

Urban-Rural Relationships in Colonial Dar es Salaam : Some Notes on Ethnic Associations and Recreations, 1930s-1950s

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Introduction

The urban-rural relationship in Africa is a complex phenomenon. It can be considered from various viewpoints such as labor migration, food trading, ethnic cultures and traditions, etc. Among these many aspects, ethnicity in particular has been drawing scholarly attention. In modern African cities, migrants tend to form ethnically-based self-help societies to survive in the harsh urban environment. Through these associations, they also reconfigure social, economic, and cultural ties with their home villages. Studies of urban ethnicity in Africa, therefore, may provide an important glimpse not only of ethnic consciousness in modern urban society, but also of changing urban-rural relations.

Tanzanian urban society has been marked by a cultural homogeneity, i.e. its strong Swahili-oriented character. Historically, Swahili language and culture has so deeply penetrated into the urban population that ethnic identities and divisions have often become obscured, particularly during times of fervent nationalism after independence. In colonial times, however, ethnically or regionally affiliated organizations once flourished in urban areas. In the capital city of Dar es Salaam, this sort of association thrived until the 1950s, under the British colonial rule.

This paper seeks to examine some aspects of the urban-rural dynamism in colonial Dar es

Salaam, with special reference to ethnic associations. Along with activities for economic or welfare purposes, a kind of traditional form of recreation called *ngoma* will be taken into consideration, as this traditional song-and-dance performance often formed an integral part of ethnic identity. I will use some examples of ethnic activities organized in and around Dar es Salaam from the 1930s to 1950s, especially of those ethnicities which I think to have been socially and culturally influential in the city at the time. Since the materials I have gathered so far are fragmental and incomplete, this paper will only touch on some points of interest, including those which might have been overlooked by existing studies such as Leslie (1963) and Iliffe (1979).¹

1. Historical and Socioeconomic Backgrounds

In the mid-1860s, around the present site of Dar es Salaam there were a few diminutive fishing and trading villages such as Mzizima and Msasani, mainly made up of Shomvi, coastal Swahili speaking people, and their neighbors, the Zaramo. Around 1866, Sultan Sayyid Majid of Zanzibar began to construct a town there, which he named Dar es Salaam, and these villages were placed under his rule. After the death of the Sultan in 1870, however, his building project was stopped and abandoned. In 1891, the German colonial government established its headquarters in this

once deserted town, moving from the neighboring port of Bagamoyo, a recognized outlet for a caravan route to the interior in the 19th century. The history of Dar es Salaam as a modern port city started at this time (Sutton 1970: 1-7; L. W. Swantz 1974: 34-7; Anthony 1983: 29-85).

As a growing colonial capital, Dar es Salaam soon attracted migrants from various areas across the territory. Along with the indigenous Zaramo and Shomvi, the earliest settlers included long-distance migrants such as the Nyamwezi, who had long been working as caravan porters linking the inland with the coast, and the Manyema, largely freed slaves originating from the Belgian Congo. Zaramo's southern neighbors, the Ndengereko and "Rufiji,"² flew in constantly from the 1900s, as we shall see later. There were also early long-distance immigrants from the south and southwestern corners of the territory such as the Ngoni and Yao, both of whom became entrenched by the 1950s as long-standing townsfolk in the African society of Dar es Salaam (Leslie 1963: 34, 44-5, 254). The other category of migrants from up-country are the small groups of educated Christians including the Chagga, Pare, and Nyakyusa (*ibid.*: 50-52) (see Map 1).

Table 1 shows the population composition of main ethnic groups in Dar es Salaam as of 1948 and 1957. The largest group was the Zaramo, the original inhabitants of the city and neighboring countryside. The second largest, the Ndengereko and "Rufiji", are also groups with a long history of involvement in Dar es Salaam social and economic affairs. The table reveals that the Zaramo and Ndengereko were overwhelmingly more numerous than other ethnic groups. The other groups include those from more southern regions such as the Ngindo, Yao, Mwera, Matumbi, and Makonde. These southern peoples, along with Zaramo, Ndengereko and Manyema, were mostly Muslims, with Dar es Salaam being a predominantly Muslim town at that time (Leslie 1963: 213). The third largest, Luguru, shared the same ethnic origins with their eastern neighbors, Zaramo. Along with these people of strong cultural affinity, some long-distance migrant groups, such as the Nyamwezi, Nyasa, Ngoni, and Pogoro, can be noted in the table.

The African population in Dar es Salaam increased nearly four times between 1931 (24,000) and 1957 (93,363) (Sutton 1970: 19). The rapid increase in population affected the Africans' life in



Map 1. Towns and Ethnic Groups in Tanganyika

Table 1: Main Ethnic Groups in Dar es Salaam

Ethnic Category	% as of 1948	% as of 1957
Zaramo	51.1	36.4
Ndengereko + "Rufiji"	14.4	10.6
Luguru	4.2	6.0
Ngindo	3.1	3.3
Nyamwezi	2.6	4.3
Yao	2.2	3.1
Nyasa	1.8	2.7
Manyema	1.6	1.8
Mwera	1.6	1.8
Ngoni	1.5	2.5
Matumbi	1.4	1.7
Pogoro	1.2	2.5
Makonde	-	2.3
Total African Population	50,765	93,363

Note: * Here I put the Ndengereko and "Rufiji" together, because a large proportion of the "Rufiji" are considered to be within the Ndengereko category. This also applies to Tables 2 and 3. See also Note 2.

Source: East African Population Census, 1948; Tanganyikan Population Census, 1957.

various ways. In those days, there were few full-time employment opportunities except for work in the railways, the port, and as civil servants.³ Since business was dominated by Asians, most Africans had to engage in small trade or casual work, such as domestic service, etc., while some early migrant groups such as the Manyema and Yao owned a disproportionate number of houses (Leslie 1963: 5, 120-7, 178). In the 1930s-40s, along with harsh economic realities, malaria and tuberculosis were rampant and housing conditions poor (Iliffe 1979: 386). Without sufficient government support under these conditions, the Africans had to establish self-help organizations by themselves.

