

THIS AUTHORISED FACSIMILE WAS
PRODUCED BY MICROFILM/XEROGRAPHY BY
UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS LIMITED
TYLERS GREEN, HIGH WYCOMBE, ENGLAND.
A XEROX COMPANY

Cory, Hans.

The indigenous political system of the Sukuma and proposals for political reform. Nairobi, Published for the East African Institute of Social Research by the Eagle Press, 1954.

130 p. illus. 25 cm. (East African studies, no. 2)

1. Suku (African tribe) 1. Title.

JS7695.E3T33

352.06782

57-101 †

Library of Congress

(2)



THE EAGLE PRESS

This is the sign under which
THE EAST AFRICAN LITERATURE BUREAU
publishes its books.

The following are some books dealing with the history and peoples of East Africa.

Early Travellers in East Africa Series each 2/50

GREGORY AND THE GREAT RIFT VALLEY
JOHNSTON ON KILIMANJARO
KRAPP, MISSIONARY AND EXPLORER
CHARLES NEW
THOMSON THROUGH MASAI LAND
SPEKE AND THE NILE
EARLY TRAVELLERS IN ACHIOLI

A Treasury of East African History Series

LANGO I KARE ACON 2/20
OBWOMEZI BW'OMUKAMA DUHAGA II 2/50
THE PRELIMINARY SURVEY FOR THE KENYA
AND UGANDA RAILWAY 1/—
THE STORY OF THE UGANDA AGREEMENT 3/—
THE UGANDA MUTINY 2/10

Custom and Tradition in East Africa Series

HABARI ZA ABALUYIA 2/—
HOME LIFE IN KIKUYU-LAND 1/—
KAMBA CUSTOMARY LAW 3/—
NCHI NA DESTURI ZA WAGIRIAMA 2/—
THE NTEMI: The Traditional Rites in connection with
the Burial, Enthronement and Magic Powers of a
Sukuma Chief 2/40
HISTORIA, MILA, NA DESTURI ZA WAGOGO 2/25
DESTURI ZA WARIBE 2/40
DESTURI ZA WANYAMWEZI 2/40

Obtainable from Bookshops or from
THE EAST AFRICAN LITERATURE BUREAU

P. O. Box 2022,
NAIROBI

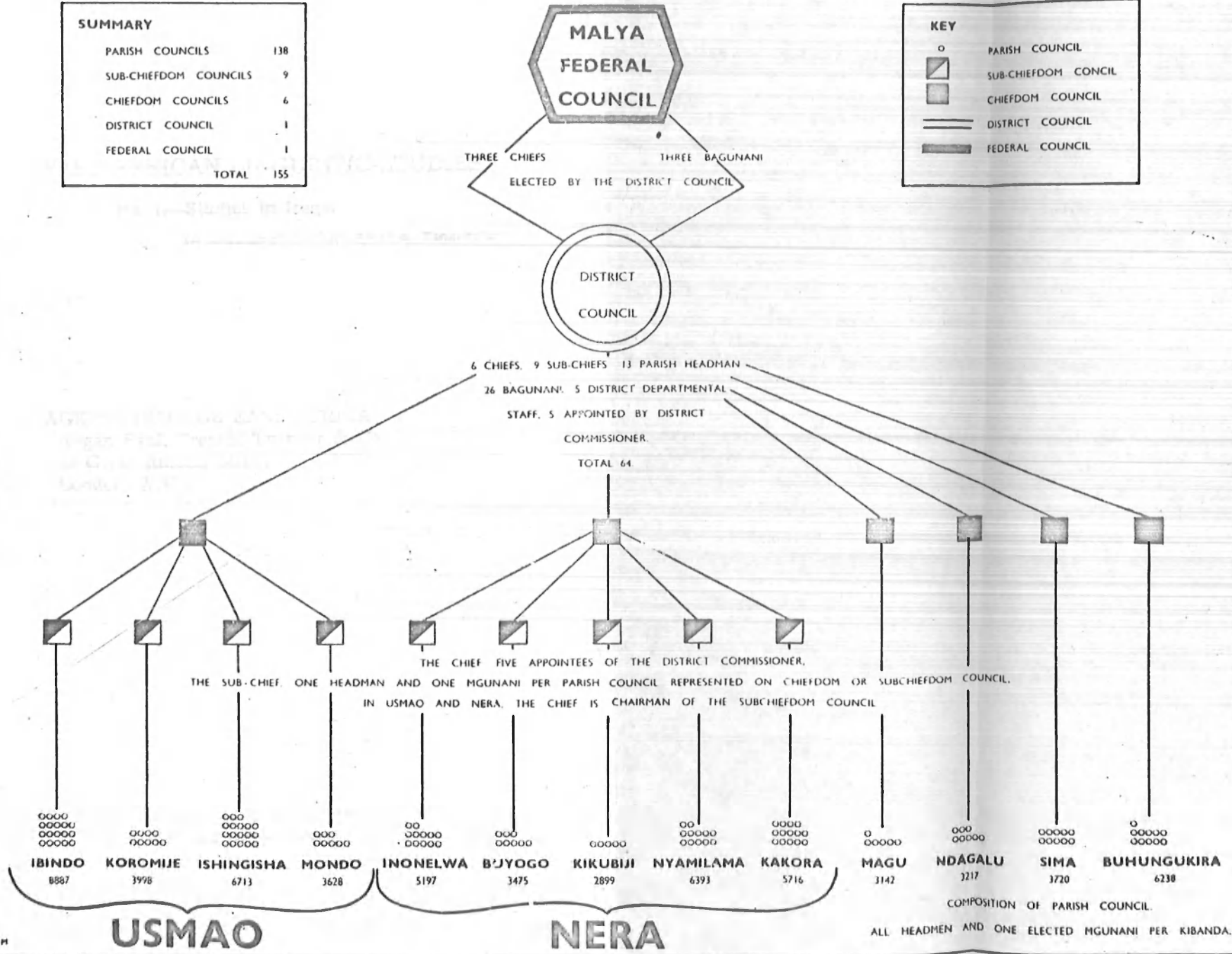
P. O. Box 1317,
KAMPALA

P. O. Box 1408,
DAR ES SALAAM

PROPOSED DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

SUMMARY	
PARISH COUNCILS	138
SUB-CHIEFDOM COUNCILS	9
CHIEFDOM COUNCILS	6
DISTRICT COUNCIL	1
FEDERAL COUNCIL	1
TOTAL	155

KEY	
○	PARISH COUNCIL
◻	SUB-CHIEFDOM CONCIL
■	CHIEFDOM COUNCIL
—	DISTRICT COUNCIL
—	FEDERAL COUNCIL



EAST AFRICAN STUDIES

No. 1.—Land Tenure in Buganda

EAST AFRICAN LINGUISTIC STUDIES

No. 1.—Studies in Iraqw

(A language of Northern Province, Tanganyika)

AGENTS OUTSIDE EAST AFRICA

Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.,

43 Great Russell Street,

London, W.C.1.

First published in 1954

All rights reserved



The Indigenous Political System of the Sukuma

and

Proposals for Political Reform

H. CORY

INSTITUTE
OF
DEVELOPMENT
STUDIES
LIBRARY

**THE INDIGENOUS POLITICAL
SYSTEM OF THE SUKUMA
AND
PROPOSALS FOR POLITICAL REFORM**

BY

H. CORY

**GOVERNMENT ANTHROPOLOGIST,
TANGANYIKA**

**PUBLISHED FOR
THE EAST AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL RESEARCH**

BY

THE EAGLE PRESS

NAIROBI

DAR ES SALAAM

KAMPALA

1954

INTRODUCTION

At present it is the avowed policy of the British Government to establish in all its dependencies such political institutions as will allow, in due course, of collaboration between the indigenous population and the British Administration in all public matters. The task of working out political reforms for this purpose for the Sukuma tribe in Tanganyika was given to the author as Government Sociologist. The preliminary research work and its practical result in the form of proposals for and the establishment of a Sukuma constitution is the theme of this paper.

It was considered necessary to make a recording of the Sukuma political structure in detail before any proposals for political reforms could be conscientiously made. The first part of this paper contains a description of the political institutions of the Sukuma tribe, giving a resumé of their origin, their pre-European development, and the important changes in their structure during the last fifty years. Finally an attempt has been made to describe the possible reactions of the indigenous institutions to the reforms proposed. The second part contains the proposals for a Sukuma constitution, based on the idea of popular representation, and the third part shows how the constitution has so far worked in practice. This is not the first attempt of the author in this direction, and at least two other of his proposals for constitutional reforms have been accepted and carried out by the Administration. (See the "Journal of African Administration", Vol. II, No. 2: "Reforming Local Government in a Tanganyika District", by C. Winnington Ingram; and Vol. II, No. 3: "A Practical Experience in Local Government", by C. I. Meek.)

The greater part of this essay was written in 1949 and such is the speed of development in this area that many of the statements, especially those referring to "the present day", are already out of date in 1953. These statements have not been altered as the celerity of progress on the one hand and delays in printing on the other make it virtually impossible to write a paper which describes the political situation in our African tribes as they exist in the year of publication. The main cause of the developments which have made statements about the present situation out of date is, in fact, the introduction of the political reforms which they have described.

In an attempt to outline the various elements of a tribal structure one is apt to build up a complete, over-simplified picture of the workings of offices as seen from certain cross-sections of their activities and authority. But it must be remembered that a man stands behind the office with a character of his own—a man living in a time which has a character of its own. Thus the position of any office, even without outside influences, is ever changing. What follows, therefore, cannot and does not claim to be the infallible and complete truth about the Sukuma tribal structure but, at best, a part of the truth only.

I am much indebted to Dr. Audrey Richards, Director of the East African Institute of Social Research, Kampala, for much useful criticism and many invaluable suggestions. I would also like to thank Chiefs Kidaha Makwaia and Salamba Kajala, both of Sukuma, who read through the manuscript and confirmed the contents. As always, I am most grateful to all my African friends who willingly assisted me in my work. Finally, I wish to record my special thanks to my secretary, Mrs. E. B. Dobson, to whom I have also dedicated this work.



PREFATORY NOTE

The present volume is the second of a numbered series of papers now being published by the East African Literature Bureau for the East African Institute of Social Research. These papers will contain the results of research done in East Africa in the fields of anthropology, sociology, economics, colonial administration, psychology and other social sciences. They will consist mainly of work done by members of the staff of the East African Institute of Social Research, but it is hoped from time to time to include work of scientific value produced by other social scientists working in East Africa, such as Government Sociologists, administrative officers, missionaries or Africans who have specialised in social studies. The present volume, "The Indigenous Political System of the Sukuma and Proposals for Constitutional Reforms", by Hans Cory a sociologist of the Tanganyika Government, is a work of this kind.

In the case of work done by those who are not members of its staff, the Institute accepts no responsibility for scientific or other views expressed by the writer.

CONTENTS

PART I

THE INDIGENOUS POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE SUKUMA

	Page
INTRODUCTION	iii
I. LAND AND PEOPLE:	1
Land	
Origin and history	
II. THE CHIEF:	3
POSITION OF CHIEF	
SUCCESSION	
SOURCES OF AUTHORITY	
A. The Belief in the Chief's Magico-religious Powers	
B. The Chief's Function as Supreme Judge	
C. The Wealth of the Chief	
D. The Chief's Leadership in War	
E. Administration by the Chief	
HISTORICAL ASPECT	
Traditional Restrictions on the Authority of the Chief	
Demands for Restrictions on the Authority of the Chief to be expected in the Near Future	
Means by which the Chiefs have succeeded in maintaining their Authority	
Reasons for the People accepting these Developments	
Means by which the British Government has maintained the Prestige of Chiefs	
CONCLUSION	
DEPUTY OF CHIEF	38
CHIEFDOM ELDERS:	39
History of Office	
Number of Chiefdom Elders	
Method of Appointment	
<i>Kisaka or Mwibiringo</i>	
Original Functions	
Changes in Position	
Present Situation	
Conclusion	
SUB-CHIEF	48
PARISH HEADMAN:	49
Origin of Institution	
Succession to Office	
The Belief in the Headman's Magico-religious Powers	
Judicial Functions	
Income	
Administrative Authority	
Conclusion	

PARISH ELDERS:	...	...	...	...	63
The Ihane	...	...	...	...
Entrance Fees	...	...	...	...
The Members	...	...	...	...
Number of Members	...	...	...	...
Initiation	...	...	...	...
Organization of the Club	...	...	...	...
Duties of Parish Elders	...	...	...	...
Examples of Village Organizations in Other Areas	...	...	...	...
Conclusion	...	...	...	...
PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS:	...	...	...	...	72
A. PARISH ORGANIZATIONS	...	...	...	...
1. General	...	...	...	...
2. <i>Elika</i>	...	...	...	...
3. <i>Basumba Batale</i>	...	...	...	...
B. VILLAGE ASSEMBLIES	...	...	...	...
C. DANCE SOCIETIES AND SECRET SOCIETIES	...	...	...	...
THE OLD INSTITUTIONS AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION	...	...	...	...	92
The Chief	...	...	...	...
The Parish Headman	...	...	...	...
The Parish Elders	...	...	...	...
The Great Commoners	...	...	...	...
Secret Societies	...	...	...	...

PART II

PROPOSALS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

INTRODUCTION	...	...	...	...	96
PARISH COUNCIL	...	...	...	...	96
Election	...	...	...	...
Agenda	...	...	...	...
Procedure of meetings	...	...	...	...
CHIEFDOM COUNCIL:	...	...	...	...	106
Introduction	...	...	...	...
Assembly	...	...	...	...
Agenda	...	...	...	...
Procedure	...	...	...	...
The Central Government's task in respect of Parish and Chiefdom Councils	...	...	...	...
LOCAL FEDERATION COUNCIL	...	...	...	...	112
Introduction	...	...	...	...
Membership	...	...	...	...
Agenda	...	...	...	...
Procedure of meetings	...	...	...	...

PART III

THE CONSTITUTION IN PRACTICE

INTRODUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF COUNCILS ...	118
FUNCTIONS	
RESUME	
APPENDIX	
GLOSSARY	

PART I

THE INDIGENOUS POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE SUKUMA

I. LAND AND PEOPLE*

Land

Sukumaland proper is situated to the south of Lake Victoria and comprises the four administrative districts of Mwanza, Kwimba, Maswa, and Shinyanga. To this must be added the country to the west of Smith Sound which comprises the administrative district of Geita. The whole area is a part of a large cultivation steppe, the largest homogeneous inhabited area in Tanganyika.

Sukumaland covers an area of about 19,000 square miles and is to a great extent uniform in its topography, altitude, geological structure, and rainfall. The general altitude is 3,800 to 4,000 feet above sea level; the average rainfall over the whole area is about 30 inches a year, the heaviest rainfall occurring in the vicinity of Lake Victoria. Normally water is available in sufficient quantities for household and stock consumption without undue toil, but for stock the situation may become precarious in years of drought. This danger is being increasingly met by the construction of artificial reservoirs. There are very few permanent water-courses.

The country consists of wide, undulating plains, interrupted here and there by low ridges and mountain ranges of no great height. Characteristic of many parts of the country are the granite outcrops which introduce some variation into the otherwise flat cultivation steppe. "The term cultivation steppe comprises that form of dense land occupation by natives practising a combination of both agricultural and pastoral exploitation of the soil which leads to an almost complete eradication of the original vegetation cover, replacing the latter by a checkered pattern of cultivated fields and low-grass steppe."**

Origin and history

Sukuma proper is inhabited by roughly 1,000,000 people. They belong to the Central Eastern Bantu and comprise, with the Nyamwezi and related tribes, a group very closely related in language and customs. It is, moreover, so strong numerically that it has successfully maintained its culture against the influences of different

*The greater part of this chapter is quoted from Part I of my book, "Sukuma Law and Custom", Oxford University Press.

**C. Gillman, "Water Consultant's Report" No. 6, 1940.

tribes living on its perimeter, such as the Taturu (Hamitic) in the north-east, and the Masai (Nilo-Hamitic) in the south-east. On the southern border, between Sukuma and Nyamwezi, the Nyamwezi influence is marked, but the two groups are so closely connected that this cannot be described as alien influence. Part of the present Shinyanga District was originally included in the Nyamwezi (Tabora) administrative area, but no difficulty of any kind arose when the chiefdoms concerned were incorporated in the Sukuma district of Shinyanga.

There is no tradition extant about the original inhabitants of the area. According to the Sukuma themselves, before the arrival of the Hamitic families, the country was overgrown with bush, dense in some places and sparse in others. A European explorer* described the Sukuma driving their cattle into the *forest* during the dry season. The country was everywhere sparsely populated. The scattered human colonies consisted of a hundred odd people under the leadership of an *ntemi*, a name which only later became the title of a chief. *Kutemu* means to cut down trees in the bush, indicating that the *batemi* of this time were pioneers who opened up the country and retained the leadership of their followers, who were mostly members of their own families. The various settlements had little communication with each other and no conception of tribal unity. The *batemi* never thought of extending the area under their influence except for the purpose of enlarging the hunting grounds. The people were not only hunters, however; even at that time they tilled their fields and drove their cattle to pasture. But hunting was an important activity, necessary in order to protect the fields scattered in the bush against marauding game, to provide additional meat for the pot, and later when the country was opened up to obtain ivory for trading.

When the Hamitic people from the north began a southward movement, several families penetrated to Sukuma via the west and south coast of Lake Victoria (Bukoba and Zinza). C. G. Seligman writes in "Races of Africa" of the tribes round the shores of Lake Victoria and Lake Albert, among whom the Sukuma are included: "It seems that all these tribes have a Hamitic (presumably Galla) element brought in by the Bahima."** These Hamitic families established authority over sections of the indigenous population. It is remarkable that the customs and language of these peaceful conquerors have been wholly absorbed into those of their Bantu subjects, and only tradition remains to tell of the invasion and the establishment of ruling dynasties in this wide area. The most important among the immigrating families were the Binza, Kwimba, Siha, Golo, and Segu. There are many conflicting accounts of their early history, their adventurous travels and their conquest of

*C. G. Seligman "Races of Africa" 19.

**Dr. Carl Peters: "New Light on Dark Africa", Word, Lock and Co. 1891.

Sukumaland. Almost every Sukuma chiefdom has its own tradition which tends to exaggerate the importance of the first arrivals and to compete with the histories of origin of other chiefdoms ruled by branches of the same family. Generally, it can be stated that the leading members of these families were not military conquerors and they were obviously accepted as leaders by common consent, since no major fights between them and the people they found living in the country are recounted. It seems that at the time of their arrival the country was becoming sufficiently densely populated to make common leadership for groups of isolated settlements desirable. These immigrants met with this latent demand in many ways. They were presumably ideal judges, for they belonged to none of the local clans; they were the best arbitrators in the distribution of the spoils of the chase and of clan warfare. They may also have impressed the indigenous population with their superior mental and physical qualities.

The history of the Sukuma and their alien rulers has on the whole been peaceful; internecine wars occurred here and there, but they were brief and not very bloody. Mirambo, a Nyamwezi chief, who died in 1884, was at one period determined on the conquest of Sukumaland, but never succeeded in getting further than the borders of Urima in the Mwanza District. His wars with the Sukuma left no mark on their social organization because his raids were of short duration, though their losses in men, cattle, and grain were considerable. In Sukuma proper there was little menace from alien invaders, so that there evolved a type of scattered settlement with farmland surrounding each homestead. In the south, where Masai raids occurred, the people lived in close settlements, on the Nyamwezi pattern, for defence purposes. The Sukuma were also spared the depredations of slave traders which occurred in other parts of the country, although the Arabs penetrated into the area for trading purposes long before the first European arrived.

Thus the history of the Sukuma from the arrival of the ruling dynasties onwards has been such as to allow the institution of chieftaincy to take deep root in the minds of the people.

II. THE CHIEF

POSITION OF CHIEF

In the beginning the position of the chief was not based on his supreme authority but on the immediate effectiveness of his deeds. The sources of the chief's authority as they developed in course of time arose from the necessity for regulating the social life of people who were beginning to enjoy closer mutual contact and some material advances. The people had to pay the price of progress then, just as they do now. They gave up a certain degree of individual

freedom for the sake of the common weal and of a higher form of political organization which gave to them in exchange better protection against all kinds of misfortune than had the old form. They also became more clearly divided into ranks; they had to accept the fundamental idea of a hierarchy consisting of chief, headmen, village elders and commoners. The system was based on magico-religious faculties and functions and its officials obviously exercised their authority mainly in the interest of the community. This system lasted undisturbed until recently when it began to be affected by increasing contact with western culture. All the signs indicate that once again one of the decisive changes will be the splitting up of the African community into classes, but this time in accordance with economic principles.

SUCCESSION

The succession to the chieftancy in most of the ruling families followed the rules of matrilineal succession. The newly chosen chief (see the chapter on *Banang'oma* page 39) had probably spent many years as a commoner amongst commoners; often he and his neighbours were genuinely surprised when the electors appeared in order to take him to the residence as the new chief. For this reason a definite installation ceremony took place in the early days to give an external representation of the inner change which was supposed to take place in the chosen person—chiefly his transmutation from a commoner to a demi-god with certain powers over the spirits of the country. The choice lay between the sons of the chief's sisters and there was no question of an exclusive right for the sons of the eldest sister. In the chiefdoms which followed partilineal succession there was also a free choice between all the sons, either the direct descendants of the last chief or the direct descendants of former chiefs.*

After European colonization matrilineal succession where it existed gave way to patrilineal succession, no opposition being made to this innovation. The chiefs liked it, and the people did not consider the change important, but the *banang'oma*, the hereditary courtiers and electors of chiefs, i.e. the chiefdom elders, rapidly lost authority under the new political organization inaugurated by the Europeans. The early European administrators had no special purpose in pressing for a change in the laws of succession, but they understood laws of primogeniture, while matrilineal succession seemed to be complicated and difficult to control. Shortly after this the necessity of educating the successor of a chief made the old system obsolete in any case.

* *Babinza, Bakwimba, Bakamba and Basiha followed matrilineal succession, while Bahindi, Bagoro, Bashilanga and Basega have always followed patrilineal succession.*

Patrilineal succession to the office of chief is now generally acknowledged and the chiefs of the Sukuma Federation unanimously accepted the following rules in 1949:

"There are no special rules in force with regard to succession.

A. It is nowadays usually patrilineal.

B. If the successor of a chief is not his son, the sons of the successor and not the sons of the former chiefs are in the direct first line of succession to their father, but neither branch of the family can claim a legal right to succession".*

SOURCES OF AUTHORITY

Apparently the authority of the chief in the Sukuma political structure came finally to be based on the following foundations: —

A. The Belief in the Chief's Magico-Religious Powers

The man who became the founder of a dynasty was inevitably a man far above his contemporaries in mental and physical powers. Presumably the ordinary man could only explain the skill, ability, endurance, strength, and success of his leader by assuming that the latter had supernatural powers. The founding ancestor and those of his blood were probably considered to surpass other human beings through powers of which the origins could not be subjected to speculations. The manifestation of the leader's supremacy was recognizable in the success of his magico-religious functions, and his authority in secular affairs was the consequence of this success.

The founders of dynasties are not forgotten anywhere. Though there may be long intervals of oblivion in the history of a chiefdom, the memory of the founder of the ruling house, details of his birth, the adventures of his youth, the deeds of his manhood, and unusual features of his death remain alive in the tradition of the people. Bulls, recognizable by the bells which they wear, are called by the names of the founders of the ruling dynasties, and are kept in the chiefdoms. These bulls participate in certain rites, such as the harvest thanksgiving festivities, when they are given porridge prepared from the first fruits of the harvest to eat.

Every chief was considered to be the earthly representative of the most powerful spirit of the founder and of the spirits of all his successors. The people believed them to be able to influence their fate and the fate of the land for good or ill, just as their own ancestors had power over the fortunes of their own families. Thus

* The traditional procedure for the election of a chief has been described in "The Ntemi", by H. Cory, while the present procedure is adapted to local circumstances and is based on democratic principles in that the chief is elected by an unofficial majority. The candidates are members of the ruling house (see page 34).

the chief became the bringer of rain and so came to be responsible for the fertility of corn, cattle, and mankind. He had to bless the seed before it was sown and he had magical control over the agricultural cycle; he was the dispenser of war medicines and he was expected to ward off epidemics and other calamities occurring to the community.*

In all the religious ceremonies there is a stage where the paraphernalia of ancestor worship are laid out and the chief invokes the spirits of his ancestors and offers sacrifices to them to ensure their help. During their lifetime these ancestors had wielded greater power and authority than anyone else in the community and had been held responsible for the well-being of commoners; therefore it was assumed that their spirits continued to take an interest in the welfare of the people, provided that they were invoked, according to custom, by a man of their own family. The magical ceremonies by which, for instance, the chief "makes the rain" show that what he is actually doing is to invoke the help of the tribal ancestors and to accelerate the advent of this natural phenomenon by acts of sympathetic magic. The subjects of a chief did not believe that he himself made the rain, but they did believe that he alone was able to conduct ceremonies and prayers which would persuade powerful spirits to bring the rain.

The chief himself was not a diviner and his people never considered him to be a magician. It was, however, his duty to provide for the services of skilled practitioners in the interests of his people and country. When advice had been obtained from diviners and the required medicine from magicians, it was the chief's task to give effective strength to the medicine by virtue of his supernatural connections. He was the priest whose prayers were all-powerful, but the type of service which he conducted and the "church" in which he prayed were matters to be decided by an oracle.

Besides the major ritual duties mentioned above, the magic powers of the chief were involved in almost all his activities because the people believed that his supernatural influence was always imminent in him. Sometimes a chief was held responsible for a failure, such as lack of rain, but the reason for this was assumed to be that he must have lost, for unknown reasons, the favour of the spirits and that he was therefore no longer in possession of his magical powers. Usually the person of the chief, his mode of life and his capacity for ruling were not criticized. Whatever he did was supposedly determined by uncontrolled forces outside the understanding of the common people. As is usual in the exercise of magic influences many taboos were imposed on the chief as well as on his subjects, with the result that failures of the chief's powers could

* Details can be found in "The Ntemi", by H. Cory, Macmillan 1951.

often be attributed to transgressions of these taboos by members of the community. Defeat in a tribal war was never considered to be of any political importance and did not lead to a constitutional change, as the victorious enemy had no intention of conquering the vanquished country. He could defeat an army, take the people's cattle and devastate their land, but he could not defeat the spirits of the conquered group and their powerful influence in the affairs of the land. The enemy therefore was always afraid of the results of his victory.

If the chief's supernatural powers failed him, the real danger came from pretenders among his own relatives. The people would never have trusted an outsider who invoked the help of strange spirits, but they could believe in the possibility that one brother was more popular with the ancestral spirits than another brother. Thus in cases of famine caused by failure of harvest or drought, epidemics or defeat in war the royal dynasty remained and only the person of the chief was changed. Even today, if it becomes necessary for Government to dismiss a chief, the people will readily agree to it if they are assured that a member of the same family will be elected in his place (see footnote on page 5). A change of chief is rare in Sukuma history, and it can be said in general that the magical powers possessed by the chiefs were not only the source of their authority but also of their security.

Present Situation

At present this source of authority, which was perhaps originally the most important one, is vanishing rapidly. Many of the younger chiefs have themselves probably become sceptical of their own supernatural powers and perform ceremonies not because they consider them effective, but in order to please the conservative elements among their subjects. On the other hand every chief realizes that while emancipation is very pleasant when things go right, in adverse circumstances tradition can be relied upon to help him to escape responsibility for misfortunes. The attitude of the chiefs towards the situation is therefore in most cases ambiguous. The chief is certainly not only the man who appears in council, in court or stepping benevolently out from the inner part of his house to greet a visitor. On these occasions he seems to be far from old tradition in dress, behaviour and way of thinking. He has adapted himself to the unspoken demands of the European. But his daily life, his human problems, his conception of duty and his ideas about the dignity of his position are still rooted in the traditional conceptions of chieftancy. He is surrounded by those representatives of his subjects who either believe in his special faculties or pretend to believe in them for selfish motives, and he accepts the incense, the gifts, the awe and the ever ready pardon. He is not yet prepared to sacrifice comfort and complacency for the sake of very hypothetical

advantages which, in any case, are largely intended for his people and not for himself. As a diplomat he praises these advantages and as a human being he tries to get as much as possible out of them for himself. But there is not a chief who would not heave a deep sigh of relief on the departure of one of our well-meaning exponents of progress. He may very likely feel that every new secondary school knocks a piece off one of the pillars on which his authority is based.

It would be wrong to assume that ceremonies in which the chief participates and exercises his magico-religious powers are no longer widely performed. But they are losing their inner justification, and it is already becoming obvious that these ceremonies and the extent to which they will be maintained in the future will rather assume the aspect of interest in and appreciation of tradition than continue as a source of the chief's authority.

B. The Chief's Function as Supreme Judge

The reason for the chief gaining the position of supreme judge has already been mentioned (page 3). It is probable that it was as an external arbiter that a stranger was accepted as chief in the first place. The people may not have been able to trust anyone of their own community to be sufficiently unbiassed to administer justice. The cohesion of the family and traditional friendships and enmities between the members of families were perhaps too strong to allow judgment without consideration of the personalities concerned.

Three courts of law existed before the arrival of the European:-*

1. The court of the *banamhala*—village elders.
2. The court of the *banangwa*—headmen.
3. The court of the *ntemi*—chief.

These three courts did not represent different stages of appeal. Each had its defined limits and the decision of each was in practice final, since the chief was very reluctant to reopen a case which had already been decided by a headman.

The Court of the Ntemi

The chief's court was *de facto* a criminal court; civil cases were heard by the chief, if one or both parties belonged to families close to the chief, not because of any particular importance attaching to a case.

The court consisted of the chief as president and the chiefdom elders (*banang'oma*) as assessors. On the days when the court sat, two or three of the latter came to the residence to assist the chief.

* The jurisdiction of the courts of the BANANGWA and BANAMHALA is discussed in the chapters dealing with the rights and duties of their presidents.

The functions of the court were not divided as between judge, crown counsel, and counsel for the defence. One of the chiefdom elders opened the case by questioning the defendant or the witnesses, his colleagues assisting him. Sometimes the chief would interrupt and even a common elder sitting among the listeners was allowed to put questions to witnesses or to give his opinion as to their reliability. In civil cases both parties to the case had to pay five goats or hoes before a case could be heard in the chief's court. Of these, five went to the chief and five to the assessors. The fee was high in order to prevent frivolous litigation. No fine was imposed on the guilty party, but he had to pay compensation or *njigu* to the wronged person. The chief received his share of this compensation.

If a man behaved badly in court, the chief told his bodyguard (*rugaruga*) to teach him better manners, whereupon he received a beating and the proceedings continued. A man who tried to threaten the court with arms or by seizing one of the magistrates was led outside by the bodyguard and killed on the spot. If the chief became annoyed by the bad behaviour or deeds of any man, he might act out of court and dispatch his bodyguard to the man's house with an order to seize ten goats or two head of cattle and bring them to the residence.

Very little formality was observed in court. Assessors, or even the chief, might leave the assembly for short periods without it being considered necessary to adjourn the proceedings. The code of law by which the case was decided was known to the assessors by the practice of many years, and even among the commoners there were a number of older people who knew the traditional laws. Precedents were admissible as arguments, but were never considered decisive. The proceedings were short because the depositions of witnesses and the investigations of the headman were not always repeated in court, but were conveyed to the chief and his assessors briefly and privately by the headman before the case was tried. The headman of the village in which the crime was committed was always present and was heard if the case became involved and the depositions of the witnesses contradictory. In cases where it was necessary the chief and his assessors retired for a council (*kisaka*) before the chief gave his judgment.

Death sentences were executed at once and the property of the condemned man was confiscated and given to the chief. If the crime committed caused the chief to be particularly angry, even the property of the criminal's relatives was seized; such a crime as that of a commoner committing adultery with the wife of the chief would merit this punishment on the whole family.

The court of the chief tried cases of murder, high treason, assault causing serious injury, witchcraft, and cattle theft.

Murder

This crime was judged solely by its consequences; motives and extenuating circumstances were never taken into consideration. This principle was strictly followed and a case in which a man unintentionally caused the death of another was treated in the same way as deliberate murder. For instance, a man who threw a spear at a target and by accident fatally wounded another man was convicted of murder just the same as the man who lay in wait for his victim and shot him with a poisoned arrow. Murder was regarded as a crime causing a loss to the family of the murdered man for which the family had to be compensated. Killing a man was only regarded as murder when external marks of the crime could be found on the body; any other sudden death, even if there was a strong suspicion of poisoning, was treated as a case of witchcraft (page 12).

A murderer, in order to save his own life, went immediately after the crime to the residence of the chief and he himself or his near relatives at once sent one head of cattle to the nearest relative of the victim. This payment was called *sungamata* (literally, to hang up the weapon) and by making it the murderer averted a blood feud. It was obligatory for the relatives of the victim to accept the payment. After they had received it they went to the chief to make their accusation and the verdict was given at once. The murderer had to pay blood money (*njigu*). The amount of compensation varied in different chiefdoms from eleven to fifteen head of cattle. Usually more had to be paid if the victim was a woman, since it was argued that if a man is killed, he is simply one person, but if a woman is killed all possibilities of future progeny die with her. The age of the victim did not effect the amount of the payment. Out of the compensation the chief took originally two and later one of the beasts and the rest were handed over to the relatives of the victim. This ended the matter.

