6 Out of Order: Indirect Rule, Unruliness, and Self-Rule

Chronologically, this chapter takes us back to the beginning of the previous one: the handing over of Kigoma from Belgian occupation to British rule under a mandate of the League of Nations. The roaring twenties were not only a booming time for Kigoma's Belgian-run inland Indian Ocean port, but for the British colonial officialdom in Kigoma as well, it was a decade of optimism and a certain degree of grandeur, which would vanish in the early 1930s. Parallel to a loss of status for Kigoma-Ujiji within the British colonial order and a global economic crisis, tension in Ujiji rose high, leading to a faceoff between the two most important and partly overlapping urban population groups: people from around the lake and people originating from the nineteenth-century caravan trade complex.

In this chapter, I reconstruct the successive administrative reforms in and around Kigoma-Ujiji under British rule from the vantage point of the urban populace and of their shifting political, social, and spatial relations in particular. The organization of the colonial administration does not, of course, provide a direct explanation for power balances between urban population groups, but the reforms either responded to, interfered in or had unintended effects on the relations in and around town. Indirectly, successive alterations to colonial rule help us understand what was going on in urban community life, much like the colonial administrators themselves gradually gained insight through their observations and their attempts to adapt the colonial administration to the situation on the ground.

This chapter shows how the urban populations' coping with indirect rule imposed through Jiji rural authorities, their dealing with divisions within the urban population, and the response to devastating fires in the town, ultimately led to a transformation of Ujiji's self-organization as part of a consistent claim for more autonomy. Despite the colonial marginalization of Ujiji within the region and of Kigoma within the Tanganyika territory, Kigoma-Ujiji played an important role in the national and regional decolonization process. I argue that there is a close relation between Ujiji's emancipation from rural Jiji domination, which was supported by the colonial system of indirect rule, and its contribution to the transformative moment of decolonization. Kigoma-Ujiji's liberation movement was essentially translocal, both mobilizing urban connections to the Swahili coast and transnational connections into Congo and Burundi, while, in the first place, claiming independence from colonial rule, but from rural Jiji or Ha domination, as well.

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6.1 Kigoma and Ujiji: A Misfit in the British Colonial Order

British rule in Kigoma-Ujiji started on 22 March 1921, when the Belgian Royal Commissioner and the Governor of Tanganyika Territory performed an imperial ceremony for the handing-over of formerly German-ruled and Belgian-occupied colonial territory between Lake Victoria and Lake Tanganyika. Charles J. Bagenal became the first Senior Commissioner of the Ujiji District – as it was then called. He would remain the highest ranked British colonial official in town for ten years. While the district headquarters were in Ujiji, Bagenal took residence in the Kaiserhof, a prestigious German hotel in Kigoma originally intended to host the German emperor on his inaugural visit to the central railway, which never took place. The Kigoma Township, where the port, the railway terminus, and most of the European and Indian inhabitants were concentrated, was administered directly under the Senior Commissioner. Thereby, it was exempt from the district administration. The shift from Ujiji to Kigoma, which had already set in under German colonial rule, continued with the renaming of the district as Kigoma District in 1923 and the transfer of the District Headquarters from Ujiji to Kigoma in 1926. The same year, a new regime of Native Administration implementing the principle of indirect rule started and Kigoma became the seat of a provincial administration. Kigoma Province comprised four districts, among which was also Kigoma District. The town of Kigoma became part of the district but, because of its European and Indian share in the population, did not fall under native administration. Although mainly inhabited by people who did not descend from the surrounding Jiji area, the town of Ujiji was put under native administration. But the question how to administer the town would linger on for the rest of the colonial period.[1] Before we turn to Ujiji as an oddity in the British colonial system, and how this both reflects and is reflected in the shifting relations within and without the town, the singularity of Kigoma likewise deserves attention.