2. The Formation of Ethnic Organizations in Dar es Salaam

Various kinds of ethnic organizations existed in Dar es Salaam before 1960. They varied in size, ethnic cohesiveness, and functions, depending on the ever-changing situations in which members of each ethnic group found themselves.

The majority of ethnically or regionally based organizations in colonial Dar es Salaam took the form of mutual aid societies, mainly sustained to organize fellow countrymen's funerals. The first such organization was the Pogoro Association, a burial society apparently formed in 1912 (Iliffe

1979: 389). In the 1950s, however, it seems that most Pogoro, especially the youth, did not take part in the association. By that time, the association saw two breakaways by the younger generation, one of which seemingly assumed the responsibility of the older association for organizing dances (Leslie 1963: 52-3). A similarly largely educated Christian group, the Chagga Association, retained regular activities from its establishment in 1919. By the mid-1950s, however, the leading roles shifted from the elders to the younger people, who in turn found it difficult to keep the attention of the still younger (*ibid.*: 51). Another small community, Pare, had a modern and closed-knit ethnic association in the 1950s, made up mainly of young and educated men and their wives (*ibid.*: 50).

Another long-distance, but largely unskilled migrant group, the Nyamwezi, had a long history of interaction with the coastal society. Their organization, the New Wanyamwezi Association - Dar es Salaam, was founded in 1936, aiming to support all Nyamwezi in hardship, whether Christian or Muslim. The members were given help in times of sickness, bereavement, and poverty on the basis of contributions from other members. The association was also open to Sukuma and Sumbwa members, as they were closely related neighbors in their homeland and often included in the Nyamwezi category in a broader sense (Iliffe 1979: 160, 389-90). Their association, however, seems to have been almost defunct in the mid-1950s, probably due to financial scandals. Some young Sukuma attempted to form a new association, but it lasted only a short while (Leslie 1963: 44).

In 1930s Dar es Salaam, there was a Nyamwezi burial society called *Umoja wa Wanyamwezi, Hiari ya Moyo*, probably the same as the above association, though I have no evidence on this so far. Interestingly, "*Hiari ya Moyo*" has been widely known as the name of a traditional dance (*ngoma*) or dance group of the Nyamwezi. *Hiari ya Moyo* is said to have been established as a burial society in *Unyamwezi*, the homeland of the

Nyamwezi people (probably in Tabora town) in 1918. They also created and developed their *ngoma* section, which toured across the present Tabora Region. In the mid-1930s, the Nyamwezi in Dar es Salaam formed a group of the same name and for the same purpose, besides launching an *ngoma* team as well.⁴ The headquarters in Tabora seems to have had some influence even in choosing the leadership in its Dar es Salaam branch. In 1938, the branch held an inauguration ceremony for a new female president nominated by the headquarters, inviting the rival dance group, *Wingi Si Hoja*.⁵ *Hiari ya Moyo* in Dar es Salaam soon lost momentum due to discord among members, but was revived in the 1960s by an *ngoma* mentor from Tabora, who had backing from the leaders of the newly independent government.⁶

This case may represent a socio-cultural relationship established basically along “ethnic” lines between the capital and provincial towns, beyond which stretch vast rural areas with a depository of traditional cultures, especially *ngoma*. The Manyema, another urban migrant group from the earliest times, provides similar cases of inter-town relations. As with the Nyamwezi, Manyema is also quite ambiguous as an ethnic category, composed of some different groups of people hailing from the eastern Congo, especially the slave-raiding Manyema region. No doubt there was constant communication among Manyema living in different towns including their “headquarters,” Ujiji on the eastern shores of Lake Tanganyika. In the 1920s, factional groups formed in Ujiji soon spread into Manyema communities in other towns such as Tabora, Dodoma, and Dar es Salaam, along with each group’s respective *ngoma* (Ranger 1975: 102-4; Iliffe 1979: 383, 390; Brennan 2002: 106, 110). Finally overcoming the factional politics, all 18 “ethnic groups” or clans of Manyema founded the Congo Union Association in Dar es Salaam in the late 1930s, later opening branches throughout the territory and outlawing competitive dancing as divisive (Iliffe 1979: 390). By the mid-1950s,

however, their association in Dar es Salaam became almost meaningless except for burying the dead, especially for the younger generations (Leslie 1963: 49).

Like the Manyema association in the 1930s-40s, the Kilwa African Union Association was probably designed as a mutual aid society for the people from the same broad region, but not for a single ethnic group. It was established for the people from Kilwa in Dar es Salaam for the purpose of helping each other with illnesses and funerals. Every member was requested to pay a certain monthly contribution which they call *sanda* (literally “shroud,” but often meaning “incense money”) and this was used to buy things necessary for funerals such as cups, pots, and platters. The association even welcomed women to join, and was willing to support those in distress who could not afford to pay the contribution, if they were from Kilwa. It appears that the association soon faced problems, failing to secure a sufficient number of members.⁷ Several years later (1945), another group called the Kilwa Young Association emerged in Kariakoo, the core of the African population in Dar es Salaam.⁸ It is not clear, however, whether there was any relation between the older and new.

In 1942, young members of the Ngoni, also long-standing migrants, founded the Songea Youth Club with the permission of their renowned elder, Hamisi Mfaranyaki. The names of the leaders suggest the core of the members of the club might have been Muslims, and their regular meeting was held every Friday night. The club survived at least until 1944, when they had an anniversary in which Provincial and District Commissioners were invited, and the Alwatan Musical Club played *taarab* music, an important entertainment for coastal people.⁹ One of the other associations related to the Ngoni was the Ngonyama Union, which probably rallied the young and educated Ngoni, Nyasa, and Matengo, all of them neighbors in the then Songea District.¹⁰ Some of its members, who were the Nyanja (a section of the Nyasa) from the Mbaha area, had their own

Mbaha Union in the 1950s. The members, all hailing from the same village, helped each other with loans and finding jobs and accommodations in the town. They organized a dance (*mganda*) on Sundays, and also ran a football team. They kept close relations with rural kinfolks, for example, through the custom of sending children to school in their home region (Leslie 1963: 55-6).

