity problems. Ethnicity was the only common ground on which to base an argument that there was no distinction between the nobility and the plebs. They shared the same basic inalienable blood and soil. In rejecting reason in favor of soul, liberty and equality were also reconceptualized. Western liberty and equality were not the true form according to these Russian social thinkers, individual liberty was seen as the source of bondage. These three possible responses to a *ressentiment* fueled inferiority complex can be seen in the development of other nations as well. Of particular importance is the case of Germany.

Germany also rejected England and France's models in favor of a collectivistic ethnic interpretation of what it means to be German. In defining their own national collective, they underwent a similar process to what happened in Russia. Equaling and
surpassing the model is the first goal. If this is unsuccessful, cultural relativism follows. If cultural relativism is difficult to maintain, *ressentiment* and a transvaluation of values is likely to occur. At every stage in this process, there are still proponents arguing for one or another of these paths towards national superiority or international equality. Certain individuals remain optimistic that their nation will catch up. Others may even waiver between two positions—rejecting the model and insisting they can surpass the model. An identity based upon *ressentiment* is inherently volatile. Hidden within such an identity is still the feeling of inferiority as those possessing such an identity still know that they created themselves in the inverse image of what they desire.

Other societies which redefined themselves as nations likewise adapted the imported concepts to the existing indigenous cultural traditions. Nationalism eclipses many other previous identities, but remnants often color how nationalism is interpreted in the society in question. The continued diversity of national societies results from how this ideology is channeled into existing particulars. Different preexisting cultural elements contribute to national identities. Some traditions may fall aside. Others take on new meaning. Due to the nature of the cultural process, what elements of the former worldview will remain cannot be determined in advance, but depends on the configurations of interests of the participants in the process of the importation of new ideas and nation-building. Occasionally, people act in certain ways that shadow former modes of thinking. These inconsistencies can remain so long as they are not seen as problematic by the society in question. In England, the original implementation of the principle of popular sovereignty resulted in a strange marriage of contradictory ideals of monarchy with an
individualistic representative form of government. The royal family, instead of being the
sovereign deciders, became they symbol of the nation as a whole. Eventually stripped of
all meaningful power, unable to make or repeal laws, they became the most famous
representatives of England in another sense. In distinction, the French monarchy was
destroyed and seen as incompatible with the image of the French nation. As nationalism
gains traction within a society it may lead to unexpected combinations of incompatible
ideas which are only problematic if people within the society see them as conflicting.

Not all inhabitants of a territory may be seen as part of the nation. For example, at
first, the dignifying national identity did not affect the illiterate rural poor and urban wage
earners in England. That is, they were not yet members of the English nation and were
not concerned about insults to nationality. The English nation was a community of
individuals who were both free and equal, with man seen as a rational being. In cases that
carried on this idea, such as the American colonies that developed into a nation of their
own, the United States, the unequal possession of the faculty of reason was used to justify
exclusion rather than the former explanation based on differences in blood. Since reason
was the defining characteristic of humanity, it was easy to perpetuate classification of
some groups of people as irrational, and therefore not fully human or part of the nation.
Early on, these groups included women, children, slaves, and some of the lower classes.
What qualified a person as a rational being became an important issue for debate. As
certain categories of people were argued to be equally rational, their exclusion from the
nation was called into question. Similarly, one justification for British colonial
possessions in Africa was predicated on the lack of reason of the Africans. Colonial
subjects could be seen as like children who needed to be taught and reach a level of maturity to justify inclusion in a self-governing community. The British civilizing mission was based on the idea that the colonial inhabitants needed to learn reason; after they proved themselves to be reasonable, they would be granted full social status. The attitude of the French was quite similar. The German colonialists, in contrast, could not foresee such integration because people of different blood could by definition acquire no equality to members of the German nation.

Differences between the national identities of the British, French and Germans may help explain differences between attitudes and policies pursued in African colonies. This is clearly visible in language policies. In Tanganyika, for instance, the Germans had little interest in teaching the inhabitants German, while in France’s colonies French quickly came to be the official language. The British encouraged the learning of English, but also strove to respect, collect and standardize local languages within their African colonies. But much more important was the influence of the different national traditions of the colonial powers on the mentality of the colonial populations, and specifically on the African national consciousness and identities that began to evolve as a result of the contact.\(^\text{115}\)

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Some Core Implications of Nationalism and of Particular Nationalisms

The central consequence of the global rise of national consciousness is that every human being is believed to possess and expect dignity. Equality is seen as a fundamental

\(^{115}\) See Miles, *Scars of Partition*, for a discussion of different legacies left in British and French postcolonial countries.
The existence of inequalities is therefore seen as illegitimate, as injustice that must be eliminated. The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, first adopted in December 1948, even codified certain ideas about basic rights all human individuals can aspire to enjoy. Yet, there is no set global understanding of “equality,” whether it is of opportunity, of result, or of material possessions. Assuming that equality is the pinnacle, the natural, true progressive state of humanity is akin to assuming monotheism is a natural and superior system of belief. It is a cultural, and therefore historical, not natural development. Equality in the national image of reality does not derive from experience. Specific cultures can and do hold certain beliefs, but a researcher should never mistake one’s own belief for the natural state of things.

Researchers, too, arrive from different traditions. For example, ethnic and civic nations place a different value on individual human life. So, one may expect that researchers from ethnic nations would differ in their interpretations from those from civic nations. The fight for equality in an ethnic nation is not a fight for individual equality, but equality of the nation as a whole compared to other nations. When humanity is divided into different ethnicities, with one’s own ethnicity as superior, it is easier to see others as less human. Therefore, the worst atrocities, like those in the Rwandan Hutu and Tutsi conflict and the German assault on Jews, are more likely to be perpetuated by ethnic nations. Of course, even in civic nations like the United States there are still some individuals who see race and ethnicity as a distinguishing quality that separates groups of people into inferior and superior groups. But often in a civic nation, the explanation of why an ethnic group is inferior tends to be attributed to intellectual or moral inferiority.
They could be equal and join the nation by changing themselves. In ethnic nations, however, the boundaries separating one ethnicity from another cannot be traversed.

Another core consequence of the rise of national consciousness is international competition. Issues of comparative national prestige and dignity become paramount. Dignity, a relative value, is inherently competitive. National pride spurred England to claim equality with and even superiority to those it saw as its competitors. In the sixteenth century, England could not compete in many traditional areas conferring prestige—such as classical learning and artistic endeavors: it invested in non-traditional pursuits. Science became a sphere where the English wished to compete. This led to talent, money, and time being poured into scientific endeavors. Competition and competitive spheres expanded as nationalism expanded. France chose to emphasize the arts and its superior language as areas of excellence where it surpassed its national rival, England. Between Russia and the United States in the middle of the twentieth century the space race became important. To lose this race was a matter of national prestige. The possible competitive spheres could expand exponentially. Now the World Cup is one such sphere of national competition. Green energy is an emerging sphere. Which sphere or spheres a country deems important depends upon historical experience and past achievements. In the United States, for instance, most Americans could care less about the World Cup; in other nations, like Brazil, it is a dominant point of pride. Russia never cared about economic competition. It instead invested in its military and space exploration. If a nation ends up feeling inferior in the selected spheres of competition, ressentiment could develop. Each nation chooses areas where they are likely to be
among the winners. Competition for national prestige is not necessarily economic competition, but it very often is.

Today, measuring comparative GDP is a way to measure relative status between nations. For many nations, an economy oriented towards sustained growth became an important way to show national superiority. This orientation, or success in the modern economy, did not depend upon natural resources. An abundance of natural resources does not make or bring about a modern economy. For a long time, Japan was the second largest economy and it boasts nearly no natural resources in comparison to a resource rich country like the Congo. The key to sustained growth therefore is not material resources, but an attitude of mind, the desire for sustained growth. Many African and Latin American societies because of the dominant economic motive for colonialism cannot help but feel that economic competition is important to their global ranking and therefore, it is both a sore point when goals are not met and a point of pride when there are statistics which can be trumpeted over other nations. While attending Rupiah Banda’s African Presidential Center Inaugural Lecture at Boston University on April 2, 2012, the former president of Zambia several times in the course of his speech and comments afterwards remarked that Zambia had a 7% growth in GDP while the US was stagnant. There can never be enough growth. For nations competing for status and prestige, the race to show continuous advancing improvement will never end.

Never an inevitable development, nationalism became an increasingly probable development as the idea spread and took on increasing salience and import in powerful societies around the globe. Not all societies are nations. Even if there are a group of
nationalists present, this is not enough to create a nation. They must have the power and influence to transform the society. Not all national identities are particularistic. There are nationalists of no particular nation. There can be nations without states. Just because a polity is a separate state, it does not mean it carries a separate national consciousness. As nationalism took root in a growing number of cultures, the world became divided into those societies that were nations and those that were not. This dichotomy was often described by other words. In discussing Tanzania and Africa generally, I will show how the division between the developing and developed world is based upon whether or not nationalism is present and the extent to which it penetrated the society in question. Ironically, a society, for instance, which does not value and pursue economic growth, is seen as developing. With this background, I now turn to Tanzania.
CHAPTER FOUR: THE HISTORICAL SETTING: CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION IN PRE-COLONIAL EAST AFRICA

Before Tanzania became an entity in 1964, with the union of Zanzibar and Tanganyika, no territory or people were identified as Tanzanian. Prior to the beginning of the twentieth century people of the coast and offshore islands considered themselves part of a domain separate from the rest of the inland mainland. There were roughly 120 different tribes in Tanganyika and three different tribal divisions on Zanzibar based upon the existing linguistic divisions. Of the various languages, most shared a Bantu root. There was mutual intelligibility on par with how a speaker of one European Romance language is able to understand another. Some of the tribal distinctions were relatively fluid. The largest tribe, the Sukuma, accounted for about 12% of the total African population estimated at about 9.8 million people. Several tribes, such as the Luo, Nyamwezi and Masai, cut across the future territorial divisions.

Today, the talk of nations pervades our vocabulary. I made the point before: we live in a world of nations, see the world in national terms and assume it is the inevitable stage of history. In the same way that the ubiquity of cell phones has led one to forget how people met up with friends before their existence, the prominence of nationalism prevents us from seeing that nations are not timeless entities. Once people lived in groups that were not nations. Even historians seem to have short memories. It is hard to think outside the worldview in which one lives.
What were the identities and consciousnesses of the future Tanzanians? To discover this I must go back to the cusp of colonialism. The available evidence—travelers’ accounts and dictionaries, a few Swahili literary sources, ethnographic studies, oral histories, existing historical analyses—indicate that the history of eastern central Africa is spotty before 1500.\textsuperscript{116} What is known is pieced together mainly from artifacts. There are not many sources that predate European encounters with this region. After Vasco de Gama discovered East Africa by accident when looking for a sea route to India, European documentary sources bring us back to the sixteenth century. Written manuscripts, produced locally in Swahili, when the language was written in a specially modified Arabic script, date back to the 1700s. Most of the records that describe customs of “Tanzania's” inhabitants date to the early 1800’s, when predominantly European explorers, venturing into the African mainland, recorded their observations and perceptions of the native people.

The extent to which this information can be relied upon is limited: most observations reflected the observers’ biases and interests. The colonial administration, explorers, and traders within “Tanzania” were interested more in the potential profits to be gained from the land rather than in the motives, actions, and general outlook of the

\textsuperscript{116} There are a few often-cited early references to the area in visitor accounts. The earliest descriptions of the region concern the coast. The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, a travel guide written by an unnamed Greek sailor around 40 AD mentions visiting the east coast of Africa. Marco Polo came to the area in the late 13th century, while Moroccan scholar Ib’n Battuta visited in 1331 and wrote a memoir that mentions Mogadishu, Kilwa and Mombasa. Yaqut al-Hamawi (1179-1229) wrote about Mogadishu in the 13th century, describing it as a frontier between Barbar and Zanj. He also visited Zanzibar and Pemba Islands. Jean-Vincent Morrice wrote about the region in 1776.
native population. Large parts of Tanganyika’s hinterland remained unexplored until well into the nineteenth century because the lack of adequate inland routes discouraged travelers, while, as far as Zanzibar is concerned, there are few written sources and scanty archeological evidence pertaining to the time before the seventeenth century. The origins of the initial inhabitants of Zanzibar are unknown and, by the time European traders and missionaries came to the region, they found a mixed population whose separate histories could not be easily disentangled. Duarte Barbosa, a native of Lisbon provided a description of the coast based on his 1512 voyage. It typifies the quality and nature of travelers’ descriptions that came later:

Between this island of San Lorenzo and the continent, not very far from it, are three islands, which are called one Manfia, another Zanzibar, and the other Penda; these are inhabited by Moors; they are very fertile islands, with plenty of provisions, rice, millet, and flesh, and abundant oranges, lemons, and cedrats. All the mountains are full of them; they produce many sugar canes, but do not know how to make sugar. These islands have their kings. The inhabitants trade with the mainland with their provisions and fruits; they have small vessels, very loosely and badly made, with-out decks, and with a single mast; all their plants are sewn together with cords of reed or matting, and the sails are of palm mats. They are very feeble people, with very few and despicable weapons. In these islands they live in great luxury, and abundance; they dress in very good cloths of silk and cotton, which they buy in Mombaza of the merchants from Cambay, who reside there. Their wives adorn themselves with many jewels of gold from Sofala, and silver, in chains, ear-rings, bracelets, and ankle rings, and are dressed in silk stuffs; and they have many mosques, and hold the Alcoran of Mahomed.

Generally, the Bantu ancestors of Zanzibar’s first inhabitants are speculated to have arrived sometime in the first millennium AD; it is uncertain if they absorbed or

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displaced other inhabitants.\textsuperscript{119} People in Zanzibar speak different dialects of Swahili, which is part of the North Coast branch of the larger Bantu family of African languages. Based upon available evidence, people of Arab descent have been a segment of the population since about 700 AD. By the tenth century AD the various island settlements were predominantly Sunni Muslims of the Shafii School, influenced by and trading with Arabia and Persia.\textsuperscript{120} Colonists from Persia and Arabia settled on the shores of Africa and gave rise to a number of independent Islamic city-states from sometime between the seventh and early thirteenth centuries. Indigenous Zanzibari groups trace back in their oral traditions a common descent from the Shirazi Persians. The entire East African coast and outlying islands were subject to trading ventures and colonization from Persia, Arabia, India, and Somaliland as well as indirectly from China and the Mediterranean. From this early history, it is clear that people affiliated with various Arab tribes not only came to the region, but also intermarried with the Bantu inhabitants. “Indians” were another presence in this area of East Africa, particularly on the islands and coast. References to Gujarati traders are found in Portuguese accounts of the coast dating from the 1500s. There were approximately 3000 Gujarati and others from the Indian subcontinent in the late nineteenth century. Nearly all were involved in trade. By 1897, there were four principal Indian firms and one Arab firm which dominated this sector. Several Indians were so successful in their business dealings that they accumulated great wealth. Tharia Topan, a millionaire who succeeded Ladha Damji as customs master of

\textsuperscript{119} Bennett, \textit{The Arab State of Zanzibar}, 3; Gilbert, \textit{Dhows}, 19; Middleton and Campbell, \textit{Zanzibar}, 2 all provide useful overviews of aspects of early history. 

\textsuperscript{120} Middleton and Campbell, \textit{Zanzibar}, 2; Gilbert, \textit{Dhows}, 20; Most of the Western Indian Ocean also belongs to the Shafii School.
Zanzibar in 1876 was likely the wealthiest person in all of East Africa upon his death in 1891.\textsuperscript{121}

As late as the 1870s, interior East Africa was largely unexplored by Europeans. A few inroads in exploring this region were made throughout the late 1700s and early 1800s. Early travel into eastern Africa was fraught with many dangers. There were no roads. Several pathways were cut by the caravans, but the terrain changed dramatically from the rainy to dry seasons and would also grow over with vegetation. Tropical diseases and inhospitable residents made exploration a perilous undertaking not for the faint at heart. Wars, conflicts and famines would change the stops along the way and affect the ability to buy or get food. Despite these dangers, interest in finding the source of the Nile and the rumored Nile lakes caused a few European explorers to venture inland. Confirmation of the fabled snow-covered mountain, Mt. Kilimanjaro, fueled additional speculative journeys into the interior. At this time, the most accurate boundaries that could be drawn would perhaps show the zone of influence of the Sultan of Zanzibar, but based on passages in Dodgshun’s journal—indicating the problems of passage, forced payment of tribute or tolls (\textit{hongo}), the Arabs at Ujiji refusal of a site on which to build a mission—the “stamp of the sultan” did not extend as far or consistently as often described. There were some along the trade route, because they traveled or traded with the caravans, who actually knew of the Sultan and who possessed some sense of the coast as well as inland, but the majority of people did not.

\textsuperscript{121} Alpers, \textit{East Africa}, 73.
Changes in Coastal and Island Government

At the turn of the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese first began exploring the East African coast and outlying islands, the area was predominantly divided into different competing city-states ruled by Muslim Afro-Arab or Shirazi dynasties. The four most important city-states were Pemba, Unguja, Malindi and Mombasa. The first three considered the latter to be their archenemy. Pemba was controlled by a number of independent powers; some sources reference five ruling princes who divided control of the island. The number of divisions in Unguja is unclear, although it appears it was divided into at least two different groups, geographically separate with different political rulers.

The interactions that took place between the islands of Zanzibar and the Portuguese illustrate the lack of political unity to be found even within each island at the time and the extent to which each polity played off alliances to try and secure a favorable situation for itself. Unguja was the center of trade in slaves, ivory and to a lesser extent gold. The Portuguese first came to Unguja in 1499, defeated a local ruler of Unguja Ukuu, and made it a vassal territory of the King of Portugal. In 1510, the Portuguese returned to collect their tribute, but hostilities ensued. The Portuguese sailed to another part of Unguja, befriended that region’s ruler, and made Unguja a non-tributary ally. By 1525, the Portuguese ruled not only all of the coastal states (including Pemba), but also Oman on the Arabian Peninsula. During the early seventeenth century, Unguja was

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122 See Bennett, The Arab State of Zanzibar; and Prins, Swahili-Speaking Peoples.
123 In the early 14th century, Mogadishu, Kilwa and Mombasa were the major commercial centers on the coast.
unburdened by the demands of its loyalty to the Portuguese whereas Pemba’s elite increasingly felt strained as the island was used as a supplier of provisions for Mombasa, housing the main Portuguese garrison. Many of the Malindi dynasty, which had ruled Mombasa, migrated to Pemba. Around this same time, the separate rulers of Pemba were consolidated, leaving one ruler.

After Sultan bin Saif, leader of the Yarubi dynasty, regained possession of Muscat, the capital of Oman, in 1650, the local ruling families of Pemba requested aid from him to remove the Portuguese. The Omani raided the Portuguese in Unguja in the 1650’s, although almost 100 more years passed before they were successfully removed from Zanzibar. In the following decades Pemba consistently supported Omani ventures against the Portuguese. In 1695, the Portuguese were driven from Pemba; three years later, they were driven from Unguja as well. By 1729, the entire East African coast north of Mozambique came under the nominal suzerainty of Oman, with local Arab and other ruling families exercising effective power until the early nineteenth century. Recognizing the remote Omani sovereignty did not engender any significant loss of local authority by the current ruling elite since they had only concluded treaties and not ceded land or power to the sultan. Even though they ruled Zanzibar for nearly 200 years, little remains to mark the Portuguese presence.

The way succession was determined in Oman served to undermine the ruling dynasty and acted to check any one dynasty’s power. The Arab aristocracy viewed the ruling dynasty as merely the first family among equals, which led to the issue of
succession often being fraught with difficulty and much bloodshed. One historian, Genesta Hamilton describes how:

Fighting in Oman never ceased, every man’s hand was against his brother’s; for centuries there had been a rapid succession of Imams, as cousin murdered cousin, brother murdered brother, and son murdered father; each one becoming possessed of the coveted title for a short time, until he, in his turn, came to a violent end.¹²⁴

Not only did every legitimate son of the ruler have equal claim to the throne, but the different dynasties could gain legitimacy if they were able to seize power. The new sultan often proved his legitimacy by killing all other possible claimants to the throne and successfully exacting vows of obedience and alliance from other Arab dynasties. Therefore, when in 1745, the Yorubi dynasty was supplanted by the Busaidi dynasty in Oman, the Omani commanders of Zanzibar and Mombasa not only fought among themselves, but also perceived that the “new” Arabs were more dangerous as allies than the Portuguese were as enemies. In Zanzibar the el-Busaidi came to exercise paramount authority, but the el-Harth Arabs who are said to have migrated to Zanzibar in A.D. 924, were of principle influence prior to the coming of the Yorubi.¹²⁵

It is difficult to say for certain how many different peoples were present in Zanzibar at this time. No specifics are available regarding the various Arab groups. Based on linguistic evidence, there were three recognizable general indigenous ethnic clusters: the Wahadimu agriculturalists in the south, southeast, and eastern area;

¹²⁴ Hamilton, Princes of Zinj, 20.
¹²⁵ Ingrams, Zanzibar, 195.
Watumbatu fisherman and seamen in northern Unguja; and the Wapemba in Pemba.126 These names were predominantly territorial references, which also reflected three separate polities, and those who ruled over them. However, it must be kept in mind that the boundaries of these “tribes” were not static. Foreign peoples constantly integrated themselves into these communities and affected their nature.

“The Unguja,” which was the dialect of Zanzibar Town and the central part of the island, may best be described as some of the first Swahili people. Coming from an Arab term meaning coast, “Swahili” was originally a locative reference. Those engaged in trade would define themselves as Swahili, which at once indicated the language they spoke, that they were from the coastal regions of eastern Africa, and that they engaged in the seafaring trade. It is impossible to gauge when the shift began to occur, but at some point Swahili began to refer to the unique, relatively homogenous culture, which developed from the mix of African, Arab, Persian and possibly other settlers.127 The Swahili were distinct from the Hadimu and Tumbatu who engaged in mainly peasant agriculture, because they lived in town and worked largely in the commercial economy. What it meant to be Swahili and not-Swahili further developed as time went on.

Local rulers and Arab families of Zanzibar recognized the shift from the Yorubi to Busaidi dynasty, but those of Pemba, which had been closely associated with the Mazrui family, which ruled Mombasa, did not. By the time the new dynasty came into its own with Sultan Seyyid Said from 1804 to 1856, the Mazrui were becoming

126 Magnet de Saissy, Pre-Revolutionary Zanzibar, 9; Polome, “Swahili in Tanzania,” 87; Bennett, The Arab State of Zanzibar, 9; Dale, Peoples of Zanzibar, 11.
127 Bennett, The Arab State of Zanzibar, 7; Saleh, “Conflicting Swahili Norms” 146.
unpopular. In 1822, two native Pemba rulers asked the Busaidis for aid in overthrowing them, to which Seyyid Said agreed.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Zanzibar was already a principal center for foreign trade along the East African coast. It was where Arabs, Indians and Europeans interested in exchanging their products for those of the African mainland would meet. The introduction of the clove plant by the French in 1818 changed the economy and island life for most of the inhabitants. A relatively small initial influx of Arab immigrants was encouraged by the Busaidi to move and establish plantations. They cultivated previously unclaimed land. After Seyyid Said transferred the capital of Oman from Muscat to Unguja in 1832 to capitalize on the island’s excellent harbor and trade and relocated there permanently in 1840, however, more Arabs from all social classes came to live in Zanzibar and displaced some of the earlier inhabitants. The Omani chose to direct East African trade through Zanzibar. The number of Omanis involved in agriculture increased from approximately 1000 to 5000 by the 1840s; a five-fold increase in the span of about thirty years. In Pemba, because land was fertile and abundant, the Arab settlers, able to live over the whole island, were favorably received by the indigenous population. In Unguja, the Arab settlers displaced the indigenous Wahadimu from the more fertile western regions, forcing them to move further east. Some of these Arabs worked as administrators or traders and returned to Oman after a number of years, while others intermarried with the local populations and settled permanently.

129 Bennett, The Arab State of Zanzibar, 14.
130 Magnet de Saissy, Pre-Revolutionary Zanzibar, 9.
131 Middleton and Campbell, Zanzibar, 4.
The animosities, which developed as a result of the influx of Arab immigrants establishing plantations, were relatively minor due to a mutually beneficial misunderstanding of ownership laws. The Arabs believed that they owned the land because they cleared or claimed it; while the native inhabitants believed they owned the land since they cultivated it, growing their own food crops in the shade of clove trees. The result was that the same plot of land had separate sets of laws that governed tree owning and land owning. Wealth was measured in the number of trees and not in the amount of land.

The minimally intrusive Omani sultanate integrated itself well into the traditions of Zanzibar and flourished. When the local Tumbatu and Hadimu tribes’ hereditary bloodlines did not produce heirs by the mid to late nineteenth century their power ceded, without conflict, to the sultanate. As mentioned, under Seyyid Said the bulk of East African trade was redirected through the island. The adage, “If you play the flute in Zanzibar, all Africa as far as the Lakes dances” attests to Zanzibar’s considerable influence. The Sultanate of Zanzibar, which became separate from that of Oman in 1861, not only claimed over-lordship of the coasts of Tanganyika and Kenya, but also was recognized over much of the hinterland of Africa as far as Rhodesia and the Congo. In a description of his impressions of the region, written in 1869, British missionary Edward Steere noted the reach of the Sultan’s power:

in the interior [it] is of a less determinate kind, but he has a Governor even

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132 Saleh, “Conflicting Swahili Norms,” 150.
133 Middleton and Campbell, *Zanzibar*, 1; Gilbert, *Dhows*, 22. After the death of Seyyid Said in 1856, a dispute ensued as to who was the rightful heir. To settle this dispute, Oman and Zanzibar were divided into two separate sultanates.
at Ujiji on the Tanganyika Lake, besides which he can bend any tribe he pleases to his wishes by stopping their trade, which must start from or pass through his coast dominions. One result of all this is too important to be passed by in silence, it is that the language of Zanzibar—the Swahili—being the official and trade language, is everywhere more or less understood; so that if one has mastered the Swahili he is at home everywhere, in every tribe he will find some who can act as interpreters, and who can at once open to him the intricacies of their own tongue.\textsuperscript{134}

As many more people from a large variety of backgrounds migrated to Zanzibar—not to mention nearly two thirds of the population being slaves needed to tend to the clove plantations—some Wahadimu, Watumbatu, and Wapemba who had seen their position slowly erode since the coming of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, began to consciously distinguish themselves from other Africans by asserting their Shirazi identity.\textsuperscript{135} In this way, the elite of these tribes, some of whom had acquired plantations and slaves, distinguished themselves from the peasant and slave classes and aligned themselves more closely to the Arab elite. Shirazis, as fellow Muslims, not only could not be enslaved but also frequently resisted working on the plantations.

\textbf{Peoples of Tanganyika}

Prior to the nineteenth century, discussion of the many mainland peoples can be almost entirely separated from discussion of the coast and Zanzibar. In 1800, variants of the four language families spoken in mainland Africa—Afroasiatic (Hamito-Semitic), Nilo-Saharan, Niger-Congo (Bantu), and Khoe—were all spoken in Tanganyika, but the

\textsuperscript{134} Edward Steere, quoted in Heanley, \textit{A Memoir of Edward Steere}, 75-76.
\textsuperscript{135} Glassman, “Sorting out the Tribes,” 402.
vast majority (over 90%) spoke Bantu languages. Bantu speaking immigrants, coming from the west, likely absorbed earlier peoples. Tanganyika was still “frontier territory” penetrated by Africans from all directions, although the arid core was scarcely inhabited. The most substantial immigration occurred in the south-east and west; mostly uninhabited in the 1600s, it had a considerable population by 1800. At this time, the historical record does not support categorizing different population groupings as identifiable tribes each with its own discernable territory, language, political and social systems. Many of the names now used to distinguish the 120 or so different tribes were not first used by the people themselves, and only came into wide circulation in the early twentieth century. West of the rift valley, names that came to classify people indicated a geographical direction or designated those of a certain chiefdom.

Generally women engaged in agricultural work while men hunted, cleared forest and brush, and tended to livestock. Status derived from one’s generation, tensions between generations may have been the main source of conflict. Kinship was also a strong determinant guiding the normal relationships and expected political and social interactions between people. Leadership was often grounded in ritual power, with political positions dependent on birth. Only a few powerful chiefs had slaves, an institution akin to indentured servitude and dependence rather than chattel slavery. For instance, among the Shambaa and Kerewe slaves were those without descent groups. They became attached to the king’s court as they were prisoners of war, or unable to pay legal obligations, or disowned by kinsmen and given to the chief. In all of these types of

\[136\] See Iliffe, *Modern History of Tanganyika*, 6, for a comprehensive overview of this history.
social and political arrangements, however, descent was the core of an individual’s identity. A large family conveyed status.

There were some tensions and conflicts between populations. For instance, Fipa highlanders considered the Nyika of the Rukwa valley untrustworthy. Historian Iliffe also notes how the Nyakyusa, “despised their Kinga neighbours in the Livingstone mountains as ‘dirty in habit and obsequious in manner’ but eagerly sought Kinga iron, believed that their chiefs were immigrants from Bikinga, and watched with trepidation as Kinga priests descended the mountain paths each year to venerate their common ancestors.”

Despite known animosities, warfare is rarely mentioned in the early traditions of predominantly agricultural societies. A few groups had reputations as known antagonists. Many of those from the area between the rift valley and Lake Victoria identified the Tatoga as their enemy. In Sandawe, a hero was even defined as “a man who must previously have killed Tatoga.” The Masai were also known as aggressors.

Politically, several different systems characterized the peoples of Tanganyika. They varied from “stateless,” lacking any sort of centralization, living in spread out communities, to chiefdoms, with some having appointed officers, to kingdoms. Several heads, in local dialects were called the equivalent of kings, chiefs, or sultans (a title derived from Arab influence). Societies like the Shambaa and Luguru from the Pwani and Morogoro region are examples of chieftainships where legitimacy stemmed from clan identity and power over rainmaking.

