

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### The Argument and Background

Studies on the legacies of colonialism in Tanzania Mainlad are divided between those upholding the view that German colonialism had insignificant impact on the society of Tanzania because it was short-lived and those arguing against this assumption.<sup>1</sup> In his famous book, *Development for Exploitation*, Juhan Koponen argued that German colonialism “. . . ended when it had barely been established. It lasted for some thirty years most of which were spent in conquest, internal infighting and economic experimentation.”<sup>2</sup> However, Koponen does not concur with the assertion that German colonialism did not have long-term consequences for the people of Tanganyika but argues that “German colonialism was powerful enough to set in motion profound processes of social transformation” and he therefore wonders “how such a seemingly superficial colonization could produce such long-lasting effects.”<sup>3</sup>

It is against this backdrop that German colonialism is widely researched by scholars. This situation is partly explained by the fact that German colonialism, “was too complex and too painful to be simply brushed aside.”<sup>4</sup> German colonial history in present-day Tanzania is represented in multiple cultural means or forms. It is taught in schools, colleges and universities, is collectively shared orally, embedded in monuments and memorials and is preserved in archives and museums as both historical documents and cultural objects.<sup>5</sup> Its collective remembrance

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1 See arguments by Daniel Bendex, *Global Development and Colonial Power: German Development Policy at Home and Abroad* (London: Rowman and Littlefield International Ltd, 2018), p. 16; Juhan Koponen, *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884–1914*, (Finland: Finish Historical Society, 1994), p. 554 and Ulrike Lindner, “Trans-Imperial Orientation and Knowledge Transfers”, in Deutsches Historisches Museum, *German Colonialism: Fragments Past and Present* (Berlin: Deutsches Historisches Museum, 2017), pp. 16–29.

2 Koponen, *Development for Exploitation*, p. 554.

3 Koponen, *Development for Exploitation*, p. 13. This idea is also shared by Woodruff D. Smith, *The German Colonial Empire* (USA: University of North Caroline Press, 1978), p. x.

4 Koponen, *Development for Exploitation*, p. 10.

5 For a thorough discussion on the relationship between memory and museums see, for example, Kirk A. Denton, *Exhibiting the Past: Historical Memory and the Politics of Museums in Postcolonial China* (USA: University of Hawaii Press, 2014), pp. 11–12; Selma Thomas, “Private Memory in a Public Space: Oral History and Museums”, in Paula Hamilton and Linda Shope (eds), *Oral History and Public Memories* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), p. 88; Ron Everyman, “The Past in the Present: Culture and the Transmission of Memory”, *Acta Sociologica*, Vol. 47, No. 2, (2004), p. 162.

is largely triggered by the presence of the ‘material frameworks of memory,’ which exist in the form of concrete memories or objectivized memory.<sup>6</sup>

German colonial legacies are almost everywhere in Tanzania where many people have stories to tell about them. For instance, the researcher relates his own story. I grew up in Samanga, a small village in Moshi and the street (*mtaa*) was called *Koniko*. I learned from my parents and the many people I interviewed that *Koniko* was a locative word and a corruption of the name of a German settler, *Nicolaus*, who was the former owner of the entire village land and that of the neighbouring villages on which he grew pawpaws for their papain. His residence, a stone building, now serves as the Village Office. Two lines of huge teak trees (*Chlorophora excelsa*) stretching for half a kilometre or so that were grown, according to social memory, by *Nicolaus*’ father, can be seen near this old building.<sup>7</sup> There are similar places adjoining my village which are named after former German and British settlers, like *Koalfredo* (Alfred), *Kobaluweni* (Baldwin) and *Kotenu* (?). As a matter of fact, Moshi, like elsewhere in Tanzania, is a place with German legacy of names, evangelization and of course of colonial violence. Most of its people, according to Hans Eckart Rubesamen, have names of German origin, like Jims and Johns, and numerous names of the Wilhelmian era such as *Friedrich*, *Wilhelm*, or *August*.<sup>8</sup> It would appear that Tanzanians have various stories to tell about the German colonial past which they learned about at school or from their forebears. Their memory narratives range from collective trauma to collective nostalgia, which are both trans-generational. In fact, Germans’ activities in Tanganyika during and after German period left traces of German colonialism which survives in social memory and is embedded in different sites of memory available in different parts of the country.

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<sup>6</sup> For these concepts see Guy Podoler, *Monuments, Memory and Identity: Constructing the Colonial Past in South Korea* (Bern: International Academic Publishers, 2011), pp. 11–15; Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity, New German Critique, No. 65, (1995), p. 128; Alexander Freund and Alistair Thomson, “Introduction: Oral History and Photography”, in *Id., Oral History and Photography*, (USA: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 2; Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, edited, translated and with an introduction by Lewis A. Coser (University of Chicago, Chicago: Press, 1992), pp. 37–51; Ina Blom, “Rethinking Social Memory: Archives, Technology and the Social”, in Ina Blom, Trond Lundemo and Eivind Rossaak (eds), *Memory in Motion: Archives Technology and the Social* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), p. 14.

<sup>7</sup> These were grown in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century as documentary evidence show that teak seeds arrived in Moshi for the first time in 1901. Seen in P.J. Wood, “A Guide to Some German Forestry Plantations in Tanga Region”, *TNR*, No. 66, (1966), p. 203.

<sup>8</sup> Hans Eckart Rubesamen, *Kilimandscharo: Der Berg und Landschaft* (Munchen: Bertelsmann Verlage, 1985), p. 12.

German colonialism, which began in the 1880s, therefore left people with enduring memories in different parts Tanzania, which this study can document.<sup>9</sup> Collective memories of this period vary from place to place depending on the nature of the colonial events experienced in a particular area or the nature of the existing German sites of memory. As already mentioned, collective memories of German rule have passed down to the present generation of Tanzanians as collective trans-generational memories. Unfortunately, although several historical studies in Tanzania have used social memory to reconstruct the German colonial past,<sup>10</sup> none has attempted to use social memory as the object of study, with the result that the oral history of colonialism dominates. This study attempts to strike a balance by focusing on collective memory as the theme of study – an area of research which has received little attention from Tanzanian historians. African historians, observes Stephen Ellis, have tended to ignore contemporary history so much so that “some of the ambitions, fears and aspirations of the 1960s, although still within living memory, now seem so distant as to be barely comprehensible.”<sup>11</sup>

This study approaches the subject of German colonialism from the perspective of memory. It examines the extent to which German colonialism has influenced the politics of memory over time and the different ways in which it is remembered locally, and embedded in different sites of memory, such as buildings, monuments, museums, and other historical and symbolic places. The study underscores the point that German colonial legacies existing in Tanzania, like monuments, buildings and records (archives), are both the national cultural heritage and reminders of the German colonial past.<sup>12</sup> The policy governing the conservation of national heritage in Tanzania has classified cultural heritage as movable or immovable objects, and tangible or intangible objects, which are more than a hundred years old.<sup>13</sup> As a result of this policy and existing laws, a number of German colonial sites created in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century have been declared national monuments, making German colonialism the most remembered colonial period in Tanzania.

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<sup>9</sup> Tanzania Mainland (formerly Tanganyika) formed part of German East Africa. For convenience, Tanzania or Tanganyika will be used throughout this study to refer to Tanzania Mainland.