Thus ethnic associations thrived in colonial Dar es Salaam, keeping in touch with their home communities and thereby maintaining cultural distinctiveness, as typically seen in *ngoma*. Except for a handful of small educated groups, however, many of these associations were actually not purely ethnic. Sometimes they embraced a variety of people from a considerably wide area, and at other times, memberships were limited to those from the same narrow locality. By the mid-1950s, such associations were on the decline, as the influence of ethnic elders and tradition was generally waning with the growth of an urban society (Leslie 1963: 37-40).

In contrast to the majority of associations, which ended up as burial societies for urban residents, a few were concerned with rural improvements in their home region, as well as urban welfare. The best example was the Wazaramo Union, which was established by the original inhabitants of Dar es Salaam, the Zaramo

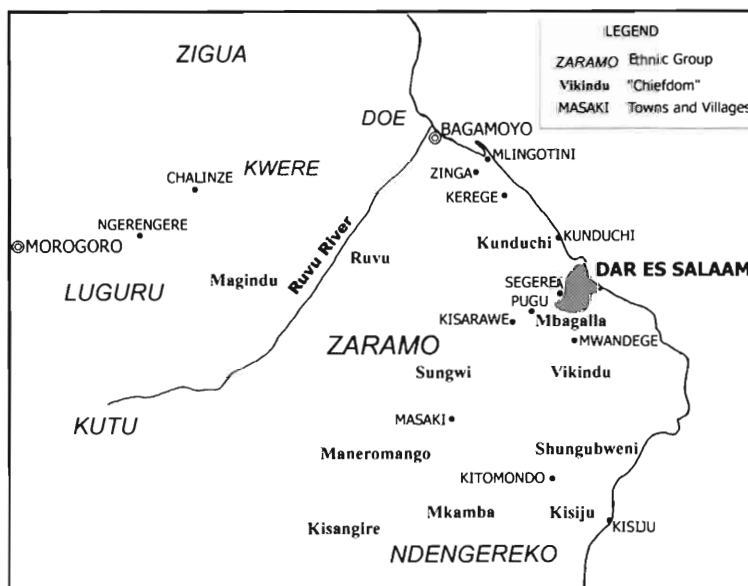
people, to which we now turn our attention.

3. The Zaramo and Their Ethnic Associations

(1) The Zaramo People in Dar es Salaam and its Outlying Areas

The Zaramo are different from the ethnic groups mentioned above, in the sense that they are original inhabitants of Dar es Salaam and its immediately countryside. Through most of the period before independence, Zaramo were by far the largest ethnic group in the capital, accounting for half of the town's African population in 1948 and nearly two-fifths in 1957 (Table 1). In a sense, the growth and expansion of the city of Dar es Salaam was the process of absorbing incessant Zaramo migrants on the one hand, and swallowing rural Zaramo villages on the other.

The history of *Uzaramo* ("the place of the Zaramo people") mirrors the complexity of coastal society. The Zaramo are said to have originated from where the neighboring Luguru and Kutu people now reside, west of present Zaramo territory. The Zaramo share similar linguistic and cultural patterns with surrounding ethnic groups such as the Luguru, Kutu, Kwere, and Doe (see Map 2). The oral histories, as well as the similarity of clan names, reveal that these ethnic groups have a long history of interaction,



Map2. Uzaramo District in the 1940s

and it is often difficult to define boundaries among these ethnic categories (L. W. Swantz 1974: 27-9, 31-2, 117-9). Primarily they also shared a matrilineal social system, though the influence of patrilineal Islamic culture was so great that the tradition was already fading away from the late 19th or early 20th century (Beidelman 1967).

Zaramo also have a long history of interplay with coastal people, especially those whom they called Shomvi, an element of Shirazi, who are said to have descended from Arabs or Persians. In the late 18th or early 19th century, the Kamba raiders from present Kenya attacked coastal villages, and the Shirazi (Shomvi) sought military assistance from a Zaramo (or Kutu) leader to drive them out. After the successful Kamba war, the Zaramo moved increasingly to the coastal areas and intermarried with the existing Shomvi (Shirazi) community, particularly in the coastal settlements, within the present city limits (e.g. Msasani, Mzizima) and vicinity (e.g. Kunduchi) (L. W. Swantz 1974: 30-6; Anthony 1983: 16-34, 50-4). This interconnection with the coastal people may have contributed greatly to the process of Swahilization and Islamization of the Zaramo as a whole. From the late 19th century, Islamic culture gradually penetrated from the coast, creating some disparities in its degree of acceptance (M. L. Swantz 1970: 98-100; L. W. Swantz 1974: 109-11, 139-40). Those most Islamized may be called Mwambao ("coast") Zaramo. They speak Kiswahili rather than Kizaramo as an everyday language, practice an Islamic way of life, and are probably more urbanized, while still retaining traditional Zaramo cultures to some extent (M. L. Swantz 1970: 100-6; Mwaruka 1965: 115).