The payment of compensation was always considered to be a communal obligation on the murderer's family; even if the murderer was himself a rich cattle-owner, his near relatives joined together to pay the blood money out of their own herds. If a murderer fled, his near relatives had to send the *sungamata* and pay blood money in order to avoid a blood feud. If they did not pay the *sungamata* immediately the right of blood revenge was recognized. This right could only be exercised by the father or a brother of the victim and once revenge had been taken the blood feud came to an end. Further killings as acts of revenge were treated as murder. A murderer caught in the act could be killed on the spot, but only by the blood relations of the victim.

If a murderer and his relatives were too poor to pay compensation, the murderer could escape to the residence of the chief and slash the big drum (*milango*) with a knife, or destroy some other

symbol of the chief's power, thus declaring himself a slave of the chief and exempting himself from all punishment (see page 24).

If a murderer remained undetected, investigations were set on foot. Diviners were consulted as to whether the murderer was a stranger or a native of the locality and enquiries were instituted to find out who had uttered any threats against the victim. If a man became aware that he was suspected he immediately sent the *sungamata* to the relations of the victim and himself went to the chief. This did not necessarily prejudice the case against him if he was able to prove his innocence afterwards. If he was proved innocent the *sungamata* was returned to him. Anyone carrying out a killing as blood revenge had to prove that the victim was a murderer, otherwise he himself was treated as a murderer.

The crime of murder was not rare. It seldom remained undetected because people lived in small communities in which a private life in our sense of the word did not exist. Motives were simple and penalties not excessive.

Assault

Such cases were only brought before the chief if blood was drawn and a serious wound inflicted or the victim was crippled for life. The defendant had to pay compensation in kind—cattle or a goat according to the extent of the injury. The chief received an appropriate share (*shalubanza*).

Cattle Theft

If a cattle thief was caught in the act he could be killed on the spot. If he was brought before the chief he had to pay double the number of cattle stolen; the owner of the cattle then received his correct number back and the others went to the chief. If the thief or his family had no property the chief could declare him a slave, in which case he usually became a member of the chief's private bodyguard.

In case of repeated thefts by the same man, whether he had cattle or not, the chief could declare him a slave and take all his property. If this was done the owner of the cattle received no compensation.

If the cattle thief was a stranger he was condemned to death and killed immediately after the judgment.

High Treason

Two kinds of high treason were recognized:

1. *Ndumira habili* — the name of a snake which was popularly supposed to have two heads (*Typhlops mucrose*).

The crime consisted of guiding an enemy into the chiefdom, or of betraying the position of one's own soldiers, or of betraying the position of the chief's camp.

2. *Kabutenoche* — *kabuta*, to cut; *noche*, roasted pieces of meat. The word means to cut off a piece of roast meat and eat it, then to do the same again until the whole piece of meat is finished.

This crime consisted of going to another chief and informing him wrongly that one's own chief intended to undertake a hostile expedition against him, and afterwards returning to one's own chief and telling him that the other one was preparing for war. The motive for this was to obtain rewards from both chiefs, since it was customary to give generous presents for such news.

Both crimes were punishable by death, but it was customary to hold a kind of court martial if the offender was a man of high rank. The chief summoned the traitor and when he arrived he was confronted by the witnesses to his treachery. The defendant was allowed to answer the accusations and the chief, before giving judgment, retired and took council with his advisers. If he decided that the man was guilty, he returned to court and gave judgment in a few words, such as, "You have committed the crime; you must die." The man was at once seized by the chief's bodyguard, led away into the *masongero* (the enclosed part of the residence where the heads of all the lions killed were kept) and killed there with clubs and spears. At the same time a troop of soldiers went to the traitor's house, surrounded it and killed his wife, children and all other inhabitants of the house. Sometimes even the father and brothers of the traitor were killed. The possessions of the family became the property of the chief.

This crime was always the most rigorously punished "because a man could never kill so many people by direct assault as he could by treason."

Witchcraft (Bulogi)

The word *bulogi* was, and is, used by the Sukuma in a very wide sense. Only witchcraft which caused the death or serious illness of another was regarded as a capital crime. The use of magic medicine was not in itself considered criminal and even if a man tried to bewitch someone, or tried to harm him by causing his cows to become barren or his fields sterile, he was scarcely ever brought to court. His victim retaliated with similar weapons or looked for protective medicine against the evil. If anyone became notorious for his evil magical activity within a community, it could, of course, happen that he was finally treated as though he were a wizard who had caused someone's death. The Sukuma believed, and still generally believe, that it is possible to kill a person by magical means. This belief is reinforced by the fact that the use of poison is considered to be an act of witchcraft. The reason for this is that the destructive effect of certain ingredients in magic medicines was ascribed rather to the personal influence of the sorcerer than to the

chemical reactions of the ingredients themselves. It may truly be said that all deaths except these in old age or through some malignant disease were ascribed to witchcraft, and the family of the deceased was determined to find out who had caused the death by magical means. The same is still probably true today.

Proceedings for witchcraft were rarely taken by one man or his heirs against another. An accusation of witchcraft could only be brought before the court if: —

1. The victim before his death, or while lying sick, accused a certain person of having used magic means against him.

2. A diviner confirmed this suspicion by means of divination.

If these two conditions were fulfilled, the nearest relatives of the victim went to the chief with two head of cattle and filed a suit. They produced as witnesses the relatives and friends who had been present when the victim expressed his suspicions and the headman and a few elders who had been present at the divination. The chief himself heard the depositions of the witnesses and gave permission for the sorcerer to be killed if he thought the evidence conclusive. This permission was called *kulugula luigi*— to open the door. The headman, elders, and relatives thereupon went to the house of the sorcerer and caught hold of him. He was then killed by the relatives of the victim, who used for this purpose the heavy pestles employed for pounding corn. The corpse was dragged by a rope into the bush and was left unburied. The children and all the property of the sorcerer were handed over to the chief, the wife or wives returning to their own families.

If the victim had not actually died, but was lying sick, the suspected person was called before the chief after the plaintiff had sent the latter two head of cattle. The depositions of the witnesses were heard as above and the sorcerer himself was questioned by the chief. If he denied his guilt, tortures were applied (either *kabangila* or headpress, or the *kilangi*—a bow with a very tight sinew so fixed on the head that the sinew pressed the nose upwards with great strength) until the accused confessed his crime and described his method. In this case the sorcerer was not killed but driven from the district and the chief received all his property.

Thus in the case of a death resulting from black magic the accused was not heard, while in the case of illness forensic proceedings were employed.

It was risky to use an accusation of witchcraft as an instrument for the satisfaction of personal revenge. The procedure in such cases precluded a misuse of the law for the following reasons:

1. Consistency in the depositions of any two witnesses was a condition not easily achieved, as the evidence of the diviner at any

rate, could be adjusted by the suspected man if he was in possession of sufficient means.

2. The chief was not interested in accusations against poor men unless the victim was a well known member of the community.

3. If the victim was poor it was not easy for him to pay the chief the required two head of cattle.

4. The suspected person was frequently found by the victim to be among his relatives by marriage. When the oracle was questioned as to who was the sorcerer representatives of both families were present. The family of the suspected person could ask for a repetition of the questions if the first result of the divination went against their protégé. This request could not be refused by the other family as this would have been liable to give the impression that the family of the victim was not too sure about the correctness of the accusation. In these circumstances complications and delays would be sustained by both parties.

5. In the case of sudden death, the victim would have no chance to speak before he died. In this case the relatives, even if they suspected a certain person, could not act without the consent and assistance of the whole village. As the suspected person probably had relatives in the village, unanimity among the villagers was unlikely.

6. If a man was put to death as a sorcerer and his innocence was afterwards proved, his accusers were treated as murderers and had to pay blood money.

A very different situation arose if the chief or headman was looking for a scape-goat when major misfortunes, such as epidemics or droughts, befell the area. This was an event which concerned every member of the community, and even the family of a suspected sorcerer or witch could not go against public opinion by defending him if a diviner had nominated him as the cause of the calamity. In a case of this kind the proceedings were short; the culprit was not always killed, but was often expelled from the area.

Although the preparation of magic medicines* was done in the greatest secrecy, the investigations of the authorities into crimes of witchcraft were conducted on the same lines as those into any other type of crime. A person wishing to use black magic went to a practitioner to buy the medicine, which was administered by means of ritual acts, curses and spells. As the initial detection of the criminal usually fell to a diviner who was more or less a colleague of the practitioner, the accused man was always found to be the perpetrator of the crime and not the practitioner who had

* H. Cory—*"The Ingredients of Magic Medicines."*
Africa Vol. XIX No. 1, 1949.

supplied the means. The latter was usually a man who had customers in the highest circles and he was also a sort of scientist who produced good as well as evil medicines. He was therefore seldom mentioned in a case and investigations did not set out to establish the identity of the practitioner involved. It was, of course, a different matter if he himself was suspected to have used his magic arts on someone for personal reasons; he might then be tried for sorcery like any other person.

The belief in witchcraft, its application, and protective measures against it, still plays such an important part in the life of the Sukuma that a short description of the situation as it is to-day may be justified. The Sukuma realizes that his belief in magic is not shared by Europeans. He is seldom successful in making clear to a European a situation in which magic is involved, although it is so very clear to himself. He knows that what he considers to be legal proof sufficient to convict a person of witchcraft will not be valid in a European court. He also knows that circumstantial evidence will not appear as weighty as it does to him and that therefore the punishment will not in his eyes be adequate to the crime. He is extremely reluctant to give away information about the proceedings connected with witchcraft even though he may himself be the victim of them.

When a Sukuma is brought before a court in a case where poisoning is the cause of death he behaves with the same reticence as he does in a witchcraft case, since to him it is the same thing. This attitude has nothing to do with British law which would, of course, give him full satisfaction in a case of poisoning, although it would not be satisfactory from his point of view when a man was accused of causing the death of another by laying a magic trap in his path. Sukuma law considered the use of black magic to be a more serious crime than ordinary murder as the difference in punishment shows. The idea was that murder was usually unpremeditated while the employment of black magic to bring about a man's death could only be premeditated; further, a man could probably avoid the danger of murder by being careful to give no provocation, but the sinister laws of witchcraft might demand victims chosen at random by the adepts in the art. There were also, of course, cases where a victim was killed from motives of revenge, envy or avarice, but whatever the motive the perpetrator of such a crime was held to be capable of repeating it, in fact he was expected to do so. Therefore he had to be killed.

Many crimes are committed at the present time the motives of which can be found in the belief in witchcraft, but the court is no longer the forum at which they are discussed and judged, except in very rare cases. Cases of this kind are handled by the people themselves and the people acting as arbitrators and judges are very

much the same as they were in former days, though the procedure has been adapted to the changed times. The relatives of a supposed victim still approach the chief with their two head of cattle to make their accusation. The case is investigated according to the customary rules of procedure and if the accusation is found to be justified the *kulugula luigi* is pronounced. The sorcerer is not, however, put to death, but is informed that he must leave the chiefdom within a reasonable period. He is allowed to take his property with him. One might believe that this judgment of expulsion could not now be executed since the alleged sorcerer could at once inform the European authorities and ask for their help. But in fact every Sukuma knows that such a step would be of no avail. No written order of expulsion is issued and it would be extremely hard for the man to produce a witness to his statement. The Native Authority might make use of the occasion to complain about the anti-social behaviour of the man and produce witnesses to his misdeeds; the fact that he was under suspicion of sorcery would not be mentioned. Quarrels with neighbours over trifling matters, affairs with other men's wives and the use of threatening language to others would all be cited as evidence of the man's bad character, and his accusation that he had been sentenced to expulsion would be explained as yet further evidence of his troublesome behaviour.

If the man does not invoke outside help but simply pays no attention to the sentence of expulsion, the answer of the community is to ostracise him (see chapter on village elders). Usually ostracism is not necessary in order to convince a man of the seriousness of his situation. There is a famous answer given by a chief to a headman who complained that a convicted sorcerer refused to leave the parish (*gunguli*): "Why? Is he alone a witch?" This answer is ambiguous; it can mean, "let him be, you can't catch all the sorcerers in the world," but it can also mean, "is there no other sorcerer in the world who could teach our friend a lesson?" The man will probably not wait until his fate has shown him which meaning is the right one. He will pack up and go, just as followers of his profession had to go into exile a hundred years ago. The procedure has changed, but effect is still the same.

Present Situation

Nothing is known about the changes in the position of a chief as supreme judge up to the time of the arrival of the Europeans. The latter very soon introduced the idea of appeal from a lower to a higher court. At the same time as combining a number of chiefdoms into local federations they created appeal courts which were presided over by the chiefs of the federation in turn. The jurisdiction of a chief's court was defined according to the value of property involved in a civil case or to the extent of the punishment appropriate to a certain crime in a criminal case. Thus the chief's court now hears

cases which were formerly heard by his subordinates while the cases with which he used to deal are now brought before the District Subordinate Court or the High Court.

Despite this change the chiefs still consider their judicial functions as an important source of their authority. "Supreme judge" was a magnificent title, but the conception is European. The traditional chief decided certain cases simply as one of his many superior functions, most of which have become obsolete in the course of the last fifty years. He was only "supreme" because the idea of appeal did not exist and not because he was chairman of the highest court. The institution of appeal, though it does not diminish the prestige of a judge in his own court, has deprived the chief once and for all of this source of authority. His word is no longer law; for a few shillings a better court can be employed. The question therefore arises as to why the chiefs think that the mere right to employ a certain limited jurisdiction should help to maintain their prestige? If the very act of sitting in court as its chairman and giving judgment is sufficient to impress the chief's authority upon the minds of his people, why is it that so many cases are regularly heard by chief's deputies? The implications of the whole question are such that, in order to avoid making any rash statements which are impossible of proof here, it can only be said that the indications are that the chiefs cling to their judicial authority not so much with prestige in mind as some kind of vested interest. Nevertheless it would be absurd to imagine that the majority of the chiefs are simply open to bribes; the offering and acceptance of gifts between subjects and chief is quite openly done. Thus it is easy to see how this situation may give rise to obstacles in the straightforward administration of justice.

C. The Wealth of the Chief

Formerly in tribal society the chief was the only man who could be described as wealthy; the conception of wealth being not the accumulation of property but the use to which it could be put. The income of the chief was mainly in kind and he could only use a small portion of it for his personal needs*, so that he distributed among his people quantities of goods which were stored by them with care and consumed. The traditional chief had very little proprietary sense, as he had no wishes which could not be fulfilled by the means at his disposal.

The main sources of his wealth were:

1. *Inheritance*

A chief always inherited from his predecessor the property which he owned by virtue of his office (*sabo ya butemi*). In those

* An exception was his monopoly of ivory.

chiefdoms which followed the rules of patrilineal succession he also inherited the private property of his predecessor (*sabo ya ntemi*). The rules of matrilineal succession appertained only to the office of chief and to the property belonging to the office, while the inheritance of a chief's private property followed patrilineal rules and such property went to his sons.

The property gained by a chief through inheritance (*butemi* or *ntemi*) was often considerable, because it was one of the duties of the chiefdom elders to control this property and to see to it that it was not diminished by a prodigal ruler. If such property were diminished or lost through natural causes or unfortunate wars, it could be replaced in course of time from various local resources, since it consisted mainly of food and cattle, and both of these commodities were the currency in which the tribute due to the chief was paid. The control of the elders in this matter has not completely disappeared, but it cannot be said that their authority is anywhere sufficient to cause them to be held responsible for losses; nor are they considered to be competent to control the excesses of an extravagant chief.

In 1949 the chiefs of the Sukuma Federation agreed to make definite rules as to what property should be considered to be *sabo ya butemi* as distinct from *sabo ya ntemi*:

"Chiefs own two kinds of property:

- A. Their private property (*sabo ya ntemi*).
This comprises all objects which a chief has bought with his own money as well as presents which he has received as chief. In this category are included his cattle, his houses other than residences (*ikuru*), and his personal belongings.
- B. The property which chiefs own *ex officio* (*sabo ya butemi*).
This comprises the royal insignia and the traditional objects of ancestor worship of the chiefdom, the special cattle identified by the bells they wear, and their offspring, the residence and the lands which appertain to the residence.
- C. The son who succeeds to the chiefdom becomes the *nkuruwabo* (main heir) of the family; as *nkuruwabo* he inherits a bigger share of the father's estate than his brothers. He exercises all rights and duties which are due to his position in accordance with the customary law. Therefore, it is up to him to distribute the estate of the father, helped by older members of the family.
- D. The private property of a deceased chief is distributed between his children in accordance with the rules of inheritance."

2. *Kugisha*

This is the name given to the custom by which each clan offers a present to the chief at a certain stage in the enthronement ceremonies. This custom still exists although the value of the gifts is decreasing. Its purpose, apart from being an expression of loyalty, was to provide the new ruler with property appropriate to his exalted position. In a society in which the succession of chiefs followed matrilineal rules it was possible for the chief to have been quite a poor man before he was called to office. He would have been one of a number of "sister's sons" of the ruling chief and would probably have been living as a commoner among commoners (see page 4).

3. *Kubula Lufu or Watwalaga Buta*

This is the term used for the customary payment made by the heir to a hereditary office, such as that of a chiefdom elder, a headman or a sub-chief. It amounted to 3 to 5 head of cattle and it was brought to the chief's residence by the new dignitary when he presented himself to the chief for the first time. The acceptance of the gift was the official confirmation of the chief's approval of the appointment.

Originally the *kubula lufu* was paid only in case of hereditary offices; nowadays strict rules of inheritance are not adhered to in the case of these offices but the gift is also made in case of appointment to offices made by the chief himself. This custom is if anything increasing, but the amount of the gift varies considerably. The chiefdom elders still pay one head of cattle and one sheep in spite of the fact that their influence has decreased and they get very little in return for this outlay.

4. *Sekule*

This is the name given to the regular annual tribute which was paid to the chief by his subjects. Every *kaya* (usually the domicile of several members of a family) had to pay this tribute. It consisted of a large basket of sorghum or millet amounting in quantity up to as much as two petrol tins full, or one goat or two hoes. The chiefdom elders were responsible for the collection of the tribute. The headmen in some places paid double the amount paid by the commoners but in other places they were exempted from payment altogether. Sometimes the tribute was transported to the residence but more often it was stored by the headman. The above amounts represent the maximum payment expected in a year of good harvest. In fact the quantity was never precisely laid down; only small quantities, or even none at all, were expected if there was a bad harvest or grain stores were destroyed in a hostile raid. It was the task of the headman to assess the capacity for payment of each citizen.

The tribute stored by the headman was taken to the chief's residence on demand of the chief, but the greater part of it was

issued direct from store according to the instructions of the chief. The chief himself maintained a big household and his court formerly consisted of: —

1. His wives; the number varied, but a figure of 25 to 30 may be taken as an approximate average. Together with the wives were their young children, but as soon as the male children reached the age of fourteen or fifteen they were sent to the headmen and lived in the parishes.

2. Female relations, such as widows or divorced women, and their small children.

3. *Banikulu* or bodyguard of the chief, also called *rugaruga*. They were often the descendants of slaves or men who had been brought up in the residence.

4. Old people, mainly females, who had no relatives in the country.

5. Visitors such as chiefdom elders, headmen or friends from within the chiefdom, and sometimes strangers from other chiefdoms.

The requirements of food for a household of these dimensions were great, but in most cases the chief's own fields were sufficient to maintain it and only in cases of emergency did the chief use the tribute for his own household.

The chief usually appointed a chiefdom elder to be in charge of food stores and to help him in the administration of his food reserves. He did not distribute the harvest during the year in which it was collected; he normally built up a good reserve, bullrush millet in particular being a good storage crop since it could be kept for three years without serious deterioration. A needy person could go to the chief and explain his difficulties—perhaps his house and food store had been burned down, or he had lost everything during a raid, or the members of his household had been ill at planting time. The chief then either ordered the headman to help the man from his store, or, if the store were somewhat depleted, to organize local help for him. The chief used the hoes which he received as tribute for the men working in his own fields and he sometimes gave them as rewards to deserving subjects.

The payment of tribute has long since been abandoned* and

* *The Germans did not interfere in the tribal custom of tribute and in addition made the following concessions to chiefs:*

1. *The chief received two per cent and the village headman one per cent of every tax paid in his area.*
2. *All court fines and fees collected by the chief in his court were retained by him.*

In 1918 the Governor, Sir Horace Byatt, directed that all such fines and fees must be credited to Government revenues, which procedure was observed until 1925 when Native Courts were instituted and all fines and fees were credited to the deposit funds of the Native Court concerned.

the chief receives a salary paid from Native Treasury funds to which a percentage of the people's tax is directed. Though the tax is low, it is surprising how much talk, effort and, often enough, business transactions are involved in the payment of it (see pages 27-28).

5. *Revenue from Produce of Fields held by Virtue of Office*

The fields in the immediate vicinity of the chief's residence were cultivated by the wives and other inhabitants of the chief's dwelling. The produce was used for the requirements of the household. The chief had a permanent field in each parish, except in cases where he had renounced his claim and had handed the land over to a sub-chief. Each headman had to lay out a *ngunda gwa nkwiila* or *ngunda gwa ikuru* according to the number of inhabitants in his parish; the chief himself very seldom even knew where his field was situated. The work on the field was called *nhembe*. In some chiefdoms it was the custom for the headman to call out one person from each homestead for every stage of the work, each person finishing his share in two or three hours. In others it was the custom for a group of people to be called together for a certain phase of the work and a different group for a different phase. A proportionate part of the work was left for any man whose turn it was to work who appeared late. One field of a chief on measurement proved to be 320 yards by 160 yards. Only sorghum or millet was cultivated in these fields. In some places the measurement of the field was worked out on the basis of two mornings' work for one adult person from each homestead in any one year.

The chief never entered into any business transactions with his corn, such as bartering it for cattle; it was kept as a reserve for emergencies and was not used for his personal enrichment.

The chiefs still have their permanent fields in the parishes at the present time, but the work on them is now usually done by the village organization (*elika*) which also does work for others of the villagers in return for payment. Beer, goats or even a head of cattle are received by the leader for distribution among the workers. The chief has to pay in the same way, but he gets more work done for his money than a commoner. Chiefs sometimes pay wages to labourers in their fields—mainly to workers in cotton fields.

The produce of his fields is used to keep the chief's household supplied since he has still a considerable number of people living in his residence. As of old a good chief still feeds a number of poor relations and other indigent persons. Any corn not required for his own household may be disposed of nowadays by sale or barter.

Chiefs now frequently organize the cultivation of cash or food crops with the intention of selling them. Though they may get more work done for their money than other employers, they are far from obtaining free or even cheap labour.

6. *Shalubanza*

This was the name given to the chief's share of court fees and fines and of compensation ordered to be paid by his own court. In some areas he received in addition a share of the fees and fines, etc., paid in the headman's court. The people did not look upon this payment of fines to the chief from the point of view that they augmented his income. They considered him to be the person on whom the well-being of the community depended; therefore any offence against the community for which payment had to be made was an offence against the chief, and his share was in the nature of compensation for wrongs done to him.

This source of income for a chief no longer exists.

7. *Lwadida*

This was the fine imposed by the chief for the breaking of taboos placed on the community—usually in connection with magic medicines for a good harvest—or for the violation of the prerogatives of the chief, such as starting to sow seed before the chief had given the order, or using a newly harvested crop for the making of beer before the *itomolo* (harvest thanksgiving ceremony).

Lwadida was also imposed for the following offences:—Insulting the chief either by word of mouth or by disobeying orders; failure to turn out to fight when called up in case of war; or assaulting the descendant of a chief living in the parish. The fine consisted of *kitano* which was the payment of five separate things of the same kind, such as five goats, five hoes, five shillings or five petrol tins of millet or sorghum.

If the breaking of a taboo also involved the breaking of the law, for instance in case of adultery committed in the open at a time when cohabitation committed in the open outside the house was an offence against a taboo imposed on the whole community in connection with the healthy growth of the crops, *lwadida* had to be paid as well as the compensation for adultery.

The *lwadida* payment has not yet been completely abolished, though it is not now regularly imposed in all areas. A man who refuses to pay may escape punishment since neither the chief nor the community would insist upon it on principle, but if, by any chance, ill-luck should befall the community within a year of his default it would probably be ascribed to him. The consequences to the transgressor might then be very serious; for which reason most people prefer to pay a fine which is a small punishment compared with expulsion.

The payment demanded as *lwadida* is decreasing and shows a tendency of becoming a nominal amount.

8. *Mabasa*

This word means twins. The parents of twins had to undergo certain cleansing ceremonies and also to pay a fee to the chief. Many of the chiefs long ago delegated this function to sub-chiefs and headmen. The usual fee was two goats and two hoes. In some chiefdoms a couple who were immigrants from another area had to pay a cow if the wife gave birth to twins.

This fee is no longer paid, though the ceremonies are still widely performed.*

9. *Kusonza*

This is the name for confiscation. As described on page 13 the property of a person convicted of sorcery or high treason reverted to the chief. It was not customary in such cases to make detailed investigations into the exact property owned by the criminal. His near relatives were liable to lose their property at the same time and could only consider themselves fortunate to escape with their lives. The executors of the judgment against the criminal simply seized the amount of stock and property which they considered an adequate recompense according to the gravity of the crime.

This source of income for a chief no longer exists.

10. *Mhili*

This was the unclaimed property of anyone who died leaving no known relatives. The number of such people was formerly greater than it is now. Any stranger who had settled down in the chiefdom, having emigrated from a hostile or remote country and who died before having children was considered to have no known relatives and his property went to the chief. Had his relatives appeared to remove his property they would have had no friendly reception.

Nowadays unclaimed property is handed over to the Native Treasury.

11. *Mhuli*

This was the chief's right to the monopoly of the ivory trade. Any man who killed an elephant or found elephant tusks in the bush had to bring them to the chief. A man who delivered a tusk to him received a handsome present of one or two head of cattle. Ivory was the only form of wealth known in this part of the world which had currency outside tribal boundaries, for instance among Arabs in the interior and Indians in Bagamoyo or Sadani, as the slave trade was negligible in Sukuma, as already mentioned. Cases were known in which war broke out between two neighbouring chiefdoms because

*See H. Cory: "The Ntemi", Macmillan 1951.

a tusk was found which was claimed by both chiefdoms as their property. Wars of this kind usually resulted in an accurate demarcation of chiefdom boundaries.

The chief bartered his ivory for muzzle-loaders and gun-powder, beads and cloth. The cloth and beads he gave away to his favourites and to men who had served him well, but his military strength and the safety of his chiefdom and subjects depended on the number of muzzle-loaders in his possession. The professional soldiers, a number of whom served as his bodyguard, were armed with muzzle-loaders.

The possession and command of weapons far superior to those of the commoners was perhaps the source of authority next in importance to the belief of the people in the magico-religious powers of the chief (see pages 5 to 8). If his authority showed signs of weakening because of failures in the magical sphere, his rifles helped him to restore it.

12. *Sanhwa* or *Kumenhelwa* (booty)

All booty had to be delivered to the chief who redistributed it when he had taken his share. There are no reliable data obtainable on the importance of this source of income of a chief, but it may be assumed that it was not considerable and the occasions when it was received were rare.

13. *Ihongo*

This was a toll levied on travellers through a chiefdom. The custom is widely known from the descriptions of explorers. It brought profit only to those chiefdoms and chiefs situated on the permanent trade routes. Before 1860 Sukuma was to a great extent a terra incognita even to Arab traders. From the time it was put on the map up till the time of its pacification by the Germans it seems that the chiefs did not develop such a good system for extorting a toll as did the Gogo.

14. *Busese* (slavery)

A chief could acquire slaves in three ways:

1. By the procedure described on pages 10-11.
2. By keeping prisoners of war. Usually adults were killed and only women and children were taken prisoner and presented to the chief by the victorious warriors.
3. As presents from traders.

Slaves were very rarely sold. There were no slave markets and slaves of Sukuma origin were never sold to Arabs or other slave traders. The greater number of them grew up at court and became members of the chief's bodyguard.

The relationship between master and slave was patriarchal. The children born to slaves would be slaves of the same master and could not be sold by him. If they were girls they were married like anyone else, except that their bridewealth was received by the master and not by their parents. Childrens born to a master by a slave woman had the same status as his ohter children. Very few people other than the chief had slaves and all slaves were under his protection, since all slaves belonging to private individuals were presents from the chief which were usually given to prominent warriors after a victorious campaign. Any crime against a slave was prosecuted by the chief as though the slave were one of his own relatives. If a man killed a slave he had to pay *sungamata* and *njigu* to the chief. Altogether slavery was of very little importance in Sukumaland.

Former use of income

The sources of income were manifold but the use to which it was put was simple.

Corn was used for feeding the permanent or temporary dwellers at court; feeding the daily visitors, subjects of the chiefdom or strangers; and feeding the professional soldiers who served as bodyguard, police and combatants in war. It was also used for payments to the various practitioners who were consulted in the interests of the country and people. It was distributed in case of need from the headmen's stores, to help the indigent or those who had lost their own reserves through no fault of their own. It kept the tribal armoury supplied and provided for the entertainment of large numbers of the people with beer on ceremonial occasions.

Cattle were not looked upon as entirely the private property of the chief (see page 18). Any increase in number increased the herd of butemi cattle and came under the control of the chiefdom elders. These elders would only permit the use of animals for such purposes as would ultimately benefit the whole chiefdom, such as sacrifices to the ancestors, marriages of the chief, payments for magic medicines, or for rain-makers, etc. The only exception was that cattle could be used by the chief for presentation as rewards to men who had served their country well or for the entertainment of the people on ceremonial occasions.

Present use of income

Officially the total former income of a chief has been replaced by the payment to him of a salary from Native Treasury funds. Regarding this change from the point of view of the chief, money immediately arouses the idea of personal possession. It has its own characteristic attribute that it can more easily be used for all kinds of transactions, as payment for services or for the purchase of

goods, than for helping a hungry crowd when the markets are empty. Its worst attribute, however, is that so often there is none left. While grain stores—whatever the date of the month—only become empty after full use has been made of them in the public interest in case of emergency, the salary disappears all too quickly with little or nothing to show for it. Thus the wealth of the chief no longer serves the community but only himself and a few select relatives and friends.

In general it is a characteristic of human nature to use only surplus assets for charitable purposes, and not to give away anything which would actually diminish the comforts of the donor. The African is no exception to this. It cannot be expected that a chief will leave himself in want in order to feed his hungry subjects; when he was receiving tribute he was in a position to feed them without sacrificing his own comfort.

Because the chief was formerly the only man in the community who could be called wealthy, he is now the only man who can spend his property and money freely without fear of the restrictions imposed on the commoners by a still general fear of the consequences of being a large property owner. Being the first member of the community to receive a considerable salary, the chief is somewhat ahead of his people in the understanding of the implications of a monetary economic system. Already he needs money to maintain a certain standard of living, while the people only use a small part of their income for this purpose, and the rest in an irregular fashion. The money rests lightly in their hands but it weighs heavily in the chief's household. These observations are applicable at the present time, but the people's attitude to money can undergo surprisingly quick changes and what is true today may be past history tomorrow. Already there are Africans earning considerable incomes derived through hard work and an understanding of markets and price fluctuations. But for the great mass of the people the economic problem is still not how to earn more money but how to spend what they earn. Therefore the strongest incitement for wishing for an increase of income is not yet generally felt.

The chief's salary is usually considered to be a reasonable substitute for tribute, but he still has expenses in the interests of his country and people, such as those connected with his magico-religious functions, sacrifices to the ancestors, and gifts to relations. To cover these expenses, the greater part of which have to be made in kind, he feels himself justified in receiving traditional payments from his people and probably even considers it his right to think of new ways of obtaining income to pay for the new expenses involved in maintaining a dignity and style of life expected of him by everyone, including his own subjects. It is difficult to demarcate the boundary between right and wrong. The central government evades the

question because the solution is beyond the financial capabilities of the comparatively sparsely populated and undeveloped country. Thus the only way out for the chief is a combination of protective medicine (*lukago*) and lounge suits, rain medicine and car.

A corollary to the money system is the credit system. The chief can easily get considerable credit from unscrupulous traders because of his regular salary and the fact that he is unlikely to make his debts known to his District Commissioner for fear of lowering his prestige. Thus, unless he is a clever financier, he very soon gets into deep water. The present times, with their easy communications and the desire of the central government for chiefs to participate in councils and boards and to broaden their outlook by visits to other areas, may mean many expenses for them which they cannot claim from government. Every chief endeavours to surpass his fellows in smartness and magnificence, but where does he get the money for this display? The fact that a great number of the chiefdoms are small even by Sukuma standards, where the biggest chiefdom has only 91,000 inhabitants, adds to the difficulties. The chiefs of the smaller chiefdoms do not like to appear less important than their fellows, but their official incomes are so small as to be almost nominal if they are considered in relation to their expenses. As well as competing with other chiefs it is obvious that it is necessary to appear to be expensive and well dressed, since the Europeans, even if they know the salary received by a chief, show a preference for the well dressed man. It has not been fully realised that the chiefs are going through a financial crisis—in particular those of the smaller chiefdoms.