<sup>10</sup> The famous one is that of Gilbert Clement Kamana Gwassa, *The Outbreak and Development of the Maji Maji War 1905–1907*, (Köln: Rüdiger Köpfe Verlag, 2005).

<sup>11</sup> Stephen Ellis, “Writing Histories of Contemporary Africa”, *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 1, No. 43, (2002), p. 6.

<sup>12</sup> Cultural memory as permanent reminder of the past is explained by Caroline Bithell, “The Past in Music: Introduction”, *Ethnomusicology Forum*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (June 2006), p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> Idara ya Mambo ya Kale, “Sera ya Mali Kale”, Dar es Salaam, 2008, pp. viii–xii.

## A Brief History of German Colonization

The process of German colonization in East Africa started in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Despite the idea of Germany having overseas colonies being promoted by individual writers, colonial enthusiasts and publicists, prior to 1882, “there had been few if any comprehensive colonization programmes and no organised interest groups to shape and channel them.”<sup>14</sup> Campaigns to gain overseas territories started in earnest in 1882, when the German Colonial Association (*Deutscher Kolonialverein*) was formed in Germany to advocate for the acquisition of colonies by the Reich. The proponents of colonial expansion argued that Germany should follow in the footsteps of Britain in securing overseas markets for her industries.<sup>15</sup> The major challenge to achieving this goal was that of convincing Chancellor Otto von Bismarck to accept the idea of overseas expansion.<sup>16</sup> In 1874, Bismarck had waved aside the plea of the Sultan of Zanzibar to place Zanzibar under ‘German protection’.<sup>17</sup> It was not until 22<sup>nd</sup> February 1885 that Bismarck, for reasons still debated by historians, made up his mind and officially approved the acquisition of overseas colonies.<sup>18</sup>

After the unification of Germany in 1871 and following the burgeoning of her industrial sector, overseas expansion became possible and inevitable.<sup>19</sup> The acquisition of colonies, aside from acting as national prestige, was considered by the proponents of colonial policy in Germany to be a panacea for Germany’s industrial and over-population problems.<sup>20</sup> Germany needed new markets and sources of raw materials for her industries and on top of that she wanted to demonstrate that she was a super power with the ability to colonize and civilize the colonized societies in what was described in German as *Kulturmission*.<sup>21</sup> Germany needed

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<sup>14</sup> Koponen, *Development for Exploitation*, p. 62.

<sup>15</sup> John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 89.

<sup>16</sup> Richard V. Pierard, “The German Colonial Society” in Arthur J. Knoll and Lewis H. Gann (eds), *Germany in the Tropics: Essays in German Colonial History* (USA: Greenwood Press, 1987), p. 19.

<sup>17</sup> Daniel T. Rhodes, *Building Colonialism: Archaeology and Urban Space in East Africa* (UK: Bloomsbury, 2014), p. 27.

<sup>18</sup> Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, p. 88; Koponen, *Development for Exploitation*, p. 52.

<sup>19</sup> Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika*, p. 88; Buluda Itandala, “The Anglo-German Partition of East Africa”, *Tanzania Zamani: A Journal of Historical Research and Writing*, Vol. I, No. 1, (1992), p. 8.

<sup>20</sup> Itandala, “The Anglo-German Partition”, p.8; Koponen, *Development for Exploitation*, pp. 54–55.

<sup>21</sup> Wolfgang Fuhrmann, *Screening the German Colonies* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015), p. 3.

overseas colonies as new settlements for her excess population.<sup>22</sup> By 1884, Karl Peters<sup>23</sup> had already founded his *Society for German Colonisation* and had travelled to the interior parts of East Africa via Zanzibar where he concluded treaties with African chiefs.<sup>24</sup> Before the close of 1884, Peters, who was nicknamed the man of blood (*Mkono wa damu*) by the people of East Africa, had concluded so-called bogus treaties with the chiefs of Uziguia, Uluguru and Usagara in present day Tanzania.<sup>25</sup> His return to Germany on 7<sup>th</sup> February 1885 with the twelve bogus treaties he had concluded with East African chiefs won him an imperial charter (*Schutzbrief*) from Bismarck, who had formerly refused to accept the colonial policy.<sup>26</sup> Peters' imperial charter or the Imperial Letter of Protection and the fact that he had merged his association with the German Colonial Association in 1887 to form the German Colonial Society (*Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft*) accelerated the process of colonizing East Africa.<sup>27</sup> The imperial charter endorsed colonization of the areas mentioned above and declared German spheres of influence by the bogus treaties.<sup>28</sup> This endorsement was followed by the effective control of the areas mentioned in Peters' treaties, which entailed the establishment of military stations to enforce law and order and to suppress African resistance. At the same time treaty-making expeditions went further into those areas not yet covered by the bogus treaties. Following a series of bilateral agreements between Germany and Britain, German East Africa (*Deutsch Ostafrika*) was founded.<sup>29</sup> This was a vast colony, "an area of around one million square kilometres", covering the present-day Tanzania Mainland, Rwanda and Burundi.<sup>30</sup>

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22 Smith, *The German Colonial Empire*, p. 4.

23 He later changed his first name to 'Carl'. Seen in Koponen, *Development for Development*, p. 46.

24 G.C.K. Gwassa, "The German Intervention and African Resistance in Tanzania", in I.N. Kimambo and A.J. Temu's, *A History of Tanzania* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969), p. 110; Iliffe, "Tanganyika Under German Rule", p. 98.

25 Gwassa, "The German Intervention", pp. 98–99.

26 Gwassa, "The German Intervention", p. 100.

27 Gwassa, "The German Intervention", pp. 100–101; Pierard, "The German Colonial Society", p. 19.

28 Koponen, *Development for Exploitation*, p. 69.

29 David Arnold, "External Factors in the Partition of East Africa", in Kaniki (ed), *Tanzania under Colonial Rule* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1980), pp. 74–83.

30 Ulrike Lindner, "Trans-Imperial Orientation and Knowledge Transfers", in Deutsches Historisches Museum, *German Colonialism: Fragments Past and Present* (Berlin: Deutsches Historisches Museum, 2017), p. 22.

## Literature and Definition of Basic Concepts

Memory is now studied in the fields of history, political science, anthropology, sociology, psychology, and philosophy.<sup>31</sup> Memory as a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary field of study came about in the western world with the commemoration of the Holocaust and the World Wars during the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>32</sup> As a new and cross-cutting area of study, memory became the focus of debates among scholars, and historians are no exception. At the heart of these debates is a discussion on the nature of collective memory and its relation to formal history, oral history, and identity. These debates are reviewed briefly but is imperative to define some basic concepts of memory, which are relevant to this study. Ludmila Isurin cautioned, “the whole concept of collective memory remains a notion that is widely invoked, yet little understood, with numerous overlapping, conflicting, or often unrelated definitions.”<sup>33</sup>

Because the idea of memory history is new, some important concepts need to be defined for clarity. Collective memory, which is the subject of this study, is credited to Maurice Halbwachs (1877–1945), a French sociologist who was mentored by Emile Durkeim.<sup>34</sup> Halbwachs defined collective memory as “a reconstruction of the past in the light of the present.”<sup>35</sup> According to Halbwachs, individual memory “is part or an aspect of group memory” or what Jeffrey K.Olick calls “socially framed

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<sup>31</sup> Susanna Radstone, “Working with Memory: An Introduction” in Id., (ed), *Memory and Methodology*, (United Kingdom: Berg, 2000), p. 1; Nigel C. Hunt, *Memory, War and Trauma*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) p. 98; Ludmila Isurin, *Collective Remembering: Memory in the World and in the Mind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 13.