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138 Ibid.
139 Alpers, “Kingalu mwana shaha.”
Changes on the Mainland

By the middle of the nineteenth century, a large number of mainland communities underwent transformations. These were not clear-cut replacements of an old order by a new one. As Iliffe notes, “Some created new political systems while others defended their old polities or saw them shattered by change. Some adopted elements of the coastal culture while others reformulated inherited ideas and customs. These reactions formed a spectrum comparable to the later spectrum of responses to colonial rule.”

Caravan trade, Omani rule, and missionary presence all contributed to the changing social dynamics. Yet none of these experiences brought about a fundamental crisis of identity among a significant sector that led to the development of a novel world-view. All of the changes still fit within their framework for understanding reality.

Zanzibar’s emergence as the central hub changed the nature of coastal societies. Coastal middlemen, who demanded large fees for their service, controlled how inland peoples traded with Zanzibar. Diwanis, who previously ruled the coastal towns, found their positions reduced after Omani rule consolidated in Zanzibar. They continued to receive tribute and enjoy ceremonial respect, but lost any real authority they previously commanded. The social composition of these towns also changed with the increase in slaves and inland Africans. Former rivalries between town wards gave way to rivalries between the newcomers and old inhabitants. In the towns of Tanga and Pangani inter-ward dance competitions fell off in favor of competition between Darisudi and Darigubi.

Iliffe, Modern History of Tanganyika, 40.
societies which represented townsmen and the new immigrants.

An underlying factor in the transformation of many mainland societies was the changing nature and importance of trade with the interior. In 1776, the only inland trade route from the Tanganyikan coast led south-west from Kilwa into the densely populated area around Lake Nyasa. By the middle of the 1800s, several different trade routes branched out from coastal hubs. Many missionaries set out for the interior from the coastal town of Saadani.\(^\text{141}\) A missionary, Price, noted the help he received in May 1876 from Bwana Heri, “ruler of the town and one of the most influential of the political leaders of the coast.”\(^\text{142}\) From Saadani, one could reach Mpwapwa, a center that acted as “a kind of gateway to vast regions beyond” after less than a month long march.\(^\text{143}\)

Porterage from central Africa to the coast became an established way of life by the middle of the eighteenth century. An ambitious group from the Central African Mission tried to find a different method for travel into the interior, one that could be cheaper, faster, and easier than relying on porters but they failed miserably.\(^\text{144}\) One journey to procure goods and return them to the coast could take several years. Most caravans were financed by Indians. Caravans developed their own hierarchical structure and cultural dynamics. The order of the caravan march reflected the status of those on the journey. Iliffe describes a typical caravan presentation: “First came the guide, with a light load, a

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\(^{141}\) In 1886, Annie Hore described Saadani as a small town containing two to three streets full of shops run by Hindis, and mostly mud-huts that are a “little better than those of the interior” with a governor or “Lewali,” representative of the Sultan of Zanzibar, and a small detachment of military. Not far off, the “wilds” began, meaning that lions even bothered townsmen sometimes (Hore, \textit{To Lake Tanganyika in a Bath Chair}, 14).

\(^{142}\) Bennett, “Introduction,” \textit{From Zanzibar to Ujiji}.

\(^{143}\) See Ibid. and Price, \textit{Report} for firsthand accounts of caravan travel.

\(^{144}\) See Bennett, \textit{From Zanzibar to Ujiji}.
special dress, and a drummer behind him. Next marched the aristocrats on the caravan, the ivory porters, with cattle bells tied to the tusks they carried. They were followed, in descending order of prestige, by carriers of cloth, beads, wire, and the caravan’s domestic requirements. Slaves came next, then women and children—for by the middle of the century many Nyamwezi wives accompanied their husbands.” The majority of porters were of Nyamwezi heritage, but the Bisa, Yao, Sumbwa, and Kimbu also participated in the bi-directional caravan trade and porterage through Tanzania. Porterage introduced wage labor among a fair sized population. The influx of foreigners travelling by caravan, in addition to the ivory trade, began to change the price of embarking on such a trip. As rates for caravan labor increased in the late 1800s, it became possible to improve one’s station in life from a few successful journeys. Yet, the goal was still usually not financial wealth for its sake, but to use the wealth to pursue traditional measures of social success.

The Sultan’s informal rule over his inland empire worked for a short period, but as the demand for ivory grew in the 1850s and 60s, and pushed caravans beyond Tanganyika into Congo, trade dynamics altered and caused discontent. The two major responses to this turn of events were the primary conditions that led to the dramatic changes of the late 1800s. One response was to increase control over trade, which led to political conflicts. Another response was to find a new lucrative export, which turned out to be slaves typically kept around the Indian Ocean. They were sold and sent to other parts of eastern Africa (including Madagascar), the Middle East, India, and some even ended up as far away as Brazil. Chiefs along routes found themselves deprived of

145 Iliffe, Modern History of Tanganyika, 45.
revenue as their locales were bypassed, which reduced their ability to defend their territories. While before most traders had complied with local ruler demands for *hongo* to ensure safe passage, by the late 1800s, traders were more willing to dispute these demands and even fight to dominate the rulers. Only Tippu Tip previously had fought against African rulers in the western chiefdoms of Uvinza and Ugalla over their demands for ensuring safe passage.\(^{146}\)

Although the British prohibited the export of slaves in 1873, the policy was slowly implemented.\(^{147}\) With export banned, slaves increasingly were used on mainland and island clove plantations. Relatives were sold into slavery during periods of famine. In the late 1880s, the mnyime famine struck a region already with weakened social ties due to slaving and warfare, which further encouraged people to abandon their families or sell them into slavery. Criminals also were sold into slavery. Slave raids occurred where enough slaves could not be procured by other means. The slave trade led to a changed landscape across the interior. In 1902, Johnson noted his impressions on traveling through the land:

> To reach our present sphere of work at the south end of the lake, we march across the Nyassa-Tanganyika plateau, for a distance of from two hundred to four hundred miles, according as our destination is Kawimbe, our nearest, or Mbereshi, our most distant mission station. This journey, thirty

\(^{146}\) Iliffe, *Modern History of Tanganyika*, 47.

\(^{147}\) There are a series of Acts trying to limit and suppress the slave trade. The British previously had agreements with Madagascar and the Imam of Muscat, but the Sultan of Zanzibar ignored any direction by the British to stop the slave trade. On August 5, 1873 the British passed 36 and 37 Victoria, Chapter 59, “An Act for regulating and extending the Jurisdiction in matters connected with the Slave Trade of the Vice-Admirality Court at Den, and of Her Majesty’s Consuls under Treaties with the Sovereigns of Zanzibar, Muscat, and Madagascar, and under future Treaties” that stopped the export from Zanzibar.
years ago, would have been through a well-peopled country, dotted with villages on every side; to-day it is almost uninhabited. The country used to be cultivated and productive garden ground; it has now relapsed into bush and jungle. Such are the effects of the slave trade which meet us as we journey to our sphere of work.\textsuperscript{148}

Tribal and inter-tribal wars led to deep changes in the social composition of inland peoples. He noted the havoc wrought in southern Tanganyika during this period:

We have seen how the slave-trade and tribal wars had decimated the South Tanganyika peoples. The country around Kawimbe was therefore for the most part thinly populated, and the people who were there had no great chiefs, were not united, and hence were weak. The tribe was split up under petty chiefs jealous of each other, often quarrelling and fighting, and whilst divided amongst themselves all parties were living in constant dread of the raiding Awemba, who were ruled by a powerful chief and lived upon the destruction of these weaker tribes.\textsuperscript{149}

Some previous rulers led revolts against new overlords. Some stateless peoples, led by a potent religious figure, resisted domination by invading Africans. Some led small attacks against slave traders or specific chiefs. One of the most significant movements in reaction to the changing long-distance trade was the dissolution of the Shambaa kingdom, fomented by the Kiva rebellion of 1869. In this conflict, the rebels were the previously conquered and incorporated Bondei who lived east of Usambara. The Bondei, formerly a stateless people, received little in return for the tribute demanded of them by the Shambaani. They were even forbidden entry into the capital of the kingdom, Vugha.\textsuperscript{150}

By the late nineteenth century military and economic power came to challenge ritual power as the basis for leadership in Tanganyika. By 1890, approximately half of

\textsuperscript{148} Johnson, \textit{Night and Morning in Dark Africa}, 49.
\textsuperscript{149} Ibid., 99-100.
\textsuperscript{150} Iliffe, \textit{Modern History of Tanganyika}, 65.
Tanganyika’s peoples used guns as their chief weapon in conflicts. Guns became valuable possessions and people went to great lengths to obtain them. Porters even worked to earn a gun as payment. Coastal peoples successfully raided and dominated around Lake Tanganyika because they prevented that region’s inhabitants from obtaining guns. Personal achievement and loyalty also became important for gaining political power. Several groups had an important role in transforming political and social organization and values within the region they inhabited.

**Southern Tanganyika**

In 1800, the Southern Highlands of Tanganyika only had small political units, none larger than a clan-chiefdom. This changed in the course of the nineteenth century as these groups responded to attacks by the Ngoni. By the 1890s, the various stateless peoples of south-eastern Tanganyika, including the Ngindo, Mwera, and Makonde, had moved to the plateau, a defensive retreat to protect themselves from the Ngoni. Large stretches of empty land characterized the area, as Price’s earlier referenced quote describes. The Ngoni, descendants of the Zulu, were governed by a system that stressed rank and deference. Their military commanders (*manduna*) often came from assimilated captives. The most famous commander, Songea Mbano, a Shona captive from Rhodesia was also the main ritual leader, Chikusi Mkaranga.  

Other militarized polities, namely the Usangu, Utemekwria, and Uhehe, formed to battle the Mshope Ngoni for control of the Southern Highlands. The Sangu, led by

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151 Ibid., 53.  
152 Ibid., 54.
Merere II, were defeated. In 1874, Merere II abandoned his capital, retreated to Usafwa and built a stone fortress near what is now Mbeya. The Hehe invaded Mshope in 1878, eventually killed the Ngoni chief, and by the time the Germans arrived in 1890, were the recognized dominant power in the region. All the authority of Chief Mkawa (1855-1898), whose full name was Mkwavinyika Munyigumba Mwamuyinga, derived from his will. He drew sub-chiefs from the Muyinga family, descendants of independent rulers who submitted to him, and others who distinguished themselves through service and married royal women. He gave all his important agents, who were bound to him by blood or marriage, the title Mzagila.153

Northern Tanganyika

In northern Tanganyika by the late 1880s, the Masai continued to terrorize the region. Small Chagga chiefdoms, relying on citizen armies, posed a challenge to Masai dominance. Chagga society valued age-grade cohorts in which all were equal within an age class and used this type of organization within their military. The son of a chief would be a comrade, not master, in battles. Iliffe recounts a visitor’s observation from 1861 that a Chagga chief cannot be considered as a despot; rather, if one goes to the root of the matter, his power is almost non-existent, at least in peacetime, since the warriors as a group share a sizeable part of it. Without their goodwill he can achieve nothing. He must abstain from much that he would like to do, in order to keep his ‘praetorians’ in good humour, and must even share with them the dues which the caravans pay him. And at times he is even more dependent on his relatives. A strange contradiction—to be the

153 Ibid., 57.
absolute master of all living things and at the same time a shadow king.¹⁵⁴

Shambaa society, in contrast, located in the West Usambara mountains, was
governed by family alliances and the king’s hold of rain charms. Conceptions of “healing
the land” and “harming the land” were central to the Shambaani understanding of the
world:

when a new king came to power his ability to dominate the chiefs
depended on whether they were his brothers and therefore his competitors,
unlikely to subordinate themselves without a struggle; or nonroyals who
could be pushed aside; or (best of all) junior relatives. Each king tried in
the course of his reign to replace brothers with sons who would obey
commands from the royal capital. A king who succeeded in doing this
made the entire kingdom into a single nguvu: a territory with a single
locus of sovereign power. In the reign of some kings, then, the land was
visibly healed; in the reigns of others it was harmed.¹⁵⁵

Kimweri ye Nyumbai, who ruled from 1815 to 1862 succeeded in replacing most of the
local chiefs with his children. The chief was vested with sovereignty as a deputy to god
(mulungu) who gave him power to control the rain. By the late nineteenth century,
warfare tore apart the kingdom. The Germans, in 1895, finalized the destruction of the
former system. They hanged the king and later destroyed any remaining chiefly authority,
forcing the local people to work European owned plantations and farms.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 59.
¹⁵⁵ Feierman, Peasant Intellectuals, 8.
¹⁵⁶ Feierman describes the complex ritual ceremony by which Shambaa kingship
transferred. The purpose of this rite was to prevent the implication that kingship is dead.
The absence of a king in a monarchical society is problematic. It is a time where doubts
about the legitimacy of the position itself can be called into question. Among the
Shambaa, a complex ritual ceremony developed to transfer Shambaa kingship and avoid
acknowledgement that a king had died. In the rituals following the death of the Shambaa
king, no one individual could claim knowledge of all aspects needed to complete it. No
one person possessed full knowledge of the ritual. Certain people were bestowed with an
aspect of its knowledge (Feierman, “On Socially Composed Knowledge,” 20).
Western Central Tanganyika

In the north-western area of Tanganyika, the Nyamwezi were an important group. They lived in this region for centuries and their chiefdoms had long royal genealogies. In the early 1800s, there were several important Nyamwezi kingdoms, including the Unyanyembe, Ulyankhulu, and Urambo. With its control of Tabora, an important inland trading center, Unyanyembe was the most powerful. One Unyanyembe ruler, Nyungu ya Mawe, became a despotic military leader, guiding his private army of rugaruga, some youths under sixteen who were called mwitikla (wasps) to conquer south towards Ukimbu. Nyungu’s rugaruga were described as wild young men without roots or family ties. Many of them were deserters from caravans or runaway slaves. For this reason they owed loyalty only to Nyungu and went anywhere to fight under his command. Like the Ngoni they wore a costume designed to inspire terror. For example, they often wore mutilated parts of the bodies of their enemies as ornaments... The ruga-ruga were encouraged to smoke Indian hemp to make them fearless and excitable... All booty had to be brought to Nyungu who distributed it according to the bravery of individual vatwale [captains] and ruga-ruga. If they were brave, ruga-ruga could be promoted to the rank of mutwale. In Nyungu’s manner of speaking, only the brave were real men. Others he referred to as ‘logs’. When ordering reinforcements he would shout: “More logs! More logs!”

Nyungu’s system of rule that added a strong military element to traditional power bestowed by royal lineage and command over ritual power, continued after his death in 1884, but it was destroyed by the Germans in 1895.

Another well-known Nyamwezi military warlord, Mirambo, was able to build a

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157 Iliffe, Modern History of Tanganyika, 63.
vast, powerful empire during his brief reign. A minor hereditary ruler, through trade, Mirambo acquired firearms and money that allowed him to organize an army which he used to topple the monarch of the Urambo kingdom. He employed the same strategy successfully used by many militarized hereditary rulers throughout Tanganyika. He used his might to conquer neighboring chiefdoms and then installed rulers who would cede to his authority. Mirambo’s name meant “corpses” and was given to him by his band of rugaruga. Out of all of Tanganyika’s nineteenth century warlords, only Mirambo regularly conversed with European visitors, leaving behind a record of his interests and ambitions.\textsuperscript{159} He welcomed missionaries to his domain. He sought alliance with Kabaka Mutesa of Buganda and also with the British Consul in Zanzibar, although both efforts were unsuccessful.

**Major Influencers**

There are only a few isolated examples of Islam’s penetration into the mainland in the 1800s, although a larger percentage incorporated some coastal practices into their indigenous religions. While Christian missionaries found a substantial Islamic presence in Bonde in the 1870s, further inland only one leader was known to be Muslim, Kilanga bin Ilonga of Ubungu on the Lake Rukwa shore, near the modern western-central border of Tanzania. He was a slave raider, allied with the Arabs who had a mosque at his capital. This ruler wore Arab dress and sent three children to school in Zanzibar. By the 1880s, Swahili, the language and the beliefs associated with it, spread more widely than Islam.

\textsuperscript{159} Iliffe, *Modern History of Tanganyika*, 63.
Burton found many among the Sagara and Gogo in central Tanganyika spoke Swahili in the 1850s and remarked that “almost every inland tribe has some vagrant man who can speak it.” By the 1880s, Swahili was widely known among those in the coastal hinterland. While it was not yet the undisputed lingua franca—on the Western plateau the main trade language remained Nyamwezi—Swahili’s value was widely recognized. Throughout Tanganyika important chiefs either spoke the language themselves or had Swahili secretaries.

**Status Markers**

Birth and descent were important for determining status in nearly all societies within what became Tanzania. Illustrious pedigree brought with it the appropriate social prestige. Recitation of one’s lineage among the aristocratic families was important. Governance of the major Swahili city states was tied to lineage; it is inaccurate to describe conflicts as between the Arabs against the Portuguese, because at the time it was rather the Mazrui versus the Hadrami who sometimes allied with a foreign power to challenge a rival lineage.

Kinship and patron-client relationships were characteristic of many societies. Systems of servitude and slavery were common throughout Tanganyika as a type of patron-client bond. Among the Swahili, slavery was an integral component and numerous words expressed subtle distinctions within types of slaves. Tippu Tip, the famous slave trader once remarked that “There is no lack of dignity in passing from the abominable

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yoke of a negro tyrant to the protective tutelage of an Arab…The [slave] trade has always existed in the interior, and it is the African who does not want it suppressed. He would sell himself if you emancipated him!”

Islam forbade enslaving another Muslim, and so coastal slave traders looked to inland populations for their supply of slaves. The sustained slave trade in this area dates to the development of plantation agriculture on the coastal islands (the early 1800s). While originally enslaved people were largely treated as indentured servants, the relationship between slave and master changed over the nineteenth century. Formerly among the Swahili, for instance, a freeman’s children by a slave concubine were theoretically equal to those of a freeborn wife. The mothers of all the Sayyids of Zanzibar born to Sayyid Said were slave women. Iliffe describes old notions of slavery and slave status among some groups that changed as slavery increased in importance for caravan traders:

Digo slaves could marry free women, own farms, and even own other slaves. In Unyamwezi a slave’s children had a higher status than their father and maltreated slaves could find sanctuary with chiefs, who alone could kill them. ‘If a man buys a slave,’ it was reported of Bonde, ‘he calls his own children and says, “Behold your brother.”’ Most notably, few masters feared to arm their slaves, perhaps because discontented slaves could escape so easily that they had little need to rebel. Yet as slaves became more numerous and the nature of their work changed, so their status declined and their assimilation became more difficult.

Alongside the growing importance of distinguishing between freeborn or slave, conflict emerged between competing elite identities. The indigenous elite tradition of

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162 Ibid., 74.
uungwana was contrasted with being ustaarabu, civilized like an Arab. This
distinction, and which marker one could claim developed as the Zanzibari Busaidi
dynasty’s influence on coastal communities grew. The wealth of the Busaidi dynasty in
Zanzibar helped fuel the construction of Seyyid Said’s opulent court, which Majid, his
successor, built upon. New sharifs and ulama emphasized literacy over local oral Islamic
traditions. Several inland societies adopted the Swahili ideal of the mwungwana, the free
gentleman, while others pursued ustaarabu distinctions. Chief Mataka of the Yao copied
the coastal style when he built his capital, even planting mango trees. In the early
twentieth century, these budding identities became even more important as colonialists
reduced political and social distinctions to “ethnic” categories based on territorial
affiliation.

**Nationalist Sentiment Prior to the 1900s**

Based on an analysis of language and literary texts, there was no nationalist
sentiment present in Tanganyika before 1890. Swahili dictionaries and word lists date
from the first prolonged missionary contact with the region. The earliest Swahili in
Arabic script was written by Saiyids. There are a few word lists and grammars for other

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Tanganyikan languages that date from around this time as well, but most were compiled after German colonial presence.\textsuperscript{165}

Steere of the Universities Mission of Central Africa (UMCA) produced a handbook of the Swahili language in 1865 and Swahili exercises (still used today). In the eighth edition of Steere’s \textit{Handbook of the Swahili Language}, published in 1908, which was revised and expanded on by Arthur C. Madan, there is no indication that nationalist sentiment existed among the Swahili. The work did not include the concept of equality and freedom (\textit{huru}) is only listed in reference to being freed from slavery.\textsuperscript{166} While \textit{taifa} is glossed as “nation,” it does not have the same connotation the concept had in Europe at this time. Instead, it was synonymous with a grouping like tribe, with \textit{kabila} meaning “tribe” or a “division less than taifa.”\textsuperscript{167} The introduction of the English gloss “nation” likely came from the English dictionary compilers. All entries dealing with political or cultural legitimacy and authority pointed to a system of rule where kinship and patron-client relations factored heavily and sovereignty ultimately rested with \textit{Mwenyi ezi Muungu}, Almighty God.

Since the introduction of Islam from the eighth century onwards, Muslim clerics at least possessed a basic literacy in Arabic. Early Swahili poetry, written in the Arabic script, was concerned with “other worldly” themes of devotion and piety that focused on Arabia and the Prophet Muhammad. From the middle of the seventeenth to the early

\textsuperscript{165} For instance, Steere collected words for a handbook of the Nywamwezi language (Steere, \textit{Collections for a Handbook of Nyamwezi}), there was an \textit{Introductory Grammar of the Ngoni (Zulu) Language}, from 1895 to 1906 Lang Heinrich collected sentences for a Shambaa dictionary, and a Chagga vocabulary was compiled between 1891 to 1895.
\textsuperscript{166} Steere, \textit{Handbook of the Swahili Language}, 44.
\textsuperscript{167} Ibid., 296.
twentieth century, religious and theological issues dominated this poetry, which is the extent of the literary tradition.\textsuperscript{168} Saiyid Abdallah b. Ali b. Nasir (1720-1820) wrote \textit{al-Inkishafi}. Saiyid Abu Bakr b. Abd al-Rahman, known as Saiyid Mansab, wrote many religious poems.\textsuperscript{169} The earliest manuscript, dated 1728, is an epic, \textit{Utendi wa Tambuka}, written in Pate, an island off the coast of Kenya, for Fumo (Sultan) Laiti Nabhani. By the early 19th century, Swahili poets were no longer drawing their topics exclusively from the Middle East but, as linguist Rajmund Ohly points out, were "using instead the social and historical realities of East Africa as a means of propagating precepts of Islam."\textsuperscript{170}

There were a few exceptional poems that fell outside of this religious focus, notably the \textit{Utendi wa Mwana Kupona}, composed in Pate (now part of Kenya) by Mwana Kupona binti Msham for her daughter. It provided guidance for how women should behave as a wife. There were also ritual songs of Bantu origin, especially wedding songs, and original compositions that used the Swahili-Arabic script.

\textbf{Final Note}

In the middle to late 1800s, this entire region of eastern Africa experienced dramatic changes that led to alterations in social and political structures and relations. A series of wars and famines, combined with an increase in porterage and the slave trade all served to undermine traditional sources of legitimacy, but did not result in the development of a new conception. By the arrival of the German colonizers, in 1895, there

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item See Topan, “Why Does a Swahili Writer Write?”.
\item Harries, \textit{Swahili Poetry}, 4.
\item Ohly, “Literature in Swahili.”
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
are no indications of nationalism present. The various societies in Tanganyika and Zanzibar, however they were organized, were not organized as nations. If it was present and new, people would be vocal about it and so there should be some evidence contained within missionary records and travel sources. One would expect to find words and descriptions of themselves as nations within the extant evidence. No such evidence is present. Nationalism is a fundamentally different conception of the social order. Let us see how it was brought into being in Tanzania.
CHAPTER FIVE: COLONIZING INSTITUTIONS: THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW VALUE SCHEMES AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REALITY

Nationalism was brought to Tanzania. It was not a native, indigenous cluster of ideas in the same way that Christianity was brought to Tanzania and was not an independent development within its societies. This in no way undermines how it developed or the role it had for those who became nationalists, however. The significance it has entirely depends upon understanding cultural developments within Tanzania. Its foreign origins tell us nothing about why it was chosen or its specific nature as an identity for those who became nationalists within Tanzania. They shaped it in response to their needs and understandings specific to their reality in the same way other groups imported and adapted this conceptual framework. This chapter describes how it was brought in, how it entered into institutions and was incorporated in the general cultural repertoire. Building upon this foundation, the next chapter will explore how it was selected and adapted by individuals, and promoted and introduced to society at large.

Nationalism was not brought consciously. That is, there was no concerted effort to reshape local societies into nations, but rather the “colonizers”—missionaries, and the German and British colonial administrators—themselves from nations, saw the world through nationalism colored glasses and unwittingly introduced its tenets within every aspect of society they touched. The introduction of nationalism cannot be isolated from the introduction and incorporation of other foreign concepts and modes within eastern
Africa. Initially, it came packaged within other ideas, not as a separate import. The colonizers’ Christianity, for instance, betrayed a nationalist understanding of the world. Their justice system, economic orientation, administrative structure, etc. all held long institutionalized aspects of a nationalist view of reality. Nationalist symbols were introduced to this region of East Africa through several different avenues. Explorers limited and short-lived interactions played little role in institutionalizing these concepts. The main avenues for bringing in this cluster of ideas came through missionary interactions and the successive colonial administrations. Travel abroad by Africans was also important and will be discussed in the next chapter. No society within Tanzania remained untouched by colonizing influences, although the extent to which it affected them varied greatly. At outlying regions, people were still aware of the foreign presence and had some sense of the different value schemes they brought and represented. It is misleading to think of missionaries, German colonialists, and the English administrators as one block of interests. The aim of the missionaries differed from colonial objectives. There were also differences between German and English perspectives that led to important distinctions in how they governed. Moreover, the personality and proclivities of certain individuals mattered more than the generalized sentiment of each of these groups.

Missionaries came to East Africa hoping to dramatically transform societies. They came to convert heathens, to bring the word of God to “dark Africa.” In wishing to enlighten minds, it was inevitable they would change them. Missionaries were the most explicit of the foreign influencers in attempting social change, yet they did not come by
force and could not impose themselves upon any society or sector within it.\textsuperscript{171} For this reason, missionary work was often confined to marginal people although they also appealed to some of aristocratic heritage who believed mission education and cooperation would help them best their rivals.

They brought Christianity to Africa, but they also brought nationalism as their Christianity betrayed a nationalist understanding of the world. While most purposefully avoided “Westernizing” their converts, they brought such ideas to the people among whom they worked. Converts were taught certain European modes and customs of dress, grooming, composure, etc. Western views on marriage and monogamy were introduced. Missionaries incorporated ideas of nationalism in their translations of biblical texts and compilations of local vernaculars. Missionaries helped spread and standardize Swahili as well as compile word lists and dictionaries in other local languages. They introduced new religions and Western-style learning. They educated women as well as men. While the instruction of women was different than men’s, there were more areas of overlap than in the preexisting education systems. Some students were taught English or other foreign languages. They provided avenues for people from very low status, like former slaves, to reach positions of power and prestige and had immediate and lasting impact. With learning and dedication, one could rise through the religious hierarchy. Christianity became an alternative for the various pagan beliefs and for some exposed to Islam, which had existed in the area for over a thousand years. Within the first ten years of existence,

\textsuperscript{171} Beidelman, “The Church Missionary Society in Ukaguru,” 74.
the missions helped to arrange marriages between converts, encouraging the growth of
native African Christian populations.

The German and British colonial presence in what is now Tanzania left an indelible
imprint.\textsuperscript{172} They helped usher in important changes in social and political structures of
societies as well as transform locals’ attitudes and beliefs. Colonial administrators (this
includes the British Protectorate administrators) intervened in all spheres of life, but their
interest was first and foremost in the maintenance and prosperity of the colony. The
Germans possessed the colony for its potential financial gain and to increase their
national prestige. The fact that pursuit of their economic interests would lead to societal
transformations was a secondary concern. As effective administration was a prerequisite
for economic efficiency, they imposed their views on various elements of society. In
governing these territories, the British Protectorate administrations in Zanzibar and later
also in Tanganyika also had their own economic interests in mind. Their primary interest,
however, was not in direct financial gain from the colonies. Holding and administering

\textsuperscript{172} There were three major “colonial” presences in what is now Tanzania: the Omani Sultanate, Germany, and Britain. The Omani Sultanate, however, usually is not considered a “colonial presence,” and certainly not in the same degree or mold as the European influence. Some of its important effects were discussed in Chapter 4. I put “colonial” in quotations because historian John Iliffe describes the various African groups that overtook other Africans within Tanganyika as colonizers as well, although, again, they are typically not seen or remembered in that way. As colonialism, colonizer and colonized, and neo-colonial influence became important and very charged terms in the early to mid-twentieth century and beyond in Tanzania, I reserve the term for those typically viewed and remembered as the colonizers: the German and British presence, which garnered a different response from inhabitants at the time of their presence as well. In large measure, the different reaction elicited by the Germans and British can be attributed to their being nations, which therefore operated and administered in a different way from the Omani Sultanate which was a traditional lineage based Sultanate, not unlike the political structure of many of its contemporary African polities.
the territories served to protect and secure their other colonial interests, namely India, and keep foreign threats at bay.