The Zaramo also established close relations with their southern neighbors, especially the Ndengereko and "Rufji". It appears that they migrated to Dar es Salaam constantly from the 1900s to 1950s, especially in years of crop failure, flooding, and famine in the Rufiji valley (Iliffe 1979: 161; Lockwood 1998: 70-1, 76). Like the Zaramo, they seem to have rapidly adopted Islam and coastal Swahili culture between the mid-19th

century and the 1910s (*ibid.*: 74-5). In Dar es Salaam, the Ndengereko and "Rufiji" formed the second largest group after the Zaramo, sharing the same 'coastal' cultures with some other migrant groups (*ibid.*: 76; L. W. Swantz 1974: 37)

There was a close intercommunication between these people living in the capital and those in the surrounding rural areas. Among Dar es Salaam residents in 1952, people who were born in the city (25.9%) were fewer than those who were born in the Kisarawe or Rufiji Districts (28.7%), in which the Zaramo, Ndengereko and "Rufiji" formed a majority (Lockwood 1998: 32). 18.5% of the total Zaramo population lived in Dar es Salaam in 1957 and, according to a survey made by L. W. Swantz in the mid-1960s, nearly 90% of the urban Zaramo interviewed were born in rural areas (L. W. Swantz 1974: 37-8).¹¹ His survey also reveals that the Zaramo in Dar es Salaam had a great deal of social, economic, and religious interrelations with its rural population; those living within a few hours bus-ride from the city. The urban Zaramo families would have a piece of land for cultivation in their home villages, or engage in agricultural or fishery product trade in cooperation with their rural kin. They also visited their rural villages and kin for important family rituals, and the rural kin in turn often made a trip to the city to buy things or sell their produce in the market (*ibid.*: 126-30).

The Zaramo and Ndengereko in Dar es Salaam, as the most numerous ethnic groups, have not only been living side by side on the basis of coastal Swahili culture, but often intermarried as well. Their close collaboration is well expressed in a well-known saying; "*Zaramo kuiba, Ndengereko ficha* (Zaramo steal and Ndengereko conceal)." ¹² It seems evident that these two ethnic groups, along with other coastal migrants, formed the lowest labor class in the town, engaging in unskilled jobs in port or construction work, domestic service, and peddling (Leslie 1963: 122-3; Lockwood 1998: 76-7; Iliffe 1979: 387-8). According to Leslie (1963: 34, 193-4), Zaramo and Ndengereko (and "Rufiji") also shared an administrative representative in Dar es Salaam,

Wakili Saidi Chaurembo, a Zaramo originating from Mkamba,¹³ the border area of the two ethnic groups (see Map 2).

Co-existence of the Zaramo and Ndengereko was not only found in Dar es Salaam. *Uzaramo* was also an administrative unit (Uzaramo District) including Dar es Salaam Township in the 1940s.¹⁴ As shown in Table 2, in the Uzaramo District, Zaramo were by far the largest group, followed by the Ndengereko and "Rufiji." Among the eleven "chiefdoms" or subdivisions of the district, locations south of the city such as Kisiju, Mkamba, Mbagalla, and Vikindu particularly embraced large numbers of Ndengereko, while in western locations (Magindu, Ruvu, Maneromango), the Luguru are found to be the largest or second largest group (see Table 3 and Map 2). Table 3 suggests that there may be close relations between the Zaramo and Ndengereko even in rural areas (particularly villages in the south of Dar es Salaam), as well as in the city.

Thus, the Zaramo society in Dar es Salaam should be considered both in relation to other close ethnic groups and with the rural areas.

Bearing this in mind, we now turn to the groups and activities organized by the Zaramo people in and around the capital.

(2) Development of the Wazaramo Union

The Wazaramo Union (*Umoja wa Wazaramo*) was established in 1938 by the Zaramo residents in Dar es Salaam not long after the cancellation of an African "elders council" in the Township Authority (Brennan 2002: 114). Some of the purposes of this establishment, according to Mwaruka (1965: 118), were to (1) have people recognize the dignity of the Zaramo tribe (*kuitambulisha heshima ya kabila*), (2) preserve traditional reign (*kuhifadhi utawala wa Jaji*), and (3) unite together in business and commercial activities (*kuunga umoja wa Biashara na Uchumi*). The early Union seems to have been dormant, until it was revived in the mid-1940s and began its active campaigns for political and economic purposes (*loc. cit.*; Brennan 2002: 233-4).

The Union appears to have been set up and led by relatively young, educated, and urbanized Zaramo with political aspirations (*ibid.*: 237-8). Notably, Ramadhani Ali and Ali Saidi, who served as president and treasurer, respectively, were also leading figures of the African Association,¹⁵ a pan-ethnic political organization for Africans (Iliffe 1968: 9; Iliffe 1979: 408). As typical of townspeople, the Union leaders naturally took part in various kinds of social activities outside of their ethnic affiliation as well.¹⁶ Upon reckoning other social features of the Union, it may be worth noting that Mwaruka (1965: 118) states that the

Table 2: Main Ethnic Groups in the Uzaramo District, 1948

Ethnic Category	Population	%
Zaramo	149,124	62.5%
Ndengereko + "Rufiji"	36,225	15.2%
Luguru	8,106	3.4%
Ngindo	6,815	2.9%
Matumbi	4,936	2.1%
Yao	3,537	1.5%
Nyamwezi	2,561	1.1%
All others	27,388	11.5%
Total African Population	238,692	100.0%

Source: East African Population Census, 1948.

Table 3: Main Ethnic Groups in the Uzaramo District by Chiefdom, 1948

Chiefdom	Largest Group	%	2nd Largest	%	3rd Largest	%	Total African Population
Dar es Salaam Municipality	Zaramo	51	Ndengereko + "Rufiji"	14	Luguru	4	50,765
Ruvu	Zaramo	65	Luguru	9	Kwere	4	28,268
Mbagalla	Zaramo	51	Ndengereko + "Rufiji"	17	Ngindo	5	24,360
Sungwi	Zaramo	82	Matumbi	5	Ngindo	4	22,638
Maneromango	Zaramo	94	Luguru	3	-	-	21,201
Vikindu	Zaramo	75	Ndengereko + "Rufiji"	12	Matumbi	6	19,512
Kisiju	Ndengereko	61	Zaramo	25	Ngindo	5	18,998
Mkamba	Zaramo	62	Ndengereko	32	-	-	18,815
Kisangere	Zaramo	89	"Rufiji"	4	-	-	16,166
Kunduchi	Zaramo	47	Matumbi	11	Ndengereko + "Rufiji"	10	10,991
Shungubweni	Zaramo	85	Ndengereko	9	-	-	3,335
Magindu	Luguru	67	Kwere	26	-	-	3,331
Unallocated	-	-	-	-	-	-	312
Total							238,692

Source: East African Population Census, 1948.