For all these reasons it can be said that increases in salary alone, though they are necessary, cannot be considered the complete remedy for this precarious situation. The problem lies in the discrepancy between the income, standard of living and tax capacity of the commoner and the position to which the chief has been elevated. The chief's wealth is no longer a source of his authority, but his need for money is usually a source of sorrow to him and his ways of improving his financial position a source of sorrow to the Administration.

Looked at from the point of view of the common man who pays the tax this change in the chief's economic situation has its shortcomings. The activities of modern administration are so complex and its ramifications so numerous that no citizen can make full use of all the various institutions and services for the maintenance of which he pays tax. In the original Sukuma community the position was different. The number of institutions dependent on tribute were few and accessible to everyone. Every citizen knew to what use his tribute was put and often enough he personally enjoyed the advantages of the chief's wealth. He paid tribute to his chief and received

it back again if he was in need. The chief, by his wisdom and the careful use of his wealth, protected him against famine and the elements and against the consequences of inexplicable epidemics. The man who can do this does not need to sue for popularity nor to worry about this authority. As things are now, the commoner is unable to link the taxes he pays with any activity of the chief, nor can he connect them with the free services which he enjoys. Between him and the beneficial social institutions is the incomprehensible alien machinery of an impersonal government.

This is why propaganda is necessary before the introduction of any new taxes. The collector of tribute is no longer the chief using it under the eyes of the contributors. He now only gets a share of it which he uses solely for his own requirements. The chief is living an ambiguous life and his economic position with its various facts is an easily recognizable indication of his general position in these times of change. If a rapid stream flows into a river bed the stones on the top are the first to be displaced.

D. The Chief's Leadership in War

The decision to go to war was made by the chief. With the exception of a few outstanding characters, such a decision was only taken after long and repeated consultation of oracles and observation of omens. This procedure had the advantage of decreasing the responsibility of the chief in case of defeat, since no one thought that he was stronger than the spirits and he could not be blamed if the latter gave bad advice, or at any rate his family could not be blamed (see page 7).

Preparations for war and the chief's control over the progress of the campaign were chiefly confined to the magico-religious sphere. Instances of actual leadership in the field by chiefs are known, but it was much more usual for them to remain at home. When the soldiers returned as victors the chief awaited them in the residence, surrounded by his courtiers and seated on his stool. All spoils of war were also carried or driven before the chief and handed over to him by the victorious warriors, while they marched past him. The chief distributed about a third of the cattle among the successful conquerors and kept two-thirds for himself. A recruit who had participated in a war expedition for the first time did not keep the beasts which he had driven off from the enemy's land; instead he was given by the chief some cloth which was highly valued.* The chief's responsibility was not so much for the outcome of the war as for the performance of all the rites connected with warfare. His large share of the spoils shows that this activity was considered to be all-important.

* See "The Ntami", by H. Cory, Macmillan 1951.

This source of authority no longer exists at the present time.

E. Administration by the Chief (Nkwamo)

It must be borne in mind that neither the chief nor the organization for the ruling of the chiefdom, which we would call his government, carried on a regular system of administration. There is no doubt that even in these days of development schemes introduced and almost enforced all over the country the native administration has not fully emancipated itself from the tempo and maxims of the indigenous institutions. Formerly time and life passed without harassing by continual regulations or their logical result—the continual changing of regulations. The European thinks that the real difficulty in the way of improvement is the finding of a formula for securing results. If the good effect of a useful measure can be seen by all, surely everyone will wish to employ the measure in order to obtain the effect. Until recently the African was fundamentally uninterested in results, and was only concerned with finding the most comfortable way of obtaining the absolute necessities of life. The indigenous administration did not go beyond this aim, the achievement of which was mainly brought about by magical control of the agricultural cycle and by any other rites connected with the community.

The majority of tribal officials were relatives of the chief. This was the tradition and it became part of the constitution. It was not a case of nepotism as it may now easily look to us. The post of chief was held by one member of the family, but the material advantages were enjoyed by the whole family, just as a herd of cattle was, to all intents and purposes, not the property of one man but of his family. It was therefore only reasonable to expect other members of the chief's family to do some work to assist him to maintain his post. So general was the appointment of relations, especially to administrative posts in the outlying parts of the chiefdom, that the word *banangwa*, which originally meant the sons of a chief, became the generic name for the village headmen.

It is impossible to say that the chief had or had not legislative powers. No instance is related of a chief having changed an existing law by any overt act in pre-European times. It seems likely that formerly there was so little change in the way of life that a change in the law was seldom necessary. A difficult case could always be judged on its merits and a precedent might in this way be created which eventually came to be regarded as the rule. The few orders known to have been issued by chiefs dealt with evils and dangers which were already menacing the community. Preventive orders were issued in the form of temporary taboos or as the outcome of divination. The following are examples of such orders formerly issued by chiefs: —

An order in case of famine threatening punishment for the theft of food in the fields. Normally theft of this kind was not taken seriously.

The prohibition, in case of famine, of eating the sweet sorghum stalks before the corn was ripe.

An order forbidding the brewing of beer when the people were late with their planting because they had still plenty of corn in store.

Instructions for work in the field and the type of crop to be planted, after consultation of the *Kadawida* (special oracle). Instructions regarding the use of grazing reserves, where they existed.

The only direct administrative decisions were made in the appointment of tribal officials and in war.

Present Situation

During the last thirty years, and particularly during the last ten years, the chiefs have changed laws or introduced new ones both on the chiefdom and federation level. The pressure exercised by the increasing speed of development has made these steps advisable and sometimes even necessary. It would, however, be wrong to deduce the existence of a traditional right in the chiefs from such actions. This aspect of the chief's prerogatives and its steadily increasing importance has come about as a result of the general change in their position. They have been given legislative powers under the Native Authority Ordinance of 1927, but the regulations which they have so far enacted only cover a very small section of their administrative and legislative activity.* This Ordinance is a very good example of indirect rule in practice. Really important regulations or orders are only made under it when sponsored, recommended and controlled by the central government. For legislation in their own sphere the chiefs do not use any complicated machinery, but simply issue verbal decrees. Many local divergences in customary law from chiefdom to chiefdom have been found to exist. They did not originate in outside influences or variations in tribal affinity, but were the outcome of deliberate decisions on the part of one chief or another. I repeat that this statement does not imply a derogatory judgment on the results of indirect rule, since the greater number of these alterations in the customary law were made in a progressive and beneficial direction.

The chief's authority in the appointment of Native Authority officials has also increased in recent times. The chiefs are now, almost without exception, freer to make their own appointments. Formerly they had to take into account certain local traditions in

* See *The Laws of Tanganyika 1947. Vol. II Cap. 72.*

the parish when appointing a village headman; in practice they merely exercised the right of veto in case of a person of whom they disapproved, but even then the post had to go to a member of the family who had held it for generations. Nowadays such considerations are frequently neglected.

Because of the present tendency of the central government to concentrate the Native Authority in the person of the chief, he now without opposition directs, influences, and decides more and more of the matters which were formerly the prerogatives of the community.* The administration of land has begun to undergo this process. Formerly the chief had nothing to do with the allocation of land and the execution of rules appertaining to land tenure. Land was abundant, economic crops did not exist, and therefore complicated land questions did not exist either. The present trend in many parts of Sukuma is to reserve decisions over the administration of land for the village headman (page 62), who after all can only be considered as acting as the chief's deputy. All these currents and trends are not the outcome of the chief's will for power. They are the logical consequences of the general elevation of the chief's position and of the economic development of the people. This elevation of the position of one man in times of rapid economic development probably means grave danger to the wholesome balance of society, especially if his position is not guaranteed by his own ability, but by the interference of a supreme but foreign power. Indications of discontent, though not frequent, are unmistakable.

HISTORICAL ASPECT

Very little is known about any evolution in the political institutions of the Sukuma in pre-European times, except that in the southern part of the area about sixty or seventy years ago the chiefs succeeded in freeing themselves from the political influence of the *basumba batale* (see page 78). German occupation of the country did perhaps interfere with the status of individual chiefs since some were replaced or *akidas* were set above them**, but the penetration of the country progressed slowly and its economic conditions altered at a slow rate. The colonizing activity of the Germans lasted barely 10 years, or even less than that, since it can be assumed that no inland areas could be developed in accordance with a comprehensive

* Since this was written government has changed its policy and is endeavouring to create a native authority on a democratic basis.

** Their qualifications were that they could read and write and knew how to wear a *kanzu*. They had no instructions to respect tribal authorities and they knew nothing of customary law. Thus it frequently happened that the natives of an area under an *akida* carried on their own legal processes in secret.

plan as long as certain important parts of the territory were still not pacified*. The Sukuma of 1914 in his material and spiritual life was incomparably nearer to his ancestors than to the generation following him.

During the German occupation changes took place outwardly in the position of the chief, while the sources of his authority, and therefore his internal position, changed very little. Under British rule the outward position of the chief was interfered with much less, while the original bases of his authority were steadily undermined. The real evolution of the chief's position only started about 1925, at which time an ever-increasing penetration into the economic and spiritual life of the people began. At that time also began the unintentional consolidation of the chief's position on a new basis. This development in two opposing directions, which looked for the next twenty years like the panacea of any defects in progress, contained in reality the germs of its own destruction from the beginning. Unwittingly the British Government, by its presence alone, but also by its unrestricted and perhaps uncritical benevolence towards the backward races, which found its expression in a policy of progress to be promulgated speedily and under all circumstances, destroyed the fundamental ideologies on which the authority of the chiefs rested while at the same time permitting and encouraging a greater use of that authority. Retrospectively it can be said that no harm was done because, on the very low level of political interest of the Africans, the diverging currents ran only slowly.

During these last 25 years the original bases of the chiefs' authority have been replaced by a number of others which have succeeded up to the present time in keeping the structure of the Native Authority intact. The following enumeration of the present bases must remain incomplete, if for no other reason than that we are too close to the changes to be able to see clearly all their ramifications.

Traditional Restrictions on the Authority of the Chief

The obvious constitutional restrictions on the chief's authority are treated in the chapters on *banang'oma*, *banangwa*, *banamhala* and *basumba batale*. All the officials and members of corporate bodies within the chieftom had their clearly defined functions and therefore acted as restrictions on the superior authority of the chief. None of these institutions served only as executives under the orders of the chief.

This section endeavours to describe a few of the deeper and therefore hidden factors which were nevertheless of the greatest,

* The Maji-Maji Rebellion ended in 1906. "In 1913 there were no more than 79 white officials to run a roadless country of 7,600,000 natives," (G. L. Steer: *Judgment on German Africa*).

perhaps even of fundamental importance in the maintenance of the equilibrium of the traditional Sukuma society.

Sukuma chief was never an absolute autocrat, though the degree of his autocracy varied according to the character of each individual chief. As in every dynasty, there were in the ruling houses a certain number of mighty warriors, or highly successful performers of magico-religious functions, many average men whose rule left no mark and a number of cruel men, drunkards and fools. Almost all of them were following their natural dispositions within narrow bounds and very few of them fought against the traditional restrictions on their position or tried to augment their prerogatives to an undue extent. The Sukuma chief was a "Democratic Feudal Leader".

The chiefdoms were very small and this fact alone may account for the lack of extreme autocratic tendencies; it is difficult to be bloodthirsty for many years if one has not many subjects and knows them all by name. The authority of the chief was vested in his office and not in his person. Therefore we find many cases in Sukuma history in which chiefs were deposed but there are no cases known where they were killed by their subjects. Rulers are killed when the people become restive under their subordinate position and not because they simply dislike a certain man. In the latter case it suffices to remove the offender.

A Sukuma chief was accessible in his residence to all his subjects and many of them shared a pot of beer with him. People meeting him did not have to perform elaborate obeissances. They clapped their hands, but the conversation was without formality after this greeting. It would seem probable that a warlike people who frequently see their chief as the leader of the community in times of danger develop different conventions in the relationship between subjects and ruler than those developed by a tribe who have lived for a long time in almost undisturbed peace, like the Sukuma. Even in Sukumaland itself, there seems to have been a marked difference. In the north, which has had a peaceful history, the people follow a system of extensive agriculture and live in widely scattered individual holdings, while the people in the south (including the Nyamwezi), who were frequently exposed in the past to raids by Hamitic tribes and disturbed by inter-tribal feuds, live in villages. The dangers created amongst the villagers a sense of obligation to give mutual help and a strict obedience to institutions together with the necessity of choosing a powerful leader. The solitary farmer, on the contrary, was his own defender and diviner. Because of the difference in conditions an institution such as that of the *basumba batabe* (page 77) retained its original authority in north and central Sukuma, while in the south they were deprived of many of their powers under the increasingly autocratic tendencies of the chiefs.

At the time of the arrival of the European the whole of Sukumaland was ruled by chiefs, but the varying factors contributing to conditions of living had worked to produce different degrees of authority accruing to the post in different places. It is not surprising that the only great military leader, Mirambo, and the chief who resisted the occupation of the country by Europeans most seriously, Isike Mwana Kiyungi, both originated in the area south of Nzega. (This is outside the Sukuma area, but Sukuma and Nyamwezi are ethnically and linguistically identical). From the differences in position of the Sukuma chiefs it follows that with the arrival of the European they did not all lose authority to the same degree. There is no doubt that, after the first shock, the chiefs quickly recovered and retained, at least within their chiefdoms, their traditional position. In German times the main consideration in administration was not ability but loyalty; it was not until after the 1914-1918 War that a change slowly occurred in administrative ideas which led to the theoretically exact definition of the position of the chief. In fact the chiefs still retain much of their original authority in spite of the various complications already described in matters of income and the change in the original sources of authority. After the last war again a change took place in our conceptions of the best method of administering a backward people and it is not optimistic to assume that this time the chief's position will really undergo fundamental changes.

In order to inaugurate these changes a knowledge of the situation as described above will be of great assistance. It would be wrong to think that the present differences in power of the chiefs of the north and south are so great as to make it advisable to treat these two areas differently. Sukumaland must become politically and economically a homogeneous area and the knowledge of the differences should be shown more in the way of tact and diplomacy than in the application of different measures.

Demands for Restrictions on the Authority of the Chief to be Expected in the Near Future

The original rules of succession and their change in recent times has been described. In a country where the rulers are elected the influence of the electors continues after the election. The chiefdom elders were not only the electors of the chief, they were also the hereditary courtiers, court assessors and mediators between him and his people (see chapter on *Banang'oma* page 39). The chiefs are now elected—no case is known during the last twenty-five years where this has not been so—by a combination of the traditional electors and the people. The people are in the majority in this combination, but in most cases they have probably been guided by the traditional electors. The influence of the people in restricting the chief has not therefore

developed in proportion to their increased participation in his election. The people are politically immature and have found that the following of tradition is the easiest form of politics. But they are now becoming more and more conscious that such things as politics exist in the outside world and with this realization the time of "muddling through" must come to an end. When the people become fully politically minded not only will the Europeans no longer hold the monopoly in the making of cars, but they will be lucky if they can still regulate the traffic.

Formerly if a man was dissatisfied with his chief, he had an easy remedy in emigration. There were plenty of other places where he could go, all inhabited by Sukuma. Emigrants of good reputation were welcomed everywhere and were treated as full citizens from the day of their arrival. It was realized by everyone that the natural wealth of an area is bound up with the density of its population. More inhabitants meant more tribute and greater military strength. Thus nothing could disturb a chief more than a marked emigration of his subjects and if the cause proved to be an unpopular sub-chief or village headman he would remove the offending official with the full consent of his councillors, but if he himself was the cause the chiefdom elders, headmen, and in some parts of Sukuma the great commoners, would not hesitate to remedy the situation by a change of person of the ruler. The time has already come in some parts of the country when mobility of population will only be possible in conjunction with change of profession; this situation is bound to extend to more and more areas year by year. Land will become scarcer and improvements made to the land more important; to give up land under pressure of political dissatisfaction, even if it should be possible to dispose of it profitably, will become more and more disturbing for the whole community. This is one example of many cases in which the reaction to arbitrary conduct on the part of the Native Authority may be a demand for greater security which can only consist of a stricter control of authority by a more democratic constitution.

Means by which the Chiefs have Succeeded in Maintaining their Authority

- a) By using the general protection of the central government and usurping prerogatives which they did not formerly possess. Examples of this are the appointment of village headmen (see page 31), administrative powers (see page 31) and influence in the matter of a successor (see page 5).
- b) By retaining the uncontested post of mediator between the people and the most influential powers—no longer the spirits of the ancestors, but the even more remote Europeans. This has not been difficult, since the British

Government has helped to create the chief's monopoly as a mediator by the introduction of indirect rule.

- c) By administering the people direct instead of through the original institutions. The British Government has also assisted them in this by taking no cognizance of the indigenous constitutional pattern.

Reasons for the People Accepting these Developments

- a) They were more tolerant than they had been formerly because of the economic progress which was concurrent with these changes. The first reaction to economic progress is to be highly satisfied with the institutions have made it possible; the troubles start later.
- b) The administrative power of the chief put him in the position of being able to dispense favours on a larger scale than formerly. He had charge of and could dispose of many profitable posts.
- c) The machinery of government which the chief seemed to understand became more and more complicated and less and less comprehensible to the people, who therefore preferred to suffer slight injustices from the chief rather than undergo the complications involved in their remedy by the Europeans.
- d) The eradication of the belief in the chief's supernatural powers is a slow process. This belief in, respect for and loyalty to the traditional chief were, and still are, strong forces and their elimination is retarded because there is no direct propaganda with a view to achieving their destruction.

Means by which the British Government has Maintained the Prestige of Chiefs

- a) By marked personal preferential treatment of chiefs.
- b) By conferring with chiefs in camera whenever it has been expedient to do so.
- c) By believing statements of chiefs without asking for proof, while from any other person detailed evidence of their statements is required.
- d) By organizing councils of chiefs and thus exaggerating the points made in a), b) and c).
- e) By remaining ignorant of the private and public life of the commoner, of indigenous institutions and of tribal matters in general.

C O N C L U S I O N

The most important sources of the authority of the traditional Sukuma chief and the present position with regard to them are: —

A. The belief in the chief's magico-religious powers. This belief has still a certain degree of importance, but it is rapidly losing its place in Sukuma public life and the prognosis can only be that it will never again be a reliable factor, though relapses may occur here and there.

B. The chief's function as supreme judge. This has been considerably curtailed and the chief is now only the chairman of a lower court. The separation of judicial and administrative functions is a part of the policy of government and it is slowly being introduced step by step. The prognosis therefore is that this source of the chief's authority will be non-existent in the very near future.

C. The wealth of the chief. Since the chief no longer uses his income in the interests of his people, and since every man has an opportunity to acquire riches for himself and before long will not be reluctant to make it clear to everyone that he has done so, this source of authority also has no future. As in the case of judicial supremacy, so in this case also the chief has lost his unique position, his people having made the acquaintance of the great number of individuals of various races who obviously possess greater riches than any of the chiefs. It may be that the people will continue to wish to see their chiefs rich, but they will do less and less to ensure it by private subsidies.

D. The chief's leadership in war. This source of authority does not, of course, exist now.

E. Administration by the chief. The chief's administrative powers have considerably increased; not because of ambition, political victories, or wisdom of the chiefs as a class, but because their administrative authority is derived from the administrative authority of the central government.

It seems that the chiefs are on the point of losing all their traditional sources of authority, which already look as though they were based on outdated tolerance and profound ignorance. The only source which remains as a substitute for all those which are disappearing is the executive power which the chief is granted by the central government. To what extent government will back up the chief's executive authority and how far it will allow its control by institutions resulting from the introduction of popular representation will not be a matter of evolution, but of deliberation by the central government. Though the chief may eventually become an inter-departmental officer more dependent on government than rooted in his area and its people, it will be necessary to maintain the outward

signs of his dignity. Human relations can never be based entirely on realistic factors and in Sukuma, as in many other places, the sentimental value of chieftaincy will remain an important guarantee of the material and cultural co-operation of the people for some time to come.

DEPUTY OF CHIEF

This post was formerly unknown and no word exists for it in the Sukuma language. The chief appointed a temporary deputy if, for instance, he had to go on a journey (a very rare occurrence) or when he was seriously ill for any length of time. In such cases the chief either appointed the deputy, choosing a relative and informing the chiefdom elders of his action, or he appointed one or two of the *banangwa batale* (see chapter on Parish Headmen) to act for him. The same men were not necessarily chosen if subsequent occasions arose.

If a chief died suddenly one of his nearest relatives—usually one of his brothers—administered the country until a new chief had been chosen. It must very rarely have happened, in such cases, that the deputy actually usurped the position of chief, because no examples of such an action could be obtained. The main obstacle to treachery of this kind was the belief of all the people that no man could call himself chief who had not been endowed with the insignia of office*, the most important article being the *ndeji* or royal bracelet, and these insignia were hidden by the chiefdom elders immediately a chief died.

The chief now appoints a man permanently to the post of deputy. This man may be a relative of the chief, but he may also be any man, other than one who is not a Sukuma, whom he considers fit for the post.

The duties of the deputy are not specifically defined. His task is mainly to relieve the chief of the work which he dislikes doing. During the chief's absence the deputy is reluctant to give any decision and he is largely concerned with collecting the news of the chiefdom so that he can give the chief a complete report on his return.

Present Position

In consequence of the increase in administrative authority of the chief and his resultant manifold executive tasks, the importance of the deputy has increased. The chief, whatever the size of his chiefdom, is now frequently absent from his residence. He is expected to tour his chiefdom frequently and it is also his duty to attend meetings of chiefs on the district or higher levels. It has already

* See "The Ntemi", by H. Cory (Macmillan & E.A. Literature Bureau).

been mentioned that it is the policy of government to bring about slowly but surely a separation of the administrative and judicial functions of chiefs. With this in view it has been found opportune in certain cases recently to appoint two deputies for a chief, one to be the administrative and the other the judicial deputy. Deputy is actually a misnomer for the latter who does not deputize for the chief but is himself a court holder. In cases where the separation of these two functions of the chief have been carried out the judicial deputy was not appointed by the chief, but hard and fast rules have not yet been laid down as to the general procedure of appointment. The opinion at present seems to be that the administrative or general deputy must be in such close collaboration with the chief that the latter should retain his right to appoint him.

CHIEFDOM ELDERS (BANANG'OMA)

History of Office

In every Sukuma chiefdom a small number of men belonging to certain families enjoy the privilege of being those from whom these councillors and courtiers are traditionally chosen. They are called *banang'oma* in the north and *bugon'hogon'ho* in the south. Cases were known in which the original order of things was set aside and the chiefs appointed chiefdom elders to their posts irrespective of their descent, but where this has happened the traditional elders and the people themselves remain reluctant to acknowledge their equality and the rights accruing their rank (see page 45).

The following examples of their histories as related by these families give some idea of the events which led up to their singular position:—

The chiefdom elders' families of Busukuma, a chiefdom of the Mwanza Federation, are the Lega, Nanhumbi, Suka, Sagali, Maja, Yunga, and Kombe clans.

The Maja, Yunga, and Suka are sub-clans of the great Binza clan to which belong many of the rulers of the Sukuma chiefdoms—especially in the Binza Federation of the Maswa District. The Lega was the ruling family of the parish Nenge at the time when Nkanda, the first Binza chief, arrived in Busukuma. The head of the family acknowledged Nkanda's authority and remained in office as headman of Nenge.

The Kombe trace their origin to a follower of Nkanda who came with him to Busukuma.

The Nanhumbi live in the parish Nhumbi. They immigrated from Sengerema, after Nkanda's death, under the leadership of a

man called Madama and were given the parish Nhumbi as their domicile.

The Sagali came from Mhwande in the Western Province during the lifetime of Nkanda.

Thus the families of the chiefdom elders in Busukuma trace their origin to the following sources:—

1. The followers of the first Binza chief, Nkanda, on his immigration to Busukuma.
2. The indigenous rulers whom the Babinza found on their arrival in Busukuma.
3. The founders of sub-clans of the ruling Binza clan.

In the Mwanza chiefdom of the Mwanza Federation the important chiefdom elder families are:—

Hindi, Gala, Bago, Chongo, Jigaba, Heta.

The Hindi are the ruling family which came to the lake shore from Buha under the leadership of one Masongo Isemabwa Shilugabuha, of Hamitic origin, who died during the journey. His son and successor was Muhaya Rubambula who founded the present Mwanza chiefdom. Masongo left Buha with many followers but there is no tradition as to the reason for his departure. The route of the immigrants led through Zinza country west of Smith Sound and they settled down in Bwiru in the first place. The Gala family derives its name from *Kugalia*—to have many children. This family traces its descent from the mother of Ntemi Muhaya.

Muhaya's daughter married a man of the Bago family which was probably living in the area before the arrival of the Hindi. Muhaya's son-in-law became a chiefdom elder.

Chongo was a Taturu who was found as a child in a swamp(!) He was brought to the chief (Nyamulonda) who kept him in his household and liked him so much that he supplied the cattle for his marriage when he grew up. Jigaba is a Longo family by origin which became related to the Hindi by marriage. Heta was a family which came from Buha with Masongo.

The sources here are therefore:

1. Certain members of the ruling family.
2. Indigenous rulers.
3. The favourite of an ancient chief.
4. The followers of the first ruler after his immigration.

The chief elders of Ntusu, a chiefdom of the Binza Federation, belong to four families:

Masanja, Kiumbi, Chama, Lugembe.

Masanja and Kiumbi were members of the Binza clan which followed the rules of matrilineal succession. The sons of the chief were therefore excluded from succeeding to their father's office and

became parish headmen as was the custom in those days. When they grew old they left the office of headman to their sons and became chiefdom elders. The family council generally had no objection to this procedure, but if the old man was obviously unsuitable for any post he was made to retire and the family council elected a successor from amongst the members of the family to fill the vacancy, whether of headman or chiefdom elder. Lugembe was an uncle of chief Masanja who attained great influence at court and established the right of himself and his descendents to the post of chiefdom elder.

Muchama was a blood brother of one of the first of the Ntusu chiefs.

Thus all the chiefdom elders in Ntusu are of the Binza clan, except those of the Chama family. Therefore if a Masanja dies he need not necessarily be replaced by another Masanja, but his successor may be a Kiumbi or Lugembe, since both belong to the Binza clan.

The chief is the Binza clan leader and the present procedure is that he calls together about twenty members of the family, chosen by himself, to elect a man for the vacant post.

In Nunghu, another chiefdom of the Binza Federation, a certain number of *banangwa batale* (see chapter on Parish Headman) performed the functions of the chiefdom elders, though they were called *bagon'hogon'ho*, or, in other words, the same men originally held two posts. Sometimes, as in Ntusu, when a father took over the office of chiefdom elder his son succeeded him as village headman. In course of time the two offices were separated and thus there are now chiefdom elders who are not, and never have been, headmen and vice versa. Nunghu, though ruled by Binza chiefs, has, for historical reasons, patrilineal succession. When the first chief, Isengo, died his son, Ndutu, expelled Mbagga, the son of Isengo's sister, and usurped the office of chief. For this reason the elders of this chiefdom were the sub-chiefs who were the nearest relatives of the chief.

It appears that in central Sukuma the rule of the Binza clan was so powerful that no member of another clan was admitted to the post of chiefdom elder.

Number of Chiefdom Elders

The number of chiefdom elders varies from chiefdom to chiefdom. The following figures are approximate only: —

Ntusu	8	Chiefdom elders
Mwanza	30	" "
Burima	18	" "
Nasa	31	" "
Busukuma	28	" "

Magu	28	”	”
Samuye	12	”	”
Luhumbo	28	”	”
Mondo	15	”	”

The privileged families are normally entitled to delegate a certain number of their members as chiefdom elders. The number from each family varies, but is seldom less than two and, in some cases, is as many as ten.

Method of Appointment

The method of appointment varied according to the area, but in all the chiefdoms it was a rule that the successor of a chiefdom elder must be a member of the same family as his predecessor. With a few exceptions already mentioned, a vacancy arising amongst the chiefdom elders is either filled by the election of a new man by the members of the family of the previous one, or by the other chiefdom elders who choose a member of the same family. In some areas the chief had the right to veto a candidate chosen by the chiefdom elders, but in fact this right was practically never used. The chief and the chiefdom elders were so closely connected that, though a crack might come between them, a split could never occur.

Kisaka or Mwibiringo (Council)

These are the names given to a meeting of the chiefdom elders. These meetings do not take place regularly, but are specifically called either by the chief or by the leader of the *kisaka*.

The organization within this council varies slightly from place to place; to take the chiefdom Magu as an example, there are the following officials:

- Ngogo ntale* — the chairman. He is chosen by the chiefdom elders and the office is for life.
- Ngogo ndo* — the chairman's deputy, chosen by the chiefdom elders.
- Magile* — the member who organizes the different duties of the chiefdom elders. For instance, he chooses the chiefdom elders who must go and ask the *mufumu* or *manga ntale* (both diviners) for the prospects for the current agricultural season. He also approaches the chief in order to obtain gifts for the diviners etc.
- Bagati* — helpers of the *ngogo ntale*, appointed by him.
- Ntemi nhoja* — in Magu there are two. They are the descendants of a pre-dynastic leading clan and it

is their duty to perform the ceremonial shaving of the chief. They wear the *kibangwe*.

Ngabe — The member whose duty it is to put the *ndeji* (crown insignia) on the wrist of the chief at his initiation.

Kihaka — these members were not allowed to see the chief in former times. The rule is not now so strictly kept.

In most places the chieftom elders still wear a string of green and blue beads as a badge of their office. These beads cannot be bought in the dukas and are said to be of considerable age.

There was no special induction ceremony into the council. The new members learned their duties by helping the older ones. A newly elected chieftom elder had to give one head of cattle to the other members of the council, and a newly appointed chairman had to make a present of one head of cattle and five pots of beer to the members.

Original Functions

Courtiers and Councillors

The chieftom elders took it in turns to attend the chief at his court. At least ten were always in attendance and had their houses within the chief's residence. A chief formerly led a very secluded life and never left his residence or even his house without being surrounded by the chieftom elders who formed a circle round him. The only regular occasion on which the chief showed himself to his subjects was the *bumwoga* (ceremonial shaving after harvest). There was no division of duties between the chieftom elders in attendance at court. Each elder had to be able and willing to perform any of the manifold duties required of the chieftom elders.

The chieftom elders were the permanent councillors of the chief and completely controlled all matters concerning his public and private life. They chose his wives for him and accompanied them if they left the residence to visit relations. They sent for a practitioner if the chief was ill. They were the means of communication between the chief and his people. They kept him informed of what was going on in his chieftom and, as they lived in various parts of it and took it in turns to live in the residence, the chief was usually well informed about everything that happened all over the chieftom.

These men were also the delegates of the chief in negotiations with practitioners, soothsayers and rain-makers whose help the chief had to employ in the interests of his people. They acted as the chief's deputies in matters, such as boundary disputes between headmen, which required investigation and decision on the spot. They

represented the chief at the courts of other friendly chiefs on official occasions, such as weddings or funerals.

The chiefdom elders functioned as judges or assessors in the chief's court. Very often the chief himself attended the court, in which case the chiefdom elders sat with him as his assessors. If the chief did not appear the chiefdom elders held the session in his absence, but they generally discussed the case with him before giving judgment. They used to go on circuit as deputies of the chief for the purpose of judging cases, or negotiating with *banangwa baduma* (sub-chiefs) if any of them became unruly. The chiefdom elders who acted as chief's mediators and representatives outside the residence were called *baratu* (*shilatu*—shoes; they put on sandals for the journey).

The chiefdom elders were the councillors of the chief in warfare and, in fact, in any political or administrative matters. For all these duties they received no regular salary, but they were entitled to a share in the spoils of war, to remuneration for their judicial duties from both parties to a dispute, and they also received many favours from the chief.

Election of Chief

The chiefdom elders together with the headmen were responsible for the election of a new chief and they sat in separate councils for this purpose. In many places the chiefdom elders also had the power to depose a chief and elect one of his near relatives in his place if he should commit unconstitutional acts of tyranny, or otherwise prove to be incapable of fulfilling his duties.

Initiation of Chief

The chiefdom elders performed the ceremony of initiating a new chief on his accession.

Burial of Chief

Similarly they were the main functionaries at the burial ceremony.

Religious duties.

The chiefdom elders were expected to perform the magico-religious rites of the agricultural cycle and other magic rites of the chief and his consort, such as rain-making, twin ceremonies, etc.*

Changes in Position

The form of appointment, position, duties, and influence of the chiefdom elders underwent great changes during the years following the 1914 War.

* For the last three functions see "The Ntami", by H. Cory, Macmillan, 1951.

From 1917 to 1919 *akidas* (appointees of Government, nearly all men from Uganda) were set above the chiefs as executives. Several chiefdoms were combined under one such officer; for instance, the executive at Nyanguge had under him the chiefdoms of Busukuma, Bujashi, Sima, Magu, Mwanza, Beda, Iwanda, and Nyamuhanda. In 1919 the Ganda officials were sent back to Uganda and Sukuma *akidas* were appointed. They were mostly chosen from among the clerks at the District Offices and yet more chiefdoms were combined under one man. These administrators remained in office until 1924 or 1925 when the chiefs again became the independent rulers of their chiefdoms.