The colonizer’s biases and predilections concerning the proper way of conducting a society and conducting business within it became codified and institutionalized through the course of their rule. They pushed for “modernization” within the economic sphere, such as increased agricultural production, improvements in animal husbandry, a cash economy and the idea that success meant ever increasing profits and growth. They also introduced and strove to enforce and encourage their notions of proper social order, modes of allegiance, and marriage arrangements, among other aspects. The receptiveness of their audience varied. One of the most significant introductions—on account of its reach and transformation of social order—was the bureaucratic administrative structure based on office-holders. Leadership as a role rather than an embodiment undermined the legitimacy of countless chiefs and headmen as one could be deposed and replaced at the administration’s wish. While colonial actions brought about the end of slavery, they also institutionalized racism. The German and British colonial governments were instrumental in creating and solidifying “tribes” out of the different polities that existed within the region. Their actions hardened previously transitory political divisions into groups seen as ethnic.¹⁷³ All of these transformations were not part of some concerted effort to exploit or oppress but resulted from the colonizers’ muddled notions of how to rule and bring about economic progress and modern civilization. The gross inconsistencies between well-intentioned policies and actions, in fact, are an important element of this

Bringing Light to Dark Africa

The first sustained European influence in the region came from missionaries. David Livingstone of the London Missionary Society, one of the first and most famous, began his journey in 1866 and died near Lake Bangweulu in 1873. Despite his untimely demise from malaria and dysentery, Dr. Livingstone inspired many to become African explorers. Following his death, active European penetration began. Harry Johnson of the London Missionary Society recounts in his 1902 travelogue *Night and Morning in Dark Africa* how:

> The story of Livingstone’s death had rung like a trumpet blast through Britain, and the Christian Church had been so awakened to her duty that on every side was heard the cry, “The door of Dark Africa is open; enter in and possess the land.” The realization that the prayers of God’s people had been answered, and the door of a new continent opened, touched many hearts. Earnest workers looked upon the field, and saw the people groping in the darkness of superstition, sin, and misery, without knowledge of the Gospel, and without a single Christian influence. Livingstone’s words, “The end of the geographical feat is the beginning of the missionary enterprise,” were remembered, and Christian people connected with several missionary societies joined in the holy purpose of sending the light of the gospel to Dark Africa.

From 1874 to 1877, Henry M. Stanley, famous for saying “Dr. Livingstone, I presume?”, a Welsh-American newspaper correspondent, continued Livingstone’s explorations.

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Spurred by his encouraging reception by Mutesa I of Buganda in 1875, Stanley wrote his well-known letter of April 14, 1875 calling for Christian missionaries to begin work in Buganda, which brought an influx of travelers passing through Tanganyika to reach it.

Several missionary societies established themselves in this part of East Africa. While missionary presence before the German colonial period was limited, by the time Tanganyika became part of German East Africa, there were five missionary societies in the country. The London Missionary Society (Livingstone’s former society), The Church Missionary Society, and the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa represented British Protestant missions. There were two French Roman Catholic missionary societies, the White Fathers and the Holy Ghost order. German missions, the Bethel Mission and Benedictines came around the beginning of German colonial presence. A number of other foreign mission societies from France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Canada, Ireland, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, and the United States also came to work in the region.¹⁷⁶

Missionaries were an important influence on a small, yet significant segment of the population. The specific objectives of missionaries differed among the mission societies and were also influenced by the specific missionaries who chose (or were sent) to serve this area of East Africa. Missionary stations were set up at both commercial and trade hubs as well as in remote regions. There were missionaries working among all types of societies and strata of people. The Holy Ghost Fathers, originally based in Zanzibar in 1863, moved to Bagamoyo in 1868, and established inland stations in Uluguru and at Mhonda in Ungulu. The Anglican Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA)

¹⁷⁶ De Jong, “Church, Colonialism and Nationalism in Tanzania,” 69.
arrived in 1864, establishing a presence in Magila on the border between Bonde and Usambara and Masasi. Another Anglican mission, the Church Missionary Society established themselves in 1876 on the road to Uganda at Mpwapwa. The London Missionary Society entered Tanganyika in 1878, concentrating their activity around Lake Tanganyika. The French White Fathers entered in 1879 and established a base at Uijji, another in Unyanyembe in 1881 and one in Karema, along the south-east shore of Lake Tanganyika in 1885. The Berlin mission had three Synods each with several stations at Konde, Hehe and Usaramo.

Each mission station took time to establish and none had a large population of foreign settlers. Part of the reason for the slow missionary penetration was that they did not always get a warm reception. Missionaries, especially the early arrivals, were at the mercy of the local inhabitants. Building a new mission required first finding a suitable place and gaining permission from the local ruler, which was not easy or guaranteed. In 1842, for instance German missionary Johann Krapf was refused permission to work at Shoa, so he went to Zanzibar to be allowed “to extend to [the] heathen tribes [of the interior] the blessings of Christianity” and thus settled in Mombasa in 1844, which was part of the Omani Sultan’s domain. For the Usambara mission, Mr. Alington, Vincent M’Kono, one of the Mission boys, and a Swahili went to the capital of the district, Vuga, to seek permission from Kimweri, the king, who initially suspected them of scheming to overtake his country. He finally gave leave to build a house at Magila, but insisted that it

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177 Iliffe, *Modern History of Tanganyika*, provides a useful short summary of the missionary penetration.

178 *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, No 17, September 1850, 392.
also serve as a fort and be made of stone.\textsuperscript{179}

With the great range in education and practical training among the missionaries sent to Tanzania, it is not surprising that there were differences in the nature of their interactions with the native inhabitants. Leading an inland caravan was the first major challenge missionaries encountered. Few were equipped to manage so many people or arrange the necessary commercial transactions that went with securing and guiding a caravan. They tended to comply with tribute demands rather than risk a dispute and fight. One needed a strong constitution, strong spirit of adventure, and devotion to trudge ever forward despite the constant setbacks. For instance, of the members who started out on the London Missionary Society's Ujiji expedition—R. Price, John B. Thomson, Edward C. Hore, Walter Hutley, Elbert S. Clarke, Arthur William Dodgshun—Hore ended up being the sole person left to establish the mission, after starting out as the lowest in command. All the rest either died or returned to London, finding the environment unsuitable. While some of the English missionaries had college degrees, most were from the middle to lower middle class English background. The personality of missionaries and other Europeans varied widely, which also influenced the nature of their interactions and reception. Within the same aforementioned group of LMS members, Hore, for instance, was more sympathetic and paternalistic towards the natives, while Dodgshun, colored by several of his experiences, held a more negative view. The paternalistic view was an improvement over seeing natives as savage or barbaric, and Hore himself even thought his description of Tanganyikans as children was more sympathetic. Hore saw the

\textsuperscript{179} Heanley, \textit{Memoir of Edward Steere}, 84.
natives as uncivilized, but did not attribute this state to a character defect or an inability to attain civilization. Rather, the natives were seen like children who needed to be taught proper ways. Several missionaries won the respect and admiration of those around them, which contributed to their success and growth. Father Etienne Baur, the Superior of the Bagamoyo mission station was held in high regard by the Arab and African population and chiefs. Steere won the respect of men of all backgrounds in Zanzibar.

Steere made it evident that he empathized with and truly tried to understand those around him: “I can be very friendly with Negroes and Arabs, and can learn to use their language, and enter into their modes of thought, mainly because I am content to accept them as my teachers rather than to put myself forward to teach them.” Steere believed Africans deserved the same care and attention good church fellows gave to rural Englishmen:

I do not understand that anything more requires to be done for the heathen than has to be done for each generation of Englishmen; men are not born Christians, they have not instinctive knowledge of the truth. We see among the heathen merely what man without the Church of God has come to be, and what he is always tending to be, even in what men fondly call Christian countries.

Steere stressed empathizing and relating to the native people to which one was preaching the Gospels. He advised those about to leave for the mainland to pursue missionary work:

“Follow, as far as you can, the customs of the place and people. Quarrel with no one, however much you may be provoked. Treat no one with contempt. …..Try to understand

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181 Steere to Sir Bartle Frere, Zanzibar, 22 June, 1873, quoted in Heanley, Memoir of Edward Steere, 114.
the thoughts and difficulties of the people you live amongst.”182 Steere wanted a “general flow of [English] men backward and forward, so that a knowledge of the country [Africa] and its people may be diffused at home.”183

While there are examples of people from all strata of society converting, generally, the missionaries’ most receptive audiences were among those societies and individuals whose old order and ways of life had fallen apart and not yet been replaced. Early converts were typically those who could be described as “marginal men.” Often young, they came from the ranks of “slaves, refugees, dispossessed aristocrats, ritual experts, and the like.”184 There were no rugaruga or caravan porters among early converts. Missions were, first, places for those of ill repute because few of stature chose to affiliate themselves. They appealed to those with nothing to lose and everything to gain from association, which explains why the Church of the Holy Ghost attracted Maasai women although missionaries were interested in converting men. The Bondei’s positive reception to the UMCA can be attributed to the disorder they recently plunged into after destroying Kilindi control: The first Magila station Baptists included déclassé Kilindi, Bondei leaders, as well as slaves and their children. Some mission societies focused on marginal groups. Both the Holy Ghost Fathers and the UMCA first concentrated on creating and converting settlements of freed slaves.185

The desire of the English missionaries to expand further into the African interior

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185 Ibid., 85.
was directly related to their opposition to slavery and the efforts to destroy all sources and outlets of the slave trade. Steere, in a speech at the Church Congress of 1871 which discussed the Church’s duty and relation to the slave trade, expressed his belief that it was the duty of the Church to end the trade:

But how is it to be done? It is to be done only by the evangelization of the African nation. I, for one, will not lean upon an arm of flesh. It is not to be done by firing cannons indiscriminately into the dhows, killing the slaves at the same time as we kill those who hold them in slavery. It is not by such means as these that we shall put an end to slavery. We must go to that which is the fountainhead in the interior of Africa, and do the work which was done when slavery in Europe was put down. So we must go into Africa, and put down slavery there. There is merely one fact with which I will illustrate this. Those slaves set free by Dr. Livingstone—of whom you have heard just now—were not going down to the coast, to be exported to Arabia, or to America, but going up into the interior, to be trafficked with there; so that when we deal with the slave trade, we must not only draw a cordon round the coast, but we must go and grapple with it in the interior, or we shall never get rid of it.”\(^{186}\)

He thought it was “because Englishmen are lukewarm about the whole matter that the slave trade continues as it is.”\(^{187}\) He called for men in the Church of England “to join in the work of making a Christian nation out of what is now degraded Africa.”\(^{188}\) Slavery was not abolished outright in East Africa. It progressed in stages of legal restrictions. The export of slaves was forbidden in 1845. Additional treaties in 1873 and 1875 outlawed the slave \textit{trade} completely and closed the main slave market in Zanzibar. Yet, slavery was not fully ended until 1897 and all slaves were not freed until after Tanganyika


\(^{187}\) Ibid., 180.

\(^{188}\) Ibid., 181.
became a British trust territory following World War I.

The inconsistency of the English position regarding slavery and the shortcomings of the English state’s response to it bothered Steere. The Arabs argued that the English suppressed the slave trade to obtain their own cheap labor for sugar plantations at Natal and Mauritius. Steere believed it was the duty of the church to do the work that the state seemed incapable of ensuring. During the last three months of 1874, he preached or spoke on behalf of the mission almost every day. Steere saw himself engaged in a battle for the very souls of Africans. While in Oxford on a trip back to be made a Bishop, he said, “What the state will not do the church must do,” continuing:

   We must teach them to trust us, and we must try to set, not the body only, but the spirit free also. Nothing yet has uprooted slavery except Christianity. Nothing else will destroy it in Africa. Nothing else will destroy it in a man’s heart.... The East Coast Africans are not idolaters; they all believe in God, but they think of Him as too great and too far off to care individually for them. Their whole thoughts are full of evil spirits and malicious witchcraft. ..... His life is dark, his death is darker still.189

Steere believed the solution to their “dark lives” was to convert each African into “a Christian freeman instead of a heathen slave.”190 They used the word “nation” to describe the existing group clusters:

   There seem to be nations, it may be several millions each, speaking the same language, and occupying countries which were to be measured hundreds of miles in either direction. Our East Africans are not nomads, dwelling in a wilderness or desert, but settled cultivators who would gladly remain for many generations in one place. Each of these nations ought at least to have its own church, and its own bishop and clergy.191

189 Steere quoted in Heanley, (129)
190 Ibid., 130.
191 Ibid.
The missionaries made a conscious effort to remake men into a new mold.

The initial charges of the Universities’ Mission were former slaves, intercepted by Europeans upholding the ban on transporting slaves across the ocean. New mission charges often came from intercepted dhows illegally transporting slaves. There was an asylum for released slaves at Mbweni, four miles from Stone Town in Zanzibar. The number of children connected with the mission increased. In the first eight years of its existence in Zanzibar (the Universities Mission began in 1864 there), 110 children were affiliated with the mission. Steere explained to Sir Bartle Frere, during his visit in 1872 the origins of the missionary children:

of these, all except five boys were released slaves, fourteen of the boys were taken out of the dhows by Seyid Majid (the previous Sultan), and put by him under the care of the Mission; two boys and one girl were procured by Europeans (not British subjects) residing at Zanzibar, and given by them to the Mission; the rest were all taken by English men-of-war. Nineteen children have died; three of the girls are married; two of the boys are sub-deacons—one is at Magila station, the other is preparing to go there; one old scholar is chief assistant in the printing office, another is employed about the Mission premises, one is engaged as servant to Bishop Tozer, four are in service in the town of Zanzibar, three are engaged as pupil-teachers in the school, four have in various ways turned out badly. Forty-two boys and twenty-two girls are now in the schools.

These children were the “missionaries of the future” and became an important element galvanizing the spread and acceptance of missionary teachings and ideas. Steere recounts being handed the five former slave boys and his first thoughts concerning them:

Now if you can imagine yourself standing opposite to five little black boys, with no clothing save the narrowest possible strip of calico round their middles, with their hands clasped round their necks, looking up into your face with an expression of utter apprehension that something more dreadful than ever they had experienced would surely come upon them, now that they had fallen into the hands of the dreaded white men, you will feel our work somewhat as we felt it. And then, how are you to speak, or they to answer? You have not one word in common. Yet these are the missionaries of the future. ... it is not a work of a few years, but rather, as life is in Africa, of several lifetimes....Our plan was not to bring in such numbers as that we might be overwhelmed by a mass of heathenism, but to try and give a Christian tone to our first scholars, and then to bring in a few, time after time, so that they might catch the rising spirit....It was not long before even the natives perceived that our boys had an air and a bearing such as their old companions never had. It was their Christianity beginning even so soon to show itself, as sound religion must, in their ordinary speech and bearing. We had taught our children that white men might sometimes be trusted. They have told us since that their impression was, the first night they slept in the house, that they were meant to be eaten.⁴⁴

Missionaries standardized and transformed local languages. One of Steere’s first actions upon arriving in Zanzibar with the Universities’ Mission in 1864 was to inquire about the Swahili language. He found Krapf had compiled a grammar and other works based on the Mombasa dialect. In an article to the Bible Society’s “Monthly Reporter” (July 1882) he recounted that:

All the Europeans told us that Dr. Krapf’s books were of no use at all, and indeed we found them very little help. Not because he had misconceived the language, but because he had been to some extent misled by a pedantic clique of so-called learned men in Mombasa[a], who induced him to accept as pure Swahili an over-refined kind of dialect, scarcely or not at all intelligible to the mass of the nation, and, further, because of a singularly confused style of writing and spelling, so that these works were of scarcely any use to a mere beginner.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Steere, quoted in Heanley, Memoir of Edward Steere, 79-80.
⁴⁵ Steere, Monthly Reporter, 1882, quoted in Heanley, Memoir of Edward Steere, 72-73.
As a result of this insight, Steere began his own language work. In five years, he produced a Swahili translation of St. Mathew’s gospel, which was revised by several natives. Of course, some of his work, like the Swahili handbook, was based in part on Krapf’s grammar and dictionary. Steere’s translation of the Bible into Swahili was critical in codifying the language. Some of these translations were edited by Africans, but European missionaries, often not linguistic scholars, left their mark on the language. In process of translation, they introduced foreign concepts and retooled some local concepts. They first translated the Swahili word *taifa* as tribe and nation. The English word *nation* was introduced as a descriptor for ethnic nationalism.

An important goal of the mission was to educate African missionaries who could continue the mission’s work and spread the word to new frontiers. In 1872, the Universities Mission sent a group from its first educated and converted cohort to occupy the new Magila mission station. The idea was to move off the older scholars to make room for younger converts to be given responsibilities and also advance to a level that they could do their own missionary work. For each language group Steere wanted to make acquaintance with chief, select a prime location for settlement, and set up a central school in order to then send missionaries and others who could “teach the natives all that our civilization can give them,” with the goal of forming “a centre of light and life” from which “whole people may be enlightened.” One such center was begun at Magila for

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196 See Aloo Osoti Mojola, “Swahili Bible in East Africa,” for details regarding the translation of the different books.
the Shambalas. They also planned to go among the Yaos, and identified different nations among which they hoped to begin work like the “Gindos”, Zaramos and Zegulas near the coast, Nyassas and Bisas alongside Lake Nyassa and others:

We have a continent to work upon where chaos still reigns, both in the social and the spiritual world. We have the reproach of ages of cruelty and neglect to wipe out. We have the key of the gate of heaven, and millions are waiting for us to open to them.  

By 1880, a small number of locals now possessed a certain type of learning. Missions could supply well-educated English and Swahili interpreters who could read and write in both languages. Sir Bartle Frere’s official report on liberated slaves mentioned that “a fair proportion of the pupils have a useful knowledge of English, and all have learned to read and write their own language, or at least Swahili, the general language of the coast, in English character, in a manner which has hardly been attempted by other missions.” Frere’s report went on to attribute this directly to Steere’s effort: “He has furnished anyone who can read English with the means of thoroughly mastering Swahili, the most generally useful of East African languages, and greatly facilitated the acquisition of three others commonly spoken by slaves.” For the most part, they were kept separated and had distinct and limited roles. Frere, however, was of the opinion that more emphasis should be on learning a practical trade, such as a mechanical art or agriculture and only those of exceptional ability should learn English.

198 Bishop Steere, speech delivered at Oxford on behalf of the Universities’ Mission to Central Africa, The Mission Field, November 1, 1875, pp 244.
200 Ibid.
201 Bartle Frere said, “Every boy should, I think, be taught to make himself useful in
Sir Bartle Frere’s embassy played an important role in bringing about the end of the slave trade in 1897 (which did not end all slavery in the region, but did make all forms of trade in slaves illegal). Steere describes how now “the [English] nation was moved to do something. At first the Arabs refused to make any change. As they put it, their fathers had slaves, and their grandfathers had had slaves, and Ishmael had slaves, and Abraham had slaves, and society was inconceivable without them; so there must be slaves, and if so, there must be a slave trade.” The Sultan of Zanzibar, who Steere described as being “merely the strongest chief, who represents the whole body to the outer world so long as he does not offend his great men, and, as he truly said, without their consent he could do nothing” was unable to dictate a change to slave trading policy. Only when faced with six English men-of-war, two French, and one American man-of-war did the Arabs agree to consider the English demands and sign a treaty.202

Steere was very pleased that the site of the former slave market in Stone Town would belong to the Universities Mission. He used it as a place to preach, believing it was not enough to end slavery, but a new system of values and teachings must be implemented. He stated, “We must put in its place that which has delivered ourselves out of slavery, the teaching of Christ. To set a slave free to starve is poor charity, to leave building a hut, in cultivating, in managing a boat, and mending his own clothes and shoes, and nets and fishing-tackle, &c., after the native fashion, with European improvements only when clearly seen to be better than native ways. Elementary instruction, sufficient to read and write in their own language, might probably be imparted to all; but only the apter pupils should be required to learn English” (quoted in Heanley, *Memoir of Edward Steere*, 111).

him in ignorance is no better.” Steere justified England’s commitment against the slave trade as a basic fact of their feeling of “equality” which he believed stemmed from the “fundamental principles of Christianity”:

The great zeal of the English nation against slavery is a standing puzzle to the Eastern mind. It really proceeds from the fact that we feel the equality of the whole human race before God, and resent as an injury done to our own flesh and blood the cruelties inflicted upon other men. We feel this way because we have, more or less, taken in and made our own the great fundamental principles of Christianity...There is nothing so contrary to slavery in the natural mind of the English nation as to have hindered it from being in times past the most active of all slave-dealers. The change is due to the awakening, first of individual consciences, and then of the national conscience as a whole, to the awful contradiction between our professed belief and our old habits.

In fact, Steere’s views reflected English nationalism more than Christian teaching, which explains how such “old habits” persisted for so long within Christianity.

Missionaries established alliances of friendship and protection with chiefs, but did not fulfill the military reciprocity agreements typical of such alliances. For instance, leaders in Rungwe, like Mwaihojo and Mwakatungile, called Alexander Merensky, Superintendent of the Berlin Mission, “father.” He embraced this identity, which had both a Christian meaning and political one in his eyes. He saw himself as the father bringing feuding children together, adjudicating disputes between local leaders, and the authoritarian father tasked with keeping dependents in line. Yet, the Nyakyusa’s sense of what the father should do differed. Merensky was expected to be the benefactor of the people. To an extent missionaries who healed with Western medicine fulfilled this role.

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204 Ibid.
But for the most part, missionaries acted on their own terms, like involving themselves in succession disputes, and only fulfilled some of the expected obligations. This unbalanced relationship became problematic. Historian Iliffe notes several instances of missionaries failing to uphold their perceived end of the bargain:

In Njombe, the Berlin missionaries disappointed Mwangela when they declined to support his attacks on the German-installed vandzagila. Their assumption of the role of ‘chiefs’ in Nyikolwe contributed to the 1905 attack on Yakobi mission by Mbeyela and his sons. In Mahenge, German friendships with Mlolere caused a realignment of the balance of power, adding to the climate of hostility that culminated in the attack on Mahenge boma. In Rungwe, Alexander Merensky embraced the role of father but declined the obligation of protection and patronage that local custom demanded.205

Missionaries did not employ one consistent strategy for conversion and proselytizing. They were as much adapting to their surroundings as Africans were integrating with them. They found certain messages appealed to, while others repelled converts. The church position on polygamy was a big detractor as many groups did not want monogamy. Certain modes, like introducing schools, appealed to certain sectors. The Kaguru, for instance, thought the missionaries would teach them to be like the other Europeans who dominated their lands. They expected missionaries to be rich and powerful themselves. The evangelical CMS believed that missionary work was not a profession, but a vocation. Their Protestantism rejected rituals, encouraged mission work and preaching by laypeople and stressed spiritual rebirth and conversion. A proper conversion was often “accompanied by a radical rejection of the habits and customs of

one’s past life.” CMS saw themselves as altruistic, surviving on a meager income, while their incomes were in fact several factors higher than those of their African agents. Their double standard was known to the Africans who became ordained as clergy and received a salary less than 1/15 of their European counterparts. It is true that the CMS missionary salaries were less than those of comparably educated Europeans living in Africa in government or private enterprise. They, however, still enjoyed a significant amount of Western technology and comforts unknown to most Africans—guns, metal goods, clothes, medicines, and later automobiles and houses with cement floors and windows—which undercut their messages of thrift and simplicity.

The natives did not sharply separate missionaries from the colonial presence, even if the missionaries considered themselves apart. The CMS worked in Ukaguru for 15 years before German rule was established formally in 1891 and were reluctant to learn German to communicate with the German colonizers during their rule. Even upon the arrival of the British, they saw themselves as separated from the political and secular sectors of colonial society. In many ways, missionaries’ actions and assertions were intertwined with those of the colonizers. Missions enjoyed colonial privileges; benefits which came with obligations and restrictions. The colonial government dictated in part what education they could offer or who they could offer it to, for instance. They were dependent upon the colonial government which controlled the granting of visas, the renting and buying of land, subsidizing schools and hospitals and so they had to temper

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207 Ibid., 89.
208 Ibid., 77.
criticisms. There is a consensus now that “No missionary went to Africa with the explicit idea of advancing the imperialist motives of his home country, but one has to admit that there was in one way or another a collusion and cooperation between missionaries and the colonial powers that occupied Africa in the nineteenth century.”

Bedelman rightly points out that “In the case of missions, colonial cultures exhibit particularly striking contradictory and muddled notions about the relations and differences between change and conservatism, materialism and spirituality, human equality and racial paternalism, and cultural relativism and domination.” Apart from the far reaching effects of their linguistic work, missionaries’ role in introducing nationalism remained small in comparison to the successive colonial governments. Discussion will now turn to the impact and influence of colonial administrators.

**British Zanzibar: A Sultanate in Name Only**

As Zanzibar’s empire grew larger and more important in the nineteenth century, the Sultan had an increasing number of threats to this dominance, such as the Mazrui of Mombasa, that needed to be held at bay. In the 1840’s, the Sultan only had about 400 men permanently under arms in his entire dominion. Since his forces often suffered humiliating defeats when they raided the mainland, the ruler strove to avoid confrontations requiring a large military land force. Instead, the Sultan reached out to different foreign powers—the British, French, German, and American—for protection.

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209 De Jong, “Church, Colonialism and Nationalism in Tanzania,” 61.
211 See Bennett, *The Arab State of Zanzibar*, 45.
The British, concerned with safeguarding their interests in India, were the most receptive to his requests. They involved themselves with securing the abolition of the eastern slave trade for which Zanzibar was at the center for most of the nineteenth century.

For a number of reasons, the influence of the Sultan began to wane. The limits placed on the slave trade hurt the economy by not only taking away the free source of labor on the plantations, but also because slaves were one of the main goods traded in the islands’ ports. The Sultan’s inability to monitor or administer the outlying regions of his domain also resulted in their loss. As mentioned previously, Oman and Zanzibar were divided into two Sultanates in 1861. In 1890, as a result of mounting pressures, the Sultan of Zanzibar conceded to making his territory a British Protectorate. Soon after this development, the former Zanzibar Empire came to only include Unguja, Pemba, and a 10-mile wide coastal strip extending along what would later be the Kenyan border. The Sultan of Zanzibar, who was also the sovereign of coastal Kenya, had agreed to give the Imperial British East Africa Company control of his mainland area for a period of fifty years, including the rights of administration; in effect, leasing a portion of his property to the British. This strip was rented by the British Government and administered as part of Kenya.

The British intended to maintain the Sultanate by developing Zanzibar as an Arab state. They were wary of delegating any policy that made them seem to be not merely a “protectorate” but a colonial administration. Even well into the 1930’s during debates at the Legislative Council, it was reiterated: “This is an Arab state. It is the duty of the

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protecting Government to assist the protected people. It is impossible for us to stand by and take the risk of the expropriation of His Highness’ people.”

Thus, “there can be no suggestion in Zanzibar of any form of devolution with the ultimate aim of teaching his Highness’ African subjects to govern themselves.”

Yet their intrusions were far reaching. Over the first half of the 1900s the Sultan became a puppet figurehead as the British imposed themselves in the affairs of managing, protecting, and leading the sultanate.

British views towards slavery and race drastically transformed the nature of society. Zanzibar’s economy was dependent on the trade of slaves and the production of cloves. Large numbers of slaves were needed to work the clove plantations during the harvest. The former kinship and patron-client relationships on the plantations and among the tribes changed after the abolition of slavery in 1897. Those who had previously worked the plantations, former slaves and some peasants, were now squatter tenants accepted on sufferance with no security other than the owner’s interest in a common agreement where the squatter is allowed to establish a homestead in exchange for work.

British racial bias entered into administrative policies. The British perceived being Arab as an inherent trait, not something that could be acquired or achieved. Since Zanzibar’s population was not clearly divided by race, the British had trouble clearly

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214 Ibid.
defining those who were true “Arabs” from those with but “a drop of blue blood.”²¹⁷ In practice, ethnic identity was always relatively fluid and the distinction of “Arab” or “Shirazi” or “African” also reflected one’s class. Former slaves now sought to recast themselves as members of island society who were deserving of the social and economic benefits that derived from such status; the indigenous population tried to increase the distance between themselves and newly liberated slaves by appropriating Arab or Shirazi identity. Former slaves called themselves Swahili until this became a euphemism for former slave. People of higher social status would use the term Swahili when discussing their inferiors. By 1930, almost no one used it to identify themselves.²¹⁸ Since “Swahili” marked ones servile heritage, former slaves also began to appropriate the designation of Wahadimu, Watumbatu, and Wapemba, which led to more of these people striving to become Shirazi. Changes took place even within the Arab segment of the population. Not all Arabs were initially members of the ruling elite. Distinctions existed between those Arabs of recent immigration and those Arabs who were from well-established families. The British interpretation of Zanzibari society along racially segregated strata, with all Arabs at the top of this hierarchy, however, elevated all Arabs to the dominant status position.

The previous system where one was marked as high status and class by the possession of appropriate cultural values changed as the British assumed that the social hierarchy based upon perceived cultural differences corresponded to different ethnicities. Before, birth and descent were important for determining status, but such status could be

²¹⁷ Fair, *Pastimes and Politics*, 42.
achieved via accumulating wealth, adopting Arab dress and manners, or being a patron of the less fortunate.\textsuperscript{219} For many, the educational ideal was to be educated to become a good Muslim and a gentleman, which meant being able to read the Koran but not necessarily understanding the Arabic words.\textsuperscript{220}

The British ethnic categories mirrored and reified what was a loosely defined hierarchy with Arabs at the top, followed by Indians, Shirazi, and Africans. One’s religion or occupation and bearing became less important than territorial heritage. All were lumped into one of these four ethnic groups, although the British hierarchy often reduced this division further into three classes of people—the Arabs, Indians, and Africans. British economic policies aimed to preserve the Omani Arabs as a landlord caste. Administrative and educational policies further cemented boundaries that labeled the Omani as the ruling political group. Education was mainly open to Indians and Arabs. For most middle and lower level administrative posts the British employed Arabs.\textsuperscript{221}

Zanzibaris did not immediately adopt or agree with the British system of determining social status but they could do little to thwart the institutionalization of British viewpoints. Both systems existed side-by-side in conflict and competition with one another. People still sought to alter external signifiers of status, such as dress. For many of the tens of thousands of people who were former slaves and associated with the mainland ethnic communities from which they came, adopting Swahili style clothing was

\textsuperscript{219} Fair, \textit{Pastimes and Politics}, 43.
\textsuperscript{221} Magnet de Saissy, \textit{Pre-Revolutionary Zanzibar}, 30; Glassman, “Sorting out the Tribes,” 398.
one way to establish their own identities as Swahili, or free, Muslim members of coastal society. One woman of servile heritage, Adija Salum Bakari explained:

During the days of slavery one was not allowed to wear certain clothes, these were the clothes of the Arabs. But, after slavery was done away with and the British grabbed political power, the Swahili and others started to wear these clothes. Now you felt like you had become one of the mabibi [wealthy Arab mistresses, ladies]. In the earlier days you couldn’t wear such clothes, only the wealthy Arabs wore them. You could never dress like a mistress. Now, however, you could dress like a lady...No one could stop you.222

At the same time, no amount of external changes could negate the British policies that consistently reinforced and reiterated racial distinctions, which left no room for grey area between African and Arab. What mattered most during the first half of the twentieth century was one’s official status, not the possession of refined cultural sensibilities.