<sup>32</sup> Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (Canada: Random House, 1991), p. 3. Radstone, “Working with Memory”, pp. 2–5; T.G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper, “The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration: Contexts, Structures and Dynamics” in Timothy G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper (eds), *Commemorating War* (New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 3–6; Wulf Kansteiner, “Losing the War, Winning the Memory Battle: The Legacy of Nazism, World War II, and the Holocaust in the Federal Republic of Germany”, in Richard Ned Lebow, Wulf Kansteiner and Claudio Fogu (eds), *The Politics of Memory in Postwar Europe*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), pp. 101–139; Richard Werbner, “Smoke from the Barrel of a Gun”, in Id., *Memory and the Post-colony*, (London: Zed Books, 1998), pp. 71–73.

<sup>33</sup> Wertsch quoted in Ludmila Isurin, *Collective Remembering*, p. 13.

<sup>34</sup> Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, p. 1 and p. 24.

<sup>35</sup> Halbwachs as cited by David Rieff, *In praise of Forgetting: Historical Memory and Its Ironies* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2016), p. 23.

individual memories.”<sup>36</sup> In other words, collective memory refers to “the joint memories held by a community about the past” or “a socially articulated and socially maintained reality of the past.”<sup>37</sup> Several other words are used by scholars to refer to this concept and are often used interchangeably. These, according to Isurin, are social memory, cultural memory, public memory, bodily memory and historical consciousness.<sup>38</sup> They all refer to collective memory. As a “widely shared image of the past,” collective memory is rooted in “continuous negotiation between the past and present.”<sup>39</sup> According to Halbwachs, memories are socially constructed and continuously reproduced.<sup>40</sup>

There are two broad types of collective memories, namely, communicative and cultural memory.<sup>41</sup> Communicative memory refers to “everyday communications” that take place in society.<sup>42</sup> Cultural memory is a concretized memory of the remote past, which is for the most part associated with rituals.<sup>43</sup> This type of memory is sometimes referred to as *figures of memory*, and consists of texts, rites and monuments.<sup>44</sup> According to Klaus S. Schreiner, cultural memories can be classified as *functional memories*, because they involve rituals, ceremonies and commemorations, or as *topographical memories* in the sense that they are represented by monuments, cemeteries and museums.<sup>45</sup> The topographical memories, otherwise called sites of memory, commemorative landscapes or places of memory, are represented by halls, parks, statues, land, houses and tombs.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, collective memory involves two practices, which are ‘inscribing practices’ and

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<sup>36</sup> Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, p. 53; Jeffrey K. Olick, “From Collective Memory: The Two Cultures”, in J.K. Olick, V. Vinitzky-Seroussi and D. Levy, *The Collective Memory Reader* (Madison: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 225.

<sup>37</sup> Podoler, *Monuments, Memory and Identity*, p. 13; Hunt, *Memory, War and Trauma*, p. 97.

<sup>38</sup> Isurin, *Collective Remembering*, p. 13. For thorough discussion on the concept of historical consciousness see Straub, “Telling Stories”, pp. 51–54.

<sup>39</sup> Podoler, *Monuments*, p. 13; Patrick Hutton, “Recent Scholarship on Memory History: The History Teacher”, Vol. 33, No. 4, (August 2000), p. 537.

<sup>40</sup> Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, p. 22 and p. 47.

<sup>41</sup> Assmann and Czaplicka, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity”, p. 126.

<sup>42</sup> Assmann and Czaplicka, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity”, p. 127.

<sup>43</sup> Bithell, “The Past in Music”, p. 6.

<sup>44</sup> Assmann and Czaplicka, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity”, p. 129.

<sup>45</sup> Klaus H. Schreiner, “Lubang Buaya: Histories of Trauma and Sites of Memory”, in Mary S. Zurbuchen (ed), *Beginning to Remember: The Past in the Indonesian Present* (USA: University of Washington Press, 2005) p. 272.

<sup>46</sup> Podoler, *Monuments*, p. 11; Peter Carrier, “Places, Politics and Archiving of Contemporary Memory in Pierre Nora’s *Les Lieux de mémoire*”, in Sasannah Radstone (ed), *Memory and Methodology* (United Kingdom: Berg, 2000), pp. 40–47; Jennifer Cole, “The Work of Memory in Madagascar”, *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 25, No. 4, (Nov. 1998), p. 614.

‘incorporating practices’.<sup>47</sup> Whereas the former refers to all devices used for storing and retrieving information, the latter refers to “the messages imported by current bodily activity” through oral memory.<sup>48</sup>

Memory as a subject of study started with the publication of *Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (*The Collective Memory*) by Maurice Halbwachs, whose work focused on the nature of collective memory and its relation to individual and group identity.<sup>49</sup> Historians challenged Halbwachs who discredited history as being incompatible with memory.<sup>50</sup> “History,” Halbwachs wrote metaphorically, “. . . resembles a crowded cemetery where room must constantly be made for new tombstones.”<sup>51</sup> He further argued that “history begins where social or collective memory stops operating” [and] “there is only one objective history, but many collective memories.”<sup>52</sup> Isurin elaborated on this metaphor by saying “. . . not every tombstone will enter the collective memory of a group, neither will it always enter such memory in its original shape and meaning.”<sup>53</sup>

Scholars like Nigel C. Hunt, Paula Hamilton and Carl Becker challenged Halbwachs’ conceptualization of history. Memory, they thought, was the core subject of history in ancient Greece when *Mnemosyne* was the goddess of memory.<sup>54</sup> With the development of literacy, the production of historical knowledge, according to Hunt, changed from being an activity of memorizing without writing to an activity of ‘re-evaluating the past’ by writing.<sup>55</sup> Becker calls this transformation “the artificial extension of the social memory.”<sup>56</sup> To these scholars, therefore, the separation of memory and history did not mean that memory had completely lost its influence on history as a discipline. Rather they influenced each other as, for example, when

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<sup>47</sup> Bithell, “The Past in Music”, p. 6.

<sup>48</sup> Bithell, “The Past in Music”, p.6. More examples of incorporated memories can be seen in Tim Benton and Clementine Cecil, “Heritage and Public Memory”, in Tim Benton (ed), *Understanding Heritage and Memory* (UK: Manchester University Press, 2010), pp. 7–10.

<sup>49</sup> Paula Hamilton and Linda Shopes, “Introduction: Building Partnerships between Oral History and Memory Studies”, in Id., *Oral History and Public Memories*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), p. x.

<sup>50</sup> Isurin, *Collective Remembering*, p. 15.

<sup>51</sup> Halbwachs as cited by Isurin, *Collective Remembering*, p. 14.

<sup>52</sup> Hunt, *Memory War and Trauma*, p. 99. According to Halbwachs’ own words as translated by Lewis A. Coser, ‘there are as many collective memories as there are groups and institutions in a society.’ See, for example, Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, p. 22.

<sup>53</sup> Isurin, *Collective Remembering*, p. 14.

<sup>54</sup> Radstone, “Working with Memory”, p. 1.