Union was established by the Mwambao ("coastal") Zaramo. Indeed, Ramadhani Ali was a native of Kerege, Bagamoyo, and other people from Bagamoyo coastal areas including Saidi Abdallah of Zinga also possibly played important roles in membership drives in the late 1940s.¹⁷ Other leading members included people, probably of Shomvi-Zaramo extraction, such as Mshume Kiyate and Rajabu Mwinijuma, both originating from Kunduchi, along with Mwinjuma Myinyikambi (Msasani) and Jumbe Tambaza (Upanga).¹⁸ It is very likely that the Wazaramo Union gained a primary foothold among the people from settlements within the coastal strip, in particular between Dar es Salaam and Bagamoyo. At the same time, it also involved recently urbanized Zaramo originally hailing from inland areas such as Sungwi and Mkamba.¹⁹

During 1947-48, the Union leaders energetically toured inland *Uzaramo*, for expansion of membership and fund-raising for the establishment of a Union cooperative shop. At the time, the resentment of a depressed rural population was directed against Indian merchants, who dominated the business and built their wealth through unfair trading, purchasing local foodstuffs at low prices and in turn selling clothing for unreasonably high prices (Brennan 2002: 229-236). In their rural campaigns, the Union members insisted on the necessity of establishing a shop to trade agricultural produce by themselves, in order to unite against these exploitative Indian merchants.²⁰ Besides trying to establish a cooperative business, it also attempted to operate lorries to carry passengers between the capital and countryside, and especially in Bagamoyo, to replace existing Indian transportation services.²¹ Thus, in the late 1940s, one of the Union's chief concerns was the economic development of rural *Uzaramo*. By then, they had established branches at places not only on the Bagamoyo coast (Zinga, Mlingotini, Bagamoyo), but also in Masaki, Ruvu, Ngerengere, and Morogoro to the west, Mtoni, Mbagalla, Mwandege, Mkamba to the south, and even in Zanzibar (see Map 2).²²

While strengthening urban and rural links in the Zaramo country, the Union may have sought the cooperation with other neighboring ethnic groups. In 1948, they held a tea party to celebrate a union with the other ethnic groups; the Ndengereko and its neighboring Nyagatwa, Kichi, Matumbi, and "Rufiji,"²³ all of which had once "split from their earlier 'alliance' with Zaramo to form a confederation" ten years before (Brennan 2002: 114). According to a former member, the Union actually did have some Ndengereko members.²⁴ In 1949, the Union held a party to inaugurate its own cooperative shop in Dar es Salaam, attended by as many as 1,600 people, including deputies from 32 villages. The purpose of this meeting was "to raise their country in terms of agriculture and trading of grains, as well as to promote education among the children of Zaramo and their fellow 'Rufiji' and Kutu."²⁵

Furthermore, the Union attempted to expand its political purview into the colonial administration, claiming Zaramo's leadership over the Uzaramo Native Authority. For example, they frequently demanded the replacement of *wakili* (native representative of each locality) who were not "pure" Zaramo, even outside of the Uzaramo District (Brennan 2002: 228-239). Such a political and economic ambition was, however, eventually frustrated in the early 1950s by scandals over embezzlement of the union funds (*ibid.*: 240). The crisis was precipitated by the impact of nationalist politics. Soon after the establishment of TANU in 1954, members of the Wazaramo Union flocked to this new political body, and the Union eventually closed down. The early TANU elders and important personalities included a number of ex-leaders of the Wazaramo Union, such as Makisi Mbwana, Jumbe Tambaza, Rajabu Diwani, Mwinjuma Mwinikambi, Mshume Kiyate, and Tewa Saidi Tewa.²⁶ Thus, the eventual demise of the ethnic association coincided with the emergence of the nationalist movement.

(3) Urban *Ngoma* of the Zaramo people

In the 1940-50s, the Zaramo in Dar es Salaam often organized *ngoma* performances for functions and weekend diversion. Among the most popular male *ngoma* are *tokomile* and *mtondoo*, both of which were also played by other ethnic groups, especially Ndengereko.

Tokomile appears to have been invented in the 1940s in Kitomondo of the Kisiju "chiefdom", a place of mixed Zaramo and Ndengereko residence (see Map 2 and Table 3). Not long afterwards, this *ngoma* spread across surrounding rural areas, reaching Dar es Salaam, Bagamoyo, and as far as Zanzibar. *Tokomile* was adopted chiefly by young Zaramo and Ndengereko men as an entertainment for functions such as male and female initiation rites.²⁷ In Dar es Salaam, probably in the mid-1940s, two rival groups of *tokomile* were formed; Mbango and Mizia. Both Mbango and his in-law, Mizia were natives of Segerea, a peri-urban Zaramo village. Though they at first organized the dance together, when a quarrel occurred between them, Mizia broke away and established his own group.²⁸