6.1.1 The Place and Status of Kigoma in the British Colonial System

The achievement of provincial status in 1926 increased the prestige of C.J. Bagenal, member of the Irish landed gentry, major in the British Army, and Officer in the

1 TNA, Kigoma Provincial Book. The urban-rural tension and the role of ethnic identification in the system of colonial administration has been analysed by Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

Order of the British Empire.[2] Upon his retirement from the colonial administrative service in 1931, at about the same time when the Belgian bases in the port of Kigoma declined, Kigoma had already lost its provincial status. The renamed Kigoma Region became part of the Western Province, which had its seat in Tabora. Kigoma was reduced to "backwater".[3] However, in the 1920s, the town had been the site of occasional pomp and circumstance. The governor or acting governor of Tanganyika Territory paid at least five official visits to Kigoma during the period between 1921 and 1928. The handing-over ceremony in 1921 and the christening ceremony in May 1927, when the wife of the acting governor John Scott renamed the salvaged vessel Götzen as S.S. Liemba, were festive occasions, but there were also regular visits by the successive governors Horace A. Byatt and Donald C. Cameron in 1923, 1925, and 1928.[4] After the 1920s, when the highest ranked officials in Kigoma were a step lower in the colonial hierarchy than they had been during the first decade of British rule, I found trace of only one visit by an acting governor holding a baraza or information meeting at Ujiji in 1951 as part of his visit to the Western Province.[5]

We can catch a glimpse of the colonial life for the white people in Kigoma in the 1920s on the Christmas menus for the years 1923 to 1924 and 1927 to 1929 kept in the "Papers of Charles James Bagenal" at the Bodleian Libraries in Oxford (Figure 8).[6] Apart from listing the courses and the guests, the menus depict a mildly mocking review of the year.

On the 1924 menu, Africans are literally cut off by the frame and depicted as manual workforce or taxpayer. In 1927, Africans are either chased by the Provincial Commissioner or carrying him and his luggage. Means of transportation are a recurrent theme in the drawings depicting caravan porters, boats, the Liemba, Bagenal's Rover, a pulled rickshaw, a bicycle, and a donkey. Leisure also figures prominently with fishing, dancing, golf, or gardening depicted either in 1924 or 1927, wildlife sightings as well as playing tennis and cards appearing in other years.

2 Biographical information retrieved from Bodleian Libraries, Oxford, Papers of Charles James Bagenal, https://archives.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repositories/2/resources/831 (accessed 30 September 2024) and from Nicholas Kingsley, *Landed Families of Britain and Ireland*, https://landedfamilies.blogspot.com/2017/10/309-bagenal-of-dunleckney-manor-and.html (accessed 30 September 2024).

3 For an assessment of this lost status and the qualification as "backwater", see TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1950, 1.

4 TNA, Kigoma Provincial Book; TNA, Tang. Sec., 12218: Native Administration – Kigoma-Province, 1928–1931.

5 TNA, Tang. Sec., 12886: Vol. II – Townships: Western Province – General (1944–1952), Letter from the Provincial Commissioner Western Province to The Member for Local Government, The Secretariat, Dar es Salaam, 10 May 1951.

6 BLCAS, MSS. Afr. s. 2142: Papers of Charles James Bagenal.

Figure 8: Christmas menus for British administration in Kigoma, 1924 and 1927.[8]

8 BLCAS, MSS. Afr. s. 2142: Papers of Charles James Bagenal. CC-BY-NC 4.0.

Overall, the annual reviews depict a leisure class that lived apart from the people and the land they administered yet depended on the taxes paid, manual labour provided, and food cooked and served by these people.[7] The spirit of "apart-heid" that appeared on Christmas menus fundamentally permeated the colonial administration in Kigoma-Ujiji. This is, of course, a truism that applies to colonialism in general. Yet, segregation played out in an inflated way in the case of Kigoma, which, in turn, complicated the administration of Ujiji as well.

Spatially, the town of Kigoma had been conceived as a place at the service of colonial rule. An indigenous population was not part of the layout of Kigoma. There was place for European agents of colonialism, for Indian and Arab merchants, for infrastructures of trade and transport, as well as for a limited African workforce for each of these roles but not for population emanating from the place itself. Even the African workforce had been moved out of Kigoma to the nearby African neighbourhood of Mwanga, about one kilometre from the town of Kigoma. The forced move of the African population of Kigoma to Mwanga had already occurred under German rule. Heri, formerly enslaved by Gosilatembo and later the headman of Mwanga, was one of these forcibly moved inhabitants. The nearby hamlet of Gungu also absorbed some of the original population of Kigoma. Meanwhile, only a few railway and port workers resided close to the respective facilities in Kigoma proper, while domestic servants sometimes resided on the compounds of their European employers.[9] Even if such residence regulations are never waterproof, they do have a real-life impact.