<sup>55</sup> Hunt, *Memory War and Trauma*, p. 98.

<sup>56</sup> C. Becker, “From Everyman His Own Historian”, in J.K. Olick, V. Vinitzky-Seroussi and D. Levy, *The Collective Memory Reader* (Madison: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 122.

people are able to remember things that historians have forgotten.<sup>57</sup> The role of history, according to Hamilton, is either to “correct” or “obliterate” memory.<sup>58</sup> Based on this symbiotic relationship between memory and history, Leigh Rainford, Renee C. Romane and Donatien Dibwe dia Mwembu have argued that memory is not merely a source of historical information, but is also a history in itself.<sup>59</sup> This point is elaborated on by Carrier, who points out that “the memories transcribed by oral historians [do] not simply constitute the record of unheard histories”, but “highly mediate the nature of memory” with its own complexities.<sup>60</sup> Hunt summarizes the differences between history and memory in the following words:

Unlike history, memory is a set of recollections, repetitions and recapitulations that are socially, morally or politically used for a group or community, while history is a chronological record of significant events affecting a nation or an institution. Whereas history is generated by an individual, is unequivocal and depends on systematic evidence, collective memory is generated by the group, is multi-vocal and is responsive to the social framework in which it is created.<sup>61</sup>

According to Jürgen Straub, “historical narratives formulated from the perspective of the present are a unique articulation of a continuity that creates and maintains coherence [which] is perceived as a meaning-structured unity of events, occurrences and acts.”<sup>62</sup> This is what Aleida Assmann and Linda Short call *plasticity of memory*.<sup>63</sup> Collective memory as ‘the past seen in the eyes of the present’ is cumulative and presentist in character.<sup>64</sup> However much collective remembrance might contradict historical facts, it does not altogether obliterate important historical events. Halbwachs argues in relation to this point that, although memory reinvents the past to meet current social needs, “successive epochs are being kept

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57 Paula Hamilton, “The Knife Edge: Debates about Memory and History”, in Kate Davian-Smith and Paula Hamilton (eds), *Memory and History in Twentieth-Century Australia*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 12.

58 Hamilton, “The Knife Edge”, p. 10.

59 Donatien Dibwe dia Mwembu, “History and Memory”, in John Edward Philips’, *Writing African History* (USA: University of Rochester Press, 2005), p. 440; Renee C Romano and Leigh Raiford (eds), *Rosa Parks Highway: The Civil Rights Movement in American Memory*, (Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 2006), pp. xiii–xiv.

60 Carrier, “Places, Politics and Archiving of Contemporary Memory”, p. 11.

61 Hunt, *Memory War and Trauma*, pp. 98–99.

62 Jürgen Straub, “Telling Stories, Making History: Toward a Narrative Psychology of the Historical Construction of Meaning”, in Jürgen Straub (ed), *Narration, Identity and Historical Consciousness*, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005), p. 64.

63 Aleida Assmann and Linda Short, “Memory and Political Change: Introduction”, in Id., *Memory and Political Change* (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p. 3.

64 Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, pp. 26–27.

alive through common code and a common symbolic canon even amidst contemporary revisions.”<sup>65</sup> Unlike history, collective remembrance does not take place for its own sake, but “is generally considered valuable in so far as it is of service to society.”<sup>66</sup>

Scholars have also used the presentist nature of memory to explain the dichotomy between history and memory.<sup>67</sup> The main practice involved in memory history, according to Pierre Nora for example, is that of making “the present the primary reference to open inquiry into the myriad ways in which the national heritage had once been imagined.”<sup>68</sup> “In surveying the past from the present vantage point,” Hutton argues, “the historian looks out upon realms of memory, each of which may be drawn into the present at will. History becomes an art of locating these memories.”<sup>69</sup> Memory as understood by Nora is not used to recover the past as it really was but is used as an object of study. As Peter Burke puts it, “historians are concerned, or should be concerned, with memory as a historical phenomenon, with what might be called the *social history of remembering*.”<sup>70</sup> The main task of historians, to use Hutton’s words, is “to relocate narratives within their own mnemonic schemes.”<sup>71</sup> Hutton’s interpretation of memory history dismisses altogether the presentist interpretation of memory history. Generally speaking, memory, like history, enhances a dialogue between the present and the past.<sup>72</sup>

The distinction between oral history and memory history is another area which has sparked debates in recent years. Is oral and memory opposed to each other or linked to each other? The answer to this question lies in the fact that oral history uses memory to recover the past and memory history uses oral history as

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65 Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, pp. 26–27.

66 Rieff, *In praise of Forgetting*, p. 22. For this argument see also Bernard Eric Jensen, “Usable Pasts: Comparing Approaches to Popular and Public History”, in Paul Ashton and Hilda Kean (eds), *People and their Pasts: Public History Today* (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 50.

67 Hunt, *Memory War and Trauma*, p. 99.

68 Pierre Nora as quoted by: Patrick Hutton, “Recent Scholarship on Memory History”, *The History Teacher*, Vol. 33, No. 4, (Aug. 2000), p. 38.

69 Hutton, “Recent Scholarship”, p. 39.

70 Peter Burke, “From History of Social Memory” in Jeffrey K. Olick, Vered Vinitzky-Seroussi and Daniel Levy (eds), *The Collective Memory Reader*, (Madison: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 189.

71 Hutton, “Recent Scholarship”, p. 538.

72 John Edward Philips, “What is African History?”, in John Edward Philips’, *Writing African History*, (USA: University of Rochester Press, 2005), p. 33.

its object of study.<sup>73</sup> Oral history relies exclusively on individual memory and seeks to achieve objectivity by cross-checking individual oral accounts, but memory history depends solely on collective memory and is not aimed at achieving objectivity.<sup>74</sup> Collective memory as opposed to individual memory is the main subject matter of memory history.<sup>75</sup> Memory history generally focuses on “popular meaning of the past” by challenging the notion of a single past or “one version of the past.”<sup>76</sup>

## Memory History in Africa

Memory history as a discipline in Africa is by and large in its infancy. B. Jewssiewicki and V.Y. Mudimbe observe that “while the current popular notions of recollection and collective memory are more ambiguous concepts than oral tradition, they also represent rich, as yet untapped, resources for African societies.”<sup>77</sup> This unutilized potential area of African history calls for a rigorous effort to document African collective recollections of the colonial past. In his Professorial Inaugural Lecture, Professor Isaria N. Kimambo argued: “the question of research priorities needs to be looked into anew so that neglected areas can receive attention. It is not possible to write valid history of the masses if their participation in history remains unknown.”<sup>78</sup> Africa needs a history which “discover[s] the place and meaning of the past in the individual and collective thoughts of Africans.”<sup>79</sup> As the Africanist historians stressed: “. . . the relevance of the past is to be found in the way in which it is used to explain

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<sup>73</sup> Carrier, “Places, Politics and Archiving of Contemporary Memory”, p. 43; Hamilton and Shopes, “Introduction”, pp. viii–ix; Assmann and Czaplicka, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity”, p. 126.

<sup>74</sup> Hamilton and Shopes, “Introduction”, pp.viii–ix; Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1985), pp. 12–13.

<sup>75</sup> Isurin, *Collective Remembering*, pp. 10–13.