Mainland Tanzania was a separate colonial entity from Zanzibar and must be discussed separately as its developments do not exactly parallel developments within Zanzibar. The British in the late 1800s and early 1900s controlled a large swath of eastern Africa: the Zanzibar Sultanate, Kenya, Uganda, Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) and what is now Malawi. While they had some presence and influence within what became Tanganyika during this same period, this territory first came under German colonial rule.

Building German India: German Colonial Impact

The German state did not initiate the colonization of Tanganyika. The enterprising Carl Peters and his business associates who traveled there in 1884 spurred its

222 Quoted in Fair, *Pastimes and Politics*, 85.
development by signing treaties with chiefs in Usagara, Uzigua, Nguru and Ukami.\footnote{Carl Peters, Count Pfeil, and Count Behr-Banddin formed the Society for German Colonization (Gesellschaft fur deutsche Kolonisation) in 1884, which later developed into the German East Africa Association (Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft) Carl Peters published an account of his expedition, \textit{New Light on Dark Africa}, 1891.} 

The following year, Bismark, the German Chancellor, granted a Charter of Protection and declared a protectorate over the area in question based on these treaties. On April 28 1888, a treaty between German East Africa Company and Sultan Sayyid Khalifa of Zanzibar gave administration of the coast to the company while the sultan retained sovereignty. While the Sultan of Zanzibar protested foreign claims on his dominion, he acquiesced to the British and German agreement to divide the mainland after Bismark sent five warships. England and Germany agreed upon the precise borders of German East Africa in the Anglo-German Agreement of July 1, 1890. The following April, the German government took direct control of the territories claimed by the German East Africa Corporation (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft or DOAG). German East Africa included what became Burundi, Rwanda and Tanganyika. It came to an end less than 30 years later, in 1914, after Germany’s defeat in World War I.

Germany began this colonial undertaking on a shoestring budget. It was seen as a limited enterprise to benefit only a few. Those in charge, advocating for German colonial possessions, however, considered their existence and success a matter of national prestige. Evans Lewin pointed out in his 1914 pamphlet, the \textit{Germans in Africa} that “the creation of the colonies was considered by the leaders of the movement as indispensable if the prosperity of the nation were finally to be achieved and its dignity and prestige to
be upheld.”224 Germans sought to compete with Britain and France over African colonial possessions. They wanted to assert themselves within the colonial realm to show they were on equal or superior footing with their national rivals, primarily the British. They intended German East Africa to be a permanent colonial hold and eventually developed into a crown jewel representative of Germany’s might and position as a formidable world power. They pinned their hopes on German East Africa becoming their “German India,” a large colonial territory impervious to enemy occupation that would be self-supporting and even profitable, to rival Britain’s India.225

Although German East Africa was the largest of its colonies, double the size of Germany itself, the foreign physical presence within GEA remained small. At its peak, the white population was roughly 5,500 strong, composed primarily of German officials, traders, soldiers, and plantation managers with a small civilian population of British and Greek settlers and missionaries from various nations. The regular police force came to consist of under 300 Europeans and less than 3,000 uniformed men armed with modern guns and rifles. Despite their small number, the Germans’ superior arms enabled them to assert their rule. They created an administrative system that relied on native chiefs to collect taxes and uphold order. German rule was first established and most obvious in the major coastal cities, Bagamoyo, Dar es Salaam, and Kilwa and along inland caravan routes.

224 Lewin, Germans in Africa, 6.
225 Zimmerman talks about “German India” (Zimmerman, German Empire of Central Africa, xv). In Lehmann-Hohenberg’s Bismark’s Erbe (Munchen: Verlag von J.F. Lehmann, 1899), Hans Delbruck, a leading German historian and publicist discusses the desire for a German India. East Africa was the “pearl” of Germany’s colonies, although they also hoped other colonies, like Formosa, would prove to be Germany’s India.
Germany did not easily gain and retain possession of Tanganyika. They used force and encountered resistance. Hardly a year passed between 1886 to 1898 without a rising somewhere. This period of time is punctuated by the many campaigns to conquer and subdue the peoples of the region. The Abushiri Revolt of 1888 is memorialized in Swahili poems. In reference to the German attacks on Pangani, a poet recounted how the Germans established themselves by force as the new authority: “They struck down/ The flag of Islam/ And now proposed/ To raise their own.” By 1890, the Germans destroyed the armed resistance on the coast, but the people there were still bitter. Resistance came from the interior as well. There were disturbances near Kilimatinde and Mpapua in the north and Rovuma in the far south in 1904. The Maji Maji Rebellion lasted from 1905 until 1907. There was an Iraqw rebellion in the Rift Valley in 1906, which happened alongside the Maji Maji’s spread in the south. There was a consecutive series of wars in the Iringa Highlands of south-western Tanzania between 1890 and 1918. Most of those involved in uprisings engaged German forces in an effort to preserve and reassert control over the area. From 1891 to 1894, the Hehe tribe under the leadership of Chief Mkwawa put up a strong resistance to German rule in the region. Mkwawa, the powerful Hehe ruler, became a symbol of resistance for the people of Tanganyika, later written about in Swahili poems. By the early 1900s, Germany had gotten their colonial inhabitants to submit to their authority, but they still needed to make the possession profitable.

The Germans endeavored to explore, survey, and map most of the country. Many accounts and publications exist enumerating the land and its existing or potential material advantages. While less ink was used in discussing and describing the various peoples, a few scholars (like linguist Carl Velten) collected voluminous material. The Germans earnestly tried to increase trade and to facilitate it; they invested in infrastructure, namely modern transportation via roads and railways. Major von Wissman had his corps build up Dar es Salaam into a commercial and administrative hub, constructing government offices and residences. They developed the harbor at Dar es Salaam and ran hundreds of miles of railroad into the interior to help connect it to the sources of goods. They constructed additional railroads to link central Africa with coastal ports. In 1888 the Usambara Railway was built from Tanga to Moshi Tanzania. In 1910 they completed central line railway from Dodoma to Dar es Salaam.\(^{228}\) The nearly 800 mile long Central Railway, completed in February 1914, connected Lake Tanganyika to Dar es Salaam.

The Germans brought new economic enterprises, promoted mining, research, and imported new crops. Just under 800 planters managed European plantations to produce cotton and other commercially desired goods. Despite their best efforts, many areas remained economically undeveloped and disconnected from the production and exportation of goods or consumption of German goods and wares. New skills and occupations gained prominence. They introduced Western-style education, hospitals and dispensaries and Western research methods into medicine, agriculture, and veterinary sciences.

\(^{228}\) Jackson and Maddox, “The Creation of Identity,” 278.
The first government school opened in 1892. They needed qualified people as junior administrators; few had acceptable training before then. The language of instruction was Swahili, despite an advisory body’s recommendation in 1896 to make German compulsory in all colonial schools. They selected Swahili in German mission and colonial schools because it had already been used by British and French missions. Ultimately, the German colonists opened 31 native public schools.

Despite several money-making endeavors, such as cotton growing schemes and gold mining (begun after its discovery near Lake Victoria in 1894), the German colony was never profitable. Economic development efforts focused on creating infrastructure to bring cash crops to the coast. The colonial government supported their operations through taxes and forced labor, both unpopular. In 1905 the German administration demanded hut tax of men. German spurred economic activities did not bring benefit to many. As exports failed to bring desired revenue, officials hoped to salvage the colony as a lucrative place to sell German imports. German administrators were aware that many of their developments did not bring positive changes. “Up till now our system of plantations and our railway construction have caused great upheavals among the black population, have upset ancient social customs, uprooted in part the new generation and depopulated whole districts,” Zimmerman wrote in 1917, reflecting back on German rule. He observed that:

In Africa, as at home, it was noted quite accurately that in general the changes brought little blessing to the people. Just as the town-dweller, as opposed to the agricultural labourer, gained nothing except in externals, which he had often to pay for with his health, so the labourer on the railway or on a plantation in Africa took little back with him after long
labour to his native village but a few gaudy rags and diseases, and any friend of the people was bound to feel sick at heart.\textsuperscript{229}

When the Germans first ventured into the interior in the 1880s, the indigenous inhabitants did not view them as a threat. The Germans became another player within local alliance and authority conflicts. Along the same lines that they entered into political alliances with other African leaders, some groups allied themselves with the Germans in the hopes it would be to their advantage. Blood brotherhoods had long been used to bind the loyalty of smaller groups to powerful neighbors.\textsuperscript{230} Within the Southern highlands in the 1860s and 1870s existed complicated alliances and counter alliances between the Hehe, Sangu, Ngoni and Bena to establish and protect territorial polities.\textsuperscript{231} Weaker leaders eagerly entered into alliances of protection with the Germans while other leaders who held precarious positions felt threatened or experienced actual threats to their established ways due to German presence.\textsuperscript{232} Some local leaders, like Nalioto, believed they were using the Germans. African leaders also wanted the modern weapons Germans brought. Joachim Graf von Pfeil, a founding member of Deutsche Kolonial-Gesellschaft who traveled through Ulanga valley 1886, signed treaties for the chartered company. During his journey he made formal and informal agreements with African leaders. Anxious about Hehe attacks, he considered any groups that were enemies of Hehe to be his friends. He reflected, “Having arrived again in the lowlands [Ulanga valley], I found an open welcome among all the tribes that I now visited. This was because people saw us

\textsuperscript{229} Zimmerman, \textit{German Empire of Central Africa}, 43.
\textsuperscript{230} Iliffe, “Organization of the Maji Maji Rebellion,” 102.
\textsuperscript{231} See Monson, “Relocating Maji Maji,” 101.
\textsuperscript{232} Sunseri, “Statist Narratives,” 567.
as enemies of the Wahehe and therefore as natural allies against them.”

The most important ally of German administration, Mtwa Kiwanga, was critical to defeat of Mkwawa and Hehe kingdom in 1894-6. The German company was given political and military authority in the interior.

Many of the groups that rebelled against German military and administrative intrusion did so in the interest of self-preservation. No one raided the Germans to increase or overtake additional territory. Instead, uprisings were local leaders’ attempts to assert and affirm dominance over these foreign interlopers. Ultimately, none of the existing polities were strong enough to resist the imposition of German overrule. Besides possessing superior arms, the German military commanders developed strategies and tactics to succeed in Africa. They altered their methods of warfare between 1891 to 1898, such as operating by sector and moving through the highlands, valley by valley. The German forces would surround a valley, destroy all food and water within it, and kill any elders and men they found, while young women and children became concubines and laborers. They effectively depopulated the land.

Anti-German Rebellions: Fighting to Reassert the Former Status-Quo

Although Germany introduced a Western-style bureaucratic administration of office-holders, they did not implement a democratic system of government. There was no question who was to rule and who must submit. This distinction between the German

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233 Pfeil, Zur Erwerbung von Deutsch-Ostafrika (Berlin, 1907), 170, quoted and translated in Monson, “Relocating the Maji Maji,” 103.
superiors and all who must obey them was driven home through both the quelling of a series of uprisings and the German administration of justice which placed no sultan or chief above their colonial rule of law. All leaders remained in such positions at their sufferance. There was a clear hierarchy within the colony. The ruling elites suffered the most under German administrative structure which reduced their power or status. Examination of some of the successive rebellions within the territory provides a telling window into how the Germans were perceived and some of the influences and effects they had on local people. Several episodes of conquest and consolidation of German rule in East Africa are captured within poems that German scholars, like Carl Velten and H. Zache gathered. For instance, *Utenzi wa Vita vya Wadachi Kutamalaki Mrima* (Poem of the German war for the conquest of the Mrima coast) is concerned with the coastal rebellion of 1888 led by Abushiri bin Salim al-Harthi. These poems lay emphasis on magic, charms, and supernatural. Told in their own words, they reflect the understandings and culture of a certain class of the coastal community.

The Abushiri rebellion and Maji Maji rebellion are two important episodes in Tanzania’s history. While they are seen in a positive light in historical accounts by Tanzanian scholars, they were not part of a fomenting nationalist undercurrent, although they do highlight key changes and points of social and political discord. It became commonplace to look back at any anti-colonial movement as nationalist in origin. There were other disturbances and small revolts and uprisings besides the well-known Abushiri rebellion and Maji Maji rebellion. Of them, the Hehe resistance also deserves special

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mention as the Hehe were the most powerful society within the region during the start of German colonial intrusion.

From the early 1840s onwards, a highly centralized polity emerged. It centered around the fortified settlement of Kalenga, along the trade routes from Zambia. Initially under a chief named Munyigumba, chief Mkwawa succeeded him and his group of followers became known as Wahehe. By 1885, the Hehe under Chief Mkwawa were one of the most powerful, and still growing, polities within German East Africa. As Germany expanded its influence inland, inevitably, it came up against Mkwawa’s forces. Although Mkwawa put up the strongest resistance, warring with the Germans destroyed his polity. Major von Wissman’s mercenary force, recruited from Egypt, Sudan, and Mozambique, became the official German protectorate force under the command of Emil von Zelewski. Zelewski led a charge against Mkawa, which Zelewski defeated and destroyed in 1891, retaining power in south-western Tanganyika. Mkwawa’s emissaries continued to collect and demand tribute along caravan routes. Several years later, in October 1894, German forces under Colonel von Schele attacked, overran, and sacked Kulenga, Mkwawa’s main residence. Mkwawa escaped. The German authorities then divided Uhehe into two separate kingdoms led by two opponents of Mkwawa. For four years (1894-1898), the Germans pursued Mkwawa and harried his followers. A German official noted “it was certain that Mkwawa exercised an inexplicable influence over the natives, who, when the pursuing troops surprised his camp, would, time after time, blindly hurl themselves on the soldiers, sacrificing themselves merely to give Mkwawa...

the chance of escape. No scheme for his capture was possible and no one ever knew what he looked like.” Ultimately, Mkwawa could run no more. His death in 1898 marked the end of Hehe resistance.

By 1888, the German East Africa Company had eighteen small trading and experimental stations. In August of that year, the agents of the company found a cool reception from the Liwalis of the Sultan they were sent to replace in seven coastal towns. The main leader of the rebellion was Abushiri ibn Salim al-Harthi, born to an Arab father and Galla mother, who owned a sugar plantation outside Pangani. His clan was generally hostile to the sultan. During the rebellion, the different Swahili and Arab chiefs each had their own small armed forces and kept separate camps. They also held differing ideas regarding their objectives and how best to reach them. The Arab chiefs of Dar es Salaam, with a camp at Konduchi formed a relatively independent operating group. The overriding goal of Abushiri and the chiefs who supported him was to restore their former economic and political order. They wanted strangers, such as the Germans, to be business partners but barred from the control or interference with the Arab-dominated trade.

The Abushiri rebellion also highlighted tensions and ambivalence in how local communities viewed missionary presence. As the fighting went on, the Germans withdrew from everywhere except Dar es Salaam and Bagamoyo. Rebels attacked and destroyed mission stations during the course of the uprising. The Lutheran mission was destroyed. On January 13, 1989 the Benedictine mission of Pugu, not far outside of Dar es Salaam, was attacked and completely destroyed. Two brothers and a sister were killed.

238 De Jong, “Church, Colonialism and Nationalism in Tanzania,” 66.
three others taken prisoner, and two fled. It is speculated that they were targeted because they were closely associated with the German East Africa Company and flew its flag.\footnote{Ibid., 65.}

During the battle, Fr. Etienne Baur, Superior of the Bagamoyo mission station, was asked to mediate an agreement with Abushiri due to his favorable relations with local leaders. He negotiated through Abushiri, whose camp was at Nzole. They wanted the Germans to pay a 20,000 rupee ransom, free all Arabs captured on slave-carrying dhows, relinquish Dar es Salaam and Bagamoyo and promise that the German navy would not interfere with slave-carrying dhows. The Germans refused to acquiesce to these demands, eventually agreeing to a ransom of 6,000 rupees, and freeing three Arabs with their followers and arms. Admiral Deinhard, who was on the warship Leipzig, was only interested in reaching an agreement with Abushiri and so excluded the chiefs of Kunduchi, Pagani and Saadani from negotiations. Once Abushiri signed, he bombarded Saadani. Major Wissman also attacked Abushiri’s camp. Unprepared, many fighters were killed on Abushiri’s side. Abushiri felt betrayed by Fr. Baur and threatened revenge.\footnote{Ibid., 67.} Despite their best efforts, the rebels failed at protecting their interests from German encroachment.

By the time the Maji Maji rebellion began, the area had been a German colony for around 15 years. Despite this, their colony was still beset by administrative weakness and they were far from omnipotent rulers of the land. The Maji Maji Rebellion, which began in 1905 and lasted until 1907-8 within a large tract of southern Tanzania, is considered by some to be the first example of different tribes coming together and exhibiting their
national unity.\textsuperscript{241} It, however, did not have nationalist sentiment at its base. It became commonplace to look back and interpret it in this way during the late 1960s and early 1970s, when the desire to reconstruct a positive resistance based history that also reverberated with nationalistic interpretations was preeminent in Tanzania.\textsuperscript{242} Discussion of interethnic unity against a common oppressor factors prominently in these early accounts because it involved people from several different tribes, emboldened by the protection of special Maji medicine.\textsuperscript{243} Nyerere's remarks to the United Nations 4th Committee on December 20, 1956 regarding Maji Maji typifies the sentiment that Tanzanian historians took for granted:

\textsuperscript{241} Few sweeping generalizations apply to this event, as searches for one unified cause have uncovered. Historians have described Maji Maji as a peasant protest, class struggle, and millenarian revolt. It is hard to determine why the rising began in 1905. See Gwassa, "The German Intervention."


\textsuperscript{243} The African resistance narrative views all previous colonial resistances as part of a process, which culminated in the Maji Maji rising, see Gwassa, "The German Intervention;" John Iliffe, "The Organization of the Maji Maji Rebellion," *The Journal of African History* 8, 3 (1967), 495-512. See Thaddeus Sunseri, "Statist Narratives and Maji Maji Ellipses," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 33, 3 (2000), 567-584. Sunseri opens with a telling example of one Tanzanian researcher's indirect participation in constructing a statist narrative by dismissing an important historical reference given during an interview with a participant because it did not fit within his preconceived understanding he fought to support.
The people fought because they did not believe in the white man's right to govern and civilize the black. They rose in a great rebellion not through fear of a terrorist movement or a superstitious oath, but in response to a natural call, a call of the spirit, ringing in the hearts of all men, and all times, educated or uneducated, to rebel against foreign domination." (Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity* (London, Oxford University Press, 1966), 40-41).

There were many groups and individuals who do not fit neatly within this image of responding to a "natural call." Nonetheless, in such a political climate, it seemed self-evident to many of those researching Maji Maji that its participants sought independence from colonial oppression, the same sort of independence earned later by Tanzania in 1964.

The Maji Maji's beginning is traced back to Umatumbi in Nandette where several Matumbi uprooted shoots of cotton to instigate a war against the Germans. The first victim's death in the end of July 1905 also marks the war's beginning. Word of this conflict spread quickly throughout southern Tanzania. News and belief in a *maji* war medicine that would make those who "drink" it impervious to German bullets had already been established in Umatumbi and spread locally in this region by important medicine men called *hongo*.

The revolt occurred in four major areas.\(^{244}\) The first was concentrated amongst the Matumbi Hills and also Madaba. From there, it quickly spread north to Uzaramo, south to Liwale, and northwest to Kilosa, Morogoro, and Kisaki. This region encompassing the middle and lower Rufiji was the first unit of revolt. The second unit

\(^{244}\) Illiffe, "Organization of the Maji Maji Rebellion," 496. Also see Gwassa and Gewald for background on the Maji Maji rebellion.
encompassed the Lukuledi Valley, although it was simultaneously spreading into the Kilombera Valley, the Mahenge Plateau, and Uzungwa. The Ngindo subsequently brought the Maji Maji rebellion to Ungoni in early September, where it then spread to Upangwa and southern Ubena. The Germans began systematically suppressing the movement by November 1905. Fighting ceased in the initial outbreak area of Umatumbi by March 1906. The Germans lifted martial law in August of 1907, although small isolated pockets of guerilla fighting continued into early 1908. It is important to keep in mind that although the rebellion spread to all of these areas, not all peoples partook in the fighting. Entire localities did not join. Whole groups did not participate in the Maji Maji uprising. After the protracted struggle to bring down Mkwaswa, the Germans took steps to prevent the Hehe from participating in the Maji Maji rebellion.

Participants did not join together based on a belief in a greater nation that must be defended and for whose freedom they fought. What sparked the fight was not necessarily what sustained the fighting and the ideas used to sell joining the war to others did not need to strike at the operating motives of those who instigated. In analyzing how the Maji Maji Rebellion came to pass, it is evident that new ideas were beginning to foment. Central political and social systems were beginning to break down. Understanding both the underlying political divisions and strains placed on existing power structures is important to analyze the patterns of resistance that materialized and the patterns of violence used to recruit fighters. There are telling examples of the old guard resisting to preserve the status quo against new cultural intrusions that were undermining the nature of the social system. The rising ended in most regions by 1906. It continued in Songea
district until 1907. In May 1908, two persevering chiefs, Ngosingosi and Mpongile were shot while fleeing from German troops. It involved nine tribes: Bena, Bunga, Ikemba, Kitchi, Matumbi, Mvera, Nguni, Sgaro and Zaramo. It affected the whole south-eastern part (about 1/4) of the German territory and threatened or partially destroyed centers: Dar es Salaam, Morogoro, Mahenge, Mohoro, Iringa, Langenburg, Njombe, Songea, Liwale, Lindi, and Kilwa.\textsuperscript{245} Two German missions were seriously affected: the Lutheran Berlin Missionary Society (founded in 1824) and the Missionary Congregation of the Order of St. Benedict (founded in 1884). During August and September 1905 seven German Benedictine missionaries (4 men, 3 women) were murdered. Four other German Benedictine mission stations were burned. Two stations of the Berlin Missionary Society were burned and destroyed.

Monson's article, "Relocating the Maji Maji" illustrates that political alliances were as important as the shared ideological underpinning created by the Maji medicine; it belonged “to a pattern of tensions and grievances that predated it.”\textsuperscript{246} Alliances of friendship and protection frequently carried with them obligations of military reciprocity. A number of variables factor into how people received maji's call to war. Former relations, timing, and the various tactics used to coerce followers all enter into this equation. It was early in the morning when a band of Maji Maji rebels presented themselves to Farahani, the chief of Mbuyuni who resided at Mkwatani. They had come from Masanze, where they had successfully won converts by first convincing chief

\textsuperscript{245} Hassing, “German Missionaries,” 373.
\textsuperscript{246} Monson, “Relocating Maji Maji,” 96.
Kutukutu to take the maji medicine. The Maji Maji fighters beseeched Farahani to take the maji medicine and order his people to do the same as chief Kutukutu had done. Farahani wavered in deciding because in addition to being chief, he was also a house servant for the District Officer Lambrecht. Ultimately, the messengers' appeals that his refusal would be a serious setback to their plans were to no avail: Farahani saw himself as a subject of the Germans and obligated to remain loyal to them. Upon hearing Farahani's refusal to take the maji medicine, one of the fighters promptly stabbed him in the stomach. When Farahani's family heard of his murder, chaos ensued.

At the outbreak of Maji Maji inter-tribal boundaries were fluid, with the pre-colonial structures of statecraft and authority in a state of flux. Fighters used coercion, fear, and the threat of violence to recruit followers. The Maji Maji rebellion was not a clear-cut war against a unanimously agreed upon enemy. The two sides roughly defined as Germans and rebels were a dynamic body of people, difficult to quantify and succinctly describe at any one moment in time or place. For some, all Europeans were the enemy, not just those affiliated with the German government. As actual German born military presence was minimal, African soldiers, known as rugaruga were heavily

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247 Maji Maji Research Project 1968: Collected Papers (hereafter MMRP), University College, Dar es Salaam, 2/16/1/1, D. L. Chipindulla, 'The Maji Maji Rising in Kilosa Town.'
248 MMRP, 2/68/1/4/3, 2.
250 MMRP, 7/68/1/3/4.
relied upon. Many from what is now Sudan fought within the German ranks. Peoples of the Maji Maji affected area of Tanzania, most notably the Wahehe, also joined the German forces. Other groups that also fought on the German side against the maji rebels, include the Yao and Mahenge Pogoro. These groups demonstrated German affiliation by wearing a red cloth around the arm. Others viewed all foreigners, including Arab traders, as the "other" to be defeated. Omari Salum of Kichangani recalls that people were afraid of being killed if they were found not to be wearing the seeds and millet that identified those who received the maji medicine.

**Submitting to German Might**

The Germans saw themselves as “lords and masters” to the natives of the colony. The native inhabitants were not equal and could not hope to be treated equally. Treating them as inferior charges, German colonizers often compared the inhabitants to children. In *The Voice of German East Africa*, Dr. Hans Poeschel, who served for several years in German East Africa, mentions how “According to my experience it is true that the negro possesses, like most children, an incorruptible feeling for right and wrong and a

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251 *MMRP*, 8/68/1/3/19; *MMRP*, 9/68/1/1.
252 *MMRP*, 7/68/1/3/4; *MMRP*, 7/68/1/3/12.
253 See *MMRP* 8/68/1/1; *MMRP* 9/68/1/1.
254 *MMRP*, 2/68/1/3/13. Mzee Petro Moto also of Kichangani echoed this sentiment stating, "Anybody who did not dress like a hongo was killed because he was considered to be unclean and if he was seen he was speared to death" (*MMRP*, 9/68/1/4/6).
255 Zimmerman, *German Empire of Central Africa*, x.
simple-hearted admiration for the great, the manly and the heroic.”

Expanding on the parallels, Poeschel wrote:

The negro, as I have already said in the foregoing, is often compared to a child. Let us rather say he resembles a schoolboy. A schoolboy in the third form stands approximately in the same relationship to his teacher, as the black man to his white master. The schoolboy respects his master if the latter be a man of parts and energy. He observes him with instinctive sharpness and is merciless in discovering his weak spots. He displays a childish delight in devising nick-names which have the habit of sticking. He makes merry over the weaknesses or peculiarities he has discovered and exploits them, whenever possible, for his own advantage. And when a new headmaster appears in the class-room, a master who is able to impress him in one way or another, then he indulges in sudden and indiscriminate outbursts of enthusiasm.

Poeschel goes on to argue that German rulers acted out of affection for their subjects:

It was an active and creative love which devoted itself to the welfare of its protégés and to the establishment of justice. Though subject to error now and then like all things human, this love found its way to the hearts of these people. It came back to us, like bread cast upon the waters, like an echo, in the cry that arose from a thousand throats as our men left the soil they had defended so heroically and so long, the farewell of our black friends.

Without doubt, they did not see the natives as being on equal footing with themselves.

Bishop Weston, observing and reflecting on German rule, considered that

The German method of governing Africans is cruelly inhuman and destructive of the native’s self-respect. It is exactly designed to make him, and keep him, the obedient slave of a European power, for ever and a day. The fear of the Germans is so deeply rooted in the natives that the power of initiative remains only with those who, sharing in the administrations of the country, act for their own profit. As slavery the system is splendid. Otherwise, it is sheer cruelty, and all the Africans I know, of whatever

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257 Ibid., 37.
258 Ibid., 83.
tribe or religion, have for years past been longing for the Germans to go
from their land.\footnote{Weston, \textit{Black Slaves of Prussia}, 11-12.}

While the German government publically and officially forbade forced labor, Bishop
Weston notes that labor was privately and unofficially often forced. Slavery still existed
within Germany’s colony. Slaves could be bought and sold; although freemen could not
become slaves, they were still subject to forced labor work periods.

Colonial groups criticized German missionaries as being too lenient with
Africans. The Benedictines figured that “according to Catholic teaching, the purpose of
the mission was to Christianize, not to Europeanize the Africans” so they took strong
exception to the following statement by Carl Peters:

There are only two ways to deal with the black people. Either one submits
to be their servant and make them “happy” through schools and education.
In this case one does not touch their country and founds no colonies in
Africa. Or one seeks for oneself a home on the black continent and in that
case one trains the indigenous people through discipline and work, seeing
oneself in principle as a conqueror. The latter was the way of Africa’s
rulers in antiquity, in our day it is the way of the Boers—one way or the
other! In any case it is fateful to choose the vagueness of the middle way,
which surely will ultimately lead to massacres and destruction.\footnote{In Cyrillus
Wehrmeister, \textit{Vor dem Sturm}, 253, originally published in \textit{Deutsch
Ostafrikanischen Zeitung}, June 17, 1905, quoted in Hassing, “German Missionaries,” 387.}

The court system reinforced the separation between Europeans and others. In
1912, Heinrich Langkopp, a German settler living in Iringa, assaulted a respected older
former local government official, Jamadar bin Mohamed. The court, through an appeal,
cleared Langkopp of the charges, stating “no White person need tolerate physical contact
by a Native, and ….is entitled to violent defense.”\footnote{Quoted in Gewald, “Colonial Warfare,” 49.}
Before the British took administrative control of Tanganyika following WWI, they argued their method of administration varied fundamentally from and was better than the Germans’.

The German and British administrations pursued “opposite ideals and conflicting policies” with the Germans described as operating by “the rule of the lash” as opposed to the “kindly rule of the British magistrate.”