There was, however, a large African town of roughly 10,000 inhabitants so close to Kigoma that it could not possibly be overlooked: Ujiji, "perhaps the biggest African town in the [sic] East Africa".[10] Moreover, Ujiji was an urban centre that emanated not from dynamics within the surrounding area but from the long-distance caravan trade complex, as we have seen in Chapter 3. Against this background, the new British colonial rulers installed two separate townships in the Kigoma-Ujiji area in 1921: Kigoma and Ujiji. Although there had been proposals to create one township of Kigoma-Ujiji,[11] the colonial administration separated Ki-

7 We can derive from the menus that in 1923 the cook was called Hassani and in 1929 the waiter was called Musa. Both are Swahili names, which means that they were probably recruited from amongst the Swahilized urban population (see Chapter 3) or perhaps from the coast.

9 TNA, Tang. Sec., 12218: Letter from Provincial Commissioner to Chief Secretary, 1 July 1930.

10 Quote from D.O. [District Officer] G.D. Popplewell: TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1948, p. 10. Also see D.O.B.W. Savory, who called Ujiji "the largest African village in the Territory". TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1946, 2.

11 TNA, 63.T.2/41: Kigoma Township – General, 1921–1950: District Political Officer to Chief Secretary, 7 April 1921.

goma and Ujiji, thus institutionalizing the growing apart in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries that we have already observed. Mwanga, which had been created for the sake of Kigoma, both housing its African population and providing its African workforce, was included in the township of Kigoma, which thus contained a "European", an "Indian", and an "African" quarter in line with the conception of urban areas across British East Africa. At the same time, one of the largest urban areas in East Africa was set apart and not considered part of Kigoma. Ujiji was nonetheless attributed township status according to the Township Ordinance,[12] yet it did not reflect the British three-tiered urban pattern. Ujiji lacked a significant European and – to a lesser extent – Indian/Arab population and was predominantly inhabited by "natives" who were not from the immediately surrounding Jiji land. "Native," according to the Township Ordinance, "shall mean any person one of whose parents is a member of some race or tribe of Africa".[13] There were a few European missionaries at the White Fathers' mission station and about 150 to 200 Arab residents who were partly of African descent and came from the caravan trade complex themselves but by far not enough to warrant a three-tiered spatial organization. The "native" population counted roughly 8,000 to 8,500 inhabitants in 1930.[14]

Contrary to the Township of Kigoma, which fell directly under the provincial administration, the Township of Ujiji was part of the Kigoma District and of the Ujiji Sub-District, which was sub-divided in the township of Ujiji, rural Ujiji to the north of the township, and Ukaranga south and east of the township. The township itself was further divided into six wards, each under its own *jumbe* or headman. On top of that, a *liwali*, usually an Arab recruited on the Indian Ocean coast, was responsible for judicial matters in the predominantly Muslim town. The *liwali* was also Ujiji's highest authority and intermediary with the colonial adminis-

12 Ujiji was proclaimed a Township in "Proclamation No. 3 of 1921, dated the 23rd of June, 1921" added to the "Township Ordinance, 1920 (No. 10 of 1920)." TNA, Tang. Sec., 12886: Vol. I – Townships – Kigoma Province (1928–1929).

13 TNA, Sec. (E.S.), AB.856: Township – Kigoma & Ujiji, 1921–1925.

14 TNA, Tang. Sec., 12218: Native Administration – Kigoma Province, 1928–1931; TNA, Tang. Sec., 13634: Native Courts Ordinance (No. 5 of 1929): Correspondence re Kigoma Province, 1929–1932. Not surprisingly, given that Ujiji was not a separate entity, there are not many population figures available for urban Ujiji and even fewer population figures that are broken down according to origin. In 1951, in the context of proposals to give Ujiji township status again, more detailed figures were given. There were not more than 14 Europeans on a "native" population of an estimated 10,000. Moreover, 110 "Arabs" and 74 "Indians" resided in Ujiji. (TNA, Tang. Sec., 12886: Vol II. Townships: Western Province General, 1944–1952, Letter from the Provincial Commissioner to the Member for Local Government, the Secretariat, 14 July 1951).

tration.[15] This twofold character of Ujiji's internal organization would remain quite stable until the end of the colonial period, but the town's relative autonomy vis-à-vis the surrounding Jiji land was short-lived and the issue kept resurfacing until the 1950s.