During the rule of the *akidas* the chiefs remained in office, but in all questions except those concerning the internal affairs of the chiefdom the *akida* was senior to the chiefs under him. They retained their courts, but there was an appeal to the *akida's* court. During the rule of the *akidas* chiefs were appointed by the European government when one of them died or a change was considered necessary. The *akidas* played an important part in helping to choose a new chief. The customary procedure by which the chiefdom elders chose the chief very soon became obsolete. The new chiefs, not chosen by the chiefdom elders, did not respect their various rights and duties and many of the old chiefs found this change convenient and adopted it also. Thus these formerly powerful dignitaries were pushed into the background and, especially in those chiefdoms where younger men or men not traditionally entitled to the post became chiefs, their influence declined.

Present Situation

After 1925 the position of the chiefdom elders deteriorated even more rapidly, except in cases where the post of chiefdom elder and sub-chief was identical, where the position remained more stable.* The symptoms of decline are unmistakable. The numbers of the members of the *kisaka* are on the decrease (with exceptions which are mentioned later), as neither the chiefs nor the chiefdom elders themselves consider the full number essential for the transaction of official business.

There are only a very few chiefdoms left, such as Mwanza, Masanza and Beda, in which the chiefdom elders are invariably chosen in the old way from the privileged families. In other chiefdoms a number belong to the old families, but others have been added by appointment of the chief. Thus, for instance, in Nasa, Msalala and Burima probably the majority of chiefdom elders have been appointed by the chief. In several chiefdoms the original

* In many chiefdoms a number of the chiefdom elders are also headmen. For instance, in Magu 4 out of 28 elders are headmen, while in Luhumbo all the elders are also headmen.

number of chiefdom elders has been increased by "packing." If a man is appointed by the chief he gives one head of cattle to the other chiefdom elders, but he gives nothing to the chief whose only advantage is to have a majority of his followers or the followers of his family amongst the chiefdom elders.

The fact that the chiefs are still interested in the working of the *kisaka* enough to pack this assembly with their own men has two reasons. Firstly, the chiefdom elders, though in all other spheres they are far from pushing themselves forward, have up to the present time succeeded in maintaining some influence in the question of succession to the chieftaincy. The people still acknowledge the necessity of their presence, partly because everyone realizes that they are likely to be less biased than other "king makers" who raise their voices when the important question of succession becomes acute, and partly because a section of the populace still believes that those in the *kisaka* possess the secret of reliable divination. Finally, certain ceremonies known exclusively to the chiefdom elders in connection with the burial of a chief and the initiation and enthronement of his successor are still performed everywhere. This situation has been realized by Government and therefore the chiefdom elders are included in the men called upon to elect a new chief.

At the present time there remain only a few functions of minor importance in the public life of the tribe in which the chiefdom elders participate, with the exception of those mentioned above, to which may be added their duties as assistants in the magico-religious duties of the chief and his consort which are still widely performed, though there can be no doubt that their importance is diminishing everywhere.

The rights and duties of the chiefdom elders nowadays depend entirely on the wishes of the chief and to what extent he is inclined to make use of them. They are very seldom found among the court assessors, although in Mwanza there are three who act in this capacity. Their importance naturally varies in the different chiefdoms; for instance, in Shinyanga Siha they have not been suppressed and lost their privileges to the same extent as in other places. There they are called "the fathers of the chiefs". They are usually still consulted in the choice of the chief's official wives (the number of whom is now decreasing), and if the chief is having trouble with his people he may try to use the influence of the chiefdom elders on his side, since they still have some influence with the people, although it is a traditional rather than an official influence. A chiefdom elder is automatically the leader of his family and as such he functions as arbitrator in all matters between the members of the family. This refers, of course, only to the chiefdom elders of the privileged families and not to those appointed by the chief. On social occasions, even when they are not employed on the special

duties of their office, they keep themselves separate from the people. They are given their share of meat and beer which they consume among themselves. Their social position can be judged by the provisions of the customary which lay down a scale of compensation payable according to rank, the chieftom elders being classed with headmen, regents and deposed chiefs.

Conclusion

The chieftom elders, although they were members of a few selected families, were representatives of a popular principle. They kept communication between the chief and his subjects open; they lived among the people and their children and relations were commoners. There are no cases known in tribal history in which the chieftom elders as a corporate body or an individual chieftom elder transgressed the limits of traditional authority or tried to become a chief. Their families, like those of the chiefs themselves, remained for centuries in the position which they had once attained. In this sense they may be called aristocrats but, in contrast to our use of the word these aristocrats always remained nearer to the people than to the "throne", especially in that they were never given a privileged position over the commoners. In a culture in which conditions only changed slowly they were never put to the test of efficient adaptation. The decline of the chieftom elders is a result of the present rapid development. As their main functions were magico-religious they never became known to Europeans who, looking for a native authority to assist them in administrative matters, elevated chiefs to positions which they had never held before. They gave their orders to the chiefs and held them responsible for their execution, and very few of them realized that Bantu chiefs had nothing to do with the romantic conceptions of oriental rulers derived from the "Thousand and One Nights". In old German publications rulers of two hundred and fifty taxpayers are called "kings". The chieftom elders abandoned their position in the public and political life of the tribe without a struggle, so that their degradation never even became noticeable to the Europeans. The chiefs were quick to realize the advantage to themselves of getting rid of all internal control and did nothing to preserve the privileges of the chieftom elders except in so far as their functions in magic rites were concerned.

Nothing can be done for these dignitaries, even if their existence were considered salutary for the equilibrium of society in general or of the Native Authority. It must be said that they are extremely conservative and retiring old men, since the family concerned usually prefers to select old men to succeed to such offices. Sometimes they are utterly senile and useless. Many of them are men of property and as such they may enjoy a certain degree of reverence from members of their own generation. This is the

general impression gained of them, particularly in the north. In the south, though not less conservative, they are a far more active group of men; to a greater extent than in the north they are still the courtiers and friends of the chiefs, but as an institution their fate will be that of all chiefdom elders.

It looks at present as if there is no longer any place for the chiefdom elders in the creation of a new Native Authority hierarchy.

SUB-CHIEF

In some areas this office is a traditional institution while in others it has only recently come into being. A traditional sub-chief was formerly called *ng'wanangwa ntale*, but now the name used for all sub-chiefs is *ng'wambilija, ntwale, mlamiji, or namuji*. The post of sub-chief, originally generally held by a near relation of the chief, was one of great authority and there is at least one case known in which a sub-chief ousted his chief and made himself ruler of the country. This was the case of Masali, the father of the late chieftainness Nsile of Samuye.

The post was handed down from father to son, a brother taking it over if there were no sons of a suitable age. The boundaries of the sub-chiefdoms were never changed in order that it might be divided between two or more sons. When a traditional sub-chief died the chief himself went to his parish and assembled the people. Each traditional sub-chief had his own particular parish of which he was the headman while he was at the same time superior to the other headmen of the sub-chiefdom. The great commoners (see page 77) and the parish elders of rank (see page 63) then went into council, either alone or together with the chief, to decide who should succeed the dead sub-chief. The choice was only from among the nearest relatives of the deceased.

This form of sub-chieftaincy has been superseded by a modern office which is actually created by the chiefs when they consider it necessary to have a man of authority between them and their headmen because of the great number of the latter. The whole chiefdom need not necessarily be divided into sub-chiefdoms. Some parts of it may have a sub-chief with the headmen under him, while the headmen in other parts come directly under the chief. In some cases sub-chiefdoms have been created not so much for practical administrative reasons as for the personal aggrandisement of the chief.

In the chiefdom of Burima there are three sub-chiefs who are appointed by the chief, at least one of whom is not a local man but comes from another Sukuma chiefdom. In the chiefdom of Nera, out of five sub-chiefs three are men from Nera, one comes from a neighbouring chiefdom, and one comes from another Sukuma District.

These examples show that the sub-chiefs—with the exception of the few traditional ones now remaining, who are mostly relations of the chief—have become purely Native Authority officials. This point is of some importance because it is the first office of the Native Authority in which the idea of hereditary right has been generally set aside (see page 53 for headmen). This innovation has not taken place under pressure from the central government, but was inaugurated by the chiefs themselves. Those sub-chiefs who do not hold a traditional office retain their authority over the headmen and the people simply by virtue of their appointment.

The sub-chiefs are court holders and an appeal lies from their courts to the court of the chief. The duties of the sub-chief are similar to those of the chief himself and he is the chief's deputy within his own area.

The chiefs have reserved for themselves the right to appoint the headmen, but it is almost obligatory for them to discuss a new appointment in his area with the sub-chief.

The chief does not interfere in sub-chiefdom matters without consulting the sub-chief and he would, for instance, advise a complainant against a headman or any other person in authority to discuss his case with the sub-chief. The sub-chief on his part expects all matters connected with his area to be brought to him and he considers it a sign of insubordination and deliberate provocation if a headman or commoner approaches the chief direct.

PARISH HEADMAN*

(NG'WANANGWA)

Origin of Institution

The sub-division of the chiefdoms into geographical areas called *gunguli* (parishes) dates from very early times, and some Sukuma say that historically the chiefdom is simply an amalgamation of parishes which would mean that the parishes existed before the chiefdom. From a study of the history of chiefdom elders' families (see page 39) one can perhaps also say that, before the arrival of the ruling Hamitic families, Sukuma was divided into a large number of very small areas, each ruled by an *ntemi*, which, after their amalgamation into chiefdoms, continued to exist as parishes. On the other hand, the history of many parishes goes back to the time of pioneering enterprise of individual men who left the security of inhabited areas and opened up portions of the vast bush areas.

* "Parish Headman" seems more appropriate than "Village Headman" since the word "Village" conveys the impression of a close settlement whereas the Sukuma live in scattered holdings.

The boundaries of chiefdoms, as they exist now, follow the boundaries of parishes. While here and there boundaries were fixed early, either because of the existence of natural obstacles or because of the necessity of defining the extent of hunting grounds, most boundaries came into existence only when the proximity of one community to another made them necessary. The first chiefs of the present ruling families were acknowledged as rulers of comparatively densely populated areas often in the middle of vast stretches of bush. Thus it came about that two neighbouring chiefdoms were inhabited only in the centre and each was surrounded by bush. Only when the inhabitants of the two chiefdoms had extended so far from their centre that they met, were the boundaries fixed between the two parishes concerned and thus the boundaries of the chiefdom defined. This process is going on at the present time in exactly the same way in any resettlement area where a man may take up land without fixing his boundaries as long as he has no near neighbours.

A slow but continuous population movement was taking place all the time from the inhabited areas of a parish into the uninhabited parts, either of the same parish or, if all the good land was already occupied, into the uninhabited parts of a neighbouring parish. Pioneers would set off to open up new land for settlement and in due course they were followed by relatives and friends and finally by strangers who were all tempted by the good crop yields on virgin soil and by the possibility of acquiring unlimited land for their holdings. A community formed in this way soon applied for a headman, who was usually appointed by the chief or by the headman of the original parish from among his relatives. Sometimes the pioneer who had first opened up the area was confirmed as headman.

These original headmen were the *banangwa batale* (chief headmen). The increasing population pressure kept the people moving but, in the same way as the first set of pioneers emigrated from the chiefdom centre, the later movement started from the parish centre. These emigrations within the parishes created a further sub-division of parishes into *shibanda* (sub-parishes). The headman of a *kibanda* was called the *ng'wanangwa ndo* (sub-headman) and he remained subordinate to the chief headman; other names for this junior official are *nsweta* or *ng'wanangwa wa mbasa*—the headman of the axe—because he was often the descendant of the first settler in the bush; another name some times used is *ng'wanangwa wa nundi* (*nundi*—shin bone), meaning maid-of-all-work. If a chief headman had a number of sub-headmen under him, he was called *ntwale*, *ng'wambilija*, or *mlamiji* (see sub-chief); these names, however, are of comparatively recent origin and formerly the name *ng'wanangwa ntale* was preferred.

This description of the situation is schematic, and in fact there were great variations. There were sub-divisions of parishes which

became in time so densely populated that the sub-headman was acknowledged by the chief as an independent headman whereupon he immediately called himself a chief headman. In other cases the chief appointed a chief headman—usually a relation—over a number of parishes, the original headmen of which refused to be degraded and call themselves sub-headmen. A further difficulty in defining the difference between a sub-chief and village headman lies in the tendency of Africans to call smaller units by the name of bigger ones and subordinates by the title of their seniors. For instance the word for sub-parish remained unknown for a long time to European Administrators because all Sukuma call it colloquially a parish. The distinction between a chief headman and a sub-headman never became an issue, since everyone knew the difference but as a matter of courtesy never addressed any headman as a sub-headman.

Present Situation

The structure of the sub-divisions of the Sukuma chiefdoms has recently undergone changes. In 1948 it was decided by the Central Government to amalgamate the smaller parishes to bring the average numbers in a parish up to about 400 tax-payers. There are still chief headmen and sub-headmen, but the tendency now is to call the headmen of the amalgamated parishes chief headmen and those who have now become subordinate to them in charge of their former parishes sub-headmen.* The position of the sub-chiefs was not altered by these amalgamations. Reforms of this kind are not undertaken by the Central Government without careful consideration and probably the arguments against this particular one were weighed in the balance and found unimportant compared with the general advantages of amalgamation. It is, however, difficult to foresee to what extent a chief may make private use of such a reform. The inner politics of a chiefdom are the most nebulous and obscure features of the Native Administration to any outsider. Interference of the Central Government in this direction can only be compared with the actions of a bull in a china shop. On the entry of the bull the owner of the shop, if he is clever, puts all the china he most dislikes in its way. In other words these reforms are used by many chiefs for getting rid of headmen who are too independent in their ways, or perhaps those whom the chief considers would-be pretenders to the chieftaincy. In all cases those who are chosen to be the headmen of the amalgamated parishes are, to a marked extent, loyal servants of the chief. Loyalty is, of course, an excellent and necessary quality but sycophancy is bad for both the ruler and his subordinates.

* *The present very involved nomenclature situation will sort itself out in due course when the headmen who have lost their posts in the process of amalgamation have died and no successors to them are appointed.*

Succession to Office

The difference between the chief headman and the sub-headman was often, though not necessarily, a question of descent and consequently the extent to which they performed magico-religious functions. Their rules of succession and the extent of their authority within their own areas were identical. The rules varied a great deal. Where the chiefs followed the rules of matrilineal succession those headmen who were his close relatives adopted the same system; where the rules of patrilineal succession were followed or where the headmen were not relatives of the chief, the patrilineal rules were followed by the headmen. As far as it has been possible to ascertain, matrilineal succession was abandoned earlier by the headmen than by the chiefs. Though headmen were appointed through their maternal connections, this was rather because they appeared to be the most suitable men for the post than because they had a particular right to it.

Most generally the position of headman was handed down from father to son in direct line. If all the sons were minors on their father's death his brother took over, but on the latter's death the post reverted to a direct descendant of the original headman. The successor to the post was not necessarily the eldest son. Usually the father, when he grew old, chose the ablest of his sons to help him and this son succeeded him on his death. If this did not occur the successor was chosen by the family, or in some areas he was appointed by the chief, after consultation with the chiefdom elders, among the sons of the deceased. In other chiefdoms the successor was appointed by the chief after consultation with the traditional speakers of the village (*Banamhala*, see page 63). In no area did the commoners choose a new headman by themselves, but on the other hand a new man was never appointed by the chief without consultation with a number of people traditionally concerned with such matters. Daughters could inherit the office in some places, if there were no sons or brothers of the former headman.

In the areas where the chief had nothing to do with the actual election of a headman, i.e. where the rules of succession were strictly observed, the newly-appointed headman went to the residence of his chief and offered him the *kubula lufu*, which consisted of three to five head of cattle. It very seldom happened that the chief refused to acknowledge the new official, but he had the right to do so. Some informants deny that this right existed, but the very fact that the applicant made a gift of no mean proportions indicates that it is very likely that the chief could interfere if he wished to do so.

A headman automatically became the head of his family. The chief had the right to depose him, but unless the deposition was for treason or witchcraft another member of the family succeeded him.

If the chief decided that a headman must be deposed, he sent some of his chiefdom elders into the parish and they, together with their followers, had to expel him. A decision to depose a headman was always a very grave one, especially if it was against the will of the people of the parish, and the chief always preferred to employ some stratagem for getting rid of the headman rather than to expel him openly.

Present Situation

The post of headman is still held by members of the traditional families in many chiefdoms. To give an idea of the present position the figures of headmen of eight chiefdoms of the Mwanza Federation have been collected with the following result: --

Out of 95 parishes, 54 parish headmen have inherited the post from their fathers, 34 have been appointed by the chief from among his own relations and 7 have been appointed by the chief from among the commoners.

In no chiefdom of Sukumaland is the parish headman elected by the people nor are their representatives officially consulted as to their wishes when a new appointment is to be made.* In many areas it is customary for the chief to discuss the appointment with some of his friends in the parish concerned and to ascertain that his candidate will be accepted willingly by the parishioners before actually appointing him, but this is an entirely voluntary action on the part of the chief. It may not be out of place here to stress the importance which the people attach to the choice of the right man by the chief, and the far-reaching consequences if a headman, perhaps because he is too autocratic or has received bad counsel, disappoints the expectations and wishes of his people. One such case may arise without serious reactions on the smooth running of the Native Administration, but repeated unwise appointments may contribute more than any other cause to the growing unpopularity of a chief. Cases are known in which slack payment of tax was the answer of the people to the chief's unwise appointment of a parish headman.

In those parishes where the headmen are members of the traditional family the old custom of *kubula lufu* is still continued. In all parishes the chief has the right to dismiss an unsatisfactory headman. At the same time it is now generally accepted that the chief must inform the District Commissioner and give reasons for his decision before actually dismissing him.

* *Proposals for a change in the method of appointment are now under consideration.*

The Belief in the Headman's Magico-Religious Powers

I propose to treat the magico-religious duties of the headman to some extent in detail, since I have not in this work described those of the chief more than cursorily, having already described them in another book ("The Ntemi"). The following ceremonies were not performed by every headman and, as in so many other spheres, there was a great variety of customs in the different areas of Sukumaland, but one or more of them can be found in any area. The fact that such rites were performed by village headmen shows that they were not simply administrative officials, but that the inhabitants of their area believed in their traditional right to their position and did not quarrel with them over small matters. The family which ruled the parish belonged to it, just as did the hill and the little stream, and the people knew that they had not the strength to remove them any more than they could remove the overhanging rock which menaced their peaceful existence.

1. *Ntucha*. A newly appointed headman returned from his official visit to the chief to his own parish accompanied by two chiefdom elders who presented him to the inhabitants. All fires in the parish were extinguished and only a chiefdom elder could kindle a new fire, which he did by friction. The headman had first to prepare a medicine called *ntucha*, the magical element of which consisted of a creeping plant. The medicine was inserted into small mud balls, one of which was thrown by the new headman into every source of water in his parish. During this proceeding he exclaimed: "I have prepared the *ntucha* medicine. May the people live in peace; may they avoid quarrels, fights and intrigues."

2. *Kufunya mbiyu* (to give out seed). Each headman received a share of seed, which had been magically treated by the chief, for distribution to the inhabitants of his parish. In addition to this the headman himself mixed magic medicine with a small portion of seed in a basket and each inhabitant of the parish came to receive his share of this special seed. Medicine was prepared for sorghum and other type of grain and beans, but not for cotton, rice, casava and sweet potatoes.

3. *Kupembera wugota* (to burn medicine). Before the people started to prepare their fields for the first sowing, the headman made the round of his parish, from time to time burning medicine in a fire for which birds' nests and *magoka* (grass and twigs blocking a stream) were used as fuel. The purpose of this medicine was to make the fields fertile and to protect them against inundation and to protect the crops against birds. Another remedy, called *kukaga noni* was also employed by the headman if the corn was too badly attacked by birds. He sent for a practitioner (*mufumu*) who prepared the medicine which was then mixed with water, poured into a trough

and put in front of the door of the headman's house. A *danguda* or *nyamadaso* bird was then caught and made to swallow some of it. The practitioner said: "Leave this area and do not come back. Fly to the bush." (The *danguda* is supposed to be the bird which leads the corn-eating birds—*sonhwe*—to the fields.) Finally the headman (in some places the chieftom elders) filled a calabash with the medicine from the trough and walked through his parish, sprinkling the medicine here and there over the corn fields, using a bunch of *irumba* (*ocimum*) plants for this purpose. He did not utter any invocation. The remainder of the medicine in the calabash was left on the boundary of the parish over which the birds were most likely to fly when they entered the area.

4. *Mbula* (rain). Although the chief was expected to supply the rain for his chieftom, unequal distribution among the various parishes inevitably occurred and each headman was responsible for the rainfall in his parish. Counselling and assisted by his village elders, he arranged matters with a *mufumu wa mbula* (rain maker) whom he had to pay from his own pocket.

5. *Kubulaga ngoso* (to kill rats). There was no particular magic medicine against rats, but the following remedy was sometimes used. When the rats increased so much as to endanger the corn in stores the headman instructed his people to dig trenches at some distance from the stores and fill them with cow dung which was burnt in the evening. The rats coming from the fields to the stores at night were expected to run into the burning trenches.

6. *Kupeleja nlogi* (to drive out a wizard). No witchcraft troubles were settled by the people without consulting their leaders and, in particular, the headman. (For details of the procedure in case of witchcraft (see page 69.) Any serious case of witchcraft was brought before the chief.

7. *Tambiko* (sacrifice to the ancestors). In case of any misfortune occurring in the parish the headman, together with the village elders and counselling by a practitioner, had to make a *tambiko*. His ancestors who were also headmen were assumed still to take an interest in the fate of their parish.

8. *Ngweshi*. This is a magic medicine used to call strangers to settle in a parish. A magic ingredient is an insect, *ngweshi*, which preys on other insects and this is the reason for the name of the medicine. The headman either scattered it on to the fire in his hut and called forth the inhabitants of a certain village or neighbours in general to come to his parish and settle there, or he took a piece of charcoal and the medicine and went to the boundary of his parish, put the medicine on the charcoal and blew the smoke in the direction of the village from whence he hoped to call his settlers, at the same time explaining his wishes to his ancestors.

9. *Shululuki*. Two kinds of this medicine existed. One kind was used in time of war in order to cause the enemy to lose their way and by-pass the parish. The last occasion, so far as is known, on which this medicine was prepared was in 1915 when the chief of Mondo distributed it among his headmen together with about 50 iron pegs (*yagisinza*) the shape and size of a pipe. The bowls of these pipes were filled with the medicine and sealed with wax. The headmen buried the pegs along the Mondo boundaries, taking off their clothing and closing their eyes as they did so. The purpose of the medicine was to prevent Mondo from becoming involved in the 1914-1918 War.

The second kind of *shululuki* was used for the purpose of preventing epidemics of disease from spreading across the border of a neighbouring parish. This was very commonly used. Porridge was prepared and the medicine was mixed with it. Every inhabitant of the parish, including children, passed the pot, dipped his right forefinger into it and licked the porridge off his finger. Each inhabitant was also given an amulet, consisting of a small wooden peg, to be worn on the left arm. The headman had to pay the practitioner for these medicines out of his own pocket.

Present Situation

The process of emancipation from superstitious beliefs is slow within the village. The ceremonies are, so to speak, more intimate than those performed by the chief for the whole chiefdom, and public opinion, though tolerant in all such matters, is still against open neglect or belittlement of magic rites. The majority of people can still be counted as "old believers" and even the youth has not yet the strength of conviction to obstruct any of the magical ceremonies performed in a village. A man who attempted to do so would be in danger of being considered responsible for even the most natural misfortune, and there is no one yet strong enough in the native community to stand out against public opinion. Many people are already sceptical about the employment of magic means to regulate their private affairs, but they will not criticize or obstruct magic functions performed in the interests of the community. There can, however, be no doubt that this aspect of the headman's duties will rapidly decrease in importance in the near future, as more and more sceptics appears on the scene.

Judicial Functions

It is not possible to give an exact definition of the competence of the headman's court, either in relation to the chief's court or to that of the village elders (see page 67). It has already been mentioned that certain crimes were always brought before the chief's court, but there were many transgressions, such as cattle theft or assault, which were not automatically brought before the chief. Some of

the headmen were prepared to hear cases which others would have been reluctant to judge in their courts; much depended on the closeness of kinship between the chief and headman, and in some cases also on the weak regime of a chief or the strong character of a headman.

Every headman had his court, the assessors of which were selected by him, usually from amongst the village elders. These assessors attended the court regularly because they were also the councillors of the village headman in all local matters, and had many other affairs to attend to. The cases heard were mainly those of assault resulting from drunken brawls, civil suits arising from quarrels over boundaries, domestic quarrels and divorce, debts and complications resulting from certain traditional compensation payments.

As in the chief's court, a man bringing a case before the headman had to pay a fee called *lutwi*; this was generally paid in kind in such commodities as a hoe, a goat or a measure of sorghum. It was distributed between the members of the court if it was a sufficiently large fee; if not, it was put aside until enough fees had been collected for, in the case of sorghum, beer to be brewed. The amount of the payment depended not so much on the amount involved in the dispute as on the means of the plaintiff.

When an assault took place or a man was injured in a quarrel, the case was not immediately heard. The injured man was given a white bracelet to wear on the wrist of his left arm. If he died compensation. It was not customary to impose fines, payments being and the man who had caused the injury had to pay a lesser compensation. It was not customary to impose fines, payments being made in the form of compensation. Only in cases where malefactors repeatedly came before the court for the same transgressions did the headman and his elders demand the payment of a fine. In these cases the fine was divided between the members of the court, or, if it was a cow or goat, slaughtered and eaten by them at a communal meal.

It sometimes happened that parties to a case refused to accept the judgment of the village headman and decided to bring their case before the chief's court. Such procedure was rare, however, and if the chief refused to hear the case nothing more could be done. There was no right of appeal.

The right of *shili* or sanctuary was delegated to the headman by the chief.

The judicial power of the headman was a very real power, in spite of its restrictions, and enhanced his authority within his parish.

Present Situation

Under British rule the spheres of jurisdiction of the native courts have been changed (see section on the chief). The European courts have taken over the main work of the original court of the chief which was in fact a criminal court, and the chief in his "A" Court now presides over cases which formerly came under the jurisdiction of the headman's court. This latter court no longer exists in its original capacity, but has become a court of arbitration of which the headman is usually the chairman. This is not, however, necessarily the case, since it is customary in this type of court for the litigating parties to choose their own members. The decision given by the court has no binding force and either party may refuse to accept the judgment and may reopen the case before a Native Court. No bad feeling is created against the dissatisfied party by such procedure, and his case will not be prejudiced. In fact, the Native Court would most likely take cognizance of the previous proceedings and the decision of the village court would not be without weight in the judgment of the case. This attitude of the Native Court naturally tends to enhance the position of the arbitration court. Should a decision of the latter have been accepted by both parties, one of whom subsequently fails to carry out the conditions of the arbitrary judgment, an action can be filed against the delinquent in the Native Court. In a case of this kind it is usual for the Native Court to recognize the decision of the arbitration court as legally valid and to enforce its judgment accordingly.

It is becoming more and more common for a plaintiff to go direct to the sub-chief or chief's court. It is also quite common for the headman and elders to hear a case and, instead of giving an arbitrary decision, to advise the parties to take it before a Native Court.

Income

The headman received a proportion of the tribute which he collected on behalf of the chief. Usually the chief sent two or three chiefdom elders when the tribute had been collected, or in some cases to help the headman with the collection of it. If the parish was a large one and the collection successful, the headman received his share of it which might amount to about 10% of the total collection.

The headman derived his main income from the fields which he held by virtue of his office. In many chiefdoms, in Maswa and Kwimba for example, the chief selected the village which was to cultivate communally a field for the headman. This village would not have to do any work for the chief during the year cultivation for the headman was required. In other chiefdoms the headmen had to look after themselves and make their own arrangements with the villagers. Customarily one person from each household does work

called *nhembe* for one day of the year in the fields of the parish headman. The majority of people work on the day when they come to the headman for the magically treated seed.

In the southern chiefdoms the parish headman have the right to take over the *matongo*—the plots immediately surrounding abandoned houses—which are much more fertile than other abandoned plots.

The village headman has never been a poor man. He always had a certain income, but, even more important, he was always sure of help from his chief if bad luck befell him. He also had a guarantee of continuity in the possession of property, since members of this first family of the area, being at the same time office bearers, had no incentive to emigrate. Many of the commoners regularly sent a pot of beer to their parish headman whenever they were brewing and thus the thirsty—and who is not thirsty in Africa?—enjoyed visiting their headman in the hopes of getting something to drink. The headman was the centre of the parish, but his riches and position were not so exalted as to raise him beyond the sphere of his parishioners. If he was a pocket edition of the chief, he was also a larger edition of the father of the family. The people of his parish saw him, not as a subordinate official, a man who by skill or favourable luck had obtained his influential post, but as the descendant of a chief or of a pioneer who had first carved the parish out of the bush. He was the leader of the community, knowing their struggles and sorrows, and to a great extent their welfare was dependent on him. The Europeans saw him only as an executive officer and therefore the evolution of his position under European influence tended from the very beginning to stress those functions which in western minds justified the existence of the office.

Present Situation

It is not easy to describe this aspect of a headman's public life, which necessarily entails an understanding of African life in general and its tolerant attitude. It is first of all necessary to abandon European ideas of standards of integrity in office and to realize that words which arouse in us thoughts of court cases for defamation of character, do not have any unpleasant sound to the ears of the villagers, but rather describe the natural privileges of power and influence. Therefore to say that headmen have regular sources of income on the side is rather like saying "water is wet". It would be utterly incorrect to call public tribal life corrupt. The only question that matters is whether the procedure remains within traditional limits.

The inhabitants of a parish were always willing to pay their headman his share of tribute and to cultivate fields for him in exchange for his expenses in the magical protection of the parish

as well as for his activities in the interests of common law and order. If, following modern tendencies, he is now beginning to neglect his magical duties, obviously his people will not be so anxious to look after his material well-being. However, the situation of the village headman is at present so paradoxical—on the one hand great importance and power, and on the other hand officially and legally very little material advantage—that the villagers themselves see the injustice of it and comply without complaint to the efforts of the headmen to augment their incomes. On the whole, although there are exceptions, it appears that the burden on the population of paying their subordinate officials a reasonable income is not felt to be unbearable.

The secret of the people's tolerance of this situation is that a good headman is not likely to agree to have his palm greased in order to prejudice his judgment in favour of a certain party; the usual custom is for him to accept rewards for services rendered which do not conflict with the interests of others. It has also never been the custom for it to be obligatory to pay for all services, and it is possible for a poor man to obtain favours denied to a rich man. It would be a hard task to draw a line between actions which would be tolerated by European standards and those which would not.

The proof of the foregoing assertions is patent to every administrative officer as soon as he considers the salary scale in connection with the tasks and responsibilities of the village headman. It is inconceivable that the thousands of *banangwa batale*, *bado* and *basweta*, who until recently were receiving an average salary of 10/— to 15/— per month if they were *banangwa batale* and nothing at all if they were *banangwa bado* or *basweta*, should all be men who consider it their holy, patriotic and public-spirited duty to help the Central Government with little or no remuneration. These men have genuinely no time to look after their own houses and fields and even the fact that the villagers still cultivate a field—the size of which is tending to diminish at the present time—for their headman, cannot be considered satisfactory compensation for all the trouble that comes the headman's way. The logical conclusions are unpleasant but unequivocal.

Administrative Authority

The comparative uneventfulness of peasant life in former times in Sukuma has already been stressed in the chapter on the chief. If the centre of government prefers rest to activity, the outer circle can do no better than work on the same lines. The headmen were responsible for carrying out the few orders which emanated from the chief and undoubtedly they acted as his official executives. Examples of orders given by chiefs make it clear that the help and vigilance of the village headman were necessary for their execution.

The headmen have therefore always been executive officers with very little power to issue their own orders. This power would probably not have been particularly unpopular with the parishioners, but would certainly have been so with the chief who would have considered it an attempt at aggrandisement beyond their position. As well as by the jealousy of the chief, the interests of the people were protected by their ready answer to any unpopular actions of the headmen—emigration, as in the case of an unjust chief. To move into another chiefdom may not always have been an easy matter, but to move into another parish within the same chiefdom involved no difficulty. The chief took such indications of a headman's unpopularity very seriously and considered it one of the few reasons for dismissal. Thus any injustice which caused a citizen to emigrate was usually sufficient to make a headman think twice before repeating the injustice or misuse of his authority.

It appears that originally the headmen did not interest themselves in land questions, not because they had lost authority in such matters after a struggle with other tribal institutions, but because land problems did not then exist in the form they do today. There was plenty of land for everyone and therefore the only problems were the demarcation of boundaries and investigation into the characters of new settlers. These problems could be tackled by the representatives of the people in the form of the *basumba batale* (see page 77).

Present Situation

The result of the few administrative tasks required of the headman in former times can be seen in our own busy times. There are many causes cited for the inefficiency of the Native Administration and for its slow progress—for instance, the prevalence of parasitic diseases such as hookworm or bilharzia—but it is rarely realised that there is no tradition of a strong and continuously active executive force, nor for a prompt response of the common man to such a force. It is obvious that such an elementary change from profound individualism to a conception of the responsibility of all people for the well being of the community will take time.