A writer with the pseudonym “Africanus” in *The Prussian Lash in Africa* described how British policy follows certain lines of freedom and development. The native has established rights both in liberty and property. He is allowed to maintain his own tribal organisation, and the native chief is made the link between the people and the Government. His title to his land is recognised. He can work for himself or for whom he chooses, and can go from place to place in search of better wages and better conditions. In fact he is not a serf, but a free man. The result of these conditions is that the native population in British territories is prosperous, numerous and independent. The independence of the native is a cause of complaint with those white men who think they have a natural right to exploit him on their own terms….The popularity of British rule makes administration easy and the country safe and quiet.”

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262 Africanus, *Prussian Lash in Africa*, 30. During WWI and immediately afterwards, the English and Germans contrasted themselves as polar opposites. As the Great War wound to an end, both Germans and British wrote characterizations of the Germans’ rule and reception by natives within German East Africa. The Germans sought to retain possession and even expand their colonial holdings, while the British sought to ensure the removal of German colonial presence in Africa. Weston’s letter was a plea, as victory was imminent, to show that continued German rule of the colony was impossible. After the war, they should not keep this possession. He argued first against Germans’ inhumane rule and then argued the colony could serve as a strategic point of attack. Hans Poeschel wrote a counterpoint to Weston’s letter and the characterization of German rule found within the White Book report on circumstances in German East Africa. General Von Lettow Vorbeck, Commander in Chief of the Protectorate Troops in a forward to Hans Poeschel’s *The Voice of German East Africa: The English in the Judgement of the Natives*, published in 1919, wrote that “The experiences of the four long years of war have developed in me the unshakeable conviction that the natives of German East Africa felt happy and contented under German rule and that they desire its return.”


264 Ibid., 18.
Meanwhile, Germans based their rule on a foundation of terror and power. Africanus argues: “They denied all rights to the native; broke faith with him; took his land at will; and forced him to work for a great part of the year at rates fixed by the State.”

Africanus continues:

The German military system in Africa is the key of German policy. Those who know anything of Africa know that the native tribes may be divided into two classes, rulers and subject races, exploiters and exploited. The great mass of the natives have always been the terrified subjects, or rather victims, of a comparatively few warrior tribes which took their women and cattle by force and lived upon this labour. This system the Germans found, and this system they adapted with cruel ingenuity to their own ends. The warrior races were turned into German soldiers. They were thoroughly trained, and ferociously disciplined; and they were given privileges and rights calculated to bind them to German rule. They were told that as the great Emperor’s soldiers they were above all other native races, and in any dispute the word of a soldier was taken against the evidence of any other native.

The German rule was characterized by forced labor, flogging, and swift military actions against any insurgency. They undercut the authority of chiefs. They made use of coerced labor and had native chiefs and soldiers to entice people into conscripted labor: “The native chiefs are made responsible for their people; if they run away, or if the village fails to yield sufficient recruits, the chiefs are degraded and cruelly punished. The German method is to terrify the natives by treating their chief men with contempt.” Herr Dittman, in explaining the German system of forced labor to the Reichstag, explained how “Every black man must prove by his work ticket that he has worked at least twenty days each month for white men; if he cannot, he is dragged to the district police station

265 Ibid.
266 Ibid., 20.
267 Ibid., 40.
and there officially flogged with a sjambok." Bishop Frank Weston, head of the Universities’ Mission in the Eastern Districts of German East Africa wrote from the Magila Mission in Muheza, Tanga an open letter to General J.C. Smuts on November 7, 1917. In it he gave his personal experience of German rule and observations regarding the treatment of Africans under their colonial system. He described German officials as possessing an “inbred cruelty” and characterized their rule as one based on fear and intimidation. The Germans were known for their cruelty and love of corporal punishment. “Flogging is the German’s pleasure” Weston shared, stating, “the sjambok ruled the plantation and the household.” The pervasive use of flogging “makes the Germans feared everywhere; but it poisons the German mind, and the mind of the African underling.” Weston also faulted the Germans for persecuting native chiefs, giving an example of a Yao chief who died after being put in chains and forced to perform hard labor.

**WWI in Tanzania**

While the heart of fighting during WWI took place in Europe, the war came to the African colonies as well. Uprisings and WWI’s battles on African soil disrupted daily life for many. The British, an established presence in Zanzibar, Kenya, and Uganda fought the Germans in German East Africa. During WWI, British, Belgian, and Portuguese forces all entered the region. In 1916, General J.C. Smuts, a key member of the British

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268 Ibid., 95.
270 Ibid., 10.
African military forces, attacked and defeated the Germans at the foot of Kilimanjaro.

The British occupied Moshi and the N. Central railway by the end of 1916. They created a provisional civil administration in 1917. Civilian administrators of Dar es Salaam only gained effective control of south-western Tanganyika on March 1, 1919. The prestige and esteem of the Germans in the eyes of the native inhabitants decreased with their defeat during WWI. Germany’s small force continued to fight and elude the allies until the end of the war. WWI devastated south-western Tanzania, but not due to fighting. The African members of the British King’s African Rifles suffered more casualties due to disease than to military actions. A medical report for 1917 notes the following with regard to the impact of servicemen:

There is no doubt that the consequence of the military operations in the native reserves can only be likened to those produced by a disastrous epidemic of not a temporary character…It is indubitable that these men return to further scatter throughout the country the seeds of dysentery, tropical relapsing fevers and other protozoal diseases, bacillary diseases, helminthic affections, infections granulomata, skin diseases; and the less regarded mumps, chicken-pox, measles and influenza.

Carrier corps, estimated at no less than 1.5 million in Tanganyika alone, formed the bulk of the armed forces. Iringa highlands which escaped the brunt of Maji Maji and aftermath, experienced some of the most intense fighting of the First World War in Africa.

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273 Ibid., 23.
British Tanganyika: Indirect Rule’s Indirect Consequences

Germany lost its colonial possessions at the end of WWI. A League of Nations mandate divided German East Africa; Tanganyika Territory became a British mandated trust territory:

The mandate lays down conditions directed against slavery, forced labour (except for essential public works and services), abuses in connection with the arms traffic and the trade in spirits, usury and the recruiting of labour; it safeguards the interests of natives in their lands and forbids the transfer of native land to non-natives except with the consent of the authorities, and it provides for complete commercial equality among nationals of States which are members of the League of Nations and for complete religious freedom.274

A commission settled the boundary between the English and Belgian territories. These boundaries, however, meant little to native inhabitants. On the north side of Kilimanjaro, for instance, there was a problem with “Maasai trespassers” who continued to cross over the border.

Tanganyika’s just over four million people were spread out over a vast territory. Almost all of the British government departments had their headquarters in Dar es Salaam. To govern the territory, the area was divided into twenty-two districts, each with an Administrative Officer in charge who had assistants. Sub-districts existed where necessary. These districts were: Dar es Salaam, Tanga, Pangani, Bagamoyo, Rufiji, Kilwa, Lindi, Arusha, Moshi, Usambara, Kondoa Irangi, Bukoba, Mwansa, Morogoro,

Dodoma, Tabora, Kigoma, Iringa, Utica, Rungwe, Mahenge, and Songea. In 1921, Mwanza was the most populous district (702,300), followed by Tabora, Bukoba, Dodoma, Lindi, Rungwe; all with over 200,000 people. There were nine more districts with populations ranging between 100,000-200,000 people. Then eight more with less than 100,000 people.

The administrative officers were: “responsible for the peace, tranquility and good government of their districts.” Their tasks included carrying out Government policy, holding court, administering justice and collecting revenue. The Hut Poll tax, “so far as possible, is paid to or under the district supervision of the Administrative Officer himself in order that extortion or oppression by Native Chiefs or collectors may be minimised.” In smaller districts, the Administrative Officer filled roles occupied by various department representatives in larger districts. They toured constantly in order to serve the many colonial administrative needs: “settling disputes, hearing appeals from native tribunals, advising on matters relating to native welfare, and, in those areas where there are European plantations, inspecting the conditions under which native labour is employed.”

A system of Native Administration existed alongside the District Administrative Offices. The British found it problematic to create such an organization: “the Territory is so vast in extent and its tribes are so different in language, customs, and characteristics, that it is difficult to give a description of administration which is of general application.”

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275 Ibid.
276 Ibid.
277 Ibid.
278 Ibid.
The ideal British administrative structure came up against established practices of administration and rule. The British government report on “The Administration under Mandate of Tanganyika Territory for the Year 1924” noted that in the districts of Bukoba, Mwanza and Tabora, characterized by long established hereditary chieftainships, “the native administration is recognised and supported by Government and the Administrative Officer acts rather in an advisory or supervisory capacity” whereas, “in other districts more remote from civilisation, where there is no strong native authority capable of governing, the influence of political officers is more of a native authority and the participation of the natives in the management of their own affairs. This work is capable of only gradual accomplishment and progress varies according to the natural ability of each tribe and to their power of adapting themselves to changed circumstances”. Typically, Administrative Officers supervised administration carried out by the Sultans, Chiefs, and other native authorities. The Native Authorities served judicial functions and some executive authority over the native population, as granted and outlined in the Native Authority Ordinance of 1923. Administrative Officers labored for the “improvement of the position of the native population” and used their power to nudge the influential Sultans and Chiefs to coax their adherents into compliance with these Government schemes.279

Administering the coast had its own special issues and problems with remnants of how the Germans divided administration. A few districts in the coastal region contained separate Akidats each under the charge of a “native official styled an Akida, who was

279 Ibid., 6-7.
generally an Arab or native alien to the tribe over whom he had control. As a rule he possessed superior intelligence and initiative but was often ignorant of tribal customs and ideas.” The British chose to continue the German system in modified form. They deprived the Akidas of much of their former power, sought to replace aliens with men “more in touch with the tribes they represent.” The Akidas were seen as “salaried Government servants employed as assistants to Administrative Officers, and Chiefs and Sultans” who the Government aimed to have administer and govern the native population.280

The British strove to respect and encourage existing local ruling systems, but assumed that the ideal was ethnic based ruling systems with a local member ruling over his own people. Indirect rule became the hallmark of Britain’s colonial rule. Donald Cameron, the colonial governor who oversaw indirect rule implementation, said that they would “… do everything in our power to develop the native on lines which will not Westernise him and turn him into a bad imitation of a European.”281 It was never clear what “westernizing” meant, but it was seen as a bad development to be avoided. Yet, the colonial administration continuously sought to “improve” and develop the native. As the British overtook control of the territory in the 1920s, they produced a series of reports presented to the colonial office in 1927, which were followed up with land development surveys in the 1930s.282

The policy of Indirect Rule clashed with the desire for effective and efficient

280 Ibid., 7.
281 TNA 7777/20, Donald Cameron, “Native Administration,” 16 July 1925, quote in Iliffe, Modern History of Tanganyika, 321.
administration of districts governed by a system of native authorities that were relatively consistent with one another in structure. This resulted in creating “tribal” groups where none existed before. The Gogo are an example of a group that did not exist prior to colonialism. People called Dodoma’s District Commissioner in charge of creating the Native Authorities “Makowela,” The Mixer, because he so mixed up the Watemi. In some areas a distinction grew up between established authorities and the newly created ones: a mutemi wa serikali (government chief) and mutemi wa mvula (rain chief).”

Hugh Hignell, a British administrator from 1918 to 1926 in Dodoma region wrote, “Looking around [in 1920] it was found that it had no system of administration at all….The Gogo chiefdoms gone—the German system had gone—and the famine had so churned up the population that some chiefs had no people at all and others had masses of men living in their country who refused to acknowledge them as chief.”

After 1925, Ugogo covered western half Manyoni district, all Dodoma district, eastern half Mpwapwa district of Central Province. All Native Authorities (chiefs and local courts) were seen as Gogo.

In the 1930s, the British placed emphasis on origin as primary determinant of the right to rule. The exception of course was Zanzibar; it was not origin, but preexisting rule structure. Historian Monson notes how “Under indirect rule, the rights of local chiefs to administer land and subjects were linked to their status as descendants of original or founding lineages. These rights were validated through the writing down of tribal

284 TNA, Dodoma District Book, H. Hignell to Chief Secretary, Report on the Wagogo, 19 June 1927, quoted in Jackson and Maddox, Creation of Identity, 280.
Because of this, Monson explains, “Most official tribal histories produced in the 1920s and 1930s therefore contained lengthy “proofs” of origins and genealogy. The issue of origins had always been problematic for the Bena, because according to their own official history they first migrated into the valley in the late nineteenth century.”

The British collected official tribal histories, but they already had assumptions about African social structures and tribal groupings and the “proper” political structure for these societies which they reinforced in their writings. Their policies further supported tribal views. It was “wrong” for one tribe to be ruled by another African tribe, and so the native administration system set up had each tribe with its own chief or head person as the spokesperson for that whole group. Such a system ignored or downplayed religious differences within one society or any other possible permutations of authority and administrative structures. At the same time the British enforced an ethnic, lineage based legitimacy to rule, they also began to define office holding as a post and not a right. As time went on, the British protectorate administration became increasingly concerned with expediency and efficiency over issues of legitimate claims to rule. While the earlier Native Authority era administrators researched boundaries, delving into the subtleties of dynastic claims and counter claims, those of the 1950s wanted whatever they saw as the easiest and most direct solution.

There were tensions mounting related to the limitations of the concept of tribe and problems with seeing the colonial population as fundamentally divided along ethnic lines.

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286 Ibid., 554.
287 Ibid., 546.
Limitations of the concept of tribe became apparent within some groups. For instance, trying to differentiate Bena or Ngoni glossed over critical differences.\textsuperscript{288} In Ulanga some absorbed into the Manga Bena kingdom, adopted customs and called themselves Wabena, but only elite aristocratic Bena families were recognized as having founding ancestry through tambiko rites. Due to power struggles and rebellions, Ngoni divided into southern Ngoni or Njelu and northern Ngoni or Mshope. Differentiation of the native inhabitants into tribes or races or even into religious interest blocks did not capture important points of fission within the various polities. Over the course of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the missionaries and colonial governments cultivated a segment of society whose education, training, and aptitudes were on a par with their foreign brethren, but for whom channels of advancement to stature equal to their counterparts were closed. Disgruntled by this status inconsistency, this group of individuals began searching for explanations to rationalize their predicament and solve the problem they experienced.

\textsuperscript{288} Iliffe, “Organization of the Maji Maji Rebellion,” 113.
CHAPTER SIX: COLONIZING THE MIND: ADMIRATION, DISCONTENT, AND EXPLOITATION

Throughout his presidency, until his death in 1999, citizens called Julius Nyerere, the first president of the United Republic of Tanzania, “Baba wa Taifa” (The Father of the Nation). There is no doubt that Nyerere was central in rearing the nation from its infancy into what it is today. The birth or emergence of national consciousness in the region, however, is not as clear. Scholars often trace the beginning of nationalism in Tanzania to the formation of the ruling political parties that led the territories to independence, TANU in Tanganyika and the Afro-Shirazi Party in Zanzibar. These parties also claim such sentiment arose with their formation. Other scholars, however, describe important historical figures who predate the independence movement as “nationalists.” As mentioned and examined in the previous chapter, some consider certain anti-colonial events, such as the Maji Maji uprising, nationalist in motivation. These conflicting interpretations make it especially important to establish the nature of nationalism and its emergence in Tanzania.

In previous chapters I argued that nationalism does not naturally exist in the world or naturally emerge or develop at a certain stage in history or society. I explained precisely what nationalism is. In this chapter I address several questions. Why did nationalist sentiment come about in Tanzania? Who were the first nationalists? What characterized them? How did they talk about nationalism? What traditions did they draw upon? What was their experience? In the course of analysis, this chapter examines what
drives actions, what makes nationalism appealing, and how, where, and why it emerges in a society. I explore whether some important figures, such as Shaaban Robert, later claimed as exemplars of nationalist culture, were in fact nationalist, i.e. driven by the value orientation underlying this form of consciousness.

As discussed and described in the preceding chapters, when European colonists and missionaries began staking claim to East Africa in the middle of the 1800s, nationalism there was a completely foreign construct. Local social and political institutions and organizations were often formed in ways diametrically opposed to a national view of reality. By the early 1900s, important shifts in thought occurred among a small minority of inhabitants. Their only shared characteristic appeared to be exposure to "western education," at colonial government schools or missionary centers and schools in East Africa. By the 1950s, nationalism, appeals to the nation, calls for equality and even independence reverberated throughout the territories of Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

**Nationalism Begins Among Western Educated Africans**

Scholars often state with few caveats that nationalism in Africa began among western educated intellectuals. Scholar Atieno Adhiambo differentiates these people as "new intellectuals"\(^{289}\) It is not clear, however, why this was this case. Why did these individuals in the first place see it as their duty to guide and transform their societies? Why and how did it happen? Why did they consciously and purposefully articulate the

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\(^{289}\) Emphasis mine. Odhiambo, *Siasa*, 103. Shils noted: “It was the intellectuals on whom, in the first instance, devolved the task of contending for their nations’ right to exist, even to the extent of promulgating the very idea of the nation” (Shils, *The Intellectuals*, 387).
ideals of nationalism? Not all western educated Africans became nationalists. It is true that it is among this group that new ideas began to foment, but these new ideas were not necessarily “national” ideas. Additionally, some of those who espoused the ideals, proclaimed their love of nation in fiery rhetoric, did not, based on their subsequent actions, seem to believe in it the way that they said. It is likely that among the first to espouse nationalism, some were committed to the ideas, but others said these things out of convenience. This often occurred in the history of the formation of other nations. For instance, the English rulers Henry the VIII and his daughter Queen Elizabeth I were not nationalists but they found it in their interests to use the emerging nationalist political rhetoric in their own edicts.\(^{290}\) The blanket statement that the first African nationalists were educated in the West is not very meaningful in itself. By way of examples, two of Julius Nyerere’s siblings are not in the annals of “nationalist history” although they also received a similar “Western” education. The father of Martin Kayamba, who I will discuss in depth soon, received a Western (missionary) education, but he did not become a social agitator, calling for changes to his society. Looking country by country, the outcomes varied greatly; these individuals did not take the same thing out of their education. Clearly, the predominant trope about Western educated nationalist agitators needs to be qualified. Something else was happening.

There is something in the individual’s character and in their specific exposure and additional experiences that explains why certain Western educated individuals became nationalists. The first generations of Western-educated Africans were set apart from their

\(^{290}\) See Greenfeld, *Nationalism*, 65.
peers due to nature of their education and privileges they received in their life. Within this small percentage of men existed an even smaller group that served as social observers, writing about their experiences and suggesting Western education for others. Tanzania only had a few vocal observers. It was not the education itself, but the admiration of foreign culture and consideration among some educated that they themselves were Western that is significant. Tanzanian intellectual and scholar, Chambi Chachage notes in his dissertation that while the “educated of the inter-war period had varied attitudes towards African cultures and life in general depending on their objective relationship to the colonial structures,” they all regarded themselves as Westernized.²⁹¹

The first generations of western educated in what is now Tanzania came from one of two polar spheres. Education was first open to the sons and heirs of chiefs at government schools, while missionary schools often educated former slaves or religious converts. They were from dramatically different strata. Rarely was talent or aptitude the driving reason behind why a person was selected to receive education. In 1922, the British started a colonial government school in Tabora. Intended for sons and heirs of chiefs, it became known as the “Eton of Tanganyika.” Although at the outset of these Western schools (the first started by missionaries) many were hesitant to send their children, by the 1930s, schooling became a requisite qualification for being part of the political and social status elite.²⁹²

²⁹² Ibid., 5.
Before independence, the entire group of Western educated individuals within what is now Tanzania was very small. Of this tiny percent of the indigenous population, it was perhaps one percent of this group that then went on to call for dramatic societal changes. In this group, nationalist ideas first appealed to an even smaller handful. What inspired them? How could they be characterized? All those discussed in this chapter are among the exceptional. Even if society generally revered them, they exhibited many characteristics which went against the general social norms and mores of the time. They typically came from the former elite. They were the disgruntled who began to push against prevailing social norms and customs. An examination of the biographies of Martin Kayamba and Shaaban Robert—social observers and commentators in touch with cultural pulses—helps to elucidate broader themes and trends.

**Martin Kayamba: The Spokesman?**

Martin Kayamba, born to Christian parents in Mbweni Zanzibar in 1891 (almost 20 years before Shaaban Robert), received, like his father, Western education and had the opportunity to travel abroad. In the biographical note to his posthumously published book, *An African in Europe*, the fact that his life was exceptional and that he was “detached from ordinary African village conditions” is emphasized. Kayamba was an astute observer and social critic. His publications—which include *An African in Europe*, “The Story of Martin Kayamba Mdumi, MBE, of the Bondei Tribe” in *Ten Africans*, *African Problems*, and *Tulivyoona na Tulivyofanya Ingereza (What We Saw and What We Did in England)*—are amongst the most detailed evidence from Tanzania during this
time of a local African’s experience.

Kayamba is mentioned by others with conflicting opinions. In a 1940 issue of the newspaper *Kwetu*, Erica Fiah attacks him as “selfish African who rose to the highest rank in Government service without being of any use to his race.”293 In the annals of Tanzania's nationalist historiography, Kayamba is classified negatively; receiving the derogatory appellation of *Mzungu Mweusi* (“black European”). Yet, in his 1973 collection of biographies, *Modern Tanzanians*, historian John Iliffe portrayed Kayamba again in a positive light. He wrote about him as “The Spokesman.” Kayamba held several influential posts and witnessed important events and changes within his society.

Kayamba describes himself as descended from a line of chiefs; the first son of Hugh Peter Kayamba, the son of Chief Mwelekwanyuma of Kilole, the son of Kimweri Zanyumbani (Kimweri the Great), King of the Wakilindi. Kayamba's father, born in 1865, was born and raised Muslim until he joined the Universities Mission to Central Africa in 1877. Due to the education obtained at the UMCA schools at Umba and Magila, Kayamba’s father had the chance to go to England in 1882 to further his education at Bloxham School near Oxford. Upon his return in 1885, he became a teacher at St. Andrew’s College, UMCA in Zanzibar. Here Kayamba was born in February 1891. He followed the path forged by his father. He too obtained a missionary education, traveled to England and after a short stint of employment by missionaries as a teacher, entered the civil service.

Kayamba’s father wanted to get him the best education possible. Kayamba first

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attended the UMCA’s boys’ school at Kilimani Zanzibar. According to his account of his life, Kayamba then went on to study at the Church Missionary Society School in Mombasa where boys of “various nationalities ... a European boy, Indians, Arabs, Baluchis, Comorians, and Swahilis” also studied. He describes himself as “great friends” with “this one European boy.” All lessons there were taught in English. Kayamba passed all exams in the first sitting and considered himself fortunate to have done so. Due to his father’s resignation of his Mombasa service, they returned to Zanzibar. There, Kayamba went to Kilimani school in which African teachers assisted the two English schoolmistresses; he was top of his class there.

It is unclear what vocation Kayamba's father envisioned for him. Bishop Weston hoped that Kayamba would become a Mission teacher, but Kayamba thought otherwise: “Personlly I did not think that this was my vocation.” During this period of his life, Kayamba served different government posts within Britain’s East African possessions. Based on his account, many of his changes of employment were by choice, but it is also apparent that African civil servants would be passed around departments in order to fill in for Europeans or others of a higher status (than African workers) due to illnesses or deaths. In 1906, Kayamba began his first government post in Mombasa, where his father also lived. His father helped him obtain a position in the Telegraph Department. After one month, he went to work in the post office, but resigned due to his mother's displeasure at the isolated nature of this job. Then his father got him into the Public Works Department to be trained as a draughtsman, but he actually joined the Drawing

294 Kayamba, “The Story of Martin Kayamba.”
295 Ibid., 178.
Office. Six months later he was transferred to the Store Department. He worked at the Fort Hall Public Works Department Station as a store clerk for one year. He resigned after a few months from this position intending to start his own business, but his mother objected to his doing business. Sometimes Kayamba succumbed to the wishes of his family (specifically his mother and father) but also he would be transferred or placed in different departments based on need. Due to circumstances, he had the opportunity to fill into roles traditionally filled by Europeans, like becoming acting sub-storekeeper for six months following the deaths of two European sub-storekeepers.296

Kayamba’s resignation in 1911 from his position as clerk in the Public Works Department was in reaction to his dissatisfaction with how he was treated as an employee. He explains, “I was dissatisfied with the salary I was getting at the time, which was not equivalent to the responsible duty I was discharging when in Nyeri, Fort Hall and Nairobi. The Asiatic staff who were doing the same kind of work or less were paid better than the African staff.”297 Kayamba’s next move was to Zanzibar to work as a private tutor to two European Government officials. He was only there for four months before obtaining a workshop’s clerk position in the Public Works Department in Uganda. He left his wife (Mary Syble, who he married in 1908, a teacher of the Girls' School UMCA) and children with his parents in Mombasa and went to Entebbe, Uganda alone. Kayamba was struck that in Uganda the “natives have their own native Government under the Kabaka or Kinga; they have their own native Parliament and Treasury and courts; it is one of the

296 Ibid., 180.
297 Ibid.
most advanced native Governments in Africa.”

He remained in Uganda for a year where he made several “best friends” including Prince Joseph of Kampala and Sosene Muinda, a big chief near Kampala. Another friend from Sierra Leone persuaded Kayamba to join the International Correspondence School of London. Due to his wife’s death, followed shortly after by his mother’s death, Kayamba returned to Zanzibar, where he worked in the Government School.

At the Government School in Zanzibar Kayamba had encountered people of “various nationalities.” He recalls that:

there were over two hundred boys of various nationalities. The principal nationalities were Indians, Arabs and Swahilis. The headmaster was a Parsee; under him in the English classes was a Goan, and I was the third teacher. There were also several Arabic teachers under the Arabic schoolmaster. It is wonderful that this conglomeration of nationalities and teachers was always friendly. The school was and still is a very important one in Zanzibar. Boys belonging to the royal family and high Arab families were being educated in this school. As I am a Christian and this was a purely Mohammedan school, I was required not to teach the Christian religion or talk about it in the school. It is surprising that in this school there never were religious controversies even though it was the centre of Arabic and Koranic culture. There was no distinction among us except of rank, and Arab teachers never shunned me. We were always very friendly indeed. I cannot understand why this is seldom possible outside such an environment.

After school hours, Kayamba also gave Swahili lessons to Europeans.

Numerous times Kayamba experienced a double standard of treatment which bothered him. In January 1914, he resigned from the Government school and went to Bondei country to visit relations and perhaps engage in trade because, as Kayamba said,

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298 Ibid.
299 Ibid., 181.
300 Ibid., 182.
“I thought I needed some more money to better my prospects.”\textsuperscript{301} With passports for himself and his daughter, they went to Tanga. When the German District Commissioner at Handeni inspected his certificates of service, Kayamba was told that he “was an intelligent man and should therefore pay the same fee as Indians,” which was more.\textsuperscript{302} In most government posts, Kayamba received a reduced income due to being African despite his superior education and qualifications. Yet he was also expected by a German District Commissioner to pay higher fees since intellectually (with his command of English) he was on level with Indians. In some respects his position opened him doors, but he also found certain avenues closed to him due to being African.

During WWI, Kayamba was rounded up with others under suspicion that he was a spy since he was recently out of the country, was a British subject, and could speak English. In prison in Handeni he met over 100 African teachers of the UMCA and Rev. Canon Petro Limo, an old African priest. English missionaries were also rounded up during the war. As a prisoner, Kayamba expanded his skills and experience. At the prisoners of war camp he met captured Indian soldiers, learned to cook, was a mason and camp headman, and even received rudimentary medical training. Initially, they thought the war would end quickly: “We first thought the war would take only three or six months to end, or at most three years.”\textsuperscript{303}

His first substantial opportunity to prove himself came in September 1923 when PE Mitchell, Esq. MC., the Acting Senior Commissioner at Tanga began to run the

\textsuperscript{301} Ibid., 184.
\textsuperscript{302} Ibid., 185.
\textsuperscript{303} Ibid., 192.
District Office with an entirely African staff. Kayamba was head clerk. All of the Africans in the office were new to this line of work since such positions were closed to them before this opportunity:

We were bent to make the scheme a success. We worked nearly nonstop, 12 hour days. We were the first Africans in the whole of East Africa including Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar to be trusted with such a responsible work. The morale of the African clerks was exceptionally good and every clerk was scrupulously honest.\textsuperscript{304}

Their goal was to prove that Africans could do the work.

Kayamba helped found the African Civil Servants’ Association (which later went on to transform into the Tanganyika Africa Association, and then TANU). The association built a club and was a center for sports and socializing. They wanted to start a library but lacked money, despite having distinguished officers visit and give donations. It was not a politically motivated organization, but existed to bring like-minded Africans together. Kayamba fondly recalled,

The late Bishop F. Weston was invited to the Club and was very pleased to see something at last had been done which he never thought he would see, and that was Christians and Mohammedans, Africans and Arabs joining together as members of the association, and all being very friendly. Religion is the matter for the heart and must come first, but it does not prevent members of one religious community from combining with members of another religious community. I firmly believe that Africans will never progress well unless they realize the necessity for unity. A great deal of our progress rests with us. We cannot move if we do not wish to move together.\textsuperscript{305}

Kayamba advocated for women’s education for the sake of boys, who learn from their mothers, though not for African women in their own right:

\textsuperscript{304} Ibid., 197.
\textsuperscript{305} Ibid., 198.
In Africa, where the great majority of the Africans are uneducated, the education for girls is very important indeed and will help considerably the progress of the boys’ education. The mother is the guide of her children. If she is educated there will be very few children who will not go to school and the hygiene at home will be thoroughly observed.\textsuperscript{306}

His opinion on education was important as he served on several education committees. In 1928 he was appointed as a member of the Provincial Committee on African Education. He was appointed a member of the Advisory Committee on African Education for the Territory in 1929. He criticized the colonial stance on education “of teaching African school children to build African houses.”\textsuperscript{307} Instead, he pressed for advanced literary education in English. Kayamba threatened to resign from his position after the British proposed to test African mental capacity and derive educational techniques accordingly.