<sup>76</sup> Esperanza Brizuela-Garcia, *African Historians: New Sources and New Techniques for Studying African Pasts* (New Jersey: Person Education, Inc, 2012), p. 183; Mary S. Zurbachen, “Introduction: Historical Memory in Contemporary Indonesia” in Id., *Beginning to Remember: The Past in the Indonesian Present* (USA: University of Washington Press, 2005), p. 25.

<sup>77</sup> Cited in B. Jewssiewicki and V.Y. Mudimbe, “Africans’ Memories and Contemporary History of Africa,” in V.Y. Mudimbe and B. Jewssiewicki (eds), *History Making in Africa*, (USA: Wesleyan University, 1993), p. 4.

<sup>78</sup> I.N. Kimambo, *Three Decades of Production of Historical Knowledge at Dar es Salaam* (Dar es Salaam University Press, 1993), p. 18.

<sup>79</sup> Roy Richard Grinker and Christopher B. Steiner (eds), *Perspectives on Africa: A Reader in Culture, History and Representation* (USA: Blackwell Publishers, 1997), pp. xxiv–xxv.

the present.”<sup>80</sup> The fact that the colonial past continues to influence African societies today reinforces the relevance of memory history in African historical scholarship. Tim Woods has written thus:

Colonialism for Africans is not an event encapsulated in the past but it is a history which is essentially *not over*, a history whose repercussions are not only omnipresent in all cultural activities but whose traumatic consequences are still actively evolving in today’s political, historical, cultural and artistic scenes.<sup>81</sup>

Memories of imperialism are still fresh in Africans’ minds, which is reinforced by the fact that colonial legacies in Africa are widespread.<sup>82</sup> As a result, some projects have been launched in Africa to promote studies on collective memories, on top of the awards that have been offered to individual scholars who are interested in memory history. In 1996, for example, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was formed in South Africa to promote memory studies.<sup>83</sup> It focused essentially on promoting research projects on collective memories of Apartheid, the Maji Maji War and World War II, with the main objective of promoting “remembrance, reconciliation and historical production.”<sup>84</sup> About 22,000 narratives of the victims of Apartheid were collected in South Africa and compiled in a report which was submitted to the South African government in 1998.<sup>85</sup> This study lacks evidence of a similar exercise done in relation to Maji Maji in Tanzania.

Studies on memory history in sub-Saharan Africa have focused on specific countries and issues. There are studies specializing in the memories of colonial violence, such as the Nama and Herero War of Namibia, Apartheid in South Africa, the Mau Mau War in Kenya, the Liberian War of Liberation and

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<sup>80</sup> See, for example, Arnold Temu and Bonaventure Swai, *Historians and Africanist History: A Critique* (London: Zed Press, 1981), p. 9.

<sup>81</sup> Tim Woods, *African Pasts: Memory and History in African Literatures* (UK: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 1.

<sup>82</sup> Dominick Geppert and Frank Lorenz Müller, “Beyond National Memory: Nora’s Lieux de Mémoire across an Imperial World” in Id., *Sites of Imperial Memory: Commemorating Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), p. 1.

<sup>83</sup> Anneke Joubert, “History by Word of Mouth: Linking Past and Present through Oral Memory”, in Mamadou Diawara, Bernard Lategan and Jorn Rusen (eds), *History Memory in Africa: Dealing with the Past, Reaching for the Future in an Intercultural Context* (USA: Berghahn Books, 2010), p. 42.

<sup>84</sup> Joubert, *History by Word of Mouth*, p. 42.

<sup>85</sup> Louise Bethlehen, “Now that all is said and done: Reflections on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa”, in Efrat Ben-Ze’ev, Ruth Guinio and Jay Winter (eds), *Shadows of War: A Social History of Silence in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 153.

so forth.<sup>86</sup> These studies highlight the trans-generational collective trauma relating to various forms of colonial violence and the mounting pressure for reconciliation, reparation, and restitution, which resulted from it. There are also memory studies addressing issues other than colonial violence, which focus on different social, economic, and political aspects.<sup>87</sup>

Memory studies in sub-Saharan Africa have been done in the fields of the social sciences and humanities, with anthropology taking the lead. In 1998, a book edited by Richard Werbner, *Memory and the Post colony*, came out as an anthropological

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<sup>86</sup> Most of these are either in form of book chapters or journal articles. See, for example, Jürgen Zimmerer, "Kolonialismus und Kollektive Identität: Erinnerungsorte der deutschen Kolonialgeschichte", in Id., *Kein Platz an der Sonne: Erinnerungsorte der deutschen Kolonialgeschichte*. (Frankfurt: Campus Verlage, 2013), pp. 9–10; Birthe Kundrus, "From the Herero to the Holocaust?: Some Remarks on the Current Debate", *African Spectrum*, Vol. 40, No. 2, (2005), pp. 299–300; Leonard Jamfa, "Germany Faces Colonial History in Namibia: A very Ambiguous I am Sorry", in Mark Gibney (et al), *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), pp. 202–203; Reinhart Kößler, *Namibia and Germany: Negotiating the Past*, (Windhoek: University of Namibia Press, 2015), pp. 231–272; Raphaëlle Branche and Jim House, "Silences on State Violence during the Algerian War of Independence: France and Algeria, 1962–2007", in Ruth Guinio and Jay Winter (eds), *Shadows of War: A Social History of Silence in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 115–137; Winfried Speitkamp, "Forgive and Forget: The Mau Mau Uprising in Kenyan Collective Memory", in Dominick Geppert and Frank Lorenz Müller, *Sites of Imperial Memory: Commemorating Colonial Rule in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 207–223; Ruth Guinio, "African Silences: Negotiating the Story of France's Colonial Soldiers, 1914–2009" in Ruth Guinio and Jay Winter (eds), *Shadows of War: A Social History of Silence in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 138–152; Jaspal K. Singh and Rajendra Chetty (eds), *Trauma, Resistance, Reconstruction in Post-1994 South African Writing* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2010), pp. 1–7; Ewald Mengel, Michela Borzaga and Karin Orantes, *Trauma, Memory and Narrative in South Africa* (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi B.V, 2010), pp. vii–xiii; Hans Erik Stolten, *History Making and Present Day Politics: The Meaning of Collective Memory in South Africa* (Stockholm: Nordic African Institute, 2007); Henning Melber, "Namibia, Land of the Brave": Selective Memories on War and Violence within Nation Building", in Abbink, Jde Bruijn, M and van Walraven, K, *Rethinking Resistance: Revolt and Violence in African Memory*, (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p. 321. See also the chapters in Abbink, Jde Bruijn, M and van Walraven, K, *Rethinking Resistance: Revolt and Violence in African Memory*, (Leiden: Brill, 2003). A thorough discussion on how trauma of colonial violence is artistically represented is provided by Woods, *African Pasts*, pp. 1–7; An important book on collective memories of violence with chapters written by scholars from different countries of Africa is edited by Preben Kaarsholm, *Violence, Political Culture and Development in Africa* (Oxford: James Currey, 2006).