Though the executive functions of the headman have increased considerably, he himself has no authority to issue any important order without the imprimature of the chief. Recruitment of labour for both tribal and government work, enforcement of all rules emanating from superior authorities and responsibility for the execution of instructions from government and its departments are his chief tasks. In a facile manner, which has now become almost a tradition, the headman is made responsible for the execution of any measures decided upon by his superior authorities. Little or no interest is taken in the methods and means which are at his disposal to guarantee the success of a measure. He is assisted by the courts which have the power to punish any disobedience to

orders which the headman is called upon to execute, but taking into account the nature and number of orders issued, transgression and obstruction of them must be very frequent. A headman, though he may be called the invaluable non-commissioned officer of the Native Authority, cannot, in fact, use military discipline. If he makes too much use of the one official weapon in his hand—the court,—he will certainly be the loser on every occasion when the court is unable to help him. The former remedy of emigration of the dissatisfied parishioner has been replaced by an attitude of passive resistance, the remedy of emigration being now much more difficult since, although voluntary emigration is still not popular with the chief, emigration under pressure is now extremely unpopular with the parishioner himself. A clever headman meets an attitude of passive resistance on the part of his people by a similar attitude and this is the unofficial but important source of his authority. Everywhere in the world the authority of officials is enhanced, almost legitimately, by such measures as keeping an impatient customer waiting, or by the exhumation of a long forgotten rule for application to an unpopular man. In the small world of the parish the headman, with his intimate knowledge of the words and even the thoughts of his parishioners, is their master in many ways, simply because he can start or stop intrigues by virtue of this knowledge, and can probably detect intrigues directed against himself in their early stages—a situation which does not tempt even a bold man to start them. Thus it is not considered advisable to make trouble with a headman, nor to be too eloquent in the contradiction of his orders.

The increase in the executive duties of the headman during the last fifty years has caused a general change of the authority in charge of the administration of land. In all parts of the country the headmen have, either partly or wholly, succeeded in acquiring influence in the allocation of land and in all decisions to be made concerning its administration. While in the south the headman alone is responsible for any land transactions, including its allocation, in central Sukuma the great commoners, in consultation with the headman, are still the responsible authority; in the north the headman and great commoners work hand in hand, but the influence of the headman is steadily on the increase. For the last development see page 81.

The authority of a parish headman at present, to an even more marked extent than formerly, is derived directly from the chief. As the number of orders, regulations and demands for manpower have increased, so the authority of the headman has become increasingly safeguarded by the chief and even by the Central Government. Just as in the case of the chief himself the sources of the headman's authority arising from old beliefs and traditional functions are slowly but steadily decreasing in strength and import-

ance in the life of the community. The development of the offices of chief and headman does not necessarily follow the same line. I think that the headman will have become purely a Native Authority official at a time when many features of the old tradition will still be preserved in the office of chief.

The headmen have already become primarily officials and only secondarily the representatives of indigenous institutions. The inner strength of their position is on the decline and a headman now retains his post only for so long as his chief wills it. His popularity in his parish would not help him to stay in office against the chief's wishes, nor is it likely that representations from parishioners for the dismissal of an unpopular headman would be successful as long as he remained on good terms with the chief.

Conclusion

The headman has lost, or is fast losing, the roots which attached him to his parish. Only the conservative section of his parish still sees him as something more than an official of the tribal administration and he is compelled to disappoint them because he is expected to be the propagator of the newest ideas and most modern measures on behalf of government. His position is undoubtedly ambiguous at the moment, but it is only a question of time until he becomes purely a subordinate official. It is to be hoped that, by the time this occurs, the economic situation will have progressed sufficiently to allow the payment of appropriate salaries to parish headmen. Only then would government be justified in expecting European standards of integrity.

PARISH ELDERS (BANAMHALA)

The word *banamhala* simply means "old men", but it is also the title given to men who have certain functions in the community. These men are members of a village organization or club called the *ihane lya banamhala bi gunguli** It is to the members of the *ihane* that Europeans generally refer when they speak of "elders", though they are not necessarily old men. The Swahili equivalent of *munamhala* is necessarily old men. The Swahili equivalent of *munamhala* is *mnyampara*, by which name they are also often known. The use of the title varies in different chiefdoms, but in general the name *munamhala* (pl. *banamhala*) is used for a man who has attained

* Village club of the parish elders. In some parts this club called the *YENGA*. The word *GUNGULI*—parish—is misleading, as the *IHANE* is the organization of each *KIBANDA*-sub-parish. This is another proof of the tendency among Africans to show politeness by elevating in conversation a man or an institution to a more important category. The title of chief is an exception and is reserved for the chief alone.

high rank in the *ihane*, while the name *mnyampara* is used for any member. Elderly men may be given the courtesy title of *banamhala*, irrespective of rank.

The Ihane (Village Club)*

Each sub-parish has its village club and any inhabitants are eligible for membership, regardless of their religion. If they are Christians or Mohammedans they need not participate in any divinations or ceremonies of ancestor worship. There is no specific age which has to be attained before a man may become a member, but he must have a house of his own and be either married or living in concubinage with a woman.

In order to become a member an applicant usually tries to find a patron who is a senior member (*ngogo*) of the club. Under the aegis of this senior member, whom he calls father and to whom he makes presents (several goats), the applicant is introduced into the club. A novice of this kind is called a *nondalondi*. He must not allow too long a time to elapse after his initial approach to his sponsor before making the first customary payment for entrance into the club, otherwise he may find that he has given his presents to his sponsor for nothing. From the start he is allowed to join in the communal feasts, but it will naturally not be popular for him to go on participating for an indefinite period without paying his own share of meat and beer, and he will finally be excluded from the feasts if he does not pay. A popular sponsor may have several novices under his wing.

In other cases a man may be approached by the parish elders, who suggest to him that he should enter their club. It would be extremely unlikely that a man thus approached would refuse to make the first customary payments for entrance.

Entrance Fees

The amount of the entrance fee and the subsequent series of customary payments varies slightly in the different chiefdoms. The following details of fees are an over-simplification, since in no chiefdom is there a definite limit to payments for reaching a certain rank. The figures given in the examples are an approximate estimate of payments to be made by a man who wishes to go through the different stages of membership in a comparatively short time—three or four years. This is, in fact, unusual. Most village clubs would not allow such haste, even if a man were prepared to make the payments.

* This is not exactly a club in our sense of the word but the word is used here to avoid the continuous repetition of a Sukuma word.

In Nassa the following payments are required to attain the highest rank: —

1. *Wingilile banamhala* (initial fee), which consists of 6 *ncungero* (pots) of beer and one male goat (*mbagwa*). This payment entitles the applicant to participate in the club feasts and he is given the honorary title of *munamhala*. He is not, however, allowed to sit down with the senior members of the club.
2. *Nhandatu ibili*, which consists of 6 pots of beer and one male goat.
3. *Butano*, which consists of 3 pots of beer and one female goat.
4. *Butano bubili*, which consists of 5 pots of beer.
5. *Saho*, which consists of 6 pots of beer and one castrated goat. After this payment the member becomes an *ngogo* and is entitled to sit with the *banamhala* together with the other senior members.
6. The final payment consists of 5 pots of beer and one cock (*ngoko ihanc*). The man then becomes a full member of the club and is called *ntunda* (*ndegereke* in Busmao).

In Mwanza the payments are as follows: —

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| 1. 6 pots of beer and 1 goat | Rank attained is <i>muhanwa</i> . |
| 2. 1 pot of beer | For <i>bagikuru</i> (old women). |
| 3. 5 pots of beer | |
| 4. 3 pots of beer | Rank attained is <i>nsaka</i> . |
| 5. 6 pots of beer and 1 goat | Rank attained is <i>musambuka</i> . |
| 6. 7 pots of beer and 1 goat | Rank attained is <i>ngogo ndo</i> . |
| 7. 5 pots of beer | This completes the payments and the payer becomes a full member. |

In Busmao the initial payment consists of one goat and the next group of payments consists of 6 pots of beer which are given the following names: —

1. *Luwasu*. 2. *Dutu*. 3. *Lusalago*. 4. *Luguru*. 5. *Kipya moto*. (On this occasion the husband gives a goat to his wife for slaughter and she invites the *bagikuru* to the meal.) 6. *Michuba*.

There is no time limit for the making of these payments, though the interval between each is usually about a year. If a man is unable to pay in any one year, two years may elapse without payment. It very often takes ten years or more for a member to attain the highest rank. Should a man, in the course of making his payments, move to another village or even to another chiefdom, the village club of his new domicile must agree to take him on at the stage he had reached when he left the previous club, provided that his statement of the amount already paid can be verified. The liability of a member

for occasional payments does not end with the final payment for full membership. It is customary for senior members to supply beer and meat for communal feasts from time to time. This is done willingly, since popularity and dignity are maintained by an elder who has a reputation for generosity.

The Members

Membership and rank in the club are entirely dependent on ability and willingness to make the series of customary payments required. Character and intelligence are not taken into consideration. However, in fact a certain natural selection of men of ability and good character for the higher ranks takes place. Firstly, it takes many years and many payments to attain the highest rank in the club and a weak or thriftless man is unlikely to persevere. Secondly, one of the main activities in the club consists of commercial feasting on meat and beer and a great deal of discussion; a fool will soon find that no one listens to his conversation and will get tired of attending. Finally, a member is punished for even minor transgressions of the rules of behaviour, honour and dignity and may even be expelled for gross breaches of good behaviour. The result is that the members of the highest rank are generally men of ability and reliable character—probably property owners. This does not mean that there are not equally good men who are members of lower rank or are outside the club altogether, either through inability to pay the necessary fees or through lack of interest in the organization. The probabilities are, however, that most of the respected members of a village will be members of the club.

Number of Members

The size of a club varies according to locality and circumstances. The average is a membership of twenty to thirty, of whom five to eight are *bagogo* (all payments completed) and the rest are either *banamhala ba igalogalo* (members who have paid several instalments) or *banamhala ba mbuli* (members who have paid their entrance fee).

Initiation

The initiation is called *kihanda*. It consists of very vague and superficial explanations to the novice of the main features of the club. He is informed of his duty to attend meetings regularly, to show respect for older members, and to keep all matters concerning the club secret from the uninitiated. All other knowledge of club matters he is expected to pick up for himself in course of time by attending meetings and assisting the older members in their duties. An ambitious member may, in course of time, ask an older member to take him on as a pupil and teach him the intricate "science" of divination as practised in the club.

Organization of the Club

The members of the club are ranked according to years of membership. There is no official chairman, but there is generally a recognized leader or *ntunda* who directs the proceedings. If a headman, or sometimes even the chief, wishes to consult the parish elders he does not convene a full meeting, but sends for one or two of the senior members for consultation.

The main activity of the club is feasting, but many serious matters affecting the community are discussed at the feasts. The higher the rank of a member the larger his share of meat and beer.

The club has its own disciplinary rules. Transgressions are: — Giving beer belonging to the club to an outsider; knocking over a pot of beer; using bad language (either inside or outside the club); wife beating; fighting with another man; or neglect of a duty undertaken for the club.

The punishment in all these cases consists of a fine of beer, money, or a goat. This fine is called *inyu* and is distributed between the members. Expulsion from the club is very rare, but a member may be ostracised for failing to pay his fine or for repeated transgressions.

Duties of Parish Elders

The parish elders are consultants and advisers in all matters concerning their own sub-parish. The headman looks to them for help in many of his duties. In fact it would be difficult for anyone to undertake work affecting the community without their co-operation. In addition they have certain specific duties.

1. Court work

The parish elders constitute a village court, the function of which is arbitration. The proceedings take place outside the house of an elder who is the chairman of the court. All proceedings are public and anyone who is interested may attend and give an opinion on the case. Witnesses are called, but relatives of interested parties are not permitted to give evidence. These elders deal with such cases as domestic troubles and divorce, litigation for debts, compensation for slight injuries, and compensation for damage. A case may either be brought before one of the elders who calls together his colleagues for discussion and decision, or before the *nsweta* (page 50) who calls together the parish elders. The latter are never paid for their work as arbitrators.

The parish elders are also the assessors in the headman's court. Although a headman may consult a man who is not a member of the club, either in or out of court, he must give his reasons for so doing

to the elders. He would never dare to do anything of importance over their heads.

2. *Public affairs*

In matters concerning the whole parish the parish elders are called together by a messenger of the headman who passes through all the sub-parishes blowing a horn. Matters for discussion may be an increase in theft of food, the spread of a bad custom or habit, insufficient or excessive rainfall, damage to crops by insects or birds, the outbreak of an epidemic, or suspicion of witchcraft. Any elder who fails to attend the meeting without an adequate excuse is punished.

The handling of a comparatively straightforward problem such as theft or the spread of a bad custom is often done simply by discussion. If the assembly decides that the trouble is due to the influence of an undesirable man, or if, as sometimes happens, they are called together simply in order to discuss the behaviour of a certain man, they may decide that the time has come when the man must leave the area. In this case the procedure for getting rid of the malefactor is that the headman approaches him and warns him to be more careful in his way of life, as the community is beginning to regard him disfavouredly. No mention is made of the misfortune which has occurred in the village, nor of the club meeting. From this time on a deliberate pressure is exercised by individuals and organizations of the village (see page 85) which leaves the victim in no doubt of the fact that he is up against the entire community. The pressure from all sides is soon sufficient to achieve the execution of the judgment of expulsion against which no appeal is possible, since officially no one knows anything about it. Overt expulsion of a man can only be done by the chief.

Sometimes the situation appears to be too difficult and complicated to be settled by putting the blame on one man, or the gravity of the issue arouses superstitious elements of thought, never very far from the surface in an African community. In this case the club members use their knowledge of divination in order to come to a final decision as to the cause of the trouble and its remedy.

3. *Divination*

The older members of the club are experts in soothsaying from the entrails of fowls and new members are instructed in this art by participating in the ceremonies with the older ones. The *bafumu* (professional diviners) have a separate club from that of the parish elders and their methods of soothsaying are different. A professional diviner, approached by a man who has suffered misfortune, looks for the cause among the ancestors, who may be appeased by the offering of a ritual sacrifice; or among the enemies of the victim who can thus be protected by black or white magic. The parish elders

whose sub-parish is suffering from misfortune, look mainly for the reasons among the spirits.* It is customary for a man to be a member of the club of elders before he can qualify for entrance to the club of the professional diviners. The latter is a very loose organization which is not geographically defined.

In the case of grave misfortune occurring to the community the elders consult the oracle of the fowl (*kuchemba ngoko*) as to the cause and prescribe the remedy accordingly. It may be that they decide that the trouble has been caused by a member of the community breaking a taboo imposed on the village, or that a certain individual is a witch. In cases of this kind the misfortune may well be used as a pretext for getting rid of an individual who has puzzled and annoyed the other members of the community for years. A popular person is very unlikely to be cited as the cause of the trouble. In cases of witchcraft the offenders are very often believed to be old people—particularly old women. The procedure for expulsion is very simple. The victims are driven out of their houses by the villagers who then remove the grass from the roof. They are expected to leave the village and find shelter with relatives living in another area. Their property is looked after until the relatives come to fetch it.

4. *Ancestor worship*

Very often a *tambiko kitambo*, or public sacrifice, is recommended either by a professional diviner or by the parish elders after divination to check the influence of evil spirits. This ceremony can be performed by the parish elders alone.

Tambiko kisuno, the sacrifice on behalf of an individual, is performed either by or in the presence of an elder who receives his share of the meat of the sacrificial beast, but often also by the senior members of the family, while the parish elders of the neighbourhood are traditionally invited to attend.

5. *Wedding ceremonies*

The parish elders are witnesses to bridewealth payments. A custom in connection with weddings, not commonly performed, is that, after the bridewealth contract has been concluded, a few elders go to the house of the girl's father and knock on the door with a fly switch. They call out: "You here, be careful," which means that the inhabitants of the house must see that the girl pays no further attention to men other than her betrothed. After the wedding they may perform a similar ceremony, calling out: "*Tugohe*—Let us be afraid—" meaning that the parents must see that the girl remains a faithful wife.

* The remedy is *TAMBIKO KITAMBO*—the ceremonial sacrifice during which are invoked, not the ancestors of the family, but spirits representing the four points of the compass.

6. *Burial ceremonies*

In most areas only the parish elders and their female equivalent (page 75) may handle a corpse with impunity at burials. The old women wrap it in a cloth and the elders carry it to the grave. In some places the elders merely supervise the work and do not actually carry the body. The grave is dug by the young men.

7. *Deceased estates*

A parish elder is very often chosen as distributor of a deceased estate, if no suitable relative is available.

8. *Election of Basumba Batale* (Great commoners—see page 78)

In the Binza chiefdoms and Bukwimba the parish elders elect these village officers and present them to the *isangi* (see page 75) after election. If the young men from whom the great commoner is chosen do not agree to the choice they are allowed to express their opinions and the parish elders are willing to listen. The headman is always present at the election; he is counted as one of the parish elders on this occasion and may give his opinion. The newly elected great commoner gives one slab of tobacco to the young men and one to the parish elders.

Examples of Village Organizations in other Areas

The foregoing description of the village club may be considered to be a general one, but frequent variations occur. Nevertheless it can be said that there are elders in every parish who follow the rules of an organization. For example, in Ntusu, a chiefdom of the Maswa District, the situation is as follows: ---

There is no *ihane*, no entrance fee when a man joins a group of organized parish elders, and no payment for attaining high rank among them. Originally in each sub-parish a descendant of the pioneer settler of the area was acknowledged as the leading village elder.* He was called *nyangogo* or *gitavuka* and he had a helper called *nondeji*. When the elder died the helper took his place and the commoners elected a new helper who was a member of the same family. This system has not changed, except that the assistant, who a certain family, but may be any man whom the electors think is still elected by the commoners, need not necessarily be chosen from suitable for the post. The commoners meet in the *long'we* (see page 84) and the parish elders have no separate organization. If there are matters to be discussed which concern the parish elders the *nyangogo* calls a separate meeting.

The rank of parish elder is attained either by age or because of a certain public position; for instance, a retiring great commoner

* Sometimes a descendent of the pioneer becomes the leader of the young people (see page 77).

(see page 78) or a court assessor or a man whose words carry weight in the sub-parish probably becomes a parish elder. His position is indicated simply by the fact that he is sent for by the leading elder to participate in the discussions of the assembly of elders. The *nyangogo* is an important personality, as is shown by his name which means a big long which cannot be carried by one man alone. He is the chairman of the *long'we* (page 84) a meeting which neither the headman nor his helpers attend unless they are invited.

Conclusion

The parish elders have never had any official position with regard to the chieftaincy and have never exercised a direct influence on public matters. They have, however, great influence in their own village. They control the internal affairs of the parish and to a certain extent the headman himself. If a headman is unsatisfactory the parish elders, as a corporate body, are the only people who can rectify the matter. It has been known for these elders to complain against a headman to the chief. The headman and the elders of his parish are in constant contact. The parish elders are to some extent to the headman what the chieftain elders formerly were to the chief, and the headmen have not yet emancipated themselves from their control and assistance. The village elders of the sub-parish in which the headman lives, who are therefore his neighbours, come into particularly close contact with him. But the elders of other sub-parishes also participate in the informal, almost daily, meetings with the headman. The selection of his consultants, however, lies with the headman, so that the elders cannot be considered as representatives of the people.

An order emanating from Government reaches the people through the following channels: —

Chief — headman — sub-headman — parish elders — the people. This is technically the usual way of transmitting such orders which are steadily growing in number. It would be impossible for the headman to call together a full meeting of all the citizens of his parish to transmit each new order. This procedure has the advantage that the common man receives orders through a medium which he trusts and which he believes has criticized them with care and knowledge of the commoner's conditions. Sometimes a headman may call together a full meeting of his parishioners to announce orders originating in higher quarters, but it is probable that the orders are not understood by a number of those present and that discussions in the sub-parish ensue at which the opinion of the elders is of importance.

The modern trend shows a definite decline in the importance which the village club and its membership originally had for the

common man. The number of men who remain outside this organization is steadily growing. The serious discussions carried on during the drinking of beer have given way to a more hilarious attitude. Probably the most important factor contributing to the increasing unpopularity of the club is that the many opportunities for eating and drinking which were the main purpose of the organization are becoming less important to a people whose standard of living now allows them to buy meat and beer frequently. Another factor is that certain of the functions of the parish elders, such as divination and help in religious sacrifices, are now not appreciated as they were formerly.

PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

A. PARISH ORGANIZATIONS

1. General

A characteristic feature of Sukuma social life is the great number of parish organizations which serve various purposes, but are principally institutions for mutual help in field work. The following list does not include the names of all the organizations in a certain area, nor in all Sukumaland. It is intended only to show the great variety of these institutions.

A. Under the leadership of the *nsumba ntale* (great commoner).

1. *Elika, Isalenge, Isangi, Buyobe*. In some places the name *elika* is used only for a group joining together to do field work, while *kisumba* denotes a group doing any other kind of work, such as digging a water-hole, building a hut, or threshing corn. This group is the most important one, in particular because of its leader, and it is therefore described in detail later on.

2. *Isalenge ya bayanda, or balalamaji*. This organization consists of children too young to enter the *elika* whose job it is to do light agricultural work, such as cotton picking or cleaning fields under cultivation. The leader of these children is called the *nsumba ntale* and a man wanting their help must make arrangements with him for payment for the work in kind or money. In the south this organization is called *balalamaji*, because it consists of the inhabitants of the *maji*, the communal hut where the boys of the village sleep. The work is usually paid for with fowls.

3. *Nyida (Kumbu in Ntusu)*. The journey made by villagers to help a new-comer to remove his belongings from his old house to the new village.

B. Under the leadership of an Ntemi

The word *Ntemi* means a chief, but it is also widely used to denote the leader of any type of society and for the leader of a working party. The members of societies which have various purposes often organize themselves into local groups under the leadership of an *ntemi* for helping with field work. These leaders are not a part of the hierarchy of a society and the leader of a working party may very likely be a common member of the society.

1. *Dance and Secret Societies.* In addition to their special purposes, which will be mentioned later, many of the societies named on pages 91 and 92 are important either as organizations for mutual help in field work among members or as working groups engaged by outsiders for contract work in the fields. A group of this kind is called *luganda* (a clan, in this case meaning a working party). If the members of a society work for another member there is no fixed rule as to the extent and price of the work done. The owner of a land holding arranges to engage the working party with a senior member of the society. He then waits to see how many workers arrive. If they are numerous he may add to the payment he had originally intended to make. The workers simply go on until they are tired and wish to stop. If they do not come up to expectation the owner of the field does not argue, but gives them their share of payment and thanks them. If the task is not finished he has to finish it himself. No argument is admissible between brethren of the same society.

If an outsider wishes to engage a working party the situation is different. The work and the payment for it are discussed before it is begun. If the workers do not complete the task the original price is decreased. In this case also quarrels are avoided, because both parties know that if they do not play fair it will be impossible for them to come to an agreement another time with anyone else.

The working parties of dance societies are very popular and are therefore frequently engaged. The members are all young and well disciplined and their leader has authority. This type of working party also has the advantage that it has no geographical boundaries. A party from the porcupine society, for instance, might consist of members living in different sub-parishes or even in different parishes.

2. *Bagobogobo.* This is an organization for mutual help which also arranges dance meetings. It is widespread in the northern part of Sukumaland. The work is often done at night. The members, both men and women, like to wear all kinds of skins and adorn themselves with feathers and porcupine quills. A group under one chief does not necessarily confine itself to the parish boundaries; the "chiefdom" may be small or large. A good chief may enlarge his realm through being joined voluntarily by neighbouring groups.

3. Groups of workers whose loose organizations are not known outside their own areas, the only purpose of which is communal field work.

(i) *Bahalali* (the obstinate ones). These are workers who are not members of any of the regular societies. They help each other in the field and are also willing to contract to work for payment for outsiders.

(ii) *Basingasinga*. They are called after the Indian Sikhs because they wear turbans while at work. Another group, the *Basaudafrika* (South Africans), are their rivals.

(iii) *Bakanira*. The word means the men who exhale smoke. These workers sit down and smoke with noisy inhalation and exhalation during intervals between work.

(iv) *Igulilu*. A night cultivation society in Busiha.

C. Working parties without leaders

1. *Ilima*. This is the term for any working party called together by the owner of a field to help him with his cultivation. Payment is not pre-arranged, but is expected.

2. *Busenge or Bugeni*. Work done by neighbours and friends called in by the man requiring help. In Maswa *busenge* and in Nera *bugeni* is the name given to work done by friends on the occasion of a wedding. When a bridegroom elect visits his father-in-law to be for the first time (*kushika nkwilima*) a beast is slaughtered and he and his friends put in a day's work in the father-in-law's fields. They are joined by friends of the house, so that often a considerable acreage is cultivated.

3. *Bafunya*. These are the participants in the customary work which the villagers do in the fields of the chief or headman on the day when they come to receive the specially prepared seed.

4. *Ilima lya badugu*. A working party of relatives. This is perhaps the commonest form of mutual help in the cultivation of fields. The usual procedure is that a man sends his children to his relations to invite them to come and help him. This help is called *bizire kufunya winga* if the wife's relations are called in and *ilima lya badugu* if the party consists of all relatives and friends. The *ilima lya badugu* may also consist simply of the inhabitants of a holding. A well-to-do man may have a family consisting of anything up to seven or more adult workers, and he therefore rarely needs to ask for outside help.

5. *Kudimana*. An agreement between two neighbours to help each other in their field work.

D. Women's Organizations

The women's organizations are less important than those of the men; they do not play any part in public life and they very seldom act on their own initiative. They generally appear as co-ordinators in some activity of the men's organizations. Their organization is loose, but they usually have a leader. The women follow the age grade conception more strictly than do the men.

1. *Bagikuru*. The organization of the old women of the village. Their main task is to cook the food for the communal meals of the parish elders. They have a leader (*ngogo*) who organizes the cooking. They are regarded with awe and fear in their sub-parish because many of them are believed to have an expert knowledge of magic medicines. When meat is distributed on social occasions these old women get the saddle.

2. *Bashike*. The married women. They have a leader (*ntale wa bashike*) for their very loose organization which is called *zinzi*. The chief task of the leader is to summon the members of the group for dancing on the occasion of a wedding. The *zinzi* sometimes adopt the custom of other dance societies and call their leader the "queen", another member the "doctor", and another one the "cashier". In addition to their dancing activities they also engage in field work. At weddings they may cook the vast quantities of stiff porridge required for feeding the guests. If one of the members is habitually lazy she may be punished by an order to cook a large pot of porridge for the other members.

2. Elika*

or

Buyobe, Kisumba, Isalenge, Isangi

While all other organizations are of a temporary kind for a certain purpose, the *elika* is a permanent institution of the parish;

* *ELIKA* (sing.) *MALIKA* (pl.), probably derived from the Masai word *RIKA*. *ELIKA* is a generic name for any social organization. It has come to be used especially for the organization of the parish under the leadership of the *NSUMBA NTALE*—the great commoner. The use of names for the village organizations is extremely arbitrary, as for example the use of the word *ISALENGE* which in many areas denotes the village organization under the leadership of the great commoner (see page 77), while in *Seke* and *Mondo* it is used only to describe a working party gathered together for the purpose of thrashing corn. In *Masica*, on the other hand, *ISALENGE* is the name given to a group of women engaged in communal field work accompanied by one or two men to measure out the field and mark straight rows.

Although no organization based exclusively on age grades exists, it is not difficult to find traces of such a social structure. The following technical terms denoting age and sex are commonly used:—

Male	Female	Age.
<i>Balele</i>	<i>Balele</i>	Infants.
<i>Bayanda</i>	<i>Banike</i>	From infancy to puberty.
<i>Basumba</i>	<i>Banhya</i>	From 20 to 40 years approx.
<i>Bajaha</i>	<i>Bashike</i>	From 40 to 50 years approx.
<i>Banamhala</i>	<i>Bagikuru</i>	Old People.

I will therefore simply call it the "parish organization".

In each sub-parish there is a permanent organization for the supply of working parties for any communal work required in the area, or for the supply of communal help in field work to any man who can pay for it. Every male member of the sub-parish becomes a member of the organization at about the age of puberty. The boy is simply told to come next morning to a certain holding and to join in the communal work which has been arranged between a peasant of the village and the great commoner. This very important step in the life of a Sukuma boy is taken without ceremony.

A member of the parish organization normally remains a member until his first son is born, when he probably leaves it to become a member of the village club. If he has no son he leaves at the same time as the other men of his age. A father and son are seldom both members of the organization at the same time. Exceptions do occur where a man stays in the organization for a lifetime, either because of his popularity as a great commoner or because poverty or modern trends of thought debar him from entering the village club.

The membership of every citizen at a certain age may well be called obligatory, though it is not compulsory. Every growing boy looks forward to joining the village organization, which is the first step towards manhood. Membership constitutes, as it were, the first pair of long trousers for the Sukuma boy. A youth ostentatiously remaining outside the parish organization would very soon realize that he had chosen an extremely lonely life; he simply would not be a member of the "gang". Even a schoolboy coming home for the holidays is expected to join a working party invited by his father to come and help with the field work, and by so doing he automatically becomes an active member of the parish organization. At a rather later age flirting is popular with young men, but a lone youth has very little opportunity for it. If an educated young man comes back to his sub-parish to settle there, no exception is made for him, but for the reasons mentioned he himself does not wish an exception to be made.

The number of members of an organization varies from 20 to 30 up to as many as 100. Certain standards of behaviour are expected from the members in matters of obedience, honesty, and diligence. A member who moves to another sub-parish leaving a debt behind is expected to pay it to the parish organization of his new home.

The members of the organization hold different ranks: —

<i>Ngogo</i>	in the north	the leader	)	These two
<i>Kanumba</i>	in the south		)	officers are
<i>Ngati</i>	in the north	the second in command	)	the <i>basumba</i>
<i>Kalonda</i>	in the south		)	<i>batale</i> .
<i>Mpelo</i>		an ordinary member		

Kanumba in the north the messenger and cook
Nsuma) the youth whose duty it is to blow the
Mwugi) horn to summon the other members.

Conclusion

The parish organization is no longer frequently employed for communal work (see page 79); people prefer to send for their relations or friends belonging to dance societies, or the members of recently organized working parties such as the *bagobogobo*, whose work costs less and is more business-like. In spite of this the *elika* is still a living institution which plays its role in community life (see page 80).

3. Basumba Batale

(Great Commoners)

Of all the indigenous Sukuma institutions that of the great commoner, the leader of the parish organization, shows the greatest divergence in the various areas of Sukumaland. A description of his rights and duties can therefore only attempt to give a general idea of his position, but not a complete picture of it in a certain area.

Origin of Office

The office of great commoner originated in the times when pioneers were opening up bush areas. In many cases the son of the first pioneer (see page 70) to open up an area for habitation automatically became the leader of the youth of the new settlement. The office then very often came to be considered a hereditary one. It frequently happened that a great commoner in due course became a headman, since the descendant of a pioneer was very often chosen for this post. But it cannot be said that every headman was the descendant of the first cultivator. Usually the area opened up by him and his followers became a sub-parish and for this reason the number of great commoners in a parish normally corresponds with the number of sub-parishes. If a descendant of a pioneer became headman, that family ceased to supply the great commoners and the office went to the family of the man who was the first to follow the pioneer into the new area.

In other cases the origin of the great commoners is not known for certain, but it is thought that they may first have been members of the families of the original clan leaders in the same way as older members of such families became chiefdom elders. Elsewhere a natural evolution of the post took place from the custom of making the eldest son of each homestead the leader and organizer of the young people. When later an area became more densely populated and the necessity arose for the organization of the young people of a sub-parish for communal work, one of these homestead leaders was chosen by the others for the post.

In the Shinyanga area the history of the great commoners has taken a somewhat different course. Some sixty years ago they became, unlike their fellows in other areas, extremely powerful and were used by the political opponents of the chief to undermine his authority. They assembled the people by blowing a horn (*kufula nhembe*) without asking permission of any authority, and they decided such matters as feuds with neighbours and even the compulsory abdication of the chief. When Kudidilwa I became chief he called the great commoners together one day at a place near his residence and had them surrounded by his private soldiers armed with muzzle-loaders. The soldiers discharged a volley into the air and the members of the assembly were forced to resign their positions within the community for ever. There was more danger from enemy raiders—Masai—in the south than in the north, for which reason the chiefs in the south were in possession of arms which enabled them to suppress the great commoners. It seems likely that the latter were rather the tools of the political opponents of the chief than actually working on their own. The name *nsumba ntale* does not exist in the south at the present time, but because of the stigma attaching to the original name the great commoner is now called *kanumba*. It is very likely that an internal struggle took place between the chiefs and the great commoners all over Sukumaland at the time of the coming of the Europeans and the extent to which one side or the other dominated the struggle probably accounts for the big difference in the importance of these men in the various chiefdoms.

Appointment of Great Commoner

The method of electing a great commoner varies considerably according to locality. In some areas the son of the resigning or departing office bearer is chosen, if he is a suitable man, by the parish elders. In others the young people themselves choose one of their ranks with the advice of the parish elders. Yet again, in other places the holder of this post is invariably succeeded by his second in command, a new assistant being chosen by the parish elders. In Masanza I the great commoners are elected by all the inhabitants of the village. They are very often members of old families because they are expected to know the history of the land holdings and the rules and usages of the place, and for this a newcomer would not be of much use. It therefore often happens that members of several generations of the same family have served as great commoners. It is usual in some places for the son of the headman to be chosen if he is a suitable person.