The *tokomile* groups in Dar es Salaam often visited surrounding countryside for performances. Before leaving for the functions, they often performed *ngoma* at "kwa Chaurembo," an open space in Kariakoo, usually on Saturday nights.²⁹ Mbango and its competitor, Mizia, sometimes met at the same functions, invariably bringing about fierce stick fighting, in which each team's symbolic drum, *mrungura* (see Plate 1), was fought for by the rival team. The first furious fighting occurred in Segerea, in which members of Mizia finally succeeded in taking Mbango's *mrungura* and hiding it in Kitomondo. Other serious violence occurred in a village south of the capital. At this time Mbango snatched away Mizia's *mrungura* and it was hidden at Kunduchi. There were wide networks of members or "branches" of these groups in the villages, especially in the south of Dar es Salaam.³⁰ Interestingly, it is widely believed that the quarrel between the two groups came to an end through

the instruction of leaders of the independent government such as President Julius Nyerere and the Prime Minister Rashid Kawawa, who favored African unity, rather than divisiveness.³¹

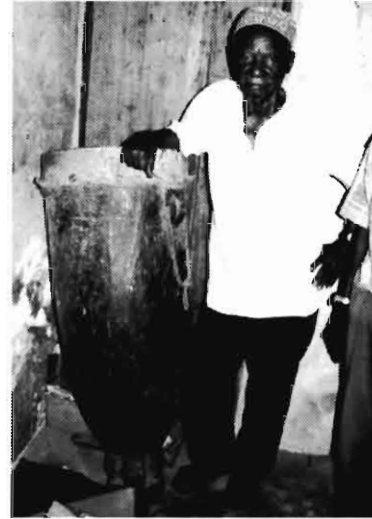


Plate 1. *Mrungura* Drum

These *tokomile* dance societies took organizational forms not unlike other *ngoma* associations in the Swahili coastal area. Each group was headed by a *kingi*, who was assisted by officers like *waziri*, *wajumbe*, and *kijumbe*, who deliver messages.³² Accompaniment was composed of one *mrungura*, three *msondo* (open, straight drum), two *chapuo* (double-ended drum), one *debe* (a tin canister), and one *zumari* (a double-reed wind instrument).³³ The languages used in *tokomile* songs were Kiswahili, Kizaramo, and Kindengereko.³⁴ The number of members might have reached 300 in the case of Mbango, and it also functioned as a mutual aid society, with members helping each other; sometimes in case of injuries in the violent dance, and at other times in funerals.³⁵

Mtondoo was an *ngoma* favored by male elders, unlike *tokomile*, which was popular among the younger generation. *Mtondoo* is said to have originated from the rural *Uzaramo* southwest of Dar es Salaam, and then spread to the capital. It was played mainly by Zaramo, but Ndengereko might have joined when it was performed in the city. With its slow movements, *mtondoo* was a gentler and more disciplined *ngoma* than *tokomile*.

It was a circle dance performed by elders wearing *kanzu* (traditional long white garments), *koti* (coats) and *kofia* (embroidered skull caps), and holding *bakora* (walking sticks).³⁶ It would be danced as weekend recreation, as well as in festivities. As in *tokomile*, one *mrungura*, one *zumari*, two *chapuo*, and two *msondo* accompanied them.³⁷ It is interesting to note that an informant described it as an *ngoma* danced by the Wazaramo Union, which probably suggests that the Union included many respected senior members of the Zaramo community in Dar es Salaam.

Besides *tokomile* and *mtondoo*, there were other kinds of *ngoma* performed by Zaramo in and around colonial Dar es Salaam. *Chalenja* (challenger?) was another *ngoma* danced by both Zaramo and Ndengereko. It was popular at Kigamboni, the opposite shore of the city, but was also played in Kitomondo, further south.³⁸ There were *ngoma* danced by both Zaramo and Shomvi. One such *ngoma*, *waya*, originating from Kunduchi, was an *ngoma* not unlike *mtondoo*, while *buti* was danced by Zaramo and Shomvi teenagers in Dar es Salaam, Kunduchi, Bagamoyo and its surrounding villages.³⁹ *Mganda*, now also known as *mdundiko*, was a marching dance of Zaramo proper. *Mganda* was once prohibited by the colonial office, but people continued playing it under another name, *gombe sugu*. A well-remembered *mganda* song is one which was sung in the procession receiving Nyerere, who had just come back from UNO (United Nations Organization), where he went to discuss Tanganyika's independence in the mid-1950s. Its refrain repeated; "*Baba kabwera UNO* (in Kizaramo, "Father has come back from UNO")."⁴⁰

Many of these *ngoma*, which once thrived and were identified with Zaramo ethnicity, often embraced other neighboring groups, but eventually lost their popularity. From the 1950s onward, they were gradually replaced by other recreations with stronger Western character, such as football and popular music.

4. Concluding Remarks

The constant influx of migrants has characterized African society in Dar es Salaam from the very outset. In the rapidly growing colonial capital, Africans attempted to establish self-help organizations, largely in the form of burial societies. Some of them were set up along ethnic lines, but others were multi-ethnic, rallying people from the same broad regions. There were also small groups formed by close friends. It seems that they appropriated not only ethnicity but whatever social category was helpful to unite like-minded people in achieving their social, political, and economic goals. Along with modern recreations such as football, one of the important means of expressing the identity of each grouping was traditional dance (*ngoma*), through which they were constantly renewing their social and cultural ties between the capital and provincial areas.

Among various ethnic-affiliated activities, those of the Zaramo people present a unique case. Since Dar es Salaam itself was built within the Zaramo country, their association (Wazaramo Union) was developed as neither a burial society nor urban welfare association. Rather, they sought economic and political development for all the Zaramo people, both in rural and urban areas. Their attempt to link urban and rural areas through trading and transport enterprises, as well as to influence the selection of personnel in the native administration, however, finally failed due to the narrow personal interests of some members.

Other neighboring ethnic groups such as the Shomvi and Ndengereko were also involved in the social activities of the Zaramo. In particular, the cooperation between Zaramo and Ndengereko was found in recreational activities including *ngoma*, which developed through the social networks linking across the city and its surrounding rural areas. The close relationship between Zaramo and Ndengereko in present Dar es Salaam was thus thought to have been gradually formed through urban-rural dynamism in the colonial era.