With the introduction of Native Administration and the promotion of Kigoma to provincial status in 1926, Ujiji was considered "native" in line with the definition mentioned before. However, "native" was confused with "tribal" and African descent with local roots. The new Governor of the Tanganyika Territory, Donald C. Cameron was a follower of Frederick Lugard, under whose leadership he had worked in Southern Nigeria before the war. Cameron was a strong believer in indirect rule and pushed through the strengthening of "native administration" as his absolute priority.[16] As this native administration had to bear also the costs of all services of public utility, it would be impossible for the Ujiji District under the leadership of *mwami* Lusimbi to function without the revenue from the town of Ujiji.[17] Even though officials stated that they had "never been able to fit the town of Ujiji into the picture with a tribal administration" and Ujiji was "no more a tribal creation than Daressalaam is a creation of the Wazaramo",[18] excising the town from the surrounding lands was not an option if indirect rule were to be implemented.[19] After the integration of the town of Ujiji under native authority, it was soon suggested to also withdraw the township status, which actually happened in March 1929.[20] I come back to the implications of these changes for Ujiji in the next subchapter. However, the installation of native administration and the cancelling of township status of Ujiji mattered also for Kigoma, as these reorganizations had a direct impact on Kigoma's African neighbourhood of Mwanga.

While introducing indirect rule, Mwanga was excised from the Kigoma township, attached to Ujiji, and handed over to the Native Administration as well. Inhabited by Africans who had been forcibly removed from Kigoma, Mwanga had a pop-

15 TNA, Sec. (E.S.), AB.57: Annual Report: Kigoma District, 1925 – Annual Report 1925, Ujiji Sub-District, 1–2.

16 James S. Olson and Robert Shadle (eds.), *Historical Dictionary of the British Empire, A–J.* (Westport – London: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1996), 236–237.

17 TNA, Tang. Sec., 12218: Provincial Commissioner to Chief Secretary, 8 May 1930.

18 TNA, Tang. Sec., 12218: Police Controller's Report to the Governor, 6 May 1928.

19 TNA, Tang. Sec., 12218: Native Administration – Kigoma-Province, 1928–1931, Letter from Provincial Commissioner Kigoma Province to the Chief Secretary Dar es Salaam, 28 January 1930. Also see: TNA, 63.T.2/41: Kigoma Township – General, 1921–1950; McHenry, "Reorganization", 65–76.

20 TNA, Tang. Sec., 12886: Vol. I – Townships – Kigoma Province (1928–1929): Letter from Provincial Commissioner of Kigoma Province to Chief Secretary in Dar es Salaam, 27 February 1927; Proclamation No. 2 of 1929, 19 March 1929.

ulation more closely related to the surrounding Jiji land than the population of Ujiji,[21] which in turn led to a higher acceptance of Jiji authorities in Mwanga than in Ujiji. As we have seen in Chapter 4, the relations between Heri, the local headman of Mwanga, and the Jiji *mwami* can be traced back to the mid-nineteenth century, when Heri's former patron, Mwinyi Akida, supported Lusimbi's father, *mwami* Mugasa. Excising Mwanga from Kigoma township, however, implied that the township of Kigoma was now devoid of a "native" quarter, which is an extraordinary situation in colonial Africa.[22]

Thus, the African workforce that had been established in Mwanga for the sake of colonial Kigoma's needs was administratively separated from Kigoma. The disconnection between Kigoma and Ujiji that had informed the establishing of two townships only eight years before was now reframed into an "African" segment of Kigoma-Ujiji put under indirect rule and a Kigoma town – formally – without "native" inhabitants apart from a few railway workers living in a reserved area near the lake.[23] Both Kigoma and Ujiji became oddities in the British colonial order: on the one hand, a town in the centre of Africa without Africans and, on the other, a town devoid of a significant European and Indian presence and hence the largest "African" town in East Africa yet subjugated to indirect rule through its rural surroundings with which the core population of the town had very little in common. The absurdity of this carving up and denial of urban status is illustrated in an at first sight rather banal file, where a Chicago-based publisher requested the population figures of the six largest Tanganyikan towns in 1933. Neither Kigoma nor Ujiji appear in the list. A year later, the publisher also requested population figures of ports and it turned out that Kigoma (including Ujiji) had 9,515 inhabitants in 1931 and was second to Dar es Salaam (22,732) in Tanganyika, leaving Tabora (7,943), Tanga (7,500) and all other of the six so-called largest towns behind.[24] I would not weigh the reliability of the figures themselves too highly, but the difference between being counted or not, to be or not to be, that is the question. The incongruence of this constellation would weigh on Kigoma-Ujiji – ostensibly one urban area – for the remainder of the colonial period, leading to incessant questioning of the status of Ujiji.