In exceptional cases a very popular great commoner may stay in office until he is an old man, or even up to his death. But in most cases the term of office is from three to five years, at the end of which time the office bearer becomes eligible to join the club of the parish

elders. The latter are always on the look out for useful members, so that a great commoner will probably be approached with a view to getting him to join the club later some time before he relinquishes his post.

In most areas this leader may be deposed by the parish elders for failure of duty. He may resign from his post, if he wishes, before his term of office expires, but he must pay a fine if he does so. The fine is usually from Shs. 2/- to 5/- in value. It is also common for a retiring leader to make a farewell present of Shs. 2/- to the young men of the village. Such small amounts are kept by the parish organization until from various sources the amount has reached a sum big enough to buy a goat or a sheep which is then consumed at a communal meal to which the parish elders are invited, their wives being asked to prepare the porridge.

A newly elected great commoner is expected to make a present to the village club on his election; this may take the form of tobacco, or in some places arrows.

The Duties of the Great Commoner as Leader of the Parish Organization and in General

1. Communal help in field work

Any man who can afford it can apply for the services of the parish organization of his area. The great commoner and his assistant are expected to organize and control all communal agricultural work done by the parish organization. He is expected to consider the welfare of the whole community before agreeing to turn out the members for any particular job of work. They must not be called out so frequently that their own fields become neglected. Usually the leader does not call his men out for more than one day a week.

Inquiry has shown that very little use is now made of the parish organization in many areas, other organizations for help being preferred. For instance, in four sub-parishes of the Mondo chiefdom the following figures of working days of the organization were obtained:

<i>Sub-parish</i>	<i>1944</i>	<i>1945</i>
Tisu	2	—
Kabila	3	—
Ngwawasi	7	1.
Buganika	2	—

The bad rains in 1945 reduced the demand for help to a minimum.

Another count in the chiefdom of Seke shows that in one year the people worked in the organizations of six parishes three times

and also built houses for two new-comers. In another six parishes the people worked five times in one year.

The usual procedure when anyone requires the help of the parish organization is that arrangements about payment are first made between the leader and the man needing help, the payment being expressed in terms of "man days". In Shinyanga, for instance, one head of cattle is reckoned to be equivalent to 30 or 40 men for two days, two goats to 30 or 40 men for one day, five large pots of beer to 30 or 40 men for half a day. The work is always reckoned in time and not in acreage because of differences in the type of work according to soil conditions and the kind of crop to be cultivated. Before the deal is definitely closed the consent of the members of the working party must be sought by the leader in most areas; in some places he is authorized to fix payments without reference to the members. It is not customary for the parish organization to agree to help a man to cultivate a large cash crop.

It is usual for priority to be given to work to assist the old and sick or women whose husbands are away, but in every case payment must be made and a poor man wanting assistance must apply either to his dance society or to his relations for the necessary beast or money to offer the parish organization. If a man wishes to have a very large piece of field work done, he may ask for the help of two or more parish organizations, provided he is able to pay for their services. The parish organization is never split into several working parties; however trivial the work all members are turned out. The members are called together by the member whose duty it is to blow the horn to summon them.

Discipline is strict in the parish organization and any man refusing to turn out for organized field work without adequate excuse is fined by the great commoner. The fine is called *ihyu* or *masumale*. It formerly consisted of a goat, a hide, beer, or a hoe; nowadays it is often paid in money, the amount seldom exceeding Shs. 3/-. This fine is converted into an edible commodity and is consumed by the members who invite the parish elders to join them. In Mwagala the fine is called *chenya* and it consists of two arrows, some tobacco, a spear, or Shs. 2/- to Shs. 5/- for minor transgressions, such as not turning out to work. If a member were to refuse to pay his fine, a very rare occurrence, he would be left very much to his own devices. This, in a backward community, is almost unbearable for a man whether he is married or single and he would very soon pay up. Not a few of the men who become contract labourers leave their village because they have had a disagreement with their family or with the parish organization.

The great commoner arranges for the division of the payments of meat, etc., among the members of the organization, as well as organizing and regulating the actual field work. He is also expected

to arrange for help in cases such as a cow breaking a leg away from the village and having to be transported home. He organizes the communal work done on the fields of the chief and headman. The chief has fields in many villages, but work on these nowadays is not compulsory and he must pay cattle, beer, or money for work done. He has, however, the advantage over the commoner that he gets more work done for his payment.

2. *Public works*

The actual calling out of communal labour on such public works as dam digging and clearing of tsetse bush is generally done by the headman, but the great commoner is expected to organize the feeding of the labour. Usually the people take their own food for a few days, after which the great commoner collects a certain amount from each inhabitant of his sub-parish and arranges for its transport to the place of work and for the cooking and distribution of it there.

3. *Allocation of land*

For obvious reasons it is difficult to ascertain to what extent the great commoners were originally responsible for land allocation. At present the headmen have taken over this important duty everywhere except in the Binza Federation where they still have to share it with the great commoners. The usual procedure there is that both these officers discuss together the question of the allocation of land to an applicant for a plot in the inhabited areas, but that the great commoners alone are responsible for the allocation of a relinquished holding. Though the headmen can allot land without consulting the great commoners in other parts of Sukumaland, they customarily inform them when a transaction in land takes place because the great commoners still have certain duties to perform (see 4, 5, and 6) in connection with new settlers. The influence which the great commoners exercise in land questions is in direct relation to the importance of their position in any particular area.*

4. *Investigation into the antecedents of prospective settlers*

The great commoners in many places were formerly expected to go to the home of a prospective settler and make inquiries as to his position, character, and behaviour and his reasons for emigration. They then reported to the headman or to the villagers as to whether he was a suitable man to receive land and to be allowed to settle in the community. Although, under modern conditions, applicants for land may come from a far away chiefdom, making it too difficult and costly for investigation of his antecedents, a great commoner may still make inquiries about a would-be settler where circumstances permit it.

* See page 84 where the present situation with regard to the allocation of land is described.

5. *House building*

Formerly the parish organization used to undertake the work of building a house for a new-comer to the area. This is still sometimes done, but in many cases the new-comers prefer to build for themselves. More commonly the organization is called out for the rebuilding of a house which has been burnt down. The great commoner is expected to organize this, and no payment is required for the service. If the owner of the burnt house has lost his food store in the fire the great commoner collects food from every inhabitant of the sub-parish to help him out. This help is only given in case of fire. In all other cases of want the victim's relations are expected to supply any help required.

6. *Helping a new settler to move house (nyida)*

After a stranger has been admitted to a sub-parish as a new settler it is the duty of the great commoner to summon all the able-bodied villagers to journey to the stranger's old home and remove his goods and chattels. No one who is summoned to help in this work may refuse without adequate excuse. The stranger's belongings are brought to the village, whereupon the owner supplies a feast for those who have done the work.

7. *Sacrifice (tambiko)*

The great commoner has certain practical duties to perform when a sacrifice according to the rites of ancestor worship takes place. He has to supervise such matters as the collection of fuel, the distribution of the meat of the sacrificial beast, or the digging up of roots which are used for the preparation of the meat. It may be that a practitioner advises a *mita* sacrifice as a remedy in case of sickness. If this happens the great commoner is summoned and told to cut a few large and a few small branches of the following trees: — *msingisa* (*Boscia fischeri*), *mbale* (*Lonchocarpus bussei* harms.), *mlama* (*Combretum guenzii*, subsp. *Splendens* ercell. This tree is used in many ceremonies as a symbol of longevity—*kulama* means to be for ever. The explanation is that this combretum species survives the annual bush fires particularly well). Small branches of these trees are cut into sticks and the great commoner, helped by a parish elder, carries them into the house of the sick man in the evening, ties them together and puts them into the bed as a pillow. Early in the morning they carry the bundle away and bury it. The previous entrance in the euphorbia hedge surrounding the house and kraal is now closed by planting more euphorbia in the gap and a new entrance is cut with two *mlama* posts as gate-posts. A goat, which has been chosen in accordance with the instructions of the practitioner, is then brought and laid on a trestle of branches of the same tree. The spirit are then invoked and their help is solicited, after which the goat is killed by strangulation and cut open. A diviner, often a parish elder and a member of the parish club.

examines the intestines and pronounces as to whether the sacrifice is acceptable to the spirits or not. If the answer is in the negative a second goat must be sacrificed.

8. *Distribution of magically treated seed*

It is the duty of the great commoner to see to the distribution of the special seed which has been doctored and blessed by the chief or the headman.*

9. *Wedding Ceremonies*

The great commoner is responsible for the arrangement of the wedding feast and the distribution of food. He is also expected to receive the bridegroom (*kutонера nkwilima*) on his arrival at the sub-parish of his father-in-law and to give him a meal. In many places he has to receive and entertain any stranger to the village.

10. *Burial Ceremonies*

The great commoner and his young men have the job of digging the grave for anyone who has died in the sub-parish. In some places they also carry the corpse to the grave, but this is usually done by the parish elders.

11. *Ostracism* (see page 85)

If a man has been ostracised the great commoner has to see to it that no member of the sub-parish has any dealing with him while he has been sent to coventry.

12. *Distribution of food on all social occasions*

On all occasions when communal feasts are held the great commoner is responsible for the distribution of the meat provided. The distribution follows ancient custom and everyone in the village knows the rules. The parish elders get the hindquarters, the old women the back and liver, the married women one leg, etc. The great commoner himself generally gets one leg and his share of beer. For all his duties he receives no payment other than his share in all feasts; he is also very often invited to any beer brewing which is held in the sub-parish.

Conclusion

The great commoners have never held any political position in the community. It seems probable that, even on the few occasions in the past—chiefly in the south—when they came into conflict with the highest authority in the chiefdom, their subversive activities were instigated by headmen who were indulging in political intrigues against their chief. It has already been mentioned that the great commoners had to pay for these activities. In the Binza Federation they are without doubt of great influence in all the communal affairs of the sub-parish, but beyond the boundaries of their area they have

* See "The Ntemi", by H. Cory, Macmillan, 1951.

never been organized into groups comprising even the inhabitants of one parish. When land was abundant there was no great competition for the job of allocating it; this question only became important much later and, when it did, the great commoners lost their rights of allocation in many areas, achieved a lame compromise in a few, and kept their right in the Binza Federation alone.

These officers have always been considered to be the organizers and leaders of working parties and the men responsible for all the work which, even in a primitive community, has to be undertaken in the interests of the common weal.

B. VILLAGE ASSEMBLIES

There were two traditional forums at which questions of interest to the community of a sub-parish could be discussed: —

1. *Ibanza lya milimo*. Also sometimes called *mwibiringo* or *lukiko*. This is a meeting of all occupiers of holdings in the parish. It is called together by a messenger of the parish headman, and a representative of each homestead is bound to attend. If a husband is absent his wife must go in his place. The usual purpose of summoning this meeting is for the transmission of orders from Government which the headman has received through his chief and which generally apply to land, the method of work on it and the crops to be grown, or to measures for improving the health of men or beasts. A meeting may be called to discuss any issue of common interest to the economic life of the community.

Although the *ibanza lya milimo* has no executive power, no inhabitants of the parish, if they wish to remain there, can afford to disregard its decisions. It is often called together and it constitutes an occasion for a headman to keep in touch with his parishioners.

2. *Long'we* (Public meeting). This is a meeting of all the inhabitants of a parish for the discussion of local affairs. It is called together by the parish elders—generally by the leaders of their organizations—after several of these village dignitaries have held council and decided that the case warrants the calling of a public meeting. The leaders of the elders send for the great commoners and discuss the details of the meeting with them beforehand. The great commoner of each sub-parish summons the people by walking through the village blowing a horn. The headman may be asked to attend, but he is not necessarily invited. Questions of local interest are discussed and criticism is not avoided. Topics for discussion are dissatisfaction with the parish headman or his helpers, an unusual abundance of birds when the sorghum ripens, or of lions or hyenas which arouses superstitious fears, lack of rain, and epidemics among men or beasts.

A very important function of this assembly, which might be called the plenary and representatives assembly of the community, with regard to the control of its members, is the imposition of penalties for anti-social behaviour and the application of ostracism and expulsion.

A. Penalties

The *masumule* or *lwadida* consists of a small fine, usually a few shillings and never exceeding one goat. It is imposed on a *man* for: Disorderly behaviour, such as insulting a girl; beating his wife severely, if a court case is avoided with the consent of both parties; insulting his wife by profaning her mother; cursing or beating an old woman, if a court case is avoided; beating his mother; insulting elders or slander.

It is imposed on a *woman* for: Cursing or beating her mother-in-law; or disorderly behaviour, especially against old women.

The fine is usually paid without delay and the transgressor rarely tries to defend himself. The community is judge, plaintiff, and witness all in one, and if there is any doubt there is no case.

B. Ostracism

(*Bubisi*, *Bukindikwa*, or *olemirwe sengo*. See page 83). If a man is ostracised he is declared an outlaw (*nbisi*) which means that no one is allowed to visit him, speak to him, or help him. If the fire in his house goes out nobody gives him fire. If his hut is in flames nobody helps him to extinguish the fire. If his child dies nobody helps him to bury it. A citizen who does not sever his connection with an outlaw automatically becomes an outlaw himself. This sanction is imposed in the following cases:—When a man refuses to help to bury a corpse; when a man refuses first aid, i.e., to transport sick or wounded; when a man refuses to help in emergencies such as fire. When a man refuses to participate in ceremonies ordered for the purpose of dispelling evil influences directed against the community; or when a man seriously and continuously disturbs the peace of the village by his dangerous or amorous temperament.

The sanction is ordered without the defendant being given a hearing. He is simply informed of the decision afterwards. A man is not able to live many days thus excluded from the community, and he has a chance to get the interdiction removed by paying a ransom fixed by the community. This payment need not be very high—a goat or a few shillings are sufficient. The ransom is received by the elders and, if it consists of a goat, it is eaten, the distribution of the meat following the traditional rules; if it is paid in money, beer or a goat are bought and consumed. If a man is unwilling to pay this ransom he has no option but to move to another place. The strict rules formerly prevailing with regard to investigation into the antecedents of new-comers made it difficult for such a man to find

a new home unless he went far away. Thus most of them preferred to pay what was demanded of them.

C. *Expulsion (Kupeja)*

The most serious sanction, that of expulsion, is not imposed by the elders and citizens alone, but in consultation with the parish headman and the chief himself. If repeated impositions of ostracism and payments of ransom do not change a man's anti-social behaviour, he is declared an outlaw once and for all and no ransom is accepted from him. This sanction in practice means expulsion.

Present position of the long'we

These public meetings were unpolitical, unless the people were distressed about their headman, but even in the latter case the cause of distress was usually his failure to control the forces of nature rather than any defects in his morals. The people say that during the last twenty years the Native Authority has shown definite disapproval of the institution and it has therefore lost much of its former importance. There are now areas in which no meeting has taken place for years and in which it is considered tactless to mention this fact.

C. DANCE SOCIETIES AND SECRET SOCIETIES
(Malika ya Mbina)

These two types of societies overlap in Sukumaland in as far as the inner circle of members of the dance societies is usually constituted as though it were a secret society, and though not all secret societies foster the organization of dances in general or on certain occasions, most of them do. The best way of distinguishing these two kinds of societies is to call those in which all members are initiated "secret societies", and those in which initiation is not a condition of membership "dance societies". As might be expected, intermediate links between the two types exist. These are the dance societies (see II D) which have adopted certain features of the secret societies, often in accordance with the instructions of the founder.

Secret societies do not accept female members, with the exception of those which are concerned with ancestor worship. The purposes of the secret societies are generally known, but the procedure of initiation and the means employed to achieve the purposes are kept secret. Sometimes portions of the initiation ceremonies are performed in public as propaganda for the society in the hope of acquiring new members. The dance meetings of these societies, though each has its own characteristic features, are otherwise indistinguishable from the meetings of ordinary dance societies. In both cases anyone present may join in and they are often arranged only for the purpose of enjoying dancing and singing. Thus the external aspect of the secret societies has nothing sinister about it.

The meetings of the dance societies represent almost the only opportunity for the display of the histrionic talents of the people

and for an individual to show off his physical skill and endurance before a crowd in which the female element is well represented. Most dance societies have women members, but they are rather the partners of the males than independent members of the society.

Both forms of society are important social institutions. The Sukuma have no tribal initiation or puberty ceremonies and so the only formal education in the affairs of adults of the youth who does not attend school takes place through his initiation into a secret society. There he is taught respect for his elders, the benefits of social unity and fraternal solidarity, and a few moral principles. Discipline is strict in all the societies and real obedience is taught in them. The members of a society are ready to help each other, not only with field work, but in any kind of trouble; they also give hospitality to any member who is journeying away from home. In many areas groups of members agree to work for payment in the fields of anyone who makes an agreement with their leader (see page 74). The local leaders of the societies are usually popular practitioners who are regarded as important by virtue of the fact that they are frequently consulted by tribal leaders, the chiefs and headmen, though these officials will very rarely admit to any connection with the societies and their leaders.

The fundamental ideology of the secret societies is of a religious quality. Most of them have adopted the principles of the initiation rites of the societies Nos. 1 to 5 below and accordingly the general atmosphere in them is of a very strong conservatism. The members are very tolerant and pagans, Christians, and Muslims are included, but the societies are strongholds of tradition and tend to perpetuate indigenous rites and beliefs.

The Principal Societies

I. Secret Societies

A. Purpose: Ancestor Worship

1. *Bufumu*. Concerned with the paternal ancestors.
2. *Bumanga*. Concerned with maternal ancestors.
3. *Mabasa*.* The society of parents of twins.
4. *Buswezi*. Originally concerned with the ancestor worship of a certain dynasty, but now having a wider scope.
5. *Migabo*. Originating in the countries round Lake Tanganyika and connected with Katabi, the spirit of the lake.

Numbers 1 and 2 are not societies in our sense of the word at all, but rather loose organizations entirely concerned with ancestor worship and soothsaying. They are—to use a European metaphor—churches, each one possessing its own ritual and its own specific

* See "Mabasa", by H. Cory, *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, No. 17, 1944.

means of soothsaying. No. 1 is chiefly concerned with the paternal ancestors; No. 2 with the maternal ancestors, and it may be considered necessary for a person, man or woman, to belong to both.

No. 3 is an organization the membership of which is confined to the parents of twins. Considerable superstition surrounds these children and their parents are thought to be ritually unclean and a danger, especially to the chief, for which reason they are ceremonially cleansed. It is well known that it was formerly the custom to kill twins and children born by breech presentation, but this custom is disappearing and has completely disappeared in the case of breech presentation. Long ago it became customary to kill only one twin, but it is not possible to make a definite statement on the present state of affairs. The organization is very loose and its initiation rites are solely for the purpose of ritually cleansing the parents of twins who are then accepted as members of the society.

It seems that Nos. 4 and 5 were also originally congregations united by the bond of common rites in the worship of ancestral spirits. The *Baswezi* were originally the members of a dynasty ruling in Bunyoro whence some of them emigrated southwards where they attained prominent positions. In the course of time the *buswezi* has widened its scope and secularized its activities and at present it is very popular, particularly in the south, as a society without any particular aim but that of providing an opportunity for indulging in wine, women and song. This society is sometimes considered to be a bad influence. The members do not form a mutual help society as far as work is concerned; on the contrary, the ideal of the members (especially of those who can almost be called professionals) is to do as little work as possible and to devote as much time as they can to their society. The novices have to pay fees and the well-to-do members are proud to make gifts to the assembly. The *baswezi* are also not backward in demanding presents from outsiders, often behaving in a very impertinent way on the pretext of being possessed by the spirit of *miswezi*.

The *migabo* (No. 5) has retained its religious background and has never adopted any innovations leading to a more frivolous attitude towards the aims of the society.

B. Purpose: Specialised Occupations

6. *Buyeye*. Elephant hunting.
7. *Nunguli*. Porcupine hunting.
8. *Buyeye** and *Bugoyangi*. Snake charming.
9. *Budandu* and *Bulashi*. Hunters.

* See "The *Buyeye*", by H. Cory, *Africa*, Vol. XVI, No. 3, 1946.

These societies are really guilds in which the members are banded together to study and practise certain occupations. They form strong and disciplined fraternities and are bound to help one another in various walks of life, and in meeting such obligations as custom and law impose on the individual.

No. 6 is a very ancient society the members of which originally banded together to hunt elephants with poisoned arrows. Now it is kept alive solely to help those who are troubled by their ancestors who were members of the society by making them members and offering the prescribed sacrifices.

No. 7 is a popular society and the members are skilled hunters of the porcupine which can be a scourge in cassava fields; also the meat is very good. It lives under ground and to follow it into its lair is such a gruesome task that only magical protection can overcome the superstitious fear of the hunter. This clearly was the psychological reason for the founding of the society.

No. 8. Frequent descriptions have been written of the display of snakes by these two societies, which are almost identical, at public dances and festivities. The actual aim of the societies is to teach the members how to treat snake bites. Though the effect of their antidotes is probably exaggerated by the practitioners and the people themselves, the treatment and knowledge of these snake charmers in case of snake bite is not all humbug.

No. 9 has now lost its former importance. It is said that it was the mother of the other societies of hunters. The *budandu* gives a long list of medicines for ensuring successful hunting and also enumerates a great number of bad and good omens and also of taboos for the hunter and his wife. This teaching is given during the initiation ceremonies.

C. Purpose: Black and White Magic

10. *Bukonikoni*

This society differs from the preceding ones in that it is definitely anti-social. It has no dance meetings in public and it is in the nature of its activities that information about it is difficult to obtain. No one will openly call himself a *mukonikoni*. Many details of the rites and the methods of working of this society have been collected over a period of many years, but the greater part of the material has not yet been corroborated and the following details are given simply to give some idea of its structure and atmosphere. The real difficulties lie in the multitude of information collected—too much

human sacrifice, too much cruelty, too much magic, and too many details of organization.*

There are three ways of becoming a member of the society:

1. By inheritance. A full member is entitled to bring his eldest son to any meeting or ceremony whatever the age of the child.

2. By applying for membership as a leading member of another secret society. A man who has obtained fame as a leader may even be invited to join the *bukonikoni*. He is asked to pay his entrance fee by betraying all the secrets of his society, whether they be medicines, procedure, or organization. As a member of the *bukonikoni* he is entitled to acquire all the knowledge of the society.

3. After a long apprenticeship culminating in the sacrifice of a close relative (*kuhonga mtu*). The method has been described as follows: The victim must be slowly poisoned by the novice. The members of the society may supply the poison and control the execution of their orders from afar. This method guarantees the security of the perpetrators of the crime. After death and burial the corpse is exhumed and the parts of the body which are required for use in magic medicines are cut out. These parts of the body are considered to be effective ingredients, because the body of a person killed by a witch doctor is assumed to be permeated with magic power. The novice is then admitted to the last stages of the initiation rites, after which he is considered a full member of the society. The ritual murder is said to be insisted upon so that the initiate will never dare to divulge the secrets of the society; he has committed murder and the only witnesses to his crime are the members of the *bukonikoni*.

Sometimes the information is offered that the *bukonikoni* was really a society for the suppression of black magic and was therefore a benevolent institution. This may have been so in times of which very little is known, and doubtless the *bukonikoni* developed into its present form, in which members practise both the black and white arts, although the difference is difficult to comprehend if, in a protective medicine against practitioners of black magic and their evil intentions, the most important ingredient is a piece of a sorcerer's penis.

* I am, of course, aware of the vagueness of the statements which are presented here in a very positive form. I could have omitted the entire description, but I would then have omitted a much talked of feature of Sukuma life. I have repeatedly checked the statements which I have made here and I have used no other information about the details of the organization which I have collected but have not been able to check. Despite this precaution I have to confess that my description is based on an unscientific form of research. I cannot give a list of the rules of this society nor how the meetings are arranged, other than those for initiation ceremonies, but I am personally convinced that some kind of society exists, the activities of which come near to my description.

It seems that the initiation itself does not differ much from that of other secret societies in so far as it is also a *rite de passage*, but the details are sinister and are obviously intended to harden the novice and make him indifferent to blood and dead flesh. The hierarchy of the society remains obscure, even to the ordinary member. The real leaders do not attend the ordinary meetings and if they appear on special occasions they remain seated in the dark.

The purpose of the society—besides giving its members the satisfaction of a clandestine and boundless superiority—is to give profitable services to the public. If an individual wishes to obtain protection against the evil intentions of others or to use magic means against an enemy, he may go to the *bakonikoni*, though he knows no more about the practitioner than that he is an *mlangala* (a man of high rank in his profession).

II. Dance Societies

D. With partial initiation for ordinary members

11. *Bugumha*.

12. *Bugika*.

These two societies have no special traditions, but by adopting features of indigenous initiation ceremonies and other activities of secret societies, they have acquired a spiritual background for their purely secular activities. Instances of such features are the recognition of certain trees as the chief of the society and his consort, the magical protection of members, and a strict hierarchy within the society, the leaders of which are often prominent practitioners of many curative medicines.

The first of these two societies to be formed was the *bugaru*, founded by Gumha, for which reason it is often called *bugumha*. The followers call themselves *bakonziire* because of the semi-circle of marks which the members wear round the left eye. One of Gumha's pupils was Ngika Mwana Odera, who later left his master and founded a new society, the *bugika*. It may be assumed that both these founders are historical persons. The schism in the original society caused the invention of competitive dances between the two branches. *Bugika and bugumha* have now become so popular owing to the introduction of these competitive dances that the participants in any dance meetings are often divided into *bagika* and *bagumha* and compete against each other. Thus it may happen that two groups of *banunguli* compete against each other, one group calling itself *banunguli bagumha* and the other *banunguli bagika*.

E. With no initiation of members

In some of these societies the ceremony for accepting a new member consists in making a few incisions in his body and rubbing protective medicine into them,

13. *Malingizi*, which uses as musical instruments drums and sticks beaten against each other.
14. *Bucheyeki*, which uses whistles and hand clapping.
15. *Busoli* and *Ndono*, which use a monocord.
16. *Puba*, which uses drums and hand clapping. Most popular in the south.
17. *Iginya*. This is exclusively competitive. At all dances two groups sing against each other alternately under the leadership of skilful bards.

F. Dances for certain occasions or connected with certain professions

Winga and *kabungu*. Wedding dances.

Ndonya and *busaji*. Dances of shepherds.

Bulugu (milango). War dance.

Kadandi. A dance for women only. Arranged when the men return to the village from wars or work at the coast.

Badati. Threshing dance and songs.

For the sake of exercise and the learning of the songs meetings may be held to do any of these dances even if it is not actually the occasion for their performance. The variety of the dances—and this list is far from complete—shows how popular are the societies. The number of them is decreasing, but still on moonlight nights the younger generation turns out for dancing.

THE OLD INSTITUTIONS AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Detailed studies of the indigenous Sukuma political institutions may allow of a prognostication—though it must remain a very problematical undertaking—of the reactions of the officers of the present Native Authority to the proposed reforms.

Generally it can be expected—assuming that the necessary tact in introducing the reforms is not violated—that an optimistic view of the attitude of the office bearers who hold almost uncontrolled authority will not be contradicted by events.

It is not difficult to find common fundamental political principles throughout Sukumaland, of which the most important appears to be a certain democratic trend in all the original political institutions. It can be hoped that in such a community, however backward and politically uneducated, reforms inspired and guided by conceptions similar to those which dominated the indigenous public life will be quickly understood and willingly accepted. The path from the council at the lowest level, the parish council, up to the district council is paved in old patterns and the reaction of all people concerned to the reforms may therefore be considerate and moderate.

The chiefs and parish headmen are the officers of the Native Authority whose positions are most interfered with by the introduction of the new constitution.

1. **The Chief**

A study of the present situation shows that only a very few of the substitutes for the original foundations of the chief's authority will remain for long; they are temporary because they are mainly based on outdated tolerance and acute ignorance. When these defects have been remedied there remains the mandate which the chief receives from the Central Government and not much else. To what extent it will back up the chief's authority and how far it will allow its control by institutions resulting from the introduction of popular representation will not be a matter of evolution, but of deliberation by the Central Government. Though the chief may eventually become an inter-departmental officer more dependent on Government than rooted in his area and his people, it will be necessary to protect and maintain the outward signs of his dignity. Human relations can never be based entirely on realistic features and in Sukuma, as in many other places, the sentimental value of chieftaincy will remain an important guarantee of the material and cultural co-operation of the various sections of the community for some time to come.

2. **The Parish Headman**

The attitude of the parish headman towards political reforms is of great importance. The introduction of the reforms, which involve the political emancipation of the people, will be more embarrassing for him than for the chief. The position of the headman at the moment even less settled than that of the chief and many of the problems connected with his post await a solution difficult to find under present conditions. The headmen live amongst their people and it has never been possible for them to be exclusive. Therefore every change in the structure of the community and any progress in any direction must have direct and immediate repercussions on their position.

There are grounds for hoping that many of the chiefs will—probably half-heartedly—grasp the significance of the political re-ment in instigating them. This attitude cannot be expected from even a few of the headmen. The very idea of the existence of independent councils in their parishes is bound to be anathema to them, and will believe in the prudent motives of the Central Govern-ment and conflicts will be unavoidable, even if the councillors are miracles of tact. The councils are, by their very nature, bound to be institutions for the control of the headmen, and they cannot avoid interfering with some of the latter's activities, though they may not have this object primarily in view. The question then arises as to why any headman should continue in an office which is badly

paid and demands hard work, many responsibilities, and an unfailing loyalty to a superior who can no longer help him out of his little difficulties.

It is not hard to foresee that the reforms will meet with bitter opposition from the headmen. This opposition will be underground and will not be made publicly. Many headmen will suddenly become aware of their chronic state of ill-health or the approach of their centenary. It will be the ill-concealed pleasure of many chiefs to report that their headmen, so conservative and imprudent are they, are threatening to resign, in spite of the fact that the chiefs themselves are, of course, keen followers of the new political ideas.

There is no doubt that the genuine dislike of the reforms on the part of the headmen will be a serious factor. The only remedy for this disease of infancy will be to tell the chiefs that they must use their influence and that they are responsible for a thorough campaign for the enlightenment of their subordinate officials. It may be that the success of the whole undertaking will be dependent on a reform in the salary scale of the village headman.

3. The Parish Elders

Notwithstanding the decline of the institution, the parish elders could be used as a cell for political aspirations and movements. The progressive section of the community takes less and less notice of the village club, but it is not difficult to imagine that these people might take too much interest in it. It is the only organized indigenous institution which is open to every citizen and which can assemble without drawing attention to its discussions. It is also an institution which is found all over Sukumaland. This comment is made simply to show a possible development; there is no evidence to show that the village club is being used for any but its original purpose.

4. The Great Commoners

These representatives of the people, who in many parts of Sukumaland have retained important influence in public matters, are the main losers by the reforms. It is very probable that in all chiefdoms a number of these men, or at least men of their age group, will be elected to the councils, but they will be called councillors and not *basumba batale*. There is scarcely room in one village for a council which deals with land questions and for the great commoners who exercised their rights in these matters prior to the introduction of the reforms. The comparatively systematic organization of parish councils will win the victory over the loose pattern of the institution of the great commoner. This victory will not be detrimental to the people's prerogatives as laid down in the constitution as long as the council keeps a high standard of integrity under European control. But if, by reason of circumstances which

cannot now be foreseen, the councils should be allowed to deteriorate the great commoners could never regain their status. In this case the people would be deprived of important rights which they previously enjoyed and would have been better off if they had never received the blessing of political reforms.

5. Secret Societies

None of these societies has so far ever meddled with political matters, nor is there any sign of their doing so in the immediate future. The members confine their activities solely to the affairs of their own society and to dance competitions with other societies. Furthermore, none of them, except the *bukonikoni*, are considered by the Sukuma themselves to be in any way anti-social. It has therefore never yet been tried to use a secret society as a cloak for subversive activities and its meetings as a platform for harmful propaganda.

Equally the secret societies could not play a part in a positive sense in the reforms of the Native Administration. The main reason for their exclusion from any scheme is their utter conservatism and the nature of their structure. It is possible that the name of a popular society might be used for an organization in which new and very different doctrines could be propagated but there is no way in which new ideas could be developed from existing ones; the new ideas could only be introduced after the old ones had been exterminated. Only by this process, which would perhaps help the activities to be more easily concealed than if new societies were founded, could one of the old societies become a focus of anti-social activities in the political sense of the term. It would be the same vessel, but filled with a different liquid after the original contents had been completely cleaned out.

PART II

PROPOSALS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS

INTRODUCTION

After a very minute scrutiny of the Sukuma tribal structure I decided that none of the existing institutions could be used as a base for the building up of an effective and modern political system. The main reason for the necessity for complete emancipation from traditional institutions, with the exception of the executive, is that they differ considerably in different areas as to their functions and powers, although they are known by the same name everywhere. This refers not only to the offices of the great commoners, but also to those of chiefdom and parish elders. The study of the Sukuma tribal structure has not, however, been without practical results. It must be understood that such studies never lead to the simple answer of reviving old institutions in their original form and expecting that the people themselves will make the adaptations necessary to fit them in with modern requirements. This is the task of the reformer. The old institutions were based, almost without exception, on conceptions and ideologies which have lost, or are in the process of losing, all hold on the people. But a study of the past conveys the atmosphere, the type of mentality dominating it, and the degree to which inclination and history have created a sense of civic responsibility. A knowledge of the past has helped—or at least, so it is hoped—in the design of a plan for political reforms for the present.