Early in 1931, he was appointed as witness from Tanganyika to join the Joint Parliamentary Committee on East Africa which sent him to England. This visit was an important period of his life. He writes about his experience extensively. In “The Story of

\textsuperscript{306} Ibid.. At the UMCA meeting in London, Kayamba again echoed these sentiments: “Female education in Africa is much needed. The education of men without that of females is defective. It means progress of men in work and outside their homes, but not in their homes. Such education is superficial. The true education should start from home. Instructions in hygiene can only be practiced by educated women in homes. Men can do very little in this respect and can do nothing at all if their wives are uneducated. The homes remain as they were a century ago with very little difference if any. Education of children is also retarded by the conservatism of mothers. If mothers take no interest in the education of their children through lack of education, it is difficult for fathers to do much in the education of their children, especially their daughters. It has been known of some African mothers refusing their children to go to school and, if fathers insisted, mothers instructed their children to run away to their far relations. Mothers have been a great hindrance to the education of their daughters. So the real progress of the Africans lies in the hands of African mothers. Education should start from home and not from school.” (Kayamba, “Story of Martin Kayamba,” 262).

Martin Kayamba Mdumi, MBE, of the Bondei Tribe,” he recounts everything that happened to him from birth until 1930 in 25 pages, while this visit to England, which only lasted approximately three months, received 70 pages of exposition. This in itself is rather telling. This experience was so striking, so different, that he dedicates nearly three times as many pages to discussing three months of his life. Kayamba noted that the opportunity to speak in front of the commission was an incredible honor and important charge:

Up till now the African has not been given a chance or an opportunity to speak for himself or to air his feelings. Many people think the African is so childish that he cannot even open his mouth and say whether he is well or not. To some of us it seems that even a child can speak and parents are always anxious to hear his voice and his requests. Those gentlemen who wisely planned to get Africans to England to speak before the Joint Committee have done the most noble service to the African community. The African cannot claim as yet that he can champion his cause as efficiently as the best Europeans, but he can justly claim the privilege for an opportunity for his voice to be heard and his views to be sought where matters concern his vital interests. Nobody knows the African’s requirements better than himself. His mode of living, his customs and habits are peculiar to himself and require a thorough study. In order to understand an African as he actually is, it needs one to live like him, with him, and be intimate with him, which is very difficult. The Africans have a proverb which says: ‘No one feels the bite of a bug on a bedstead except he who lies on it.’ To seek the opinion of the Africans on matters concerning them is to render them the best service. The African may be suffering through misunderstanding and there is no way of removing the misunderstanding except by consulting him in every way.308

As background, the Joint Committee on Closer Union of the East African Territories was preceded by the Ormsby-Gore Commission in 1924 and the Hilton-Young Commission in 1927, all tasked with the same objective: to investigate and advise

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on the desire to bring about a “closer union” between the British East African territories of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar. At the end of March 1931, the three selected representatives from Tanganyika were sent to England to discuss the matter. They included Chief Makwaya, K.M. of Shinyanga, who was accompanied by his son-in-law Makoni; Mwami Lwamgira, K.M. of Bukoba; and Kayamba.

This trip to London impressed upon Kayamba parallels and contrasts between his society and England:

To compare what we have seen in England and how we were treated is well-nigh impossible....We had an opportunity to see things for ourselves which we could not otherwise have understood. When I arrived in Africa I told all those I saw: “It is impossible for me to relate exactly what we have seen and how we have been treated because you would not believe me, as there is nothing to compare it with in Africa; but if you have money, take a trip to England and see things for yourselves.”

He believed that the “Experience that an African gains in forty years in Africa is not equal to one month’s experience in England.” He was impressed by how “The civilized education in England has done a great deal to uplift the English people not only in knowledge but also in good behaviour and polished manners.” While he stressed the difficulty of relating the knowledge he gained while on this trip, he tried to share his experiences with as many in East Africa as possible. He wrote about his experience abroad in both Swahili and English. In the course of narrating his experiences, impressions, and observations, a number of interesting and illuminating facts about his time, his society, and his perceptions emerge.

309 Ibid., 227.
310 Ibid., 248.
Kayamba does not describe himself as a common African, but he does identify as African and claim to have special insight to observe and describe African customs. Kayamba writes as an authority on African native life and customs as he is African, but, as the editor of his book African Problems made a point to note, his whole upbringing was separate from the typical struggles and concerns of the average Africans in this area. Both his parents were educated and were teachers; a rarity at that time. Many of his observations of local tribal life seem to come second-hand and echo the general English sentiments at the time concerning the native and their semi-idealized prior existence. Kayamba existed within the elite sphere of educated Africans and government officials. Other than mentioning his father’s Bondei pedigree, Kayamba never expresses any sort of tribal identity. Living and working in Tanganyika Territory, Zanzibar, and Uganda he also did not proclaim one territorial allegiance. Kayamba noted the lack of harmony and consensus among Africans. Yet, despite this, he felt Africans must come together as one. He never spoke of Tanganyikans as a group. Kayamba's passages about African traders and tribal bias are very telling. A picture emerges of a society that was not unified and had not been historically unified, but that describes an emerging sense that all Africans were natural kinsmen and should have certain communal feelings between them.

While Kayamba admired the English, he assumed that Africans were and would forever remain different. In 1936, Kayamba said, “No wise African can be spoilt by traveling in Europe nor can he be Europeanized. An African knows quite well that he is an African and is always proud of his colour and nationality. He has a valuable place
among his own people and if he can help them it is to his credit and to the benefit of the people.”

Kayamba saw Africa and Africans as backward. At the Universities Mission to Central Africa anniversary celebration in Westminster in 1931, Kayamba gave a speech:

We Africans, you know, are backward people, are the most backward race in the world. We are helpless. We cannot stand alone in the present world. We want your help. I appeal to you on behalf of my brothers and sisters of Africa. We want to co-operate with you, to be friendly with you.

He saw West Africa as more civilized than East Africa. At the time of his writing, he was not concerned with “development” but with “progress.” There is no ressentiment present in his assessment of African society. During his life he strove to improve his society, but this striving did not cause him to question the fundamental nature of this society and create a new vision in its stead. While never fulfilled and satisfied by the roles and opportunities open to him, he felt that the English were culturally superior. His greatest grievance was moments when he did not receive treatment in accord with his abilities.

Iliffe’s description of Kayamba as “the Spokesman” is fitting as Kayamba was the most systematic thinker of his time, concerned with creating an African social vision that incorporated positive elements from Western civilization. Despite similar admiration for English customs, Robert avoided the appellation of colonial stooge (“kibaraka wa wakoloni”) or “Mzungu Mweusi” (Black European) that was applied to Kayamba.

Examination of his biography sheds some light on why.

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311 Kayamba, “Story of Martin Kayamba,” 42.
313 Robert, Barua za Shaaban Robert, note by Yusuf Ulenge, 195.
Shaaban Robert: One of Tanganyika’s First Nationalists?

Robert is the most well-known and revered author of Swahili literature. He is lauded as the first Swahili novelist and modern writer.\textsuperscript{314} During his life span (1909-1962) he lived under German colonial rule and saw Tanganyika transform into a British colonial trust territory. Robert died in June 1962, six months after Tanganyika Territory gained independence. He did not live to see Nyerere become the first president of Tanganyika nor to see the Zanzibar Protectorate gain independence in December 1963 and then merge with Tanganyika to form Tanzania in 1964. Despite this, he is revered as a \textit{Tanzanian nationalist} poet.\textsuperscript{315} Naturally, Robert never described himself as such, but he also never described himself as a nationalist. Just as being claimed as a nationalist does not automatically make him one, his lack of explicit self-identification as such does not preclude the applicability of the term. Although he clearly lived on the cusp of two worlds, Robert was not a nationalist. His life and thoughts mark the beginning of a turning point in Tanzania's history.\textsuperscript{316}

\textsuperscript{314} Ngugi wa Thiongo called Robert Shaaban Robert “then the greatest living East African poet” while Farouk Topan described him as the "renowned Tanzanian author." See Topan, “Why does a Swahili Writer Write?”, 108.

\textsuperscript{315} See Mulokizi, “Revolution and Reaction in Swahili Poetry.”

\textsuperscript{316} Most of the details regarding Robert's life come from his autobiographical text, \textit{Maisha Yangu na Baada Ya Miaka Hamsini} (My Life and After Fifty Years). Additional biographical details are contained in \textit{The Barua za Shaaban Robert, 1931-1958} which contains 69 letters addressed by Shaaban Robert to his younger brother Yusuf Ulenge, and 26 various documents, many letters to the editor of Mambo Leo that Robert wrote, but there are also several poems and other pieces of correspondence which give insights into his personal life, such as a letter to the international correspondence school in Johannesburg. There is also a brief biography of Shaaban Robert, written by Ikbal S. Robert that includes details regarding his family and origins not found elsewhere, which
Robert was not born into a nationalist society. He lived under a colonial yoke that, for the most part, was not questioned by those around him. Julius Nyerere, born over ten years later than Robert, even said "When I was born, there was not a single person who questioned why we were being ruled."\(^\text{317}\) Robert was born in 1909 in a small town, Vibamba, outside of Tanga, which was part of colonial German East Africa. His father worked as a clerk for the Amboni Sisal plantations. He was born and raised Muslim and was fluent in Swahili. During his formative years, Germany lost all of its colonial possessions as one of the outcomes of its defeat in World War I. At this time, German East Africa was divided into Tanganyika Territory, Rwanda and Burundi, with each territory placed under trusteeship of another colonial power, Tanganyika going to the British. There were no political parties or even African based associations at this time. The concept of nation itself was hardly in circulation, though used by foreigners in reference to foreign nations.

If he was not born into a nation, then in order to become a nationalist he had to be exposed to the ideas and find them attractive. Although Tanzania was not a nation by 1909, this was the age of nationalism. Nationalism had become the dominant worldview. It was not the worldview among the majority of the world's population, but literally among those dominating, those powerful nations able to change the course of history by force. The important global powers at that time, which included Britain, Germany, France, and Russia, were nations, exercising their might over vast swaths of the world.

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\(^{317}\) Nyerere, quoted in *Africa News Online*, November 8 1999.
During his lifetime, Robert clearly was exposed to new elements. Shaaban Robert's father obtained some education, teaching himself to read and write. While working on a government plantation, he married and fathered Shaaban Robert. At nine years old, his mother sent Robert to madrasa to learn the Koran. Later, he was sent to Dar es Salaam's Kichwele school, where he passed his final exams in 1922. Robert was second in the overall results of all candidates at the time in Tanganyika. He was very bright and continued his studies through correspondence courses. He received a Diploma of literature (fasihi) in 1932-1934 and an English level certificate in 1936/7. The Dar school was a government, rather than a missionary school. He taught himself English, but based on the example of his Sunlight Soap essay drafted for a Lever essay competition, he was proficient, but not fluent in the language like Kayamba. From his educational achievements, it is clear that Robert was an exceptional, rather than a typical individual.

In addition to his writing career, he entered the Tanganyikan colonial government civil service. From 1926 to 1944 he was a customs official at different locations throughout the territory. In the Custom's Department (Idara ya Kodi na Forodha) he aroused the ire of an Indian coworker, shocked at the opportunity Shaaban Robert received. He received a promotion and moved to the Game Department (the Idara ya Wanyama Pori) in Mpwapwa where he worked from 1944 to 1946. From 1946 to 1952 he worked in the Tanga District Office, and from 1952 to 1960 he was in the Survey Office. Many of his civil service experiences are woven into his writings.

Despite possible negative social repercussions, Shaaban Robert persisted in what

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319 Ibid., 224.
were likely unpopular beliefs that appeared to reflect the British influence on his education. For instance, his insistence on marrying only one wife at a time, rather than up to four wives he could have as a Muslim went against prevailing norms. He believed that women should be educated and deserved respect. He advocated for female education on its own right, which differed from Kayamba’s argument that educated mothers would instill the light of civilizing education into their sons at a young age.\textsuperscript{320} He moved to allow his daughter to continue her education, since at the time very few secondary schools accepted girls.

In addition to writing his autobiography, Robert wrote one of the first modern biographies, that of Siti binti Saad, a person who was not a great leader or military hero, but a cultural figure: an important Taarab singer who gained popularity beyond the court of the Zanzibar sultan. Biography writing in itself was a new form of writing in Swahili. These modern biographies differed from their Swahili antecedents because they narrated the life of an individual, while previous accounts were ethnohistories, which focused on the community or ethnic group as a whole, giving little importance to specific individuals.\textsuperscript{321} As previously mentioned, Robert was also the first writer to employ the form of the novel in Swahili.

Robert wrote letters to the editor of \textit{Mambo Leo} on the issue of citizenship, especially the relationship between the citizen and government. In 1932, as a young adult (still a \textit{kijana} “youth” by Swahili standards) he expressed his ideas on the subjects of

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{320} See Robert, Waraka na 18, “Wanawake wasikokotwe,” in \textit{Barua za Shaaban Robert}. He says that women should be educated too, that they deserve respect and that the government and missionaries are ready to receive and educate girls.  
\textsuperscript{321} Topan, “Biography Writing in Swahili.”}
women’s rights and place in society, on the relationship between citizens and
government, and other matters. He believed citizens had an obligation to work with the
government in order to help their country, to civilize Tanganyika.\textsuperscript{322} His poem on
Tanganyika betrays his sense of concern with the advancement of his country.

Robert's philosophy and world-view contained universalist elements not present in
previous generations of Swahili poets. In a lecture on poetry (hotuba juu ya ushairi) he
misconstrues Muyaka, a famous poet of prior generations, as sharing his own view on
openness and freedom. Robert believed both in the universality of poetry and the
universal access to it. Coastal writers before Shaaban called mainlanders derogatory
names like “washenzi,” “makafiri,” and “wasiostaarabika.”\textsuperscript{323} Robert, who lived inland
for many years, traveled, and worked within the civil service, saw few differences
between mainlanders and coastal peoples.\textsuperscript{324}

Robert’s “poetic genius” has been compared to that of the English poets of the
sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{325} Wilfred Whitely went so far as to state that “Shaaban Robert is to
the Swahili language what Shakespeare was to English.” Shakespeare made English the
language that it is today. He ushered in hundreds, if not thousands of new words, giving
voice to novel concepts and experiences. Although Robert contributed to the Swahili

\textsuperscript{322} See Robert, Waraka na 21, “Kwa Bwana Mtengenezaji Mambo Leo,” Moshi,
Northern Province, 10 September 1932, in \textit{Barua za Shaaban Robert}, 212.
\textsuperscript{323} See \textit{Maisha ya Tippu Tipp} and work by Selemani bin Bwenye Chande in Velten,
\textit{Swahili Prose Texts}.
\textsuperscript{324} Robert, Waraka na 17, “Bwana Mtengenezaji Mambo Leo,” in \textit{Barua za Shaaban
Robert}, 207.
\textsuperscript{325} Ndulute, \textit{Poetry of Shaaban Robert}, ix. Whiteley says “Only Shaaban shows anything
like the vein of enthusiasm for his language that runs through the English poets” (\textit{Swahili},
vii).
lexicon, his impact on his society was not on a par with how Shakespeare transformed and gave voice to a new cultural reality. There are parallels between Robert’s writing and the sixteenth century English poets. They also were embarking on a new course, talking about very new subjects and topics. Robert’s unique contribution surpassed others; he was clearly in tune with a new cultural sentiment that was emerging. He bent Swahili in new directions; adding glossaries to his works for terms and manners of speech that were not readily known or found in dictionaries and other publications.\textsuperscript{326} Robert's prose writings, such as *Kufikirika* and *Utubora Mkulima*, also like the great English writers, combine realism with social commentary. His allegorical novel *Kusadikika* concerns the role of government and people within a nation, while *Adili* meditates on justice, and *Kufikirika* wisdom.

**Admiring the English Model**

The similarities between Robert’s writing and that of Elizabethan Englishmen is not surprising given that Robert greatly admired the English. Robert wrote often on how Africans were previously in darkness and praised the English for bringing civilization and light to the country.\textsuperscript{327} He lauded the English "spirit of generosity, compassion, kindness" and their intention to raise up the level of civilization in Africa to put it on an equal plane. He was optimistic, that with time, "like Europe, like Africa [as in Europe, so too Africa]."

But he was acutely aware that while the light had been lit, without care and effort on the

\textsuperscript{326} This is similar to how Thomas Eliot, did not invent new words, but explained them. His dictionary popularized all these new concepts and defined them.

\textsuperscript{327} Robert, *Barua za Shaaban Robert*, 192.
part of others, it could be extinguished, rather than increasing in brightness. Robert praises and thanks the English rulers in a letter to the editor published in *Mambo Leo*:

On behalf of Africa, I thank the European rulers. The have extraordinary faith, spirit of generosity, sympathy, kindness and the chief intention of equalizing all countries level of civilization and development. I am sure that perhaps after many years will will succeed in being able to say that as in Europe, as in Africa [Kama Ulaya Kama Afrika]. The poor continent was in darkness for a long time, until the Europeans arrived people were blinded, every place there was a shameful [slave] trade market. Now the lights of civilization are lit, its radiance can be seen in every region....

Robert goes on in his praise to mention how this light is not like the eternal sun, but it is a light that requires cleaning and maintenance to keep burning bright. Scholar Farouk Topan contends that Robert’s admiration masked his true opinions, which he suppressed for fear of repercussions. I disagree that Robert feigned admiration since it is evident in his letters to his brother, in his letters to the editor of *Mambo Leo*, as well as in poems like “Vitabu.” He also wrote several poems concerning English involvement in the war that were positive, supportive, and expressed the wish for the English victory over the

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Germans. In January 1942, he published the short poem, “Waingereza Watashinda” (the British will prevail), in *Mambo Leo*. His actions were consistent with someone who genuinely admired English customs and culture. Roberts remained grateful to the English, in much the same way as Kayamba, for bringing the "light of civilization." Robert knew of Kayamba, who was eighteen years his senior, and praised him, a native of Tanganyika Territory, for obtaining the status of “Assistant Secretary” of native affairs—the first such appointment within East Africa—as it conferred both dignity and rank.330

Shaaban Roberts words and ideas reached a limited audience during his lifetime. Examples of his poetry appeared in the pages of *Mambo Leo* during the 1930s, but many of his poems and novels were published later in his life or posthumously. He wrote over twenty books of prose and poetry. *Pambo la Lugha* was first published in 1947, that is right around the time that politics were coming to a head in Tanganyika. Those books published before his death in 1961 included: *Kusadikika* in 1951, *Masomo Yenye Adili* and *Insha na Mashairi* in 1959, *Pambo la Lugha* in 1947, *Omari Khayyam* in 1952 (written in 1948), and *Adili na Nduguze* in 1952.331 Most of his canon was published in late 1960s and early 1970s, after he became a cultural icon. Most were exposed to his writings after his death. According to the back cover of the latest printing of *Adili and Nduguze* (his first novel, although not the first to be published), Robert’s works were out

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331 His most popular works included: *Maisha Yangu, Kusadikika, Kufikirika, Wasifu wa Siti bint Saad* and *Adili na Nduguze*. 
of print and unobtainable within the country for many years; a large number of Tanzanians may not have heard of let alone read his work before.

Robert used poetry and fiction as a vehicle for his thoughts, life philosophy, and observations of society and its discontents. He used familiar forms to discuss new themes. It was no longer about being a good Muslim or a good wife, but being a good citizen. In a lecture on Poetry (Hotuba Juu ya Ushairi) Robert described his universalistic understanding of humanity.

Poetry is not something precious obtainable only in Malindi, which gave the Swahilis Muyaka. It is obtainable in every country. In the saying which goes, ‘What there is in Pemba is in Zanzibar as well’, take away Europe, and say, ‘What is in Europe is in Africa as well’; take away Europe, and say, ‘What is in Africa is in Asia as well’; take away Africa, and say ‘What is in Asia is in America as well’; take away Asia, and say, ‘What is in America is in Australia as well’. The created world repeats itself within the nations of human beings in order to show their common origin and their great unity.\(^{332}\)

His 3000 stanza poem, “Utenzi wa Vita vya Uhuru” which refers to WWII (An Epic on the War for Freedom) transformed yet paid homage to the traditional epic form. Instead of heavenly deliverance, he writes of earthly freedom.\(^{333}\) It is characteristic of the way in which he used traditional literary forms for new ends.

There is ample evidence of the maturation and development of Robert’s thought over time. His localized, personal concerns shifted to questions about his country and humanity as a whole.\(^{334}\) In “Whispers from my Heart” he raised the issue of color

\(^{332}\) Quoted in Harries, <i>Swahili Poetry</i>, 275.

\(^{333}\) Ndulute, <i>The Poetry of Shaaban Robert</i>, 14.

\(^{334}\) Another scholar, Ndulute, sees a growth and change in Robert's work, “from a personal struggle with God and family concerns, to country and humanity as a whole” (Ndulute, <i>The Poetry of Shaaban Robert</i>, 18).
discrimination. He knew its evils as a colonial government clerk and administrator. He wrote additional pieces on racism and social equality including “Like the Rainbow” and “Our Colours.”335 In them Robert broached subjects and themes that became important elements to the nationalist conversations in Tanzania. In a poem in *Koja* he praised agriculture as a superior African occupation; it was work that bestowed both wisdom and status, and brought blessings.336 Robert also used the term *wanyonge* (exploited) in some of his poems, including “Mungu Nichunge.”337 He was also one of the first to have a sense of Tanganyika as a unique cultural entity. In his collection, *Pambo la Lugha* (1947) several of his poems use the word *taifa* or *mataifa* and he also uses the word *Mtanganyika*. He also saw the Swahili as a group; an entity his literary precursors would not recognize as they tended to differentiate between coastal and inland Swahili speakers. In *Mambo Leo* he published a poem in which he talks about “My Tribe. Tanganyika” It was published on September 25, 1932, when Shaaban Robert was based in Moshi, Northern Province. Shaaban Robert never referred to himself as Yao and was one of the earliest to call himself Swahili.

Robert was a member East African Swahili Committee, East African literature Bureau, and Tanganyika Languages Board. He also became a member of the African Association; until the late 1950s, it was more a social club than a political association agitating for social change. Still, in his poem on the African Association, titled “Chama cha Waafrika,” he called for the people to "rise up." In this poem, he admonishes "kila  

335 Ibid., 16.  
336 Robert, “Ukulima,” *Koja la Lugha*, 34. In Swahili it is: “KAZI bora Afrika, yenye cheo na heshima,/ Inayoleta baraka...”  
Mtanganyika” (every Tanganyikan) to take responsibility, to "Do his turn," as he wrote in English in the final stanza of the poem.  

His poem entitled “Vitabu” (“Books”) in *Koja la Lugha* champions education. He writes "Hapana wafalme, wanaoshinda vitabu": there's no king who will defeat books. He argues that it is difficult to live without education. Those who study reap benefits. He was not talking about reading and studying the bible or Koran; in this long poem praising books, he mentions Plato, Socrates, and Shakespeare.

Shaaban Robert saw himself as a Swahili and as a loyal British subject. He wanted to change his society, but he did not question British rule. Robert did not divide his world into the civilized and barbaric. All were human. His poems were often moral teachings. Rather than birth, Robert stressed the power and importance of one’s character in determining a person’s worth. He argued that the wealth of the poor lies in the quality of their character. Robert encouraged modern Western education. He was not against status inequalities, as such. He believed that everyone had a given slot in life, but that it was noble to work to improve oneself.

Robert was not a nationalist, but he was appropriated later by nationalists. This often occurred within the emergence of nationalism in other societies. Jonathan Eastwood, for instance, describes how Juan Francisco de León (1699-1752), “a struggling *isleño hacendado*” who “served as a lightning rod for creole resistance” in Venezuela against Spanish colonial powers was one such person to be appropriated by later nationalists. León’s revolt was actually not very revolutionary as “these protestors

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claimed to be acting in the interest of the king (or at least took pains to make clear that they were not protesting against him).”

Leon himself “never questioned the king or the social system of colonial Spain. He simply resented the fact that he and those like him were seeing their prospects dramatically lessened by a bunch of Basque businessmen.”

I looked at Martin Kayamba and Shaaban Robert, but could have easily focused upon others of their generations. These two were exemplary, but also typical within this small group of exceptional individuals. For instance, Mnyampala (1917-1969), born in Dodoma in 1917, was a poet, scholar, jurist, and wrote short fiction in Swahili. He worked as a schoolteacher, government clerk, and liwali (a title for an administrative official or headman in the colonial era, generally Arab appointed), with the majority of his career spent within the judicial system. His first literary works were prose intended for the colonial education system, including Historia, Mila na Desturi za Wagogo wa Tanganyika (1954 “History, Traditions, and Customs of the Gogo People of Tanganyika) and Kisa cha Mrina Asali na Wenzake Wawili (1961 “The Tale of the Honey Gatherer and His Two Friends”). He contributed to modern Swahili poetry, like Shaaban Robert, following traditional forms of Swahili verse but treating modern, particularly political, themes. His most important works of poetry are Waadhi wa Ushairi (1960; “Poetic Exhortations”), Diwani ya Mnyampala (1960; “Mnyampala’s Poetry Book”, Mashairi ya Hekima (1965; “Poems of Wisdom), and Ngonjera za UKUTA (1970-71; “Educational Verses from UKUTA”). Mnyampala founded UKUTA, a Swahili poets’ association. S.A. Kandoro, a member TAA, founder of TANU, was also a famous nationalist poet who

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340 Ibid., 81.
worked in government service until he quit in 1944. Kandoro’s *Mwito wa Uhuru*, first published in 1961, was the first attempt by a Tanzanian to write the party history. In the early 1950s, he worked with Victoria Federation of Cooperative Unions. Additional influential individuals included GP Mkandawire, who worked as a head teacher of Mwanza Medical School and established a cultural center (the Euro-African Discussion Group of Mwanza), SM Mtengeti, who worked in the office of the secretariat in Dar es Salaam, Tom Marealle, who became a paramount chief of the Wachagga in the 1950s, Stephen Mhando, who was the president of TAA before Nyerere took over the seat in 1953, Hamza Mwapachu, who worked with the social welfare department, and Chief Kidaha Makwaida.341

The individuals mentioned in this chapter were outside their surrounding society as much as they were a part of it; it is from such a vantage point straddling different perspectives that their social commentary comes. Kayamba, a second generation missionary-educated person was a bit of a rarity. Robert’s emphasis on aptitude and achievement also set him apart. In the preceding discussion of these two men several points of social tension were touched upon. I will now look at some of these issues more broadly.

In the 1920s intellectuals wrote histories of chiefs and chiefdoms and traditions, like Kayamba, who wrote the history of the Washambaa and studied Wadigo. Francisco Xavier Lwamugira, an administrator, compiled Haya traditions and history of Haya aristocracy. Nathaniel Mtui, a Chagga author and poet, wrote historical books on chiefs

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and chiefdoms of Kilimanjaro. Others included JM Kadaso of Bukwimba, Dominikus Chabruma of Mshope, Matayo Leveiya Kaaya of Meru, among many.

By the 1940s, intellectuals turned to fiction writing to express their frustrations and work through social problems and propose solutions. Ulenge’s poem on *uhuru* (freedom), is one such example. Many Swahili authors of this period had other jobs, often in government service, in order to support themselves. They did not write for the money (because there was none to be made). The themes they selected to write about were not selected in the hope or with the assumption that they would be published and earn wealth or renown. Some had problems ever publishing their work. For instance, Aniceti Kitereza of Ukerewe wrote the longest novel in Tanzania in 1945 but could find no one to publish it. He made the community the main character of his novel, rather than focusing on heroes and rulers, such as kings and chiefs.

Kayamba had opportunities unimaginable a generation before. By his own account, few could aspire to similar outcomes. But his treatment was incommensurable with his accomplishments. He wanted to be judged on merit and valued fairly, as his co-workers were, not based on his ethnic heritage, which he calls “nationality”. Kayamba began to identify as an African but did not go so far as to transform his worldview or envision Africans as a nation endowed with certain qualities. Robert also found his experiences inconsistent with what he thought proper. He saw himself as part of a larger community—but not a nation. He helped create a vocabulary and give voice to some of the feelings and frustrations that he and those around him experienced because of the

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Nathaniel Mtui’s notebooks are available in microfiche at the University of Dar es Salaam.
inconsistencies in the British colonial system. The discontent these individuals felt with their society did not lead them to try to remake their social system.

**The Language of Nationalism Grows in Tanzania**

Dictionaries are a useful starting point to analyze the emergence and development of new concepts within the area. They contain many of the words that make up a person’s conceptual arsenal to draw upon when a new phenomenon emerges or an existing phenomenon changes. Through the pages of entries, a picture of the society develops, and certain concepts, captured in numerous words and phrases, appear central. Dictionaries are a cultural lens and need to be read in tandem with other evidence from the time. For example, in 1939 slavery was dead, but Frederick Johnson’s first dictionary kept multiple entries reflecting it, such as “young slave male” “young male slave that works the house,” and other similarly specific terms. Concepts not found in Krapf’s dictionary or in Steere’s dictionary enter into Johnson’s dictionary.\(^343\) These include discrimination (*ubaguzi*) and exploitation (*unyonyagi*). The meaning of the word “cheo” began to shift to include class, status, and one’s earned position, rather than birth. Previously it also meant “class, status, position,” but connoted an inherited superiority, like with the *ufalme* or with the *usultani*.\(^344\) For instance, “aristocratic” was of a “-a cheo bora” or “-a jamii ya watu wakuu” (a chief/superior/important family). The colonial government began to use *cheo* to mean one’s rank, which was not hereditary but achieved as a result of service or work. In 1939, no vocabulary existed for elections and voting. Neither was there a word

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\(^343\) Johnson’s *Standard English-Swahili Dictionary*, first published in 1939 was founded upon Madan’s *English-Swahili Dictionary* (1902), which in turn was based upon Krapf’s and Steere’s works.

\(^344\) Johnson, *English-Swahili Dictionary*. 
for “democracy.” *Nchi* only referred to the physical territory. *Ardhi* meant land, but only land, while *nchi* meant “country” as in an area which may have included rivers and lakes.