21 See Chapter 3.

22 This was almost literally remarked by District Officer K.F. Warner in: TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1931, 25.

23 TNA, Tang. Sec., 12218: Native Administration - Kigoma-Province, 1928–1931: Letter from Director of Medical and Sanitary Services to Chief Secretary Dar es Salaam, 15 March 1930. In this letter, its author warns of the risk to health and sanitation for the inhabitants of Kigoma, if control over hygiene and sanitation in Mwanga is handed over to native administration.

24 TNA, Tang. Sec., 25822: Population of the Territory, 1933–1939.

Meanwhile, Kigoma remained a separate entity, an African town without Africans, until the end of the colonial period. Obviously, the entire colonial apparatus in Kigoma as well as the households and businesses of its European and Asian inhabitants relied on an African workforce. But the people that constituted this workforce were not allowed to reside in Kigoma. The rather drastic carving up of the Kigoma-Ujiji urban area in two exclusive towns occurred against the background of Kigoma gradually losing importance. Kigoma's loss of provincial status in 1932 meant fewer and lower-ranked colonial servants for Kigoma, fewer official visits by the Governor or other high officials . . . and fewer sources in the archives.

The reduced status, first, of Ujiji within the Kigoma-Ujiji urban area and, later, of Kigoma within the Tanganyika Territory predated the economic decline described in the previous chapter. As a matter of fact, it occurred when the port of Kigoma, in particular the Belgian Base, was at its peak. The reason was expressed by the Governor-General of the Belgian Congo already in 1921: "Les Anglais se rendent compte que Kigoma n'a d'intérêt que pour nous" (The English are aware that Kigoma is only of interest to us).[25] For British-ruled Kigoma, Congo was lost as a reservoir for profit, revenue, or trade. Compared to the German times, Kigoma had also lost its relevance as a gateway to conquer and govern Burundi and Rwanda lying now outside of the territory. The railhead and the lake were still relevant; but apart from the Belgian use of the lake, port, and rail, this relevance had been reduced to a purely regional one, similar to the lacustrine trade that predated the caravan trade of the nineteenth century – and even this lacustrine trade had been aborted from its western (Congolese) and northeastern (Burundian) shores, at least when seen from the British perspective. These trade links remained regionally relevant but either escaped colonial control or were under Belgian semi-sovereignty. This would gradually change towards the end of the colonial period but never to the extent of reinvigorating Kigoma in its role as hub in a commercial and political order straddling Lake Tanganyika.

6.1.2 Urban Ujiji: Emancipation from Native Administration

Despite the convenient construction of an allegedly native-free Kigoma, the question what to do with the nearby largest "African" town in East Africa never left the agenda. A purely African town without European overlayer, which was, furthermore, also ethnically dissociated from the surrounding area, fit neither the British

25 AAB, AE/II, 2890 (200): Lettre du Gouverneur Général du Congo belge au Ministre des Colonies, 8 août 1921.

understanding of a colonial city nor of the envisaged colonial order based on indirect rule. This already transpires from the *Kigoma District Book* and the *Kigoma Provincial Book* kept at the Tanzania National Archives in Dar es Salaam.[26]

These books contain the presumably essential information about the district and the province of Kigoma and serve as a basic introduction into the district and the province for new colonial servants who take up office in Kigoma. Brief tribal histories, lists of power holders, descriptions of customary law etc. primarily written in the course of the 1920s make clear that the interest in African politics, norms, and history was strictly ethnic and situated outside of town. In contrast, the recent events that were considered sufficiently noteworthy to be included in the books took place in the town of Kigoma and concerned Europeans, most often a British colonial elite. Crosscutting this rural African versus urban European dichotomy, there is some attention paid to the lake, where European navigation, Indian trade, and African fishery seem to share some space. However, apart from mentioning the transfer of the colonial administration from Ujiji to Kigoma in 1926, the appointment of a *liwali* (judge versed in Islamic law), and anonymous numbers in population statistics, the African urban context is totally absent in both books and hence from what the British leading officials considered the most important aspects of Kigoma District and Province.