The introduction of the reforms will create many difficulties. I assume that the difficulties in this case consist of an accumulation of difficult details and that these will have to be dealt with one by one in order to overcome the final difficulty which is to accomplish the reformation of the political organization of the Sukuma in such a way as to make them useful co-operators in the task of guiding their own successful progress. Schemes and plans alone cannot achieve this. Successful administration is largely a human problem which is always fundamentally a problem of collaboration.

PARISH COUNCIL

The smallest unit of local government is the parish, and according to the new constitution each parish will have its own council. Every parish (*gunguli*) is actually divided into several smaller units, called *shibanda*, for the purpose of many indigenous institutions (see chapters on parish elders and great commoners) and

which, therefore, are of great importance in the social life of the Sukuma, but which are too small to be considered in a political organization. If some controversial issue should cause a split into different parties in a parish, it is very likely that it would follow the pattern of the sub-parishes. The size of a parish and its population varies somewhat, though a number of smaller ones have been amalgamated in recent years, especially in the new settlement areas. The majority of them have a population of between two and four hundred tax-payers. It may happen here and there that comparatively few residents elect the same number of councillors as do hundreds of citizens in crowded parishes, but many of the under-populated parties will have increased their population by the time the councils have attained any real importance.

Election

I The residents of a parish assemble once a year and elect 8 members for the parish council.

II The election takes place by popular acclamation.

III At least 2 of the 8 councillors should belong to the younger generation. Councillors should have paid tax for at least three years in the chiefdom in which the council is situated.

Note to I. The number 8 has been chosen as a result of the experience, gained on several occasions recently, that the number of suitable men, even in a big parish, is small, and that the election of 8 men caused no controversy and was quickly accomplished. On the other hand, a smaller number could hardly be called a council. The people of a parish split up into sub-divisions for the purposes of election, and if a parish has many sub-divisions a difficult situation would arise if the members to be elected were too few.

The short term of one year may later be altered to a longer period, but one year is considered more suitable for a start, as the people, delegates, Native Authority, and Central Government must learn by experience, and a wrongly placed cog in the machinery which cannot be replaced quickly may impair the efficiency of the whole machine.

Note to II. The method of election by popular acclamation is well understood by all Africans and is regularly used by them on various traditional occasions when an election is required. It may not be an ideal solution of the problem of election, because it may make it possible for a vociferous minority to get a candidate elected; this danger is not a present great enough to warrant the abandonment of the system, especially as no better system can be found to replace it. Experiences of elections by popular acclamation have shown that in a small community, particularly where no material gain accrues to the office, suitable and public spirited men are elected.

Note to III. It is not very likely that educated men will be elected as delegates by the parish, and indeed I do not think that they would be happy as members of the parish councils. On the other hand it is not advisable to overlook this small but vocal section of the populace, from which suitable members of the higher level councils can be drawn. On a system based on the pyramid structure where the members of the higher levels are supplied from those of a lower level the only way of including educated Africans is by co-opting them as recommended on page 108.

Agenda

IV The duties of the parish council are consultative and administrative and, in a small but important measure, executive.

V The council acts as a corporate body and no individual actions are admissible.

VI The council receives and investigates complaints from the residents of the parish and presents them to the headman of the parish if they are found to be of substance. If the matter is not settled by the headman it may be brought to the knowledge of the chiefdom council.

VII The council considers and brings to the notice of the headman the needs of the parish.

VIII The council assists and advises the headman in the allocation and execution of communal tasks.

IX The council arbitrates in disputes which are voluntarily brought before it by two opposing parties.

X The council disseminates news of orders, advice and general interest received from the headman or from the council on the chiefdom level.

XI The council exercises certain rights delegated to it in land administration, land settlement, and control of stock density.

XII The council elects from among its members a number of councillors to sit on the chiefdom council.

XIII The council, in conjunction with the headman and any other groups of citizens to be appointed for this purpose, elects a new chief.

Note to IV. The executive rights refer to paras XII and XIII. The parish council must consider itself mainly an institution for assisting the headman, while remembering the interests of the individual commoner. The headmen are even now usually in daily contact with certain men of their parishes with whom they confer on all public matters, and in particular the affairs of the parish. At present the headman selects his consultants and the innovation consists in the fact that these will in future be elected by the people and that their duties will be officially acknowledged. It is very important, and therefore one of the foremost tasks of the supervisors (page 111) to prevent any transgression of the line drawn between

executive and consultative duties. Over-zealous councils which usurp executive rights are to be considered as worse than those which do nothing, and the councils must be taught from the very start about their duties and the limits of their powers, otherwise they may disrupt the whole government machinery which remains based on the work done by the headmen and their helpers. The councillors may try to find a remedy if the machine needs too much "oil", but they must not take over and run any single part of it themselves.

Note to V and VI. Para. VI represents the privilege of "question time" in a modern parliament. Originally the people had the means of combatting a tyrannical attitude, particularly of a headman and his helpers, simply by moving into another parish or even into another chiefdom. This answer to high-handed methods can now not be given so easily as formerly, and there is at present no acknowledged procedure whereby a commoner, or even a group of commoners, can complain against any injustices employed by any of the many officers of the Native Authority or by the African servants of the Central Government. The right to complain through legitimate channels should keep the Central Government well informed if undercurrents exist. At the same time the councils at the lowest level will act as filters and safeguard all concerned against the exaggeration of petty complaints. There are no secrets in a parish so that it will not be difficult for the councillors to ascertain the truth and bring before the headman only reasonable complaints. The headman can then use the opportunity to put right things which have gone wrong or, if he cannot or will not give satisfaction, the case be taken to the chiefdom council.

It is an essential part of the procedure that the councillors must act as a corporate body. One councillor alone has no right to proceed with any matter which belongs to the prerogatives of the council. The use of "question time" should protect every citizen against the evil consequences of bribery, graft, misuse of family connections, and vindictiveness. Practical experience has shown that the introduction of this measure alone has sufficed to improve the standards of behaviour of Native Authority office bearers. Complaints arising out of affairs occurring prior to the introduction of the parish councils should not be dealt with.

Note to VII and VIII. It is necessary from the very beginning to make it clear to the councillors that they must avoid, under all circumstances, any interference with the legitimate activities of any officer of the Native Authority or of the Central Government. Recognition of their influence will depend on their wise and considerate behaviour. They are not elected policemen or judges or executive officers of any kind. The council is a positive institution in all spheres and help to the headman is as necessary a part of their duties as help to the people. The headman should be made to understand that

the organization of parish councils is greatly to his advantage if he is a just and good headman, but may be to his disadvantage if he is a bad one.

Note to IX. The institution of village courts in an arbitrary capacity is traditional. It is not visualised that the parish council should monopolise any semi-judicial activity. It is rather assumed that the elected councillors will frequently be consulted as arbitrators by their people.

Note to X. The dissemination of news concerning the immediate interests of the parish and its inhabitants has not so far been organized. For instance, the results of the deliberations of chiefs at their meetings on district level never become known to the people, who are simply ordered to follow rules. The councils should be the liaison between the law-givers and the people.

The council meetings should also be used by the headmen as media for conveying all administrative and executive measures decided upon by the authorities. The parish councils should also be informed of the proceedings of the chiefdom or sub-chiefdom council by the delegates who attend them as their representatives. The procedure in the parish council is equally necessary in any other council at a higher level. Thus an adequate back-flow of news of any deliberations, proposals, and decisions from the highest to the lowest level of councils and so to the people is guaranteed. Explanations to the councillors will not be sufficiently effective. It is therefore recommended that the man in the street should be questioned as often as possible about subjects which are known to have been recently hotly discussed at the meetings of councils. It will be found, in most cases, that no news whatever has penetrated to the people. Such practical examples will be necessary in order to drive home to the councillors what are their duties in this respect. I consider this point to be of great importance as the usefulness of the councils is questionable if they lose contact with the people.

Note to XI. Though in many areas no legislation of this kind has been enacted, it is very likely that rules regulating these issues may later be decided on. Various considerations make it advisable to entrust parish councils with the supervision of the implementation of these rules; for instance, the implementation of rules regulating density of population by restricting immigration into certain areas would be best performed by the parish council. Headmen and chiefs customarily put their desire for increased population in their area before any other consideration. The common man with his permanent worry about land shortage as soon as the population density reaches a certain level is very reliable when it comes to a question of controlling immigration. The active assistance of councillors is also useful for the implementation of destocking or similar rules. Although rules of this kind may be accepted by the chiefs and the

representatives of the people in council, their practical execution is a tricky task and therefore any suspicion, however unfounded, as to the honesty and impartiality of the executors is to be avoided. If the councillors of the parish are called upon to assist the Native Authority in its task, it is clear that assistance and control cannot be separated.

Note to XII. This system allows for the election of delegates by the people themselves only on the lowest level; for the councils on all higher levels the delegates are elected by the councillors of the body on the level below them from among their numbers. The reasons are obvious; the form of election by popular acclamation has never, and never can, serve for more than a small section of the community. The rule that the delegates of the higher councils must be members of the lower ones guarantees easy continuity of purpose between all councils, either for the communication of news or the presentation of views. The elected delegates for the higher council are bound to sit in both councils.

Note to XIII. The rules of succession of chiefs have never been such that it was automatically clear to everyone, including the ruling chief, who had the right to succeed by birth. The principle was that a panel of selected men, either belonging to the chief's family or to a group of courtiers and privileged dignitaries, selected a new chief from the members of the dynasty, following patrilineal or matrilineal succession. Very often oracles were consulted on this occasion. The administrators of the chiefdom were members of the chief's family and they participated in the election of the chief in this latter capacity and not by virtue of their office. When, after the arrival of the Europeans, the administrative functions of the chief became his most important functions the offices of chief's representatives in the sub-divisions of his chiefdom became open to commoners of talent and energy. These sub-chiefs and headmen were then included in the electorate, since it was considered important for the smooth running of the tribal administration that they should be consulted. The next step, which brings us to the present time, was to call the people together and allow them to choose between a number of candidates put forward on the advice of the deputy, a few elders thought to be reliable because known to the Central Government, a few headmen, and a few other respected citizens. The procedure was that candidates took up their positions at a distance from each other and the people were asked to stand behind their chosen candidate, the man with the greatest number of followers being elected as chief. Though this may be considered a haphazard method, it worked because everyone was convinced of one thing—that the chief must belong to the ruling family and be a close relation of the former chief. This conviction considerably reduced the number of eligible candidates and in many cases there was very little choice, the obvious successor to the chief being one of his close relatives who

had often worked as a village headman or even as deputy to the deceased.

If the delegates of the parish councils, together with the original panel of electors, sub-chiefs and headmen, are given the right to elect a new chief, this is not an innovation but merely an improvement on the present method of election. In fact, as a forerunner of future development, in many recent cases delegates of each parish elected by the inhabitants of the parish have been called upon to act as members of an electoral body and no opposition has been encountered from any section of the community. The fact that the unofficial members of this electoral body hold an immense majority is no disadvantage, since a crowd is the least likely section of the community to have vested interests. It is impossible to make detailed proposals as to the composition of the electoral bodies, mainly because of the variety of the traditional electors whom it may not yet be thought opportune to exclude. For this reason the following description of election procedure is given in general terms.

As a preliminary to the election an administrative officer should tour the chieftaindom holding meetings to which are called together the inhabitants of as many villages as possible. The people should not be asked to come from more than six miles away to any one meeting, as otherwise the attendance will be poor. The purpose of these assemblies is to explain the new system of election and to ask for nominations of candidates for the chieftaincy to be sent to the District Commissioner in due course. If it is considered advisable the population can be divided into three groups for nomination purposes, i.e., the commoners, the Native Authority officers, and the representatives of the group of indigenous dignitaries who were the traditional electors of a new chief. It may be necessary to do a brief investigation into the present status of the third group which in some places may already be of no importance, while in others it may still be influential. On the day appointed for the election as soon as sufficient people have arrived the crowd is divided into:

A. Parishes, each parish being stationed at some distance from each other. Headmen and any other members of privileged groups do not stand with the parishes where they reside. The various parishes then put forward their chosen representatives, who will be the members of the parish council when these bodies have been fully constituted.

B. Sub-chiefs, deputies, and village headmen.

C. Representatives of the traditional electors of the chief.

The number of electors in each group will necessarily vary from place to place. The principal is that the final body of electors should have an unofficial majority and it may be necessary to choose only certain members of group C. in places where there are many of these

dignitaries. When the representatives have been chosen the District Commissioner sits in the court house or any other suitable place and the members of each group in turn come before him one by one and name the candidate of their choice. The District Commissioner alone should hear them and no one else should be within earshot. Each voter should go out by another door when he has registered his vote. The District Commissioner has a list of the candidates and he marks the number of votes against each name. If two or three candidates are found to have approximately the same number of votes (a contingency which has not so far occurred), a re-election there and then would probably be the best solution. Instruction, persuasion and explanation should be applied, not in favour of any particular candidate, but stressing the necessity for a chief to be more or less unanimously elected if he is to be of any use as a chief. Such procedure is no innovation, since the traditional electors always had to argue among themselves until they reached a unanimous decision.

The advantages of this method of election are that there is no competition between candidates because anyone who insists that he has a right to chieftaincy can be put on the list of candidates; if he is unpopular he will simply get no votes. In addition, no bribery or canvassing is possible because the ballot is secret.

Procedure of Meetings

XIV Meetings take place at a pre-arranged place monthly or more frequently if necessary. It is recommended that the inhabitants of a parish should erect a simple shed for their councils.

XV The parish council meets in the morning in the absence of the headman or any other office bearer of the Native Authority. When the discussions between the councillors have ended they invite the headman to join them.

XVI 1. In the morning the council elects a speaker for the day.

2. The rules for councillors are read (see page 104).

3. The two members who are also members of the chiefdom council report on the deliberations of that body and inform the council of the result of any affairs which they have brought up there on the recommendation of the parish council.

4. The wishes, complaints, and grievances of the villagers are heard and a decision is made as to whether they are important enough to be taken before the headman or the chiefdom council.

5. Demands for allocation of land and other problems arising from land settlement and stock rules are considered and dealt with in accordance with the rules (if rules exist).

6. If cases are brought before the council for arbitration the members may hear the case immediately or in the course of the next few days, when a number of members selected by the litigating parties may attend.

7. The speaker gives a resumé of all major points which have been discussed, laying particular stress on those which are to be brought before the chiefdom council or which the parish council wishes to discuss with the headman.

XVII On the arrival of the headman, his sub-headmen, and any other subordinate Government servants who have a special reason for attending, the headman takes over the chair.

XVIII 1. The speaker informs the headman of the main points which have been discussed in council and debates may follow between the headman and the councillors.

2. The headman explains and discusses such matter as he chooses to bring before the council.

3. A short recapitulation of all the items discussed at the meeting together with the result of the deliberations brings it to an end.

Note to XIV. Experience has shown that if the councils are doing their job properly a demand for frequent meetings is very soon made.

Note to XV. This measure is not intended to give the councillors an opportunity for scandal-mongering, intrigues, and false accusations, but to give them plenty of time to avoid these scourges of public life. It can be assumed that things which arise in the morning, at the beginning of the meeting, do not look so disturbing at noon after they have been discussed from all angles. If a headman takes offence at being excluded it can be explained to him that he cannot prevent the councillors from meeting in secret if they wish to do so and that it is better to face the complaints than to run away from them.

Note to XVI (2).

Rules for Councillors

To be read at the opening of each meeting of a parish council.*

1. It is the duty of every councillor to attend the council meetings regularly. He does not do this work for money but for the good of his neighbours and their children and his own children.

* I consider this first point of procedure in no way unimportant. On the contrary, I am convinced that it has a psychologically beneficial effect. All over the world some kind of solemn ceremony at the opening of councils is considered advisable.

2. All the councillors in the council have the same degree of authority. They are not sheep driven by a shouting herdsman.

3. It is the duty of the councillors to protect the weak and poor. They should never be afraid to speak up for the man who has suffered injustice.

4. A councillor in council has no relatives and no friends.

5. A councillor must always remember that he is a citizen, the same as those who have elected him, and that he will become a commoner again when his term of office is finished.

6. The councillors have no right to act, but they have the right to control, to inform, and to give counsel.

7. A councillor should never support an opinion because it is to his own advantage and not to the advantage of the public.

8. A councillor must not accept bribes and it is the duty of the council to expel from its meetings any member who does so.

9. A councillor must live an upright and dignified life in his community.

10. The establishment of councils is the gift of Government to its people and the councillors should express their gratitude by a trustful co-operation.

Note to XVI (3, 4, 5). Though these points have appeared under the heading agenda they are repeated here because a prescribed sequence will bring order into the meetings.

Note to XVI (6). Experience has shown that councillors sometimes tend to transgress the limits of their judicial activities which must in all circumstances remain purely arbitrary and follow the pattern of the village arbitrary courts. Nor must the councillors impose any kind of sanctions or exercise a right of ostracism. Such measures are not within the powers of village courts and therefore cannot be ordered by parish councils.

Note to XVI (7). It may be mentioned here in connection with this and all other points that these rules are necessarily academic and that any matter can be discussed in council, though it may not have been mentioned in this outline of procedure. This outline, however, may serve a useful purpose, particularly if African supervisors of the councils are appointed.

Note to XVIII (3). This last item facilitates the dissemination of news, as each councillor is given a summary which he can readily communicate to the people.

CHIEFDOM COUNCIL**Introduction**

In cases where a chiefdom is divided into sub-chiefdoms a sub-chiefdom council may be inserted between the parish and chiefdom councils, if this seems advisable. The sub-chiefdom council closely resembles the chiefdom council in constitution, agenda, and procedure. It is not absolutely necessary for every sub-chiefdom to have its own council, since in some chiefdoms the sub-divisions have been created by the chief for his own aggrandisement rather than for administrative purposes or for historical reasons. In these chiefdoms the existence of both sub-chiefdom and chiefdom councils would be redundant. Therefore the case of each sub-chiefdom must be decided on its merits as to whether a council should or should not be set up.

In the following proposals the rules for chiefdom councils are applicable also to sub-chiefdom councils, and the words sub-chief and sub-chiefdom should be substituted for the words chief and chiefdom in those areas where sub-chiefdom councils are to be constituted. The existence of sub-chiefdom councils does not render meetings of the chiefdom council unnecessary. Delegates to the latter would be chosen by the members of the sub-chiefdom councils. The meetings of the chiefdom council will not be as frequent as in the case where the chiefdom council members are delegates from the parish councils, because a great deal of the business will be transacted in the sub-chiefdom councils. If the council of a chiefdom which has no sub-chiefdom council meets once a month, the chiefdom council where there are sub-chiefdoms would meet perhaps four times a year.

In the chiefdom council and in all other higher level councils the attitude of the supervising officer will be of the greatest importance in determining whether the elected members of the council are going to be of any use or not. The main task of democratization is less the actual inclusion of representatives of the people in official political bodies than in guaranteeing that it is possible for them to form their own opinions and to express them in council without fear of retaliation and vindictiveness. There are, of course, plenty of subjects on which the delegates may freely voice their opinions; for instance, if a councillor discusses restriction of bridewealth, a listener might think that the elected members were fearless heroes and the chiefs docile pupils eager to hear the lectures of their teachers. But if the discussion turns to some question concerning the authority of the chiefs or headmen, the delegates will only utter very careful views. It is very difficult for any outsider to know exactly where freedom of speech is impeded and caution begins, but—let there be no doubt—the elected members know. Therefore the main task of political reforms—at least in the near future—is to

build up a feeling of security, authority, and responsibility among those who are called upon to represent the mass of the people. The aim of the reforms may be political but the initial practical job for the Central Government is educational.

Assembly

A Elected Members

I Each parish council elects two delegates from its members to the chiefdom council every year (see page 98).

II The form of election can be left to the discretion of each parish council—preferably it should be by popular acclamation. In no case should the election be done by secret ballot.

Note to I. The only council for which the people themselves form the electorate is the parish council. From then onwards councils elect a number of delegates for the council on the next level. There is no reason why this system should not be extended ultimately to the Legislative Council level. It would be difficult to organize a better method for many years to come.

Note to I on page 97 is relevant to the question of the holding of office for one year only. It is advisable for the chiefdom council to stick to a short term of office even if the parish councils later extend their term. The members of the chiefdom council, as experience has shown, are sometimes capable of turning their positions into sources of considerable income by taking bribes, favouring relatives, and allotting land and posts to themselves. A short term of office will diminish this danger.

It may be expected that councillors will raise the question of payment for their work. The answer can only be in the negative and the reasons are:

1. It would be an impossible financial strain on the Native Treasuries. There are several hundred parishes each with 8 councillors to which are added the councillors sitting on the higher level councils. Payment to all these people would come to an immense total even if each councillor only received a small remuneration.

2. The payment of councillors would attract men who would compete for the post out of greed and a desire to earn easy money rather than out of concern for the common weal. Thus the standard of councils and the prestige of councillors would deteriorate if they were paid.

3. Everywhere in the world duties of this kind are performed without material gain. The councillors are not serving the Government, they are serving the community to which they belong. They are helping their own families by their activities because they are supervising the just application of rules to all the people of their village.

4. This is not a work governed by regulations and office hours. What the councillors do in their meeting is less important than what they are supposed to be doing in the village by talking to their neighbours and protecting the people simply by their presence. Nobody can expect payment for this type of work.

5. In fact the post of councillor is not without remuneration if the councillor is deserving of it. This remuneration will come from the villagers in the traditional form. A councillor who does his job well will be popular and will be the honoured guest at every villager's private entertainment. He cannot demand a share of the beer and meat at a feast as his right (though it has been known for councillors to do so), but he can attain a position in the village where a feast would not be complete without his presence.

I have gone into some detail over this question of payment because my own experience has taught me the necessity of persuading the councillors that it is wrong for them to demand payment. If they are not convinced they may neglect their duties and discredit the whole scheme.

B. Ex-officio and Appointed Members

III 1. The chief and his deputy.

2. All village headmen and a few minor headmen of big parishes.
3. The senior members of Government departments in the area, such as the head Teacher, the senior Agricultural Inspector, the senior Veterinary Inspector, the senior Forest Guard.

4. A number of suitable men to be appointed by the District Commissioner, with or without consultation with the chief.

Note to III. The major question here arises as to whether the higher level councils should have an official or unofficial majority. In most areas where the councils have been inaugurated the preference was for an unofficial majority, but I do not think that this majority should be large. Experience has shown that the men co-opted under 4 above usually side with unofficial members, in which case sub-headmen have to be appointed to keep the equilibrium. In all areas there are village headmen who are serving under the officially appointed headmen of parishes. Although these men receive no official salary many of them are the descendants of indigenous families and enjoy great prestige in their areas. These are the men who should be chosen to make up the numbers of the official members. The supervising staff should insist that a simple count of votes cannot decide any issue. If such procedure were to be adopted, the first necessity would be to decide on what proportion of votes would be necessary for a final decision; but the councils are not yet ready for this procedure. Therefore the discussion of controversial points must go on until a unanimous, or very nearly unanimous, agreement is reached. There should be no canvassing for

votes within the council and if it is not possible to get an overwhelming majority of the councillors in favour of any proposal, that proposal must be dropped. In this way the question as to whether there should be an official or unofficial majority loses some of its significance. Every member of the council, whether official or unofficial, is free to express his individual opinion and the origin of his appointment need not influence his point of view on any particular subject.

A chiefdom council of a chiefdom with 12 parishes would be constituted as follows:

<i>Unofficial</i>	<i>Official</i>
24 parish delegates	1 chief
6 appointed members	1 deputy
	12 headmen
	5 departmental representatives
	8 sub-headmen
—	—
30	27
—	—

Total 57

On principle I suggest that a chiefdom council should not be too small. Each sub-area must know that it is well represented and the idea of delegation is never popular in Africa. If each parish were only to send one delegate to the chiefdom council, a number of parishes would have to remain unrepresented by their headmen in order to keep the official and unofficial proportions right. In addition, if a delegate is ill and cannot attend a meeting, the parish is still represented if there are two delegates. This question does not arise in the case of headmen who all have their deputies who are very often their sons.

Agenda

IV To present complaints which have not received satisfaction at the parish council level. The council acts as a corporate body and no individual actions are admissible.

V To advise the chief on the needs of the chiefdom in the spheres of social services and economic development.

VI To plan and organize the execution of measures designed to benefit more than one parish.

VII To advise the chief, if he so wishes, in the execution of his administrative tasks and the application of legislation.

VIII 1. To help in the preparation of new rules and orders to be enacted on the chiefdom or any higher level.

2. To advise on the amendment of existing legislation, including native law and custom,

IX To exercise certain rights given to them under rules regulating the density of human and/or stock population.

X To discuss the best means of dissemination of all rules, orders, and important news conveyed to the council either by the chief or by the members of the higher level council.

XI To elect a certain number of members as delegates to the council at the next level.

XII 1. To elect two assessors for the chief's court for a term of two years at a time.

2. To elect members for committees to assist departmental officers in their tasks.*

Note to IV. In this way complaints can be constitutionally presented in proper form to representatives of the Central Government (see page 112 re attendance of Administrative Officer).

Note to VI. Only the members of the parishes directly concerned would be involved in the discussion of measures which do not affect the whole chiefdom.

Note to VII. The chiefdom council has no right to demand that the chief or any other authority must ask the members for advice. In no circumstances should members consider neglect to discuss measures with them an excuse for rendering the execution of the measures difficult.

Note to XII. At present assessors are appointed by the chief. It is difficult to find justification for a situation in which one post not only combines judicial and administrative authority, but in which the holder of office, the chief, is authorised to appoint the assessors in his own court. The post of assessor is the only minor one in the hierarchy of the Native Authority which needs neither certificate nor qualifications nor quickness of foot, but which guarantees a regular, if small, salary to the holder. It is only human that the circle from which these assessors are chosen is a small one, namely that close to the chief who appoints them. The argument here is not whether they are good or bad—actually they are generally not bad, as far as one can competently judge—but what really matters is that if they are bad there is no remedy as long as they remain on good terms with the chief. It is not envisaged that on a certain date all the present assessors should be dismissed and that the councils should elect new ones. The chiefdom councils should make use of their right only when an assessor dies or resigns or when the council can give good reasons for a demand for the dismissal of any assessor.

* A function envisaged for the future is the selection of two deputies of the chief, one to work as administrative, the other as judicial deputy. There is no hurry for this measure, but the separation of the judicial from the administrative functions of the chief by appointing these two deputies will be a necessary step in the direction of a final complete divorcement of two incompatible offices.

The forming of committees as soon as the elected members have passed the initial stage of strangeness and uncertainty is advisable. These committees should be at the disposal of any departmental officer who wishes to establish contact with the men who actually handle a hoe and look after their own cattle. The members of such a committee should be asked by the departmental officer and his staff to accompany them when they go out to inspect fields, etc.

Procedure

XIII Meetings take place monthly after all the parish council meetings of the chiefdom have been held.

XIV The unofficial members of the council meet alone at a suitable place in the vicinity of the court house. They discuss those items which members wish to put on the agenda of the full meeting.

XV A speaker is chosen for the discussions of the unofficial members.

XVI The time for the joint meeting of unofficial and official members must be arranged locally as it is difficult to foresee how long the unofficial members will need for their discussions.

XVII The chairman of the joint meeting is always the chief or his deputy and the full council may meet in the court house.

XVIII Decisions should not be made by vote but by the unanimous consent of the meeting, possibly allowing for a few dissenters.

Note to XIV. The tentative schedule of agenda enumerated in paras. IV to XII logically divided itself into two groups:—

1. Agenda to be discussed by elected members alone:
 - A. and a decision taken—IX, XI, XII
 - B. and proposals prepared—IV
2. Agenda to be discussed by ex-officio members alone: VII, VIII
3. Agenda to be discussed by full meeting: V, VI, VII, VIII, X

The Central Government's Task in respect of Parish and Chiefdom Councils

I A list of members, both official and unofficial, must be kept up to date together with a calendar of the meetings of all councils. Any changes must be reported at once and the reasons for them given.

II To arrange for contact between the committees and the departmental officers concerned.

III Intensive supervision, especially during the initial period, is essential for the success of this political reform. With the aid of the calendar (see I above) the Administrative Officers of the District should attend as many of the parish council meetings as they possibly

can, especially at the beginning. The meeting of the full chiefdom council should always be attended by an Administrative Officer. Experience has shown that time spent on this is far from wasted. It is rightly considered necessary to increase the supervisory staff when new methods of cultivation are to be introduced; it can hardly be expected that local government reforms will proceed in the right direction entirely on their own momentum. These progressive steps—whether they aim at economic or political achievements—are designed by the Central Government and the mere consent of the African to adopt the new plans is not in itself a guarantee of the continuity of his effort.

**LOCAL FEDERAL COUNCIL
(DISTRICT COUNCIL)**

Introduction

The District Council may develop into a form fundamentally different from that of the lower level councils by reason of the inclusion of members of races other than African. I am here discussing the constitution only from the point of view of African participation. Local Federation Councils have been in existence for a number of years, their members originally consisting only of chiefs. More recently each chief has been instructed to bring with him a councillor chosen by the people. In most cases these councillors are actually appointees of the chiefs. The chairman of the council is the District Commissioner, and the range of its activities is described by Mr. K. B. A. Dobson, Senior District Officer, in a memorandum:

“It must be remembered that Native Authorities are statutory bodies with powers of making bye-laws affecting all Africans within their geographical jurisdiction; they have wide executive power over Africans both as local governments and as executives of the central government; they have, under close supervision, large financial responsibilities, being allotted certain revenue and having powers to levy local rates and taxes. (Incidentally they have certain judicial powers.) They are in fact, though they are weak on the executive side and require constant aid and supervision, already fully organized as local governments.”

This quotation has been inserted here mainly to remind readers that African members of chiefdom councils elected as delegates to the local federation council will need several years before they fully understand the part which they are expected to play. Though some items on the agenda of the council will immediately arouse the interest of the councillors, it will require a long training before they grasp some of the more complicated items. There will, however, be no lack of the former items which will be understood both by ex-officio and elected members and which will be more or less the logical continuation of the discussions in the lower level councils.

Membership

A. Elected Members

I The elected members are chosen by members of the chiefdom council in the same way as the members of the chiefdom council are chosen by those of the parish council (see page 101). Their term of office is one year.

II The number of chiefdoms varies in each local federation so that the number of delegates must be varied accordingly. Two delegates from each chiefdom should be considered to be the minimum number.

Note to I. The short term of office of the councillors may be considered troublesome. In addition to the argument given on page 97, I think that, at any rate in the beginning, the stimulating activity of an election may work as a refresher course, recapitulating to the people and the delegates the implications of the new system. If, in practice, it is found that elections occur too frequently, the term of office can always be prolonged and this item of the constitution altered.

Note to II. The total number of delegates to this council is less than the number to the chiefdom council, since a chiefdom generally has more parishes than a district has chiefdoms. The distances to be covered by the delegates in order to attend meetings have to be considered and travelling expenses must be kept as low as possible. The number of delegates in the parish and chiefdom councils is not dictated by the importance of the issues discussed there but by the principle that each citizen should have the feeling that he is participating in the solution of problems concerning himself. But the more advanced agenda of the local federation council needs a type of man still not numerous in African communities.

B. Ex-Officio and Appointed Members

III 1. The chiefs.

2. The chiefs' deputies or any other man appointed by the chief instead of his deputy.

3. Five members of the District Departmental staff.

4. Six men appointed by the District Commissioner.

An example of a district with ten chiefdoms would be: —

Unofficial members	20
Ex-officio members	25
Appointed members	6
	—
Total	51
	—

Note to III. 2. It may be advisable, for practical reasons, for the chief to leave his deputy in charge of the chiefdom while he is attending a meeting, and he may therefore appoint a suitable man in the deputy's place—probably a village headman.

Note to III. 3. The Agricultural, Veterinary, Education, and Medical Departments, and also the Native Treasury, may appoint one representative each. Only experience can show whether the "experts" will fit well into the frame of the council. In conjunction with the men appointed by the District Commissioner they appear on paper to hold a decisive position. This is not likely to be the case in practice because, as already explained, decisions by vote should be avoided as far as possible. The procedure in this respect also may have to be altered later on when it is possible to gain accurate knowledge of the stage of political maturity which the members have attained.