<sup>87</sup> A. Anne Pitcher, "Forgetting from Above and Memory from Below: Strategies of Legitimation and Struggle in Post-socialist Mozambique", *AFRICA*, Vol. 76, No. 1, (2006), pp. 88–109; Wale Adebani, "Death, National Memory and the Social Construction of Heroism", *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 49, No. 3, (2008), pp. 419–148.

study on colonial memories in Africa. This book conceptualizes the nature of African memories of colonialism. Werbner points out that memory in Africa follows a particular pattern of development: “it lives, gets realized or ruptured, is contextualized, becomes buried, repressed or avoided, has its effects, and is itself more or less transformed.”<sup>88</sup> Werbner classifies African collective memories as unofficial and official memorialism, which fall into two broad categories of popular and state memories, respectively. State memories or “the post-colonial political culture,” as Henning Melber calls it, is used in most African countries to achieve nation-building and to glorify national heroes.<sup>89</sup> This widespread political culture in Africa accounts for a memory crisis, which Werbner calls “*popular counter-memorialism*.”<sup>90</sup> This crisis occurs when the public decides to “commemorate what the state deliberately suppresses in the buried memory.”<sup>91</sup>

A study on memories of German colonialism by Dennis Laumann, *Remembering the Germans in Ghana*, was done in Ghana. Published in 2018, Laumann’s book examines how the Germans are remembered in present day central Volta Region in Ghana, which was under German colonial rule. Laumann argues that “memories of the Germans in the central Volta Region of Ghana are vivid and routinely invoked in oral history.”<sup>92</sup> Although Laumann is bent on reconstructing oral history of the German colonial past, his book sheds light on how the Germans are remembered in their former colonies in Africa. Interviews done in Moshi have enabled this study to arrive at a similar argument to that of Laumann that German colonialism lives on in oral memory.

Several studies in Africa have indicated that collective memories of colonialism abound in nostalgia. Ron Emoff, Benjamin Rubbers and Sean Field have, in their separate journal articles, underscored the point that post-colonial memories of colonialism in their areas of study feature nostalgia.<sup>93</sup> Emoff reports that nostalgia for colonial music, *phantom nostalgia*, is “a unique performed sense of the past” in Madagascar.<sup>94</sup> Rubbers has also written about nostalgia for Belgian

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<sup>88</sup> Richard Werbner, “Beyond Oblivion: Confronting Memory Crisis”, in Id., *Memory and the Post-colony*, (London: Zed Books, 1998), p. 2.

<sup>89</sup> Werbner, “Beyond Oblivion”, p. 8; Melber, “Namibia, Land of the Brave”, p. 321.

<sup>90</sup> Werbner, “Beyond Oblivion”, p.321.

<sup>91</sup> Werbner, “Beyond Oblivion”, p.321.

<sup>92</sup> Dennis Laumann, *Remembering the Germans in Ghana* (New York: Young Publishing, 2018), p. 2.

<sup>93</sup> See, for example, Ron Ernoff, “Phantom Nostalgia and Recollecting (from) the Colonial Past in Tamatave, Madagascar”, *Journal of Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 46. No. 2, (2002), pp. 265–274; Benjamin Rubbers, “The Story of a Tragedy: How People of Katanga Interpret the Post-Colonial History of Congo,” *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 2, (2009), pp. 267–271.

<sup>94</sup> Emoff, “Phantom Nostalgia”, pp. 265–274.

colonial rule among the Congolese.<sup>95</sup> In Cape Town, Field talks of *memories of solace* among the Africans who were the victims of apartheid.<sup>96</sup> According to Werbner, the colonial legacy in Africa “is contested, sometimes with nostalgia for an imaginary colonial or pre-colonial sociality, in the face of deepening social inequality across the continent.”<sup>97</sup>

Filip De Boeck and Rijk van Dijk attempted to classify colonial nostalgia in Africa. Van Dijk mentions two forms of nostalgia, namely, synthetic and substantive. With synthetic nostalgia, the past is gone forever; it is dead, and has no connection with the present.<sup>98</sup> Substantive nostalgia is the opposite, in that it associates the present with the past. Boeck defines colonial nostalgia as follows:

is much about forgetting as it is about remembering, omitting certain facts of colonialism – such as the abusive power – while foregrounding others, actively creating an imagined representation of the past. In this sense, nostalgia itself is symptomatic of memory crisis where memory begins when experience itself is irretrievably gone.<sup>99</sup>

Collective remembrance of the above nature takes place when, for example, a particular government seeks legitimacy in “glorifying its heroic past.”<sup>100</sup> A vivid example of substantive nostalgia is seen in Jennifer Cole’s journal article, which discusses how collective memories of colonialism in Africa can be invoked by current social and political events, such as elections.<sup>101</sup> Cole propounds what she calls the *Betsimisaraka theory* of memory, which is premised on the idea that “to remember is to draw a connection or link” between those who remember and the events that are remembered.<sup>102</sup>

The field of memory history in Tanzania is virtually lacking. As already mentioned, historical studies in Tanzania are bent on using oral sources as their

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<sup>95</sup> Rubbers, “The Story of a Tragedy”, pp. 267–271.

<sup>96</sup> Sean Field, “Imagining Communities: Memory, Loss, and Resilience in Post-Apartheid Cape Town”, in Paula Hamilton and Linda Shakes, *Oral History and Public Memories* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), pp. 110–116.

<sup>97</sup> Richard Werbner, “Introduction: Multiple Identities, Plural Arenas”, in Richard Werbner and Terence Ranger, *Postcolonial Identities in Africa* (London: Zed Books Ltd, 1996), pp. 3–4. Similar argument is provided Laumann, *Remembering the Germans in Ghana*, p. 2; Mwembu, “History and Memory”, p. 459.

<sup>98</sup> Rijk van Dijk, “Pentecostalism, Cultural Memory and the State: Contested Representations of Time in Postcolonial Malawi”, in Richard Werbner (ed), *Memory and the Post – colony*, (London: Zed Books, 1998), pp. 155–156.

<sup>99</sup> Filip De Boeck, “Beyond the Grave: History, Memory and Death in Postcolonial Congo/Zaire”, in Richard Werbner (ed), *Memory and the Post-colony* (London: Zed Books, 1998), p. 33.

<sup>100</sup> Van Dijk, “Pentecostalism”, p. 156.

<sup>101</sup> Cole, “The Work of Memory in Madagascar”, p. 616.

<sup>102</sup> Cole, “The Work of Memory in Madagascar”, p.616.

methodology. The few studies there are, however, do not address the collective memory of colonialism in its broader context. Some focus on colonial poetic accounts, which were written by Africans during the German colonial period, and others are by current scholars,<sup>103</sup> which cover war stories under German colonial rule. The recent artistic works on German colonial history depict, according to Vincensia Shule, “the exploitative, violent and brutal nature of that history.”<sup>104</sup> A few other studies, which are limited thematically and historically, have paid attention to post-colonial memories but have tended to concentrate on German legacies and the memories of individuals.<sup>105</sup> In attempting to bridge this apparent research gap, this study not only analyses how German colonialism features in social memory and is reflected in cultural memory, but also how its legacy influenced the imperial politics of commemoration during the inter-war period. The study shows that there was a marked departure from British memory politics, which manipulated memories of the Maji Maji War and suppressed German imperial symbols in Tanzania in favour of African politics of the 1950s, which invoked memories of the Maji Maji War in support of independence (*Uhuru*) in the United Nations.