Jiji Indirect Rule over Ujiji

Within this colonial conception of an ethnic-territorial – in the parlance of the time, "tribal" – district and a native-free town, Kigoma was administratively isolated from the surrounding area and Ujiji town was forced into a district with which it had little in common. However, I do not believe that this ethnic-territorial conception is conducive to a better understanding of the urban history of Kigoma-Ujiji, let alone of an history interpreting the town in relation to moments of global transformation. On the contrary, it should be part of any serious effort towards decolonization not to reproduce the colonial-ethnic reading grid – just like the national-territorial reading grid should not dominate the period after flag independence. The urban area of Kigoma-Ujiji can be better understood in contrast to – even in confrontation with – Jiji or Ha rural surroundings than as part of it. Notwithstanding, even in a confrontational constellation, it is still useful to pay attention to the relations between the urban area and its rural surroundings. Given that the colonial authorities also tried to grasp – and control – these relations, their endless administrative reforms give us a glimpse of the Jiji-Ujiji mismatch.

26 TNA, Kigoma Provincial Book; TNA, Kigoma District Book, vol. III.

Dean E. McHenry Jr. made an analysis of the administrative history of the Kigoma District under British rule and identified no less than nine reforms in 33 years, six of which directly related to the town of Ujiji.[27] His unit of analysis – i.e., the district – differs from the urban area that I scrutinize. Therefore, he did not include the internal re-organizations within the town of Ujiji but only the position and relative autonomy of Ujiji within the district. Furthermore, he explicitly excluded Kigoma town from his study.[28] Yet his analysis tellingly ends with the formation of the Kigoma-Ujiji Township in 1963, which evidently solved the administrative mismatch. Until then, all British approaches had been informed by a separation between Kigoma and the rest of the urban area around Ujiji and Mwanga, on the one hand, and an endless attempt to define Ujiji in relation to the indirect rule granted to the Jiji polity situated between Ujiji and the border with Burundi, on the other. Let it be clear that the British administrative reforms were more responding to than shaping this relation, but still they had an influence on power balances or triggered reactions, protests, and circumventions from the side of the townspeople of Ujiji.

McHenry's analysis revolves around the major population centres of the district: Ujiji – the dominant urban centre – and Kalinzi – the rural centre of Jiji "traditional" authority. He pays attention neither to rural-urban distinctions per se nor to the composition of the population of Ujiji. Nonetheless, his analysis helps understand the colonial organization of the area. He compellingly examines the never-ending reforms as a balancing act between Kalinzi and Ujiji, pointing to boundary alterations, personnel changes, structural changes of administrative forms, and functional changes shifting the assignment of specific tasks.[29] He grasped what the British were struggling with and how they attempted to squeeze Ujiji into the Jiji indirect rule. The attempt was destined to fail over and over again, because it ignored both the urban-rural distinctions and the fact that most of Ujiji's inhabitants descended from the caravan trade complex and from the wider Lake Tanganyika region rather than from the Jiji surroundings. The position of Ujiji in relation to Jiji Native Administration combined the inherently problematic character of indirect rule as such with a mismatch between town and countryside.[30] This mismatch went beyond typical rural-urban differences, as the town of Ujiji and the land of the Jiji had close to nothing in common but their name.

27 McHenry, "Reorganization", 65–76.

28 McHenry, "Reorganization", 74 n1.

29 McHenry, "Reorganization", 65.

30 For the rural-urban tensions within the inherently problematic colonial administration, see Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*.