From the mid-1950s, however, these ethnic or

quasi-ethnic movements and recreations were eclipsed by the awakening of nationalism, as well as by rapid urbanization. The new independent government also outlawed such associations based on ethnicity because of the divisive connotation for African unity. Thus, the prosperity of "ethnic" associations in Dar es Salaam was limited to the 1930s-50s, and it was just a part of the longer process of urbanization, in which ethnicities and other social identities manifest themselves in several different ways.

Notes

- ¹ Materials used in this paper include archival records and newspapers found in the Tanzania National Archives (TNA), and information gleaned from interviews with persons concerned. The field research was conducted from December 1995 to March 1997, August to October 1998, July to October 1999, July to August 2000, and June to July 2002.
- ² The ethnic category known as "Rufiji" under colonial rule was in fact made up of various peoples of different ethnic origins, with the Ndengereko forming the majority (M. L. Swantz 1985: 23). According to my own observation, for the residents of Dar es Salaam, Rufiji is generally known to denote a river and not an ethnic group. It seems that a large proportion of the members of the so-called "Rufiji" ethnic group are considered to be within the Ndengereko category. Yoshida (1997: 140, 142), who surveyed the Rufiji valley in the early 1970s, also suggests that the Rufiji as an ethnic category probably derives from their life-style dependency on the river (living near the river, fishing, canoeing, etc.) rather than from their language or other cultural aspects.
- ³ According to an official survey held in 1953, just over six percent of registered African workers in Tanganyika were salaried workers in low-level civil service and administrative jobs.

Quoted in Geiger (1997: 21).

- ⁴ "Hiari ya Moyo" by Nelly Muganda, *Nchi Yetu*, No. 92, 1971, pp.12-13.
- ⁵ "Umoja wa Wanyamwezi Dar es Salaam," *Kwetu*, No.13, 2 August 1938, pp.13-14. These dance groups probably competed in an *ngoma* called *masegese*. Interview with Hamisi Abdallah Mussa, Manzese, 20 August 2000.
- ⁶ Nelly Muganda (*ibid.*), p.13.
- ⁷ "Kilwa African Union Association (Unity is Strength)," *Kwetu*, No.13, 2 August 1938, pp.12-13; "Kilwa Union Association," *Kwetu*, No.3, 21 February 1939, p.18.
- ⁸ *Mambo Leo*, August 1945.
- ⁹ *Mambo Leo*, February 1943 and June 1944.
- ¹⁰ It also ran a football club in the 1950s, which was, according to a former member of the team, made up mainly of clerks. Peter Mandawa, Mbezi, 24 November 1996. The name "Ngonyama" derived from combining the names of these ethnic groups (Ngoni, Nyasa, and Matengo).
- ¹¹ This does not necessarily mean that their parents were not residents in Dar es Salaam, because pregnant Zaramo women normally return their mothers' homes to give birth, especially for the first born (L. W. Swantz 1974: 38).
- ¹² Hamisi Akida and Sihiyana Salehe, Mnazi Mmoja, 21 August 1999. According to them, this expression was probably created by Indians (Hindus?), who tended to employ the Zaramo and Ndengereko as domestic servants.
- ¹³ Jafari Chaurembo, Kariakoo, 16 August 1999.
- ¹⁴ In the 1950s, the Uzaramo District was renamed Kisarawe District and the city formed a District of its own.
- ¹⁵ The African Association later turned into the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and played a leading role in the anti-colonial campaign in the 1950s.
- ¹⁶ It is interesting to note that Ramadhani Ali a.k.a. *Kingi* also played a prominent role in multi-ethnic urban *beni* dance associations, serving as a "King" of Marini, one of the two

- main *beni* factions (Ranger 1975: 95). Along with the other Union leader Makisi Mbwana, Ramadhani also served as a president of TAWCA, an organization for African traders in the town (Brennan 2002: 116).
- ¹⁷ Saidi Abdallah seems to have been enthusiastic in participating in Union's rural campaigns in which other members from Bagamoyo might have joined. See "Habari za Wazaramo Union, Dar es Salaam," *Mambo Leo*, August 1947; "Msiba Uliowapata Wanachama wa Uzaramo," *Mambo Leo*, October 1947; "Habari za Wazaramo Union," *Mambo Leo*, December 1947.
- ¹⁸ Kibosha Janja, Kunduchi, 30 July 1999, and other oral sources. Not all Shomvi supported the Wazaramo Union, as Brennan (2002: 234) points out that some Shomvi leaders protested against the Union initiative in native politics by briefly joining another rival organization in the mid-1940s.
- ¹⁹ Chonjo Mwinchande Digendo (a former assistant treasurer of the Wazaramo Union), Tandika, 15 September 1998; Yusuf Mohamed Kifundo, Msasani, 14 July 1999, and other oral sources.
- ²⁰ How they campaigned in rural areas is partly illuminated in the letters written by Union members which appeared in the Swahili magazine, *Mambo Leo*, August and December 1947, and January 1948.
- ²¹ A letter from General Secretary, Wazaramo Union, to DC (District Commissioner) Uzaramo, 1 and 12 August 1947; General Secretary to DC Bagamoyo, 20 August 1947, TNA.
- ²² "Habari za Wazaramo Union," *Mambo Leo*, December 1947; The head of the official letter of the Union; A letter of Mohamed Juma (General Secretary, Wazaramo Union) to DC Zanzibar, 18 August 1952, TNA.
- ²³ A letter from General Secretary, Wazaramo Union, to DC Uzaramo, 28 June 1948, and an attached paper entitled "Khutuba: Makabirisho ya Wandengereko Wanyagatwa Wakichi Wamatumbi, na Warufiji Community - Juu ya Ndugu zao Wazaramo Union huko Ilala Pangani Street No.37 Siku ya Tarehe 13-6-1948," TNA.
- ²⁴ Chonjo Mwinchande, 15 September 1998.
- ²⁵ "Mkutano mkuu wa Wazaramo Union" by Mohamed Juma, *Mambo Leo*, June 1949.
- ²⁶ Chonjo Mwinchande, 15 September 1998.
- ²⁷ Sihiyana Salehe, Buguruni, 5 September 1999 and Mnazi Mmoja, 18 August 2000. According to him, the founders of the *ngoma* in Kitomondo were mainly the Ndengereko, but the Zaramo also soon joined in.
- ²⁸ Hamisi Abdallah Mussa (a present drum-holder of Mbango), Manzese, 20 August 2000. He recalls that, in Dar es Salaam, there were two other *tokomile* groups, one in Keko and the other in Tabata.
- ²⁹ Sihiyana Salehe, 5 September 1999; "Jangwani ilivyokuwa maarufu kwa ngoma za asili" by Sihiyana Salehe, *Taifa Letu*, 2-8 May 1999. This article says that, along with *tokomile* which was most frequently performed, there were also other kinds of *ngoma* performance such as *mtondoo*, *lelemama*, *kiluwa*, and *masegese*. *Kwa Chaurembo* denotes a place around the present crossing of Msimbazi Street and Jangwani Street, where *Wakili* Chaurembo erected his building.
- ³⁰ Dingi Mtoto (a former member of Mbango), Kariakoo, 4 August 2000. Sihiyana Salehe mentioned another 'war' between the two groups occurred on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam, in which either group was ambushed by the other on their way to or back from Pugu, where the dance took place. "Tokomile ya Mizia na Mbango" by Sihiyana Salehe, *Taifa Letu*, 25-31 July 1999.
- ³¹ Sihiyana Salehe (*ibid.*); Dingi Mtoto, 4 August 2000; H. A. Mussa, 20 August 2000.
- ³² H. A. Mussa, 20 August 2000; Sihiyana Salehe, 18 August 2000. Prins (1967: 92) states that competitive dance societies on the Swahili coast retained an original military structure: the head, or *mkuu wa chama*, is assisted by officers such as *waziri* and councilors, along with a