Note to III. 4. It is not, of course, possible to lay down any definite rules about the appointments by the District Commissioner, but the idea is to give an opportunity for the inclusion of important members of the community who have not failed to be elected because they were unpopular, but because they have an outlook and mentality beyond the parish level. It is assumed that these men, appointed for their ability, will consider themselves as unofficial rather than official members, thus making a very small unofficial majority in the council. In the district council, as in any other council, it is not considered advisable to end a debate and decide a question by putting it to the vote. Discussions should continue until the councillors have agreed upon an acceptable compromise; a few persistent dissenters can be overruled. As long as there are appointed members and members of the District Departmental staff on the councils—and they are necessary—it is difficult to write about an official or unofficial majority. The diagram shown in Appendix I, for which I am indebted to the District Commissioner, Kwimba, gives the practical application of the constitutional proposals. Kwimba District has only six chiefdoms, two of which are of considerable size. The chiefdoms have therefore been divided into sub-chiefdoms for many years. In order to maintain a fairly even representation of elected and ex-officio members in the district council the nine sub-chiefs have been included as members.

Agenda

- IV Approval of the annual budget of the Native Treasury.
- V Discussion of proposals for legislation in the higher council.
- VI The consideration of the advisability of laws on which their council is requested by the Central Government before they are enacted.
- VII The consideration of the best method of executing orders from the Central Government.
- VIII The consideration of the best method of executing departmental measures, brought to the knowledge of the council for this purpose.

IX The discussion of all proposals from chieftdom councils and the making of decisions as to whether they should become legal within the district only or be referred to the council above.

X The preparation of minutes and discussion as to the best way of conveying news of decisions to the councils on lower levels.

XI The election of assessors for the Federation Appeal Court.

XII The election of a certain number of delegates to the council on the level above the federation council.

XIII The election of members to committees to consider problems and prepare agenda for the full meeting of the council on such subjects as social services, economic development, customary laws, and improvements in the constitution.

Note to V, VI, VII, VIII. The wording of these sections intentionally avoids the implication that there is any obligation on the part of the Central Government to consult the council or ask for its advice in matters for which its legislative powers are not required (see Note to VII on page 110).

Note to IX. It is obvious that the councils on different levels will have a number of items on their agenda in common, and it is visualized that continuity of discussions should be maintained and that no council, even that with legislative powers, should make a decision in such matters without first having ascertained what the lower councils—in fact the people themselves—think about it. This applies also to the committees mentioned in XIII.

Note to XI. The number of assessors desirable for the chiefs' appeal court may be fixed later; it will depend on the number of cases taken. (See also Note to XII on page 110).

Note to XIII. Committees of this kind must find their own means of communication with committees, if any, which have been set up on lower levels. The natural resources of practical knowledge and the possibility of obtaining them from those who actually till the fields are a sine qua non if these higher level committees are to be of any use.

Procedure of Meetings

XV Meetings take place four times a year, but the Central Government can at any time call an extraordinary meeting if the necessity arises.

XVI. A. The elected members meet alone at a suitable place in the vicinity of the district headquarters.

B. The ex-officio members meet alone in the federal courthouse.

C. Both assemblies elect their speakers.

XVII After both assemblies have finished their separate meetings a common meeting is held at which the District Commissioner is chairman with the two speakers as vice-chairman.

XVIII. A. Agenda of the preparatory meeting of the elected members is as follows:

1. Definite decisions are taken without reference to the full council in matters referred to in XI, XII.
2. Agenda for the full council is discussed and prepared with reference to IV, V and VI if the Central Government can find time to explain the issue and guide the discussions. VII, VIII and IX can be discussed without special guidance.

B. Agenda of the preparatory meeting of the ex-officio members is as follows:

1. Agenda to be discussed in preparation for the full council, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX can be discussed without special guidance.

C. Agenda for the full meeting of the local federation council: VII, VIII, IX, X, XIII. Also IV, V, VI.

Note to XI. It is necessary to emphasize that the Central Government is the only authority which can call a meeting of any of the councils at a time other than the pre-arranged dates of meetings. Any meeting of the council which is not on the books of the Central Government must be considered unlawful. If any other authority wishes to call an assembly of a council they must first obtain formal permission from the District Commissioner.

Note to XVI. The preliminary bipartite structure of councils is necessarily retained in the local federation council and is, if anything, even more important than in the other councils of lower levels. The commoner as a delegate facing an assembly of chiefs and other Native Authority officers can never feel really comfortable; he still has the respect of generations of forebears for their chiefs in his blood. Therefore it is advisable to give the elected members an opportunity to discuss matters of importance freely amongst themselves before the full meeting instead of trying to persuade them to abandon their stage fright and speak up in the presence of their chiefs. A speaker who has had time to collect his thoughts and who knows that they have been checked and agreed upon by others may be able to overcome his timidity and make useful contributions to the debate. This procedure is not a method of playing with the idea of an upper and lower house and should be regarded solely as a temporary expedient.

Note to XVIII. A. 2. It would be virtually useless to hand over to the delegates the preparatory papers dealing with these agenda unless an Administrative Officer can find time to explain the purpose, wording, etc., of intended legislation. As this will be found to apply also to the official assembly to a great extent, it may often be found advisable to leave the introduction, discussion, and expla-

nation of these items on the part of the Administration for the full council. Perhaps a standing committee could supply the means of introducing these matters by using a few members as mouthpieces of the District Commissioner, after having been briefed by him. The importance of preparation and understanding of the agenda cannot be stressed too often. In my experience in an assembly of a hundred men only a very few delegates understand every point which is discussed during a meeting and a safeguard against lethargy resulting from ignorance is essential.

Note to XVIII. C. It is an acknowledged procedure in any council in which a chief participates that any commoners who are called upon to assist him in council give their opinions one after the other, and the chief is the last man to speak. It is advisable for this procedure to be adopted at the meetings of the local federation council. The advantages are obvious.

PART III

THE CONSTITUTION IN PRACTICE

INTRODUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF COUNCILS

The proposals contained in the second part of this book were accepted, with a few minor alterations, at a meeting of the District Commissioners in charge of the Sukuma Districts under the chairmanship of the Deputy Provincial Commissioner, Sukumaland, on 26th. October, 1950.

My original proposals contained plans for councils at a higher level than the District Councils as far as their African membership was concerned. These proposals have been omitted from this work, firstly because they were not based on my original research into the Sukuma tribal structure, and secondly because it seems likely that, though the proposals were accepted at the meeting mentioned above, they will not be carried out in their original form. What was new in 1949, as far as Territorial policy is concerned, is already out of date in 1954.

In 1951, soon after the constitution had been accepted, a start was made in setting up the Parish Councils on the lines proposed. The progress made between 1951 and 1953 is shown by the figures on page 119.*

In Sukumaland a Divisional Council is the same as a Sub-Chiefdom Council, except that a Division is an area surrounding the Headquarters of a Chiefdom directly administered by the Chief, and which has no Sub-Chief. The Chairman of its Council is therefore not a Sub-Chief but the Chief's Deputy or other nominee.

Development in 1951.

A slow start was made in 1951 with the lowest layer of the pyramid, the Parish Councils. A Chiefdom or Sub-Chiefdom was chosen in each District and Parish Councils set up for each Parish in these experimental areas. The reaction of the people varied; while some of the parishes were only got under way with difficulty, others which were not in the trial areas introduced councils on their own. It was realised from the very beginning that it was essential for the election of councillors to be attended by an Administrative Officer, even at the lowest level. This principle was maintained everywhere during the introduction of the councils and also, in later years, when the term of office of the councillors expired and new elections were held. Election by popular acclamation has remained in use at all levels throughout the three years.

** I have to thank the present Deputy Provincial Commissioner of Sukumaland, Mr. J. V. Shaw, for permission to quote freely and extensively from his paper, "The Development of African Local Government in Sukumaland", which is shortly to be published in The Journal of African Administration.*

DISTRICT	NUMBER OF COUNCILS ESTABLISHED				Number of Councils Remaining to be Established on 1.1.'54	TOTAL Plus (Column 5 Column 6)
	1951	1952	1953	Total		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A. CHIEFDOM COUNCILS:						
MWANZA	—	4	4	8	1	9
SHINYANGA	—	—	5	5	9	14
MASWA	—	—	4	4	7	11
KWIMBA	—	—	4	4	2	6
GETA	1	—	1	2	5	7
TOTAL:	1	4	18	23	24	47
B. SUB-CHIEFDOM COUNCILS:						
MWANZA	—	—	3	3	—	3
SHINYANGA	—	—	7	7	2	9
MASWA	1	1	8	10	8	18
KWIMBA	1	—	7	8	1	9
GETA	1	—	2	3	5	8
TOTAL:	3	1	27	31	16	47
C. DIVISIONAL COUNCILS:						
MWANZA	—	—	2	2	—	2
SHINYANGA	—	—	2	2	2	4
MASWA	—	—	1	1	2	3
KWIMBA	—	—	—	—	—	0
GETA	—	—	1	1	2	3
TOTAL:	—	—	6	6	6	12
D. PARISH COUNCILS:						
MWANZA	11	33	91	135	—	135
SHINYANGA	45	58	79	182	3	185
MASWA	13	—	118	131	105	236
KWIMBA	16	19	80	115	24	139
GETA	22	21	6	49	51	100
TOTAL:	107	131	374	672	183	795
E. SUMMARY.						
CHIEFDOM	1	4	18	23	24	47
SUB-CHIEFDOM	3	1	27	31	16	47
DIVISIONAL	—	—	6	6	6	12
PARISH	107	131	374	612	183	795
TOTAL:	111	136	425	612	229	901

The work of the 107 Parish Councils introduced in 1951 proved their practical value during the first year, and no objection was raised against their introduction, nor was there any request for a change in their constitution. Since they appeared to be serving a useful purpose it was decided to extend the scheme to other areas.

Development in 1952.

From the very beginning the question of supervision of the Parish Councils came into the foreground. This supervision was not necessary because of a danger that the councils might become instruments used against authority by political agitators, but rather in order to teach the members the proper procedure and agenda of a council (see page 98, para. XIII and page 111, para. III). The importance of supervision was generally acknowledged and the number of Parish Councils to be inaugurated was planned according to the number of officers available for this task. One additional officer was made available for some twelve months in 1951 and the beginning of 1952 to concentrate on this work and, as a result, the Shinyanga District got off to a flying start. Apart from this, no extra staff was provided and the building of the pyramid has been carried out with the normal establishment of District Administrative Officers.

As is shown on the list, the total number of councils in Sukumaland will be 901. Since there was no hope of an increase in administrative staff it was decided to employ an African Council Supervisor in some districts, whose task it was to visit as many parish councils as possible, to correct their errors in procedure and agenda, and to elections were held. Election by popular acclamation has remained report progress to the District Commissioners. Another method tried was for Chiefdom and Sub-Chiefdom Councils to choose two of their unofficial members to supervise the Parish Councils of the area. This proved a failure in Sukumaland, although it worked well in another district, showing yet again that the success or failure of any measure in Africa depends on the inherent character of comparatively small groups of people.

With the growth of the pyramid, however, it has been found that adequate supervision of the Parish Councils is achieved by the attendance of an Administrative Officer at all meetings of Chiefdom and Sub-Chiefdom Councils, where a part of the agenda consists of a report to the Council from the two Parish Councillors from each parish who have been elected members of the higher Council.

During 1952 there was no change of opinion as to the value of the councils and they had already become an inherent part of the political structure of the tribe.

Development in 1953.

The creation of councils at a higher level than that of the parish was considered desirable and the emphasis on the parish level gave way to interest in the higher tiers of the pyramid, though, as mentioned before, even the elections of members to the Parish Councils continued during 1953 to be held under the careful supervision of an Administrative Officer.

In order to achieve the target of constituting the higher councils while adhering to the principle of popular representation, the inhabitants of those parishes where Parish Councils had not yet been established were called together and asked to elect an electoral college which, as soon as it was constituted, elected two of its members to represent the parish on the Chiefdom Council. This procedure can only be looked upon as an expedient, chiefly because there was no proper means of disseminating news of the deliberations and decisions of the higher councils, so that their meetings were held on a platform over a vacuum. In any case, as can be seen from the list on page 164, the number of Parish Councils still to be inaugurated by the end of 1953 was comparatively few and the completion of all councils at all levels can now be expected in the near future.

The really interesting point in this development is the demand for councils on a higher level—a demand which did not come from the people themselves but from the Administration which had to put into practice the general policy of the Central Government. Representatives of the people were needed to take part in the discussion and acceptance of plans and measures if the efficient collaboration of the people was to be obtained. But if these higher councils incorporating representatives of the people are considered desirable, there can be no other course than to give them the sound foundation of councils at the lower level.

Functions

Generally it can be said that I had rather under-estimated the capacity of the common man to understand the implications of the new system of popular representation. A few of the early elections were characterised by a certain reluctance on the part of the best men in a parish to stand as candidates for office, but as soon as the functions of the councils became clear by practice, and as soon as the position of the councillors vis à vis the Native Authority had become obvious, this obstacle to the elections had no longer to be overcome. It could easily be seen that many of the natural leaders of the small communities had become parish councillors.

The agenda of the councils, as laid down in the proposals for the constitution, had hardly to be changed at all, though the various

Items attained very different degrees of importance. Some councils were very busy on arbitration in minor local quarrels about boundaries of land holdings, return of bridewealth and many other affairs emanating from rules of customary law. Other councils gave efficient help to the Native Authority in the execution of particularly difficult tasks such as the assessment of stock for the payment of a Local Rate; others collaborated with the Native Authority in the allocation of land in accordance with para. XI on page 140. It is only natural that the functions of the councils up to date and in the near future will lack uniformity, though they follow the same agenda, since they depended and will continue to depend on human qualities. The standard of discussions in councils at the higher levels was satisfactory and nowhere (yet) has any council tried to disturb the equilibrium of the African society.

Resumé

It would be premature to take stock of the advantages and disadvantages of an important political reform only three years after its introduction. But a short review of its advantages, as far as they can be assessed, and of its diseases of infancy, may be considered a necessary task.

If it is considered that the new times call for increasing facilities for contact between Administration and people, there can be no better institution for this purpose than the council at the lowest level, assuming that the councillors have been elected under proper supervision. Though the hierarchy of councils as a machinery for the dissemination of news and views is still in its infancy, the councils at all levels have proved useful for the discussion of current questions and for ascertaining some of the reactions of the people to certain measures. Here is an assembly of Africans whom a visiting Administrative Officer can get to know in a short time and thus he is dealing with people he knows, while the former baraza was a very impersonal institution, at least as far as the common people present were concerned.

The value of the lowest level councils to community life itself is difficult to ascertain. When the councils were inaugurated a flow of complaints was expected, especially against the lower ranks of the Native Authority. Nothing of the kind occurred and it may be assumed that the very possibility for such misdeeds to be discussed in council made for their decrease. On the other hand it is possible that the councillors do not always make use of the opportunity offered to them.

The measures which were conceived necessary in the interests of a better land utilization and soil conservation* soon gave the councils

* See D. W. Malcolm: *"Sukumaland, an African People and their Country"*.

an active part to play (see page 98, para. XI and the commentary on page 100). The councils proved efficient in these tasks, though they could not and never did go so far as to risk their own popularity.

As far as one can see, the councils have so far not been infected with the very common diseases of bribery and favouritism. There have been cases in which they have transgressed their sphere of competence—particularly the councils at the lowest level—and have tried to usurp the right to exercise executive functions, but in no case was it found difficult to return them within the prescribed capacity of their activities. Sometimes irregularities of this kind have been provoked by the minor officials of the Native Authority themselves in order to lead the council conception into disrepute. It is only natural that this institution cannot be accepted with open arms by everyone, though its purpose is never to hinder the executive in its duties, but rather to make abuses of power unprofitable.

It was not to be expected that all the councillors would be African supermen. The inclinations which make for difficulties in many other spheres of activity can also be seen in the council meetings, and the views of F. A. Montague and F. H. Page-Jones in their article, "Some Difficulties in the Democratization of Native Authorities in Tanganyika,"* were confirmed. Apathy, ignorance and a disinclination to shoulder responsibility were rife in many cases, but there are also councils which have done good work and so proved that there are grounds for hope for those which are lagging behind.

It cannot be expected that men who have lived, and perhaps still live, in an environment in which belief in magic potentialities is still the most important influence regulating social intercourse with neighbours and the form of relationship with their indigenous leaders, will indulge in unbiassed discussions simply by virtue of having become councillors. I believe that in many of the cases where a superficial observer sees only apathy in a face which shows no reaction to his explanations and to the subject discussed, the true fact is that the man simply considers the matter to be outside his competence. Many years' experience has taught him that in a case where it has been the prerogative of the authority to come to a decision, retreat is the child of wisdom. Time will be the remedy for this widespread difficulty.

The real difficulty in the present political set-up, which has been reformed according to our own pattern before it is ready to fulfil many of its primary conditions, is the lack of control over politicians by any party or constituency. This fact makes it impossible to assume that the councillors are representatives of public opinion.

* *Journal of African Administration*, Vol. III, No. 1.

At the same time they do not hesitate to speak in the name of the people and put forward their own personal views as though they were shared by thousands. To find a remedy for this is difficult and perhaps impossible. Political education can only be reckoned in terms of hundreds of years; civic spirit cannot be taught, but is the result of a general high level of culture and morals. Where is the perfect country? Even in a backward society, however, public life and political bodies can no longer be governed by foreign powers as soon as the latter's higher forms of representation have definitely been adopted. Their misuse by the indigenous looks like progressiveness to them, while their well-considered application by a foreign power looks like suppression indulged in for selfish motives.

Though there has not been time to make a conclusive study of the reaction of the African mind to the impact of freedom from mental fetters, it looks as though the political situation will be dominated for many days to come, not by councils but by politicians, and by politicians without responsibility at that. How far councils organized in accordance with the pattern of Local Government will be capable of absorbing wild political agitation and leading it into the channels of legitimate aspiration only the future can show. Looking at it from this point of view, the importation of local government conceptions cannot be considered premature and may, in fact, be late.

The Sukuma—though not the only tribe to be so—are politically favoured by the fact that they had an indigenous political system in which democratic ideas were present as well as the usual autocratic ones. This system made it possible to design a constitution which employed latent conceptions to satisfy modern requirements. The proposals for reform were accepted and introduced. Now the councils are working and the circle has been completed.

GLOSSARY

	PAGE
AKIDA (n. Sw.)	— Official appointed by Government 45
BADATI (n.)	— Threshing dance and songs. 92
BAFUMU (n.)	— See MUFUMU.
BAFUNYA (n.)	— Workers in fields of chief or headman. 74
BAGATI (n.)	— Members of council of chiefdom elders or parish 42
BAGIKA (n.)	— Members of Bugika dance society. 91
BAGIKURU (n.)	— Old women. 65, 75
BAGOBOGOGO (n.)	— Working party. 73
BAGOGO (n.)	— See NNGOGO.
BAGON'HOGON'HO (n.)	— Chiefdom elders (in the south) 39, 41
BAGUMHA (n.)	— Members of <i>Bugumha</i> dance society. 91
BAHALALI (n.)	— Working party. 74
BAJAHA (n.)	— Middle-aged men. 75
BAKANIRA (n.)	— Working party. 74
BAKONIKONI (n.)	— See MUKONIKONI.
BAKONZIRE (n.)	— Members of <i>Bugumha</i> dance society. 91
BALALAMAJI (n.)	— Boys who sleep in a communal hut. 72
BALELE (n.)	— Infants. 75
BANAMHALA (n.)	— Parish elders, old men. 8, 32
BANAMHALA (n.)	— Members of village club. 66
BA IGALOGALO	
BANAMHALA (n.)	— Members of village club. 66
BA MBULI	
BANANG'OMA (n.)	— Chiefdom elders. 39
BANANGWA (n.)	— See NG'WANANGWA.
BANANGWA (n.) BADO	— See NG'WANANGWA NDO.
BANANGWA (n.)	— Sub-chiefs. 44
BADUMA	
BANANCWA (n.)	— See NG'WANANGWA
BATALE	NTALE.
BANHYA (n.)	— Young women. 75
BANIKE (n.)	— Small girls. 75
BANIKULU (n.)	— Chief's bodyguard. 20
BANUNGULI (n.)	— Members of society of porupine hunters. 91
BARATU (n.)	— Chiefdom elders who worked outside the residence. 14
BASAUDA'RIKA (n.)	— Working party. 74
BASHIKE (n.)	— Married women. 75
BASINGASINGA (n.)	— Working party. 74
BASUMBA (n.)	— Young men. 75
BASUMBA (n.) BATALE	— Great commoners. 31, 32, 33, 61
BASWETA (n.)	— See NSWETA. 70, 75, 77, 78, 94
BASWEZI (n.)	— Members of <i>Buswezi</i> secret society. 88
BATEMI (n.)	— See N'TEMI.
BAYANDA (n.)	— Small boys. 75
BIZIRE KUFUNYA	— his wife's relations. 74
WINGA	— Work done in man's fields by
BUBISI (n.)	Ostracism. 85
BUCHHEYEKI (n.)	— Dance society. 92
BUDANDU (n.)	— Society of hunters. 88
BUFUMU (n.)	— Society for ancestor worship. 87
BUGARU (n.)	— Dance society. 92
BUGENI (n.)	— 1. Field work done by neighbours and friends. 74
BUSENGE (n.)	2. Work done by bridegroom elect for future father-in-law.
BUCHIKA (n.)	— Dance society. 91
BUGOYANGI (n.)	— Society of snake charmers. 89
BUGUMHA (n.)	— Dance society. 91

BUKINDIKWA (n.)	— Ostracism.	85
BUKONIKONI (n.)	— Society of sorcerers.	89, 90
BULA (v.) LUFU	— Customary payment made to chief by heir to hereditary office.	19, 52, 53
BULAGA (v.) NGOSO	— To kill rats.	55
BULASHI (n.)	— Society of hunters.	88
BULOGI (n.)	— Witchcraft.	12
BULUGU (n.)	— War dance.	92
BUMANGA (n.)	— Society for ancestor worship.	87
BUMWOGA (n.)	— Ceremonial shaving of chief.	43
BUSAJI (n.)	— Dance of shepherds.	92
BUSESE (n.)	— Slavery.	24
BUSOLI (n.)	— Dance society.	92
BUSWEZI (n.)	— Secret society.	87
BUTANO (n.)	— Fee for membership of village club.	65
BUTANO (n.) BUBILI	— Fee for membership of village club.	65
BUYEYE (n.)	— Society of snake charmers.	88
BUYOBE (n.)	— Parish organization.	72
CHENYA (n.)	— Customary fine.	80
DANGUDA (n.)	— Grain-eating bird.	55
DEMBA (v.) NGOKO	— To consult the oracle of the fowl.	69
DIMANA (v.)	— Agreement between neighbours to help each other in field work.	74
DUTU (n.)	— Pot of beer paid for membership of village club.	65
ELIKA (n.)	— Parish organization.	21
		72, 75, 76
FULA (v.) NHEMBE	— To blow a horn.	78
FUNYA (v.) MBIYU	— To give out seed.	54
GALIA (v.)	— To have many children.	40
GISHA (v.)	— Presentation to chief at his coronation.	19
GITAVUKA (n.)	— Leading parish elder.	70
GOHA (v.)	— To be afraid.	69
GUNGULI (n.)	— Parish.	16, 49, 63, 96
HONGA (v.) MTU	— To sacrifice a close relation.	90
IBANZA (n.) LYA MILIMO	— Village assembly.	84
IGINYA (n.)	— Dance society.	92
IGULILU (n.)	— Night cultivation society.	74
IHANE (n.)	— Club of the parish elders.	63, 64
IHANE LYA BANAM-HALA BI GUNGULI	— Club of the parish elders.	63
IHONGO (n.)	— Toll levied by chiefs.	24
IHYU (n.)	— Customary fine.	80
IKURU (n.)	— Residence of chief.	18
ILIMA (n.)	— Working party.	74
ILIMA LYA BUDUGU	— Working party of relatives.	74
IRUMBA (n.)	— Ocimum plant.	55
ISALENGE (n.)	— Parish organization.	72, 75
ISALENGE YA BAYANDA	— Children's organization.	72
ISALENGE YA BALALAMAJI		
ISANGI (n.)	— Parish organization.	70, 72
KABANGILA (n.)	— Form of torture.	13

KABUNGA (n.)	— Wedding dance.	92
KABUTENOCHÉ (v.)	— To cut pieces of meat. Treason.	12
KADANDI (n.)	— Dance for women.	92
KADAWIDA (n.)	— Oracle.	30
KAGA (v.) NONI	— Magical method of driving off grain-eating birds.	54
KALONDA (n.)	— Member of parish organi- zation.	77
KANUMBA (n.)	— 1. Leader of parish organi- zation (south). 2. Messenger and cook of parish organization (north).	76, 77
KAYA (n.)	— Homestead.	19
KIBANDA (n.)	— Sub-parish.	50, 63, 96
KIBANGWE (n.)	— Necklace worn by man of high rank.	43
KIHANDA (n.)	— Initiation into parish club.	66
KIHEKA (n.)	— Member of council of chief- dom elders.	43
KILANGI (n.)	— Form of torture.	13
KIPYA MOTO	— Pot of beer paid for member- ship of village club.	65
KISAKA (n.)	— Council of chiefdom elders.	9, 42, 45, 46
KISUMBA (n.)	— Working party or parish organization.	72
KUMBU (n.)	— Journey made by villagers to remove belongings of new- comer (Ntusu).	72
LAMA (v.)	— To be for ever.	82
LONG'WE (n.)	— Village assembly.	70, 71, 84, 86
LUGANDA (n.)	— Working party.	73
LUGULA (v.) LUIGI	— 1. To open the door. 2. Permission given by chief for sorcerer to be killed.	13, 16
LUGURU (n.)	— Village club.	65
LUKAGO (n.)	— Protective medicine.	27
LUKIKO (n.)	— Village assembly.	84
LUSALAGO (n.)	— Village club.	65
LUTWI (n.)	— Fee paid to headman's court. — Pot of beer paid for member- ship of village club.	57
LUWASU (n.)	— Customary fine.	22, 85
LWADIDA (n.)	— 1. Twins. 2. Society for parents of twins.	23, 87
MAGILE (n.)	— Member of council of chief- dom elders.	42
MAGOKA (n.)	— Grass and twigs blocking a stream.	54
MAJI (n.)	— Hut where the youths of the village steep.	72
MALIKA (n.) YA MBINA	— Dance society.	86
MALINGIZI (n.)	— Dance society.	92
MANGA (n.) NTALE	— Diviner.	42
MASONGERO (n.)	— Enclosed part of chief's residence.	12
MASUMULE (n.)	— Customary fine.	80, 85
MATONGO (n.)	— Abandoned house plots.	59
MBAGWA (n.)	— Male goat.	65
MBALE (n.)	— Tree - Lonchocarpus Bussel Harms.	82
MBULA (n.)	— Rain.	55
MENHELWA (v.)	— To deliver up booty.	24
MHILI (n.)	— Unclaimed property of deceased person.	23
MHULI (n.)	— Chief's monopoly of ivory trade.	23
MICHUBA (n.)	— Pot of beer paid for member- ship of village club.	65

MIGABO (n.)	— Secret society.	87
MILANGO (n.)	— Big drum of chief.	10
MISWEZI (n.)	— Spirits of <i>Buswezi</i> society.	88
MITA (n.)	— Sacrifice as a remedy for sickness.	82
MLAMA (n.)	— Tree - <i>Combretum Guenzii</i> subsp. <i>Splendens</i> Ercell.	82
MLAMLJI (n.)	— Sub-chief and superior headman.	48
MLANGALA (n.)	— Sorcerer of high rank.	91
MNYAMPARA (n.)	— Parish elder.	63
MPELO (n.)	— Member of parish organization.	76
MSINGISA (n.)	— Diviner or practitioner.	82
MUFUMU (n.)	— Diviner or practitioner.	42, 54, 68
MUFUMU WA MBULA	— Rain-ma'ner.	55
MUHANWA (n.)	— Member of village club.	65
MUKONIKONI (n.)	— Member of society of sorcerers.	89, 90
MUNAMHALA (n.)	— See BANAMHALA.	
MUNANG'OMA (n.)	— See BANANG'OMA.	
MUSAMBUKA (n.)	— Member of village club.	65
MWIBIRINGO (n.)	— Council of chiefdom elders or village assembly.	42, 84
MWUGI (n.)	— Member of parish organization.	77
NAMUJI (n.)	— Sub-chief.	48
NBISI (n.)	— Outlaw.	85
NDEGEREKE (n.)	— Full member of village club (<i>Busmao</i>).	65
NDEJI (n.)	— Bracelet. Part of insignia of chief.	38, 43
NDONO (n.)	— Dance society.	92
NDONYA (n.)	— Dance of shepherds.	92
NDUMIRA (n.) HABIL	— 1. Snake (<i>Typhlops Mucrose</i>)	
	— 2. Treason.	11
NENGERO (n.)	— Pots for beer.	65
NGABE (n.)	— Member of council of chiefdom elders.	43
NGATI (n.)	— See BAGATI.	
NGOGO (n.)	— 1. Leader of any organization.	
	— 2. Senior member of village club.	64, 65, 66, 75, 76
NGOGO NDO	— Deputy of chairman of chiefdom elders or member of village club.	42, 65
NGOGO NTALE	— Chairman of chiefdom elders.	42
NGOKO (n.) IHANE	— Cock paid as fee to village club.	65
NGUNDA (n.) GWA)		
IKURU)	— Field cultivated for chief by his subjects.	21
NGUNDA (n.) GWA)		
NKWILA)		
NG'WAMBILJJA (n.)	— Sub-chief or superior headman.	48, 50
NG'WANANGWA (n.)	— Parish headman.	8, 29, 52, 50
NG'WANANGWA NDO	— Sub-headman.	50, 60
NG'WANANGWA NTALE	— Superior headman or traditional sub-chief.	38, 41, 48, 50, 60
NG'WANANGWA WA MBASA	— Sub-headman.	50
NG'WANANGWA WA NUNDI	— Sub-headman.	50
NGWESHI (n.)	— 1. Insect.	
	— 2. Magic medicine.	55
NHANDATU (n.) IBILI	— Fee for membership of village club.	65
NHEMBEE (n.)	— Work done in fields of chief or headman.	21, 59
NJIGU (n.)	— Blood money.	9, 25

NKURUWABO (n.)	— Main heir.	18
NKWAMO (n.)	— Administration by chief.	29
NOCHE (n.)	— Pieces of roast meat.	12
NONDALONDI (n.)	— Applicant for entry to village club.	61
NONDEJI (n.)	— Assistant of leading parish elder.	70
NSAKA (n.)	— Member of village club.	65
NSUMA (n.)	— Member of parish organization.	77
NSUMBA (n.) NTALE	— See BASUMBA BATALE.	
NSWETA	— Sub-headman.	50, 60, 67
NTALE WA BASHIKE	— Leader of married women's organization.	75
NTEMI (n.)	— 1. Chief.	
	2. Pioneer.	
	3. Leader of working party.	2, 8, 49, 73
NTEMI NHOJA	— Member of council of chiefdom elders.	42
NTUCHA (n.)	— Magic medicine prepared by headman.	54
NTUNDA (n.)	— Full member of village club.	65, 67
NTWALE (n.)	— Sub-chief or superior headman.	48, 50
NUNDI (n.)	— Shin bone.	50
NUNGULI (n.)	— Society of porcupine hunters.	88, 89
NYAMADASO (n.)	— Grain-eating bird.	55
NYANGOGO (n.)	— Leading parish elder.	70, 71
NYIDA (n.)	— Journey made by villagers to remove belongings of newcomer.	72, 82
OLEMIRWE SENGO	— Ostracism.	85
PEJA (v.)	— To expel.	86
PELEJA (v.) NLOGI	— To drive out a wizard.	55
PEMBERA (v.) WUGOTA	— To burn medicine.	54
PUBA (n.)	— Dance society.	92
RUGARUGA (n.)	— Private army of chief.	9, 20
SABO (n.) YA BUTEMI	— Property owned by chief by virtue of office.	18
SABO (n.) YA NTEMI	— Private property of chief.	18
SAHO (n.)	— Fee for membership of village club.	65
SANHWA (n.)	— Booty.	24
SEKULE (n.)	— Tribute.	19
SHALUBANZA (n.)	— Chief's share of compensation ordered by his court.	11, 22
SHIBANDA (n.)	— See KIBANDA.	
SHIKA (v.) NKWILIMA	— First visit of bridegroom elect to future father-in-law.	74
SHILATU (n.)	— Sandals.	44
SHILI (n.)	— Sanctuary.	57
SHULUKUKI (n.)	— Magic medicine.	56
SONHWE (n.)	— Grain-eating birds.	55
SONZA (n.)	— To confiscate.	23
TAMBIKO (n.)	— Sacrifice to the ancestors.	55, 82
TAMBIKO KISUMO	— Sacrifice to the ancestors on behalf of an individual.	69
TAMBIKO KITAMBO	— Sacrifice to spirits representing the four points of the compass.	69
TEMA (v.)	— To cut down trees in the bush.	2
TONERA (v.)	— To receive the bridegroom.	83
NKWILIMA		
WATWALAGA BUTA	— Customary payment made to chief by heir to hereditary office.	19

WINGA (n.)	- Wedding dance.	92
WINGILILE (n.)	- Entrance fee to village club.	65
BANAMHALA		
YAGISINZA (n.)	- Iron pegs.	56
YENGA (n.)	- Club of the parish elders.	63
ZINZI (n.)	- Village organization of married women.	75

This work is licensed under a
Creative Commons
Attribution – NonCommercial - NoDerivs 3.0 Licence.

To view a copy of the licence please see:
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>