### Progress in Tanzania

The colonizers introduced a system that encouraged aspirations in all spheres. Progress was the buzzword at the time. For those who had aspirations, very few paths or opportunities based on merit existed before colonialism. It was a rare person who strove to get ahead. Usually, if a path for upward mobility did exist, it was only open to those already of a certain stratum or class. A person of the elite, for instance, could gain additional prestige and clout within a particular sphere, but a person from the lower orders could not rise in rank. Many of the various societies within this part of eastern Africa were subsistence economies. Changes in weather could and often did dramatically affect populations. There was no general orientation towards sustained growth, thus no capitalism. There were notable exceptions of people, however, who continuously amassed fortunes and increased their investments, like Tharia Topan who built several hotels and grand buildings in Stone Town and financed many caravan expeditions.

Frustrations grew among a group who could be described as “Africans who had been brought up in Western civilization, yet never allowed to blend in a natural and normal way with that civilization” like Kayamba.345 In Zanzibar, Africans—both Shirazi and mainlanders—were becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the position they were placed in by British and Arabs in power. These frustrated showed themselves in such

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events as the 1928 rent strike and the 1948 union strike. The rent strike took place in the African neighborhood of Zanzibar Town on Unguja, Ng’ambo. Strikers boycotted the demands for increased rents and broke friends and neighbors out of jail who were imprisoned for not complying with eviction orders. The three week long 1948 worker strike was undertaken by mainly mainland Africans who worked on the islands. The forces sent in as strikebreakers joined the strike and all African working people in Zanzibar town followed suit. What is significant about their dissatisfaction was that not the British were considered culpable but the Arabs in power. The Shirazi’s dissatisfaction was mainly vocalized in a direct reaction to what they perceived as slights and affronts by the Arabs.

Meanwhile the Zanzibar Arabs were also unhappy with what they saw as encroachments on their dominant position. Plantation owners, who were mostly Arab, were completely indebted to the mainly Indian businessmen because of the negative effects of the abolition of slavery, high cost of migrant labor, irregularity of clove prices, and the high interest loans they were charged. Many of the once-rich Arab landowners were reduced to poverty, which brought about a loss to their prestige. Rather than connect this unfortunate development to their insistence on pursuing a one-crop economy, they saw the British and their policies as the source of their ills.

In Tanganyika, frustrated ambitions of the upwardly mobile boiled into discontent, while previously privileged groups grew weary of the erosion of their

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348 Magnet de Saissy, *Pre-Revolutionary Zanzibar*, 17.
349 Prins, *Swahili-Speaking Peoples*, 70.
dominant position. Among the educated, this sense of inferiority gave place to the articulation of pride in Africans’ skin color and the insistence that African had its own civilization and contributed to the general one: Egypt, after all, was part of Africa. Nevertheless, there was a continuity between the ideas of colonial Indirect Rule and those of the educated Tanganyikans. The arguments for African ideal social structures and political arrangements were based on Eurocentric beliefs. Chachage admits that

The most obvious and tempting conclusion would be to argue that the educated Tanganyikans were simply echoing or aping the Europeans; and that they, along with the ideologues of Indirect rule were the kind of people who were keen to retard the development of capitalism because they were willing to have the peasantry without rural capitalists, the development of capitalist commodity production without its unacceptable consequences, etc...there is a grain of truth in this; and in this sense it could be said that the educated Tanganyika’s were liberated theoretically by the attempts of the masters to co-opt the African elements which would make Africans effectively colonizable.\(^{350}\)

Press outlets, first started by the missionaries and colonial governments, became important venues for sharing ideas and venting frustrations. By the beginning of the British administration, Africans had little access to print since existing papers were in English or Gujerati.\(^{351}\) The Education Department launched \textit{Mambo Leo} in 1923. Written in Swahili, it contained articles believed to be of interest to the local Swahili speaking population, with subjects such as agriculture, education, native affairs, official announcements, news, as well as stories and poems. In 1930 the print run of this paper increased from 6,000 to 9,000, with the reach expanding beyond this as each paper was shared or read aloud. This paper's heyday waned by the time Julius Nyerere called for the

\(^{350}\) Chachage, “Socialist Ideology,” 55)
\(^{351}\) Sturmer, \textit{Media History of Tanzania}, 51.
boycott of all government run papers in the late 1950s. It ceased publication in 1963.

After World War II, several community newspapers emerged in places like Dar es Salaam, Tabora, Bukoba and Mwanza. Concerned mainly with local, territorial interests, these papers spread the notion of an independent Tanganyika under an African leader with Swahili as the territorial language. Some of the papers that presented the African view were Herald and Dunia (Indian owned) and African Voice. Many more appeared in the 1950s. Erica Fiah established first independent newspaper Kwetu in 1937 as a “means whereby it may be able to spread knowledge among the sons of the soil who could read and write.”352 (Erica Fiah, born in Uganda, came to Tanganyika in 1917 as a carrier corps hospital worker.) Newspapers began to voice the discontent of Zanzibaris from around the 1930’s. Over two-dozen politically oriented newspapers were in Zanzibar after WWII. Newspapers reached a large segment of the population as their content was discussed and debated on street-corners and in villages. Since most Africans were either illiterate or semi-literate, the papers were read aloud to groups in coffee shops and other public venues. Among the rural population of Zanzibar all village elders were invariably literate. The upper and middle classes, which included most Arabs and self-styled Arabs, were literate in Arabic and, to some extent, in Roman script.

Every Whit as Good as the White Man

By the 1920s, a small group of people considered themselves to be equal to the colonizers and able to rule. Petro Njau of Kilimanjaro, lamented, “I wish I could tear off

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this black skin of mine. We are every whit as good as the whiteman and as fit to control
the country.” 353 By the 1930s, an identifiable broad change of attitude to the colonial
system occurred. In 1943, Medical Officer Mwaisela said: “The general outlook at
present as far as my life is concerned, is very gloomy. I have been brought up to such a
level in life that I can neither cope with my own people’s life, nor that of a civilized
man.” 354 AK Juma wrote to the newspaper *Venture* in 1949, upset over British settlers
who were trying to halt “African political progress and blunting over political
aspirations.” He pointed out the dominant issues frustrating Africans: “outbursts [about]
‘living space’ ‘the Indian menace’ and ‘growing Native problem’ (settler problem to be
correct) ‘dominance of Europeans in Government’ etc. are to be heard everyday. A
fascist regime is growing right under our feet!” 355

The “color bar,” the institutionalized racial segregation based on skin color, came
under attack by the 1940s. In *Kwetu*’s pages in 1940 one could read:

Many people in this country do not realize that there is any colour bar at
all; they think of the British Empire as one happy family, the only place in
the world where men of many races live side by side in equality and
freedom. In truth the British law contains few racial distinctions; in East
Africa, South Africa and Rhodesia there are definite regulations depriving
the African of some of his rights in order to prevent competition with
white people... 356

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354 A letter by Dr. E.F. Mwaisela in Mss Brit Emp s. 365, “Papers of the Fabian Colonial
355 A.K. Juma to Editor of *Venture: Journal of the Fabian Colonial Bureau*, October 26,
1949.
Discriminatory treatment based on racial grounds became problematic. Frustrations mounted at every level. In 1938 *Kwetu* reproduced a letter from the Tanganyika Herald and Tanganyika Opinion regarding the sale of sweepstakes tickets, saying:

> We are tired of being treated as babies in anything. If lotteries are bad for native’s are they good for Europeans and Indians? Or is it God’s will that a man of white or brown colour alone can indulge in sweepstakes either to satisfy his gambling instincts or worship the Goddess of luck, hoping therefore to make good use of windfall if it does come.\(^{357}\)

Their conclusion was that:

> “We, black people, today want to enjoy the same privileges as white people, we want good stone houses, motorcars, aeroplanes, etc., what is good for the whites is also good for the blacks: color makes no difference. Everything in the world has got its own color and cannot be regarded as useless on account of non-white or brown colour, provided it was made by the Almighty. Furthermore, we want to send our sons to colleges in Europe, America and India, etc, we want to open big Dukas [shops] too.\(^{358}\)

While this problem became increasingly identified and described, a clear, consistent solution was hard to find.

**Banding Together for a Common Cause**

Various associations popped up in the early 1900s. They developed in recognition of the emergence of new communities with common interests and to protect these group interests. The Arab Association formed in the early 1900’s to fight for fair compensation of the Arab slave owners who were affected by the abolition of slavery. Initially representing the interests of the wealthiest and longest established Arab families in


Zanzibar, it grew to represent Arab interests in general.\footnote{Mosare, “Background to the Revolution,” 227.} It was anti-British by nature. The Civil Servants founded the African Association in 1929. Its beginnings are mentioned in a \textit{Mambo Leo} article. It was concerned with the "whole nation" of African inhabitants, using the word \textit{taifa} in opposition to \textit{kabila} (tribe) or \textit{ukoo} (clan). Its main purpose was to promote civilization and to "help our government."\footnote{“The African Association. Maana yake ni Chama cha Umoja wa Wenyeji wa nchi ya Afrika,” \textit{Mambo Leo}, no 105 (September 1931).} It also built a library. In 1934 the African Association for Immigrant Workers formed, whose name was later shortened to the African Association; to represent the mainland Africans. This group was relatively inactive until after World War II. Erica Fiah established The Tanganyika African Welfare and Commercial Association in 1934 to safeguard “African interests,” mainly those of shop and stall keepers. Its motto was “Educated Africans are the Agents of African Civilization.”\footnote{Chachage, “Socialist Ideology,” 23.} The Shirazi Association, also rather inactive until the 1950s, formed in 1939. The different political parties developed out of these largely racially determined organizations in anticipation of the Legislative Council elections in 1957.\footnote{Since 1926 in Zanzibar, a primarily advisory Legislative Council (LEGCO) existed to pass laws that were issued as “Decrees of the Sultan.” The LEGCO was made up of nominated members: four \textit{ex officio}, five official and eight unofficial members nominated by the Sultan. In 1956, this body came to include three nominated unofficial members: one Arab, one Asian and one Shirazi ‘African.’ In 1957, the number of members increased to twenty-five with six of the twelve unofficial members being elected.} They also pushed for independence. In the process of arguing for political voice, competing political and social visions emerged. The biggest divide was between race based conceptions and civic conceptions of how the polity should be defined. But all this was before the polity in question was thought of as an independent nation.
The main parties to put forth candidates for the Legislative Council elections were the ZNP, the African Association, and the Shirazi Association. Some villagers (described as Shirazi) in Kiembe Samaki, Unguja, founded in the early 1950’s the Nationalist Party of the Subjects of the Sultan of Zanzibar (NPSS). This party advocated multiracialism, common roll elections and independence. Shortly after formation, Arabs dominated the national executive of the party. While the name of the party changed to the Zanzibar Nationalist Party, it included all those who were previously members of the Arab Association. They were the most articulate proponents, like the Arab Association before them, of the immediate removal of the Colonial government and establishment of self-government. Both the Shirazi Association, which started in Pemba and then spread to Zanzibar, and the African Association were politically inactive until after World War II.

The newspapers represented specific constituencies biases. The two main papers which represented Arab interests, were Alfalaq (in Arabic it means The Dawn) and Mwongozi (meaning Leader in Swahili). The Arab Association launched Alfalaq in 1929 as the mouthpiece of the Arab elite. Printed until the Revolution, it was read only by those who knew English and Arabic. Mwongozi, which ran from 1942 to the Revolution, was edited by Ali Muhsin al-Barwani, a well-respected and well-educated member of one of Zanzibar’s wealthiest families. Printed in English, Swahili and Arabic, it was read mainly by Arabs in the stone town area of Zanzibar Town. The main African paper was Africa Kwetu (Our Africa in Swahili). Mtomo Rehani Kingo, a founding member of the African Association and later vice president of the Afro-Shirazi Party

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launched *Africa Kwetu*, printed in English and Swahili, in 1948. He was an immigrant from Tanga, who had a few years of schooling and came to Zanzibar as a musician. There were many other papers that also appealed to partisan interests. For instance, *Mwangaza* (*Search Light*) was run by the later secretary of the Zanzibar and Pemba People’s Party. Also, Asians, Arabs and Africans of the ZNP read *Adal Insaf*.

In a 1954 issue of *Alfalaq*, the Arab Association faulted the government for being more concerned for the workers than the employers. They felt that “The oppressors have exceeded the bounds/It is right we should wage Jihad/It is right that we should redeem ourselves.”

In an article from April 22, 1954 the paper lamented the manner in which the British support workers to the detriment of the “protectorate’s most important community”—the Arab agriculturalists:

Legal safeguard for the protectorate’s most important community are being entirely overlooked which in turn puts the inhabitants in the worst position. Those whom we refer are the agriculturalists who have time and again been subjected to discriminatory legislation apparently for the “yes man”. Many decrees have been passed in the Legislative Council (legco) concerning labour which give the workers an advantage of the absence of legal provisions to safeguard the employers interests. The most recent of such discriminatory legislation is one providing for compensation to workers injured in the cause of employment. Agriculture being the most contributory force in the development of our country it is surely a dissapointment to those engaged in that pursuit to find such lack of cooperation from the government which is more concerned with the workers interests than the development of the protectorate’s economy.

Both *Mwongozi* and *Alflaq* initially vocalized their support of the Sultan:

365 Ibid.
Loyalty to the country and throne as the symbol of the indivisibility of the state, must come first before everything, and that to preach communalism, as is being done by even those who have taken oath to serve his Highness the sultan as his councilors, is tantamount to undermining the natural loyalty that the people feel for their sovereign.\footnote{Quoted in Hamdani, “Zanzibar Newspapers,” 29.}

While still insisting on loyalty to the sultan, *Mwongozi* and *Alflaq* began to also argue that the overarching Zanzibar national identity was inherent in the ‘mixture of blood’ of the people.\footnote{Glassman, “Sorting out the Tribes,” 418.} *Mwongozi* sought to define as enemies of the nation anyone who was not loyal to the Sultan and dedicated to Islamic and Middle-Eastern culture. These were mainlanders with only a shallow experience of coastal civilization; as well as Christians; and those *Mwongozi* writers considered *washenzi* (savages/uncivilized people). Two of the *Mwongozi*’s slogans were ‘Politics is not ethnicity’ (*Siasa si kabila*) and ‘Politics is not drumming and dancing’ (*Siasa si ngoma*).\footnote{Glassman, “Sorting out the Tribes,” 406.} Civilization was distinctly Arab and Islam centered.

*Africa Kwetu*, as the mouthpiece of oppressed Africans, aired grievances against the Arab elite. This paper sought to convince Zanzibaris that their interests and identities were defined by descent. *Africa Kwetu* responded to the debates launched by Arab intellectuals of *Mwongozi*. In the September 25, 1952, issue the paper asserted:

Our interests have for long been represented by the alien races and the result is…the alien races have become the masters and the real natives of the island and we, the Africans in these islands, have become the alien races denied all justice and all the rights that a native should have.\footnote{Quoted in Hamdani, “Zanzibar Newspapers,” 34.}
To the ZNP’s advocacy of a multiracial government, *Africa Kwetu* responded by attacking those who did not define the nation on racial terms. On May 5, 1955, the paper reported:

> We wish to assure all the so called Zanzibaris….that anything short of an African state will never be accepted when self-government is achieved in this protectorate… we are also opposed to multiracial government in these islands.\(^{370}\)

*Afrika Kwetu* riled against those who considered themselves Shirazi. The paper claimed that, since the Shirazi did not have present day connections to Shiraz, it was futile to claim such tribal affiliation:

> [You] may boast of tribal characteristics that are not yours, but do you know anything about your tribal homeland? Do you receive letters or greetings from there? When your kin visit from there do they look you up, their brother? Do you know how to sing or to ask for a drink in the language of your homeland?\(^{371}\)

The African Association did not focus on actual tribal associations: all were equally African, but claiming Shirazi identity was to say that you were not African. From early in 1952, the African Association stressed that only Africans could claim to be indigenous to the islands. You can tell if a person is African, they reasoned, by observing his physical traits: “if the person’s skin is black or reddish brown, and if the hair is kinky. If you see a person with these traits, well then, he’s a pure African.”\(^{372}\) They sought to convince readers that the most significant identities were inborn, racial.

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\(^{370}\) Ibid.

\(^{371}\) Quoted in Glassman, “Sorting out the Tribes,” 413.

\(^{372}\) Ibid.
The Afro-Shirazi party had a number of congresses and emergency meetings during the late 1950s and early 1960s because of splits and differing opinions within the party. The ASP held its first congress in Pemba in 1958, immediately after the elections because “some of the leaders of the ASP showed signs of wanting to break away.”\textsuperscript{373} That same year, a special meeting was held to get rid of one leader who opposed a facet of the party line: a second special meeting was held to explain the split in the party. After this meeting, “a splinter group was actually formed by those who withdrew from the Party.”\textsuperscript{374} The third congress held in 1962 in Zanzibar was to strengthen and develop the party as now “some of the renegades had returned to the fold and had been restored to their former positions of leadership.”\textsuperscript{375}

There is a prevalent idea within local sources at this time that those who did not have national consciousness were slumbering and need to be “awakened.”\textsuperscript{376} In 1941, in the pages of \textit{Kwetu}, it was declared “[the] African is awakening from his long slumber.”\textsuperscript{377} Peter Mtambao, likewise, wrote to \textit{Kwetu} “the line of progress must be planned not by the tutors alone, but by cooperation of the tutors and the taught...Civilization started in Africa long before the other countries of the world were awake, but Africa’s progress was retarded by the awakening of other countries... Now she

\textsuperscript{373} ZNA BA 66/7, “The Fifth Congress of the Afro-Shirazi Party, Chake Chake, Pemba 1st to 7th December, 1972,” 25.
\textsuperscript{374} Ibid., 26.
\textsuperscript{375} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{376} It is inherent even within much of the theoretical literature on the subject; but this stems from the actors assumptions that nationalism is a somehow a natural, biological, racial, mode and so, of course, it is there at all times, waiting for the right conditions to be activated.
is awakening from her long siesta.” Nyerere expressed this same “slumbering”
sentiment. By 1947, the dominant argument was that “Africans should regain their former
glory” by awakening those who were slumbering, i.e. oblivious to Tanzania’s strength as
a nation and that this strength and recognition would fuel their opposition to the colonial
presence.379

Concluding Thoughts

This chapter discussed pivotal moments in the emergence of nationalist sentiment.
This is not the same, however, as the spread of a novel form of consciousness. Small or
isolated pockets of people may espouse nationalist views and orient their life by them
without any lasting impact. In Germany, for instance, nationalist ideas gestated for a long
time before taking root between 1820s and 1840s. In order for nationalism to take root, it
must exist within a group that can help it spread. In the next chapter, I examine the post-
independence period to ascertain whether nationalism took root in Tanzania and, if it did,
what its shape was.

378 Iliffe, Modern History of Tanganyika, 379.
379 Chachage 1947.
CHAPTER SEVEN: A NATION TAKES SHAPE: 1964-1975

The preceding chapter showed first expressions of nationalism in what was to become Tanzania; a certain body of people were now moved and inspired by nationalism, which, for them, replaced other worldviews. This chapter examines how prevalent nationalism was. Did a consistent national identity permeate the citizenry? While a sovereign geo-political entity was created and gained international recognition, it would be premature to call this entity a nation (though, of course, it was so called officially). What united it, what drove it, still had to be worked out and agreed upon. One can analyze competing visions through an examination of political speeches and newspapers in addition to literature from the period.

In March, 1961 a constitutional conference was held in Dar es Salaam; in May of that same year, Tanganyika achieved full self-government. As a concession to the Colonial Secretary, Ian Macleod, the country was, at first, part of the British Commonwealth, with a governor-general representing the queen. In December of 1961, Nyerere became the first prime minister of the country. On Dec 9, 1961 Tanganyika became independent. Nyerere had previously proclaimed in the Legislative Council that “We the people of Tanganyika would like to light a candle and put it on top of Mount Kilimanjaro, which would shine beyond our borders giving hope where there was despair, love where there was hate and dignity where there was only humiliation.”380 On the night of independence, a team of climbers did just that. Six weeks later, Nyerere

380 Agency for Public Information, Julius K. Nyerere, 5.
renounced his position as prime minister, selecting Rashidi Kawawa to act in his stead. Arguing that he wanted to rebuild the party with the people, Nyerere returned to Butiama to work out an ideology for TANU. From many accounts it appears that Nyerere already had his ideology formulated, but he began to formulate a comprehensive articulation to impress it upon the masses of Tanganyika. Despite the confusion that resulted from Nyerere's sudden resignation, he never regretted his action. Several years after he had returned as President of the Republic, when asked whether he saw this instance as a mistake, Nyerere said

No question about it. If I made any mistake, it was that I came back. I was convinced my function was to lead the masses. If I regret anything, it is that it would be difficult now to go back to the masses. It changed the tone of the country. I will not say we are therefore different from other East African countries, but I think we are different from what we might otherwise have become. If this country has anything, it has a sense of purpose. I think my action in 1962 helped give it that sense of purpose. I think it’s the best thing I’ve done for this country.

Exactly a year to the date after Tanganyika celebrated independence, the country became a republic, with Nyerere inaugurated as its first President. The Zanzibar Revolution on January 12, 1964 resulted in the overthrow of the Sultan’s government. It occurred only a few months after the vote in favor of the competing ZNP/ZNPP alliance was decided. John Okello, an Ugandan, led a force of mainland Africans and Afro-Shirazi Party youths. Many land and property owners mainly of Arab descent were killed or fled the island. Although the leaders who assumed power after the revolution

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382 Smith, *We Must Run*, 106.
383 ASP, *History of Zanzibar*.
downplayed the number of people killed, there are estimates that the death toll was at least 10,000 people out of the entire Zanzibari population of 300,000. Those who had supported the ZNP/ZPPP were alienated; many supporters in Pemba were publicly humiliated—men had their beards and heads shaved and subjected to public floggings.

Zanzibar united with Tanganyika several months later, in April of 1964. Explanations as to why these states united differ depending upon the respondent. Zanzibar was faced with several problems, such as obtaining international recognition to establish legitimacy and also experiencing a shortage of capable manpower in bureaucratic posts. The strong links between the ASP and the ruling political party in Tanganyika, TANU, may have been one factor. Pressure from the US, which was concerned with suspected communist influences, may also have played a large part in the union. Whatever role the US had, however, and whatever factors were actually critical in determining this decision, was replaced largely by the pan-Africanist visions of the founding fathers, none of whom had hitherto talked of such a union.

By independence, it was without a doubt a nationalist vision that drove the leaders Nyerere and Karume. What the vision entailed, however, was not as clearcut. Nyerere and Karume professed to share the same idea of Tanzania as a nation, but key differences

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384 ZNA AK 17/72, Revolution. Press Communique no 48/664, 12 March 1964, Information Office, People’s Republic of Zanzibar. After the Zanzibar revolution, there were 347 casualties, 17 deaths, and 30 hospitalizations reported by the Director of Medical Services.

385 Cameron, “Political Violence,” 105.

386 Campbell in “Multiracialism and Politics in Zanzibar” refers to how Peiping Radio broadcast to Africa roughly 70 hours a week; Communist Chinese literature was openly sold in Zanzibar; and the Chinese government even gave scholarships to party members and offered free trips to party members.
existed. Their policies and pronouncements show deep divisions in understanding. The goal of independence was to make Africans sovereign in politics, economic activity, and culture, thus conferring dignity and self-respect. The core philosophy was encapsulated in the policies of socialism and self-reliance. The amount of variation in interpretation of this core philosophy, its goals and values, however, was great. Contrasting Nyerere with Karume and Tanzania mainland with Zanzibar is useful for the examination of these differences.

**Julius Nyerere**

Julius Nyerere is described as the Tanzanian nationalist. Those who disagree with this assessment do not question that Nyerere was a nationalist, but insist that he was foremost an African nationalist. This one man, often imbued with superhuman qualities, appears to represent all of Tanzania and its values. The literature published on Nyerere between 1972 and 2005 overwhelmingly contends that Nyerere is both a superior human being and the quintessential common man.387 "Mwalimu," (teacher) the title by which Nyerere insisted to be called, is the only one used besides occasional references to the "Father of the Nation" (Baba wa Taifa). Numerous other titles showing respect were

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387 The primary works included in this discussion are: Godfrey Mwakikagile’s *Nyerere and Africa: End of an Era: Biography of Julius K. Nyerere (1922-1999)*, William Smith’s *We Must Run While They Walk: A Portrait of Africa’s Julius Nyerere*, A. B. Assensoh’s *African Political Leadership: Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah, and Julius K. Nyerere*, Juma Aley’s *Twenty One Years of Leadership Contrasts and Similarities*, and John Charles Hatch’s *Two African Statesmen: Kaunda of Zambia and Nyerere of Tanzania*. A number of other articles and books will also be referenced, including *Tanzania: The Story of Julius Nyerere Through the Pages of DRUM* edited by Annie Smyth and Adam Seftel, Julius K. Nyerere, *President of the United Republic of Tanzania* by the Agency for Public Information, Colin Legum and Geoffrey Mmari's (eds) *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*, and Dickson Mungazi's *We Shall Not Fail: Values in the National Leadership of Seretse Khama, Nelson Mandela, and Julius Nyerere*. 


prevalent in the language—His Excellency, the Exalted, for example—but Nyerere actively discouraged their use in connection to himself as they distanced him from the common man. Nyerere was “known for his extraordinary brilliance and as an original thinker throughout his life and came to be acknowledged as a philosopher-king.”

While a few scholars situate Nyerere among a team of colleagues, most represent Nyerere as a lone agent. Nyerere's philosophy does owe something to the impact of his colleagues, but the overwhelming force of his personality should not be understated. His legacy is held to be far reaching. Ishumi and Maliyamkono state, it is "a legacy not readable in print, but shown on the faces, in the actions, and in the open infatuation of a wide cross-section of Tanzanians."

There was only one opponent in Tanganyika’s first presidential election, Zuberi Mtemvu of the African National Congress who garnered 0.8% of the vote. With the backing of TANU, Nyerere easily emerged victorious. His words and ideas were so potent that even those who disagreed, did not contest him: Mwakikagile states, "few people – anywhere across the country – wanted to be seen as uncaring, betraying the masses." In fact, many of the educated elite practiced self-censorship in order to identify themselves with the majority, the poor peasants and workers who constituted the backbone of the economy. As Mwakikagile explains, "They were the nation."

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392 Ibid.
Nyerere began articulating his socio-political vision around 1960. At first, it was clearly pan-African:

> Whenever we try to talk in terms of larger units on the African continent, we are told that it can’t be done; we are told that the units we would create would be ‘artificial.’ As if they could be any more artificial than the ‘national’ units on which we are now building!... Many of them are deliberately emphasizing the difficulties on our continent for the express purpose of maintaining them and sabotaging any move to unite Africa.\(^{393}\)

In the Arusha Declaration of 1967, however, he articulated the image of the Tanzanian nation. The declaration served as a policy roadmap. Nyerere's definition of citizenship was independent from race. It was based solely upon loyalty to country. The extent to which this idea differed from the dominant one is evident in the extreme measures Nyerere took to ensure his conception won. Since the average Tanganyikan was generally hostile towards Asians and other racial minorities, Nyerere threatened that he and his government would resign immediately if the law was not passed barring racial discrimination. As Mwakikagile writes, “to Nyerere, Africanization included Tanganyikans of all races who, as citizens of an African country, were also Africans by definition. It is a position he maintained throughout his tenure as president of Tanganyika and, later on, of Tanzania.”\(^{394}\)

Nyerere’s ideal vision refracted the liberal civic English national model. As opposed to individualistic, self-serving capitalism, Nyerere described a unique kind of socialism that, for him, was the most perfect realization of the core values of nationalism:

> “The people’s will must be sovereign; but it will only lead them to the equalities and

\(^{393}\) Quoted in Mwakikagile, *Nyerere and Africa*, 108.

\(^{394}\) Ibid., 101.
dignities of socialism if they exert that sovereignty with an understanding of socialism.”395 His most important speeches were printed, individually and in collections to increase the access to his ideas. A number of passages in the introduction to one such collection, *Uhuru na Ujamaa/Freedom and Socialism* clearly demonstrate that Nyerere equated socialism and nationalism: it is a state of mind, fundamentally secular in orientation, in which people are seen as free and equal sovereign members of a society, imbued with dignity. All men, while not created equal in natural endowments, are and should be treated as equal:

The word ‘man’ to a socialist, means all men—all human beings. Male and female, black, white, brown, yellow; long-nosed and short-nosed; educated and uneducated; wise and stupid; strong and weak; all these, and all other distinctions between human beings, are irrelevant to the fact that all members of the society—all the human beings who are its purpose—are equal.396

Since all men are seen as equal, they also possess equal human dignity: “A socialist society would seek to uphold human dignity everywhere.”397 Such a society is also necessarily democratic as the people are sovereign:

Democracy is another essential characteristic of a socialist society. For the people’s equality must be reflected in the political organization; everyone must be an equal participant in the government of his society. Whatever devices are used to implement this principle, the people (meaning all the members of the society equally) must be sovereign, and they must be able to exert their sovereignty without causing a break-down of the law and order, or of the administration of their society.398

397 Ibid., 5.
Nyerere’s nationalism has a fundamentally secular orientation: “Socialism is concerned with man’s life in this society. A man’s relationship with his God is a personal matter for him and him alone; his beliefs about the hereafter are his own affair.”\(^{399}\) After explaining each one of these basic principles in turn, Nyerere succinctly summarizes what nationalism is:

What does all this amount to? It is an expression of belief that man can only live in harmony with man, and can only develop to his full potential as a unique individual, in a society the purpose of which is Man, which is based on the principles of human equality, and which is so organized as to emphasize both man’s equality and his control over all the instruments of his life and development. It is a statement that because men are different, and because different communities and societies have had different histories, live in different geographical conditions, and have developed different customs and systems of belief, therefore the road to socialism and the institutions through which socialism is ultimately expressed will be different. It is a statement insisting that the progress of one man or group of men does not make it unnecessary for other men and other groups to think for themselves. It is an assertion that there are no natural laws of human development which we have only to discover and apply in order to reach the Nirvana of a perfect socialist society; on the contrary, that it is by deliberate design that men will build socialist societies, and by deliberate design that they will maintain socialist principles in a form which seems to them to be good. It is an assertion of man’s unity and also his diversity; the validity of certain basic principles for social living, and the variety of their expression. It is a statement that one will not recognize or define a socialist society by its institutions or its statements, but by its fundamental characteristics of equality, co-operation, and freedom.\(^{400}\)

**Abeid Amani Karume**

Karume lacked the education and eloquence of Nyerere. In his speeches and policies, he betrayed an approach that was more hostile, anti-western, and anti-capitalist Nyerere’s. Karume’s speeches were full of contradictions; he changed his message.