The study adopts Michael Rothberg’s multi-directional approach, according to which “memory is fundamentally and structurally multi-directional,” hence “open to different possibilities.”<sup>106</sup> Rothberg believes in the idea of *relativazation* of

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<sup>103</sup> Prominent among these are: Jose Arturo Saavedra Casco, *Utenzi, War Poems and the German Conquest of East Africa: Swahili Poetry as Historical Source*, (Eritrea: Africa World Press, 2007), p. 1; Gudrun Miehe, Katrin Bromber, Said Khamis and Ralf Großerhöde (eds), *Kala Shairi: German East Africa in Swahili Poems* (Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2002); Hemedi bin Abdallah bin Said elbuhriy “Utenzi wa Vita vya Wadachi Kutamalaki Mrima: The German Conquest of the Swahili Coast”, with translation and notes by J.W.T. Allen, *East African Swahili Committee Journal*, No. 25, (1995); Dark Götsche, *Remembering Africa: The Rediscovery of Colonialism in Contemporary German Literature* (USA: Camden House, 2013), pp. 116–164.

<sup>104</sup> Vicensia Shule, “Navigating through German Colonial Past in Tanzania through Artistic Productions”, *Tanzania Zamani: The Journal of Historical Research and Writing*, Vol. X, No. 2, (2018), p. 113.

<sup>105</sup> Marie Aude Fouerere, *Remembering Nyerere in Tanzania: History Memory Legacy* (Dar es Salaam: Mkukina Nyota, 2015)); E.S. Etieno Odhiambo, “The Landscapes of Memory in Twentieth-Century Africa”, in Gregory H. Maddox and James Giblin, “In Search of Nation: Histories of Authorities and Dissidence in Tanzania” (Oxford: James Currey Ltd, 2005), pp. 114–125; Christof Hamman und Alexander Hanold, “Der Kilimandscharo”, in Jürgen Zimmerer (ed), *Kein Platz an der Sonne: Errinnerungsorte der deutschen Kolonialgeschichte* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlage, 2013), pp. 81–84; Leander Schneider, “Colonial Legacies and Post-Colonial Authoritarianism in Tanzania: Connects and Disconnects”, *Africa Studies Review*, Vol. 49 No. 1, (2006), pp. 93–113.

<sup>106</sup> Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory* (California: Stanford University Press, 2009), p. 12.

memory, by which memory is essentially multi-dimensional.<sup>107</sup> According to Rothberg, memory “is not a zero-sum game” but competitive.<sup>108</sup> Rothberg’s approach corresponds to Lutz Niethammer’s life cycle approach, by which collective remembrance “involves an interpretive attempt to grasp the multiplicity of experience and individuals’ attempt to order and make sense of their everyday lives.”<sup>109</sup> By using Rothberg and Niethammer’s theoretical approach to memory history this study intends to achieve what Field calls “open-ended representation of [colonial] memories.”<sup>110</sup> According to Reinhart Kößler, African colonial memories manifest themselves in four forms: assertion, commemoration, denial and amnesia.<sup>111</sup> Assertion refers to a “proactive approach that advocates public recognition of memory contents” and commemoration “refers to a potentially more inward-looking form of jointly and systematically producing memory.”<sup>112</sup> Denial refers to total disregard of the past or suppression of memories, unlike amnesia, which is “lack of awareness or outright forgetting.”<sup>113</sup>

## Areas of the Study

As already mentioned, German colonial memories in Tanzania vary from place to place depending on two major factors. First, the experience of German colonialism was not similar all over Tanzania and, second, the nature of German colonial legacy varies from one area to another. Therefore, it is logical that no single study can address German collective memories in all places in Tanzania, because it is so large (See Map 1 below), and especially when many interviews have to be conducted, which requires a lot of time and resources. Concentrating on one area, say a single region, is also likely to counteract the unbalanced memory history of German colonialism. Therefore, this study focused on three major areas of

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<sup>107</sup> Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory*, p.12.

<sup>108</sup> Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory*, pp. 9–11.

<sup>109</sup> Lutz Niethammer, *Memory and History: Essays in Contemporary History*, (Berlin: Peterlang, 2012), p. 79.

<sup>110</sup> Field, “Imagining Communities”, p. 108.

<sup>111</sup> Kößler, *Namibia and Germany*, p. 5.

<sup>112</sup> Kößler, *Namibia and Germany*, p. 5.

<sup>113</sup> Kößler, *Namibia and Germany*, pp. 5–6. According to David W. Blight, “deflections and erosions, careful remembering and necessary forging, and embattled and irreconcilable versions of experience are all stuff of historical memory.” Cited in David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (USA: The Belknap Press, 2001), p. 5.

Tanzania mainland, namely, Dar es Salaam, Moshi-Rural District<sup>114</sup> and Songea for the following three reasons.

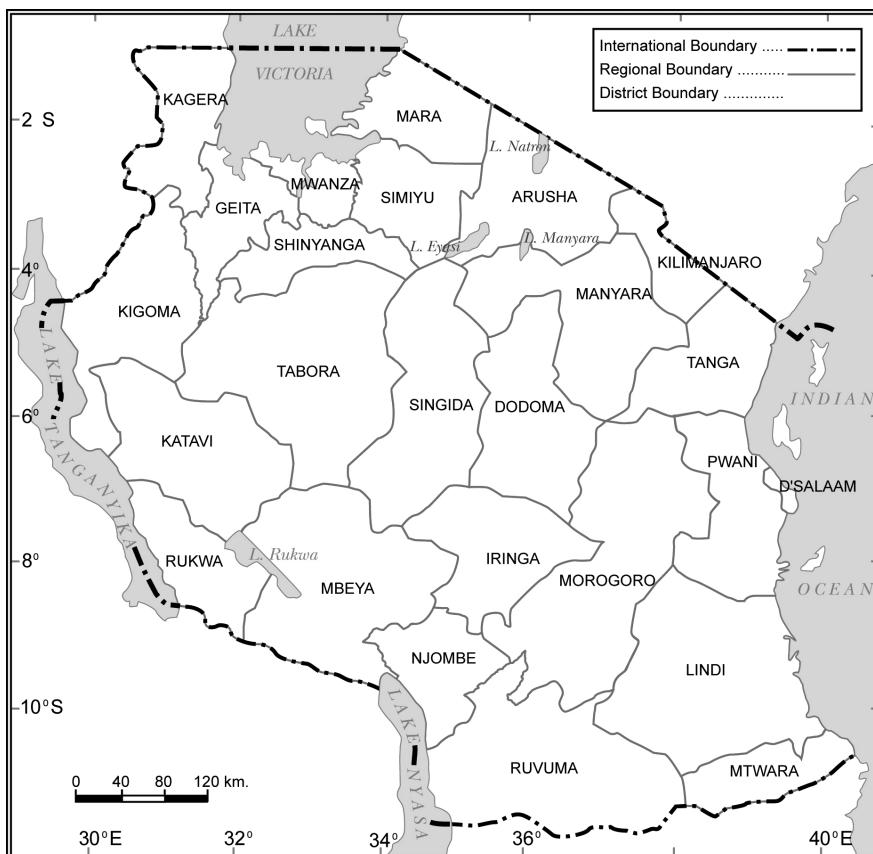
First, Dar es Salaam, which was the administrative centre for the Germans and afterwards the British, was the most developed township in colonial Tanganyika. Its architectural heritage and colonial monuments form a unique collection of German cultural sites of memory worth studying. Second, German evangelical activities and the experience of war in Moshi had a long-lasting impact on the Chagga community, which is where nostalgia for German colonialism and traumatic memories of German colonial violence co-exist. Third, post-colonial commemoration of anti-colonial heroes and heroines and the erection of monuments were widely experienced in Songea, which was hard hit by the Maji Maji War. By focusing on the collective memories of the Maji Maji War in Songea, this study is able to coherently document the memory history of colonial violence in Tanzania. The study, therefore, not only takes a holistic approach to memory history of German colonialism in Tanzania, but it also covers a reasonable and manageable geographical scope. However, two chapters of this study do not address specific regional memories as those outlined here, but they deal with memory issues which transcend regional boundaries. These chapters analyse the imperial memory politics of the mandate-trusteeship period and examine how the buried German records were recovered, utilized, and preserved as archival records. Examples used in these chapters are cited from different parts of Tanzania. In this way the study documents both the regional and national memories of German colonialism.