spokesman, *kijumbe*.

- ³³ Dingi Mtoto, 4 August 2000. These instruments seem to have had been widely used among the Swahili on the East African coast (Allen 1981: 234-241). *Msondo*, *mrungura*, and *debe* were also used in exorcism *ngoma* among Mwambao Zaramo in Bagamoyo (M. L. Swantz 1970: 225).
- ³⁴ Mbegu Sultani (a former *tokomile* performer), Kurasini, 10 August 1999. He cited a line from a *tokomile* song in Swahili which goes as follows: "*Nakwenda fungwa Ukonga juu yako* (I will go to Ukonga to be jailed because of you)," which means that the singer does not mind even if he will be jailed on the grounds of beating a member of the rival team.
- ³⁵ H. A. Mussa, 20 August 2000; Dingi Mtoto, 4 August 2000. According to them, *tokomile* was played primarily by men, though women could sometimes join the dance.
- ³⁶ Sihiyana Salehe, 18 August 2000; Masoud Ali, Kariakoo, 4 July 2002. This costume is reminiscent of a male dance *goma*, which is danced by the older respected men dressed in *kanzu*, wearing *kofia* and holding *bakora*, in the Swahili communities on the Kenyan coast (Campbell and Eastman 1984: 478-480).
- ³⁷ Dingi Mtoto, 4 August 2000.
- ³⁸ Sihiyana Salehe, 18 August 2000; Mbegu Sultani, 10 August 1999.
- ³⁹ Hamisi Akida, 21 August 1999; Kibosha Janja, Kariakoo, 13 August 1999; Salehe Mbegu, Kariakoo, 17 August 2000.
- ⁴⁰ Hamisi Akida, 21 August 1999; Sihiyana Salehe, 18 August 2000; Mbegu Sultani, 10 August 1999. See also Geiger (1997: 50, 88) and Brennan (2002:345).

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植民地期ダルエスサラームにおける都市農村関係 —都市部とその周辺に形成された民族組織、同郷組織および娯楽結社を 通した考察—

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Synopsis

東アフリカ、タンザニアの首都ダルエスサラームは、19世紀の終わりにドイツ植民地政府の首府として始まり、その後英国植民下の1930年代から1950年代にかけて地域の行政・経済・文化の中心地として発展した。その過程で、領土内外の各地の農村部から、様々な民族的・社会的背景をもつ人々が流入してきた。それらの新規移住民は、不慣れな都会での生活に適応するために、民族組織や、一定の地域出身の人々から成る同郷組織を設立する場合があった。この民族・同郷組織は、葬式講としての機能を持つと同時に、日常生活における相互扶助的組織としての役割を果たした。これらの組織はまた、各民族の伝統芸能（ンゴマ）を日常的に組織するなど、都市における農村的文化の保持とも関連をもっていた。

このような民族組織の中でおそらく最大の規模を誇ったのは、ダルエスサラームとその周辺部の土着民族であるザラモ人の組織（「ザラモ人連合」）である。地元民であるザラモ人のこの組織は、故郷の農村部との直接的つながりが薄い遠距離移民による他の民族組織とは異なり、農村部をも含むザラモ人の土地全体の経済的・政治的発展を意図していたという点で独特のものであった。同連合にはまた、ザラモ人以外にも、南隣に住むンデンゲレーコ人が加わっていた。この両民族は、ダルエスサラームにおける最大規模の民族としてしばしば通婚を行うと同時に、両者が混住する近隣農村で発明されたある種のンゴマをともに都市で発展させるなど、親密な関係を有していた。こうして、ダルエスサラームのアフリカ人社会に現在でも重要な位置を占めるザラモ人とンデンゲレーコ人の密接な関係は、植民地期における都市・農村関係の動態の中で徐々に形成されてきたと考えられる。