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\(^{399}\) Nyerere, “Ujamaa,” *Ujamaa*, 12.

depending on his audience in ways that Nyerere would not. Karume emphasized Western evils: capitalism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, connecting slavery to them and opposing them to the post-colonial Africa of equality and human dignity.

Many of Karume’s sentiments were echoed within party affiliate groups, such as the Young Pioneers. Like Nyerere, the group’s spokesmen praised socialism and self-reliance in their welcoming address to the AfroShirazi party congress on December 1, 1972. But, like Karume, they spent an equal amount of time condemning “capitalism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, which suppress workers and farmers.”

Nyerere did not see capitalism as inherently evil; he merely thought that capitalism was not right for Tanzania. In Zanzibar, strong emphasis was often laid on stressing that Africans before “had been enslaved, oppressed, despised, insulted and humiliated” by the European colonial powers and now the party “has fulfilled its obligation to restore the African his dignity and self-respect in his own country.”

The Young Pioneers and Students’ Welcoming Address to the AfroShirazi party Congress on December 1, 1972 stated:

“Where there were masters and slaves, we have equality and human dignity, in place of oppression and contempt there have been established justice and respect; where there used to be oppression and insult, now reign courtesy and understanding.”

Karume’s speech on the 6th anniversary of the Zanzibar Revolution was typical. He rallied against “big powers” who “deliberately create misunderstanding among us.”

“They do this to impede our progress and create hatred among us,” he argued. “We are a

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402 Ibid., 27.
403 Ibid.
united people. Big powers should stop this mischief. He stressed the need for economical freedom but insisted, “We cannot follow capitalistic ways of spending,”:

> It is wrong for us to accumulate wealth, in order to be rich, out of self interest only. We are expected to be self-reliant. What does this mean? It means that we should not attempt to gain wealth all of a sudden by following the footsteps of cunning merchants. We are required to take an oath that we shall not exploit our fellow men. In this connection we must think of our ancestors, and remember our goal when we were fighting for freedom. We never thought of becoming rich blood-sucking merchants. We had freedom to fight for; and to build our nation and improve, in general, our standard of living.  

In distinction to traditional thinking, Karume considered young people, rather than wise elders, to be the natural leaders of the new society:

> It is the youths who build the nation not the aged. Every time our young people stay aloof and entertain wrong thoughts they will cause us disappointments. I am an elderly man. I do not know whether I shall die next week, and leave behind this world and its problems, but if the nation is sound, even if I die there will be nothing to worry about. I would urge our youths to have patience. We may find faults with you and blame you. It is not possible that you will never err. If God is sometimes blamed it should not be surprising that human being are. Every nation has its own problems. What is important is patience. We must bear and sympathize with one another, and realize that we are one.  

Karume considered Tanzania a multiracial nation. Upholding the values and ideals of the nation was paramount:

> Let me now deal with the tricky question of race and nationality. Tanzania is a multi-racial nation comprising Africans, Arabs and Indians, who all enjoy the same rights; for one of the aims of the Zanzibar Revolution was the abolition of racial discrimination. The fact that the new houses under construction are for the benefit not only of Africans but of people of all

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405 Ibid., 8.  
406 Ibid.
races provides sufficient proof that Tanzania does not brook racial
discrimination. It must be made quite clear, however, that Tanzania will
not bestow favours on members of any alien nationality or nationals of any
former colonial power living in this country. We will pay proper respect
and give fair treatment to a person of French, British, American, Russian,
Japanese or any other nationality, since we are on friendly terms with
these nations. However, if, say, the United States was a former colonial
power in this country and left behind a number of her nationals here, we
would not accord them privileges at the expense of Tanzanians. 407

Aliens, those not of Tanzanian origin, were to be a welcomed part of the new society only
if they renounced their previous citizenship and fully joined the nation. Double
citizenship was not an option:

If an alien wants to enjoy the privileges of a citizen of Tanzania, he must
renounce his alien nationality and become a naturalised Tanzanian. There
are many Indians who were born here before India became independent;
they still hold British passports, although both Indian and Tanzania have
become independent since then. Such Indians who enjoy the privileges of
British nationals should not expect to enjoy at the same time the privileges
of Tanzania. If they value British nationality, then we must point out to
them that its value is in the United Kingdom. Our principle is clear: no one
should enjoy the rights of a Tanzanian without at the same time fully
accepting the duties of a Tanzanian. ..But foreign nationals who were born
in this country had better make up their minds by 1st March of this year
whether or not they truly want to become citizens of Tanzania. If they
don’t, they must pack up and go. If they do, I should like to say once again
that citizenship of Tanzania entails both rights and obligations. 408

The definition of what it meant to be a “true Tanzanian” was often cast in
opposition to what did not. In relation to those those who were leaving the country or

407 ZNA BA 68/15, Abeid Amani Karume, “Address of his Excellency the First Vice-
President of Tanzania, 12th January, 1959.”
408 ZNA BA 68/15, Abeid Amani Karume, Address of his Excellency the First Vice-
expecting payment for work done for the collective good, Karume stated, “Such persons are not true Tanzanians.”

Presenting and Reinterpreting History

In Zanzibar and on Tanzania mainland, both governments busied themselves with creating propaganda to spread the vision of the nation and construct its history. On the mainland, TANU and government divisions such as the Education Department and the Information Bureau, published pamphlets, booklets, and presidential speeches. In Zanzibar, the Afro-Shirazi party articulated and disseminated a new history which rationalized and justified the party’s existence and platform.

The Information Bureau (Idara ya Habari) printed numerous booklets and pamphlets reinforcing and promoting core new doctrines. Booklets like *Muja wa Afrika* combined pictures and quotations from speeches. On February 21, 1968, Nyerere went to the Ivory Coast with IM Bhole Munanka, Bwana CY Mgonja, and other government officers from TANU and Afro-Shirazi Party. This booklet reprinted his speech, which included the line: “Even though there are many nations in Africa, Africa is one.”

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411 Ibid., In Swahili: “ingawa kuna mataifa mengi katika Afrika, lakini Afrika ni moja.”
also stressed that one African country had no right to rule over another; they should respect their differences.\footnote{ZNA BA 70/20, \textit{Umoja wa Afrika}, 7, in Swahili: “jambo la kwanza ni kwamba kila watu, na kila taifa, liwe na haki ya kujichagulia mpingo yake ya uchumi na ya siasa, katika mambo yanayowahusu wao wenyewe.”}

The Afro-Shirazi Party rewrote history in an \textit{Animal Farm} manner denying certain leaders, such as Okello, any role in the revolution. \textit{Maendeleo ya Mapinduzi ya Afro Shirazi Party}, published in 1974 in both Swahili and English, recounts the history of the party from 1964 to 1974. In the introduction, a tone is set that conveys the message and historical sheen the ASP wish to give to events that happened:

As a result of many years of hardship and oppression that the people of Zanzibar, of whom the majority were Africans suffered in the hands of foreigners from different parts of Asia and Europe and particularly those from Oman who ruled these islands arrogantly and by force, assisted by the British Government which tried to perpetuate the rule of the Sultan, the Africans of these islands banded together in the year 1957 to form the Afro-Shirazi Party in the realization that it was their duty to liberate these islands and restore dignity and self-respect to the African in his own country. The Africans of these islands found it impossible to tolerate their lot any longer and accordingly they decided to overthrow the Government whose reins the British had left in the hands of the Sultan.\footnote{ZNA BA 76/4, \textit{Maendeleo ya Mapinduzi ya Afro Shirazi Party, 1964-1974}.}

In their \textit{A Short History of Zanzibar}, published in 1974, ASP contends that it was others who made differences between African tribes appear greater than they were, while “[T]he plain and indisputable truth is that Africans are people of the same origin and this can be clearly seen in our dignity, humanity, generosity, and patience, which are some of the remains of our ancient culture.”\footnote{Ibid., 6.} The same line of thought was evident in descriptions of Africans as living a “humanitarian and socialist way of life,” to which they now
wished to return since power has been restored to the rightful people.\textsuperscript{415} The members of the so-called “committee of 14 (revolutionaries)” were glorified as being rural stock, although actually many were urban dwellers, “embittered by the oppressive class system of the Sultanate.”\textsuperscript{416} Their reason for the revolution was the insufferable exploitation by foreigners:

Exploitation of workers of Zanzibar and peasants was one of the major causes of the revolution of January, 1964. In the list of businessmen mentioned there was not a single name of an African. In short the exploitation was carried out by foreigners against the indigenous people. It will be seen that it was after the Afro-Shirazi Party had taken control of the government in 1964 that exploitation was ended and in its place instituted a program under the control and for the benefit of the indigenous people. The First President of the Afro-Shirazi Party Mzee A.A. Karume put great emphasis on the question of the country’s economy saying, “there is no true freedom without economic independence,” The Afro-Shirazi Party was committed to elimination of illiteracy [sic], poverty, disease, oppression, exploitation and capitalism to developing the economy and raising the living condition of the people.\textsuperscript{417}

The Sultanate was blamed for all ills. “It was characteristic of the Sultan’s Government, with its capitalist, feudalist bias to gear the national economy to its own selfish ends,” to be running at a deficit.\textsuperscript{418} Land scarcity, conflicts between workers, all were the responsibility of these oppressors:

Another factor leading to the January Revolution was the land problem which the Sultans and the aristocrats deliberately created to oppress the workers and peasants. The people faced a host of problems: their livelihood, security and the scarcity of land topping the list. The Sultans, the aristocrats and later the capitalists controlled most of the land. The people led oppressed lives, always depending on menial jobs in the houses and plantations of feudal lords for subsistence. Whatever the work and

\textsuperscript{415} Ibid., 9.
\textsuperscript{416} Cameron, “Political Violence,” 106.
\textsuperscript{417} ZNA BA 76/4, Maendeleo ya Mapinduzi ya Afro Shirazi Party, 1964-1974, 65.
\textsuperscript{418} Ibid., 4.
whatever the conditions all the profit resulting from the labour and oppression of the underdog went into the hands of the rulers and their relatives.  

The ASP’s terminology and the manner in which the former society is characterized betrays their Marxist influence. In line with historical materialism, the oppressed and downtrodden chose to rise:

In short the people were already tired of the oppression they had to contend with in practically all important aspects of their lives. Education, employment, medical care, housing facilities, food, rights, all lent themselves to discrimination practised against the people by those who fled from hardships in their own lands and arrogantly assumed sovereign power in this country.

By the ASP’s account, ultimately, the downtrodden rose up on the morning of January 12th, “when they assumed the reins of government with the destiny of the entire nation in their hands.”

While the revolution was a significant moment, according to *Maendeleo ya Mapinduzi ya Afro Shirazi Party*, March 11, 1964 marked the “dismal end” of the “age of the feudal lord.” ZNP and ZPPP leaders were arrested, a justifiable action because:

The Zanzibar and Pemba People’s Party was formed expressly to undermine the Afro-Shirazi Party. This was meant to divide and rule members of the Afro-Shirazi Party. The leaders of the ZPPP were knowingly or unknowingly turned into stooges in the same way as African elders were made stooges in the past. The ZPPP dedicated itself to the service of the monarchy and the minority group that ruled the country, in flagrant violation of all that Africa stands for. The whole world is

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419 Ibid.
420 Ibid., 7.
421 Ibid., 8.
422 Ibid., 6.
struggling against minority regimes wherever such governments impose their will upon the majority.\textsuperscript{423}

The nature of social stratification was altered after the revolution. There were efforts to Africanize institutions and cultural practices, and names that were of Arabic origin or derivation were Africanized.\textsuperscript{424} The policies that disqualified Arab culture and lauded everything African were not favored by many of the Zanzibari elite.\textsuperscript{425} Many, including the mostly Arab and European intellectuals who were not terrorized into leaving, left on their own accord as a result of their dissatisfaction with the political and economic situation in which they now found themselves.\textsuperscript{426} According to the ASP’s history:

> The sultan, his stooges and their families fled the country in panic to be followed later by British citizens, capitalists and feudalists, who saw now that their days of exploitation and oppression were over. At present they as exiles in different countries abroad are desperately trying to bring back to Zanzibar the old minority regime so that they could continue to exploit the country. What they fail to recognize is that their days are now over.\textsuperscript{427}

**What Happened to the Pre-Independence Competing Nationalist Visions?**

From the outset, in both Tanganyika and Zanzibar, all momentum was towards creating collectivistic conceptions of the body politic. As in many other cases, this led to the emergence of an authoritarian regime critical and suspicious of differing opinions. Like most authoritarian regimes, dissent from the reigning opinion often was not tolerated. The pre-independence tensions continued after independence; during the 1960s

\textsuperscript{423} Ibid., 8.
\textsuperscript{424} Prins, *Swahili-Speaking Peoples*, ix.
\textsuperscript{425} Larsen, “Change, Continuity, and Contestation,” 127.
\textsuperscript{426} Saleh, “Conflicting Swahili Norms,” 153; Glassman, “Sorting out the Tribes,” 399.
and 1970s, dissenters were squelched and removed from the discourse. After independence, shoring up the majority opinion entailed ostracizing, imprisoning, and discounting those whose opinions were marginal. Persons once held in great respect were imprisoned or sought political exile, such as Kambona, Abdulrahman Mohamed Babu, and Bibi Titi Mohammed. Karume thought that it was important to:

- be on our guard against collaborators and filth-columnists [sic] in our own midst, without whose aid the intrigues of foreign powers cannot expect to succeed. Let us then watch out for people who grumble and complain or who desert the country, as they are mostly likely to be traitors; and let us deal with them ruthlessly. It is such people (rather than foreign powers by themselves) who can ruin a country.428

While Nyerere did not explicitly call out dissenters, he took action against those who refused to follow the new regulations. For instance, Bibi Titi Mohammed was imprisoned in part because she refused to follow an order for all government personnel to give up personal property beyond certain limits.

Tanzania mainland became a single party state in January of 1963. In 1964, the same happened to Zanzibar.429 Exercising powers conferred to him by Legislative Power Law of 1964, Karume decreed the Afro-Shirazi Party “to be the sole political party in Zanzibar.” “It will represent the interests of all the peoples in Zanzibar.” He declared, “The constitution and rules of the party and any amendments that might be made thereto from time to time shall be published in the gazette.” A person found managing or

428 ZNA BA 68/15, “Address of his Excellency the First Vice-President of Tanzania, 12th January, 1959.”
429 ZNA AK 1/110, “A decree to establish the Afro Shirazi Party as the Sole Political Party in Zanzibar.”
assisting in the management of an unlawful party would be guilty of felony. Within one month, it was resolved, the following groups and organizations would be dissolved:

1. Federation of Revolutionary Trade Unions
2. Zanzibar and Pemba Central, Municipal and Local Government Workers Union.
3. Commercial Transport and Allied Workers Union
4. The Restaurant, Household and Allied workers Union.
5. The Seafarers, Port and allied Workers Union.  

Union movements, once seen as a useful and necessary part of building a nation became possible sponsors of dissent; those not officially sanctioned by the government were shut down.

**Western Domination and Neo-Colonialism**

The West was a perceived threat. Rejecting, preventing, and fighting western domination of Tanzania (and of Africa as a whole) was the major rallying cry. The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting published pieces directly on this theme, such as the 1978 item “Tanzania Rejects Western Domination of Africa.” Printed in French and English, it drew from a speech Nyerere gave that year in West Africa to foreign envoys. Including:

> Let me make it quite clear. Tanzania does not want anyone from outside Africa to govern Africa. We regret, even while we recognize, the occasional necessity for an African government to ask for military assistance from a non-African country when it is faced with an external threat to its national integrity. We know that a response to such a request by any of the Big Powers is determined by what that Big Power sees as its own interests. We have been forced to recognize that most of the countries acknowledged as World Powers do not find it beneath their dignity to

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430 Ibid.
exacerbate existing and genuine African problems and conflicts when they believe they can benefit by doing so. We in Tanzania believe that African countries, separately and through the OAU, need to guard against such actions. But we need to guard Africa against being used by any other nation or group of nations. The danger to Africa does not come just from nations in the Eastern Block. The West still considers Africa to be within its Sphere of Influence and acts accordingly. Current developments show that the greater immediate danger to Africa’s freedom comes from nations in that Western Block.\(^{432}\)

Upholding the dignity of the Tanzanian nation was at the heart of this talk. The struggles were over liberty, rights, freedom, and expectations of how to comport themselves in the world:

Tanzania is not the only nationalist country in Africa. There are nationalists everywhere. Sooner or later, and for as long as necessary, Africa will fight against neo-colonialism as it has fought against colonialism. And eventually it will win. Western Block countries which try to resist the struggle against neo-colonialism need to recognize that it will not only be African countries which will suffer in the process.\(^{433}\)

Nyerere framed this as a struggle against basic “facts of power in the world.” They were fighting a “new insult to Africa and to Africans.” Acknowledging his country’s weakness, he appealed to its basic humanity and enduring inner strength and resolve to be treated with respect: “We may be weak, but we are human; we do know when we are being deliberately provoked and insulted.”\(^{434}\)

By the 1970s, hostility to the West was presented as the fight against neocolonialism. Nyerere opposed foreign involvement on the basis of a right for self-determination:

But we must reject the principle that external powers have the right to

\(^{432}\) Ibid., 6.  
\(^{433}\) Ibid., 10.  
\(^{434}\) Ibid., 8.
maintain in power African Governments which are universally recognized to be corrupt, or incompetent, or a bunch of murderers, when their peoples try to make a change. Africa cannot have its present Governments frozen into position for all time by neo-colonialism, or because there are Cold War or ideological conflicts between Big Powers. The peoples of an individual African country have as much right to change their corrupt government in the last half of the twentieth century as, in the past, the British, French, and Russian peoples had to overthrow their own rotten regimes. The people of China waged a long, historic, and exemplary, struggle against the lackeys and running dogs of imperialism in so-called independent China. Are African peoples to be denied that same right?435

There was a marked fear among the independent governments that without care, they would become “the instruments through which foreign domination is maintained in a new form.” The task Nyerere saw set forth before them was to ensure that the independent governments of Africa “must be the instruments through which the peoples of Africa develop themselves and their countries, and enlarge their freedom until it means a life of dignity for every individual Africa.” While the struggle ahead of them was great, he believed his country and his people were up to the challenge:

We have a long way to go—all of us, in every African nation. But Tanzania will resist every attempt to circumscribe our development and to prevent it moving in that direction. It will resist any attempt to reassert and strengthen the domination of Africa under cover of a pretence to defend Africa.436

435 Ibid., 14.
436 Ibid., 16.
CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

Nyerere, the first president of Tanzania and the country’s most influential nationalist, left an indelible imprint on Tanzania and created a collectivistic civic nation. His African socialist vision for the country, encapsulated in *ujamaa* (“socialism,” *literally “familyhood”*), became a core aspect of Tanzanian identity and differentiated Tanzania from other African nations. He wanted Tanzania to be the truest embodiment of national ideals: the belief that all people are free, equal in human dignity, with the right to sovereignty. It was to be a society without oppression, discrimination, or exploitation; not divided into races, ethnicities, masters and slaves, or even classes. Throughout his presidency, Nyerere felt that Tanzania was engaged in an urgent battle to modernize. Modernization, however, was not achieved during his presidency or even afterwards. Despite advances in education, health services, and other sectors, Tanzania continues to be one of the poorest countries in the world, most dependent on foreign aid. While Nyerere failed to accelerate Tanzania’s development, he succeeded in creating a nation. Today, among those with formal schooling, nationalist principles are taken for granted. Nationalism informs their basic understanding of the world. The youth are rallying for rights and concepts which did not exist in Africa 100 years ago and existed only among a small minority even fifty years ago.

At independence, political leaders led an urgent effort to “catch up” and “catch up quickly” with what can be broadly characterized as “Western models.” Comparisons were first drawn between the colonial countries and Tanzania. The focus then shifted to
the United States or to communist or socialist countries as the models, such as Russia, Cuba, or China. “Development” was the buzzword from the 1960s onward, and is still cited as the ultimate goal. This race cannot solely be explained solely by the fact that Tanzania was “backward” by many measures—literacy rates, poverty, average life expectancy, number and type of industries and economic output. Rather, this is a race for global status. It was not enough to advance for the sake of Tanzanians; the leaders wanted Tanzania to be measured favorably against other nations. Goals such as clean water for all, are noble, but the dominant powers wanted recognition of these goals on an international scale. Tanzania has something to prove to the world.

The process of national identity formation within Tanzania was the same process the formation of national identity takes elsewhere. It emerged within the same matrix of historically contingent structural, cultural and psychological factors. Greenfeld’s theory of nationalism stresses that acute status inconsistency underlies the rise of national consciousness in other societies. Nationalism spreads as some groups, exposed to this cluster of ideas, also undergo a crisis of identity which makes them amenable to adopting nationalism. Globally, this is the reason new societies choose to modify nationalism for themselves. Nationalism provides a new source of meaning. Adopting a novel worldview appeals to those who find themselves in an anomic situation.

Nationalism in Africa is very interesting. There is still much to be understood about cultural dynamics within the continent. Within the past several years there has been a coup in Mali, struggles in Libya, new unrest in Egypt, and numerous continuing conflicts. These African examples make it clear that we have very little understanding of
what brings about and ensures a lasting peace within a country and what can lead to violence and social upheaval. A greater understanding of the past helps to make sense of more recent events on a grander scale. It is clear today that nationalism did usher in a new world of experience in Africa. Many in Africa now see themselves as equal members of sovereign societies and believe that the people are the ultimate source of political legitimacy. This vision has become the foundation of their individual and collective identity within their society. Nationalism organizes the global political sphere of our day. Yet nationalism is neither an inevitable world order nor necessarily a lasting one.

My argument regarding Tanzania may apply to Africa more generally. The processes I described appear true of social and political developments across the continent. The methodology and explanatory paradigm proposed here can be used to analyze these data to determine if this is the case. I used the comparative historical sociological framework to examine the national image created by several integral African intellectuals. I reflected both on the significance they placed on their narratives and how it shaped the wider social world and the identities of those they influenced. The prominent African nationalist figures expressed an understanding of nationalism that corresponds to Greenfeld’s characterization. They were acutely aware that creating a sense of shared national identity often began after independence: the newly minted independent states were not automatically independent nations; their emergence and development was historical contingent and consciously motivated. Many of the first independence leaders, therefore, were nationalists without nations. These leaders were

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often political theorists, poets, and writers, debating what their nation should look like. Their visions were many and differed widely.\textsuperscript{438} We associate them with the names of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Obafemi Awolowo and Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, Thomas Mboya of Kenya, Leopold Senghor of Senegal, and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania.

These intellectuals readily and easily adopted the ideas and rhetoric they found available and ignored implicit contradictions within them. They drew from anti-Nazism, antiracism, Negritude, Pan-Africanism, and Marxism. When examined through the mentalist lens, it becomes evident that the various “-isms” which seem contradictory in their core principles—Pan-African and Marxist, anti-racist and insisting on Negritude at the same time—are all alternative expressions of nationalism.\textsuperscript{439} The first converts to a nationalist form of consciousness in Africa, they had yet to settle what nation they belonged to and what form it was to take.

There are parallels between African responses to “Western civilization”—defined as nationalism—and how nationalism was confronted and encountered in all countries since it spread beyond England’s shores. The variations in national identity result from reconciling nationalism with indigenous traditions and conflicting identities. Each one is a different way to tie the past to the future, and makes sense in relation to the role \textit{ressentiment} plays in shaping national consciousness. Comparative historical sociological methodology helps us address questions of when these traditions, identities, and

\textsuperscript{438} Odhiambo and Lonsdale, \textit{Mau Mau and Nationhood}, 5.
\textsuperscript{439} Cf: Isaacman and Isaacman, \textit{Mozambique}, 73. Nkrumah, who led independent Ghana in 1957, for instance, mixed and used symbols and slogans of both Pan-Africanism and a more narrowly defined Ghanaian nationalism.
psychological forces met in particular contexts and how specifically nationalism has transformed African societies.
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DN 1/2: Hotuba Karume 1965
DN 1/3: Hotuba Karume 1966
DN 1/4: Hotuba Karume 1967
DN 1/7: 1970
DN 1/8: Hotuba 1971
DN 1/9: Hotuba 1972
DN 1/10: Halmashauri ya Ukusanyaji wa Hotuba za Mzee
DN 1/11: Ripoti mbalimbali zinazohusu hutuba za mzee
DN 1/12: Siasa

EB 10/1: Information Office Newsletter “Kweupe”
EB 10/2: Newspapers and Press Release
EB 10/5: Reports on Public Demands made through the press
EB 10/11: Extracts from Local Press

EF 1/1: Confidential Circulars and their replies
EF 1/2: Civil Secretary Circular Letters-1963
EF 1/5: Office of the Vice President. Circular Letters, 1964

**UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS, THESES, AND PAPERS:**


**PUBLISHED SOURCES, BOOKS AND ARTICLES:**


Hore, Annie B. *To Lake Tanganyika in a Bath Chair.* London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1886.


CURRICULUM VITAE

KATRINA DEMULLING
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EDUCATION
2015  Ph.D., Anthropology, Political History, and Cultural Sociology; Graduate Certificate in African Studies
Boston University, University Professors Program, Boston, MA

Dissertation: “We Are One: The Emergence and Development of National Consciousness in Tanzania”
Advisor: Liah Greenfeld, University Professor; and Professor of Anthropology, Political Science, and Sociology

2005  B.A., magna cum laude, American Intellectual History and Sociology
Boston University, University Professors Program, Boston, MA

Advisor: Liah Greenfeld, University Professor; and Professor of Political Science and Sociology

GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS
• University Professor's Program (UNI) Fellowship (2010-2011)
• UNI Fellowship (2009-2010)
• UNI Fellowship (2008-2009)
• African Studies Center Fellowship, Boston University (2008-2009)
• UNI research grant, Library of Congress, Washington, DC (Jan. 2007)
• Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Title VI Fellowship, Advanced Swahili (2007-2008)
• Fulbright Hays Group Projects Abroad Intensive Kiswahili (Tanzania) Fellowship (Summer 2007)
• Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Title VI Fellowship, Intermediate Swahili (2006-2007)

PUBLICATIONS


**PRESENTATIONS**

"Dignity for All: The Emergence of Nationalism in Africa”
IASS Socratic Conversation, Boston University, March 28, 2012

“More than a Hairstyle: Zanzibari Rastas, Some Observations and Questions”
Graduate Research Conference in African Studies, Boston, MA March 30-31, 2012

“Opening Remarks on Mentalism’s Approach to Madness and the Mind”
Mentalism, Madness, and the Mind: Student Conference, Boston University, May 1, 2010

"'Decolonizing the Mind': Nationalism and African Intellectuals"
The Association for the Study of Nationalities Convention, New York, NY, April 15-17, 2010

"'Decolonizing the Mind': Nationalism and African Intellectuals"
Graduate Research Conference in African Studies, Boston, MA, March 19-20, 2010

"A New Paradigm for Understanding the Development of Nationalism in Tanzania"

“The Development of Nationalism in Tanzania” as part of the “A World of Nations: A New Approach to Comparative Politics” innovative panel
The Association for the Study of Nationalities, New York, NY, April 23-25, 2009

“The Development of Nationalism in Tanzania”
Graduate Research Conference in African Studies, Boston, MA, March 13-14, 2009

“The Threat and Use of Violence in Recruiting Maji Maji Fighters”

**TEACHING EXPERIENCE**

**Teaching Assistant**, Comparative Political Analysis
Boston University Political Science Dept., Spring 2010, Spring 2011
Discussion based seminar. Course examined the globalization of nationalism with special focus on nationalism’s spread into China, Japan and India.
Teaching Assistant, Modernity Seminar
Boston University Sociology Department, Fall 2009, Spring 2010, Spring 2011
2011: Course focused on the existential experience, specifically developing an identity as reflected in modern fiction.
2009 & 2010: Discussion based research seminar with a series of guest lectures. Course examined mental illness in an historical comparative perspective.

Teaching Assistant, Sociology of Culture
Boston University Sociology Department, Fall 2009
Discussion based research seminar including a series of guest lectures. Course examined the sociology of culture in twenty-first century with discussion focusing on the connection between mind and culture and therefore the brain and culture.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE
2012 – Present Human Resources Manager Jana, Boston, MA
2009 – 2014 Associate Director, Institute for the Advancement of the Social Sciences, Boston, MA
2011-2014 Foreign Advisor, MEECO, Mwanakwerekwe, Zanzibar
2005-2009 Program Coordinator, Division of Labor Relations, Boston, MA

CONFERENCE ORGANIZER
Mentalism, Madness, and the Mind: Student Conference, Boston University, May 1, 2010
Graduate Research Conference in African Studies, Boston University, March 13-14, 2009

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS
• Member African Studies Association
• Member American Historical Association
• Member American Sociological Association
• Member Association for Study of Nationalities
• Member Institute for the Advancement of the Social Sciences
• Member Tanzania Studies Association

RESEARCH INTERESTS
East African intellectual history; Nationalism in Africa; Swahili literature; Sociology of culture; Sociology of literature; History of the social sciences

LANGUAGES
Native: English
Advanced: Swahili