## Methodology

This study was done using different sources of information, ranging from archival documents and interviews to field observation. Various archival documents were consulted, including old newspapers (archived and non-archived), official correspondence, speeches, circulars, minutes, gazettes, reports, diaries and so on. These archival documents were obtained from Germany, Britain, and Tanzania and a few came from online archives. Some useful information of a semi-archival nature was obtained from *Missionakademie an der Universität Hamburg* and Asien-Afrika Institut in Germany. A substantial amount of archival data was collected from the National Archives of London (hereafter NA) and Tanzania National Archives (hereafter TNA). These archives provided information on the mandate-trusteeship period and the early

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<sup>114</sup> The district is home to Chagga people. For convenience, the words *Moshi* or *Uchagga* are used throughout this study to refer to Moshi-Rural District.



**Map 1:** Tanzania Mainland. Map created for this study by Costa Mahuwi. Source: Costa Mahuwi, 2018.

years of independence in Tanzania. Supplementary archival data was collected from the National Record Centre in Dodoma,<sup>115</sup> Tanzania, and from the zonal archives affiliated to TNA, such as the Southerwestern Zonal Archives in Mbeya and the Northern Zonal Archives in Arusha. The researcher gathered useful data, including archived photographs, from various parish offices in Moshi such as Ashira, Nkorango and Kibosho.<sup>116</sup> Some important commemoration pamphlets, brochures and government reports were gathered from the Majimaji Memorial Museum in

<sup>115</sup> Access to records kept with the National Record Center is limited to files 'cancelled' 30 years ago only.

<sup>116</sup> Permission to access parish documents such as correspondences or archived historical photographs was granted by the respective parish authorities.

Songea. These provided information on the annual commemoration of Maji Maji. Information from local newspapers, published speeches and unpublished papers was gathered from the East Africana Section of the University of Dar es Salaam old library. Old primary history textbooks and reports of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism came from the National Library (*Maktaba ya Taifa*) at Dar es Salaam city centre. Almost all the documents collected from NA in London were scanned, except for a section of those collected from TNA, where scanning is strictly limited to five pages per file.

Field interviews were carried out in all areas covered by this study, with Moshi and Songea providing a relatively long list of those interviewed. Research permits to conduct field interviews were granted by the respective regional and district authorities, which had received an introductory letter from the researcher's current employer, the University of Dar es Salaam. In Dar es Salaam, a few officials working with the Department of Antiquities were interviewed on issues relating to the preservation of German buildings in the city centre. In Moshi, a number of elders were consulted and interviewed in different interview settings chosen by them. The majority agreed to be interviewed in their homes by special appointment and were very co-operative. Most of the informants were chosen for interview based on their widely known position as people who 'can remember the German colonial period,' those whose ancestors resisted the imposition of colonial rule or served as Askaris and Porters, or those who received their education from German mission schools. Those who did not fall into these categories were elders whose departed fathers and grandfathers had told them different stories relating to the German colonial period. Most of the information solicited from these elders is therefore trans-generational collective memories of German colonialism. Sadly, some of those interviewed in Moshi have now passed away. May Almighty God rest their souls in eternal peace.

All interview questions, except in Moshi, were organized based on the themes selected for the study. In Dar es Salaam and Songea, where the researcher wanted to know how German colonial places of memory have shaped the social memory of German colonialism or vice versa, specific interview questions were designed but were regularly modified whenever it was considered necessary. In Moshi, the themes were not predetermined by the researcher, but rather the informants were allowed to tell the stories of their choice relating to German colonialism. By using this kind of open-ended interview technique, an outline of the themes reflecting the memory narratives collected was formulated and archival data was thereafter gathered to supplement them. Interviews in Moshi were conducted between January and February 2017, with two alternating research assistants who took the researcher to different villages for interviews, introduced him to the village authorities, and on some occasions assisted in translating the Kibosho

dialect which he could not understand. The researcher also organized separate trips to important sites of memory for field observation.

Interviews in Songea were conducted between September and November 2017, mostly involving Ngoni elders and the officials working with Majimaji Memorial Museum. The latter were interviewed first, who were kind enough to provide a list of potential Ngoni informants, to whom the researcher took daily trips to their houses and workplaces to interview them. It was not difficult to locate the houses of these informants because they are widely known locally. Once a person was interviewed, he or she was asked to recommend another knowledgeable elder for further interview. By doing this, the researcher ended up with a new list, which meant he could reach those elders not mentioned on the first list of interviewees. Most of the interviews were tape-recorded, and so in a few cases where they did not want to be recorded, notes were taken.

## The Structure

This study is organized in seven chapters. This first chapter introduces the argument of the study, areas of the study and important literature on memory history covering both Europe and Africa. The second chapter focuses on the imperial politics of commemoration, which started immediately after the end of German rule in East Africa. It examines the different ways in which the British colonial government that was handed Tanzania as a mandate territory by the League of Nations, and the German government represented by the German community living in Tanganyika at that time, competed with each other in promoting the imperial commemoration of heroism following the mounting politics of colonial revisionism. The chapter explains the extent to which the mandate government struggled to erase the German imperial legacy in Tanganyika. Chapter three discusses how on leaving East Africa after the end of the war the Germans hid volumes of their documents by burying them and how the British, having acquired Tanganyika as an interim colony struggled to recover them for administrative purposes. The chapter starts by conceptualizing the relationship between record and memory. It argues that the idea of establishing a national archive in post-colonial Tanzania came after realizing that most of the German colonial records distributed in various offices in Dar es Salaam were in danger of being destroyed.

The fourth chapter analyses the collective memories of the Maji Maji war in Songea by tracing the origin of Majimaji Memorial Museum and the extent to which Maji Maji war sites led to collective trauma in Songea. The chapter traces the history of commemoration and veneration of war heroes and heroines by explaining how such events were gradually transformed from being secret events to public

events. The fifth chapter discusses nostalgia for German colonial legacies and traumatic recollections resulting from colonial violence in Moshi-Rural District. This chapter traces the origin of German colonialism in Moshi and explains the extent to which the nature of social memory is determined by the nature of the contacts that developed between the Germans and the local people. The sixth chapter focuses on topographical memories of German colonialism in Dar es Salaam by first reviewing the history of the city and then then by explaining the extent to which its architectural legacy, layout, streets, and monuments enhance the collective cultural memories of German colonization. The last chapter provides a general discussion of the issues discussed in this study.