However, while underscoring the opposition between town and land, we must be careful not to lump the urban population of Ujiji together. Within Ujiji, too, there were gradations when it comes to compatibility with an indirect rule system embedded in Jiji surroundings. As we have seen in Chapters 3 and 4, the people from around Lake Tanganyika could more easily relate to the Jiji authorities than the people from Manyema could; people who had moved to Ujiji as fishers or farmers could more easily relate to – and also depended on access to land granted by – Jiji authorities than those who had been more closely related to the caravan trade;[31] and even within the caravan trade complex, we have seen that the coastal firstcomers from Pangani were closer to Jiji authorities than the Omani-connected faction around Tippu Tip and Rumaliza. When Ujiji was put under indirect rule by rural Jiji authority, this disturbed the power relations in town. It strengthened those descending from the farmers and fishers from around the lake as well as the successors of the coastal firstcomers who had always invested in good relations with Jiji authorities. The faction which had overrun local authorities and gained the upper hand in the caravan trade complex on the eve of colonization and which, according to McCurdy and Hino,[32] became the preferential partner of German, Belgian, and hitherto British colonial authorities, lost clout.

Although the distinctions at play involved more variables than merely Manyema or Lake Tanganyika origins,[33] this spatially defined distinction became the factor around which tensions crystalized. Moreover, attaching Mwanga to Ujiji and hence adding the Jiji or Jiji-oriented people originally inhabiting Kigoma to those who had arrived as part of the caravan trade complex (see Chapter 3) also changed the balance of power to the advantage of a better integration into Jiji surroundings.[34] The tensions were of course already there before. They had been there for many decades, as we have seen before. Yet, a clumsy colonial intervention could flip shaky balances.

The original urbanized population of Ujiji lost clout in the new constellation and clung on to the connection to the coast across an East African urban and Muslim network, as symbolized in the figure of the Arab *liwali*. Ujiji's urban leaders

31 TNA, Tang. Sec., 12218: Letter from Provincial Commissioner to Chief Secretary, 13 September 1928.

32 Hino, "Social Stratification" and Sheryl McCurdy, "The 1932 'War' between Rival Ujiji (Tanganyika) Associations: Understanding Women's Motivations for Inciting Political Unrest", *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 30, no. 1 (1996): 10–31.

33 As explained before, farmers and fishers versus caravan trade complex as well as coastal Mrima versus Omani connection crosscut the Manyema or Lakist origin.

34 Ujiji and Mwanga together had an estimated population of 10,000 inhabitants. TNA, Tang. Sec., 12218: Letter from Provincial Commissioner to Chief Secretary, 28 January 1930.

strongly wanted to maintain this function within the indirect rule constellation, thus paradoxically demanding a British-appointed authority drawn from the coast as a guarantee for local urban identity.[35] This demand did not per se divide the urban population, as all factions considered the Muslim identity important. Yet it constituted a counterweight to a subjection to Jiji authorities. McHenry called this *liwali*, indeed a British-appointed authority, an instance of direct rule that survived the introduction of indirect rule.[36] This may seem so within an ethnic-territorial frame of analysis, but it misses the point that the *liwali* symbolized Islamic identity and Swahili urbane connectedness for Ujiji and therefore could be seen as another kind of indirect rule or self-regulation. Paradoxically, people originating from the Congolese Manyema region and from Lake Tanganyika's western shores relied on a strong connection to the Indian Ocean coast in order to preserve their local identity and autonomy in Ujiji.

Islamic Unity and Rivalry

Archival sources tend to pay disproportioned attention to what goes wrong. As we will see in the next section, it did go wrong in Ujiji around 1930. In this same time, however, the spread of a Sufi branch of Islam, which could be observed throughout urban Tanganyika,[37] laid the foundations for a degree of cohesion and stability in Ujiji that would last for half a century. During the nineteenth-century urbanization on the move (see Chapter 3), the people who would become the population of Ujiji, already adhered to Islam. We saw, however, that this had been a regional East-Central-African process, responding to incursive large-scale transformations and guided by urgent needs and creative problem-solving in the region. For sure, turning to a Swahili culture within the caravan trade complex drew a deliberate Congo-to-coast connection, but this connection was initiated from the West, not from the East.[38] Emulation rather than proselytization had been the driving force for Islamization in the region.[39] In the late 1920s, however, we witness an Islamic movement coming from the coast and having a decisive impact on Ujiji. Both the cohesion of the urban community and the pivotal role of

35 TNA, 12218: Police Controller's Report to the Governor, 6 May 1928.

36 McHenry, "Reorganization", 69.

37 Nimtz, *Islam and Politics*, 55–71. Felicitas Becker (*Becoming Muslim*, chapters 2 and 3) points out that the successful expansion of Sufi Islam was primarily a coastal and urban phenomenon.

38 For a similar, albeit coastal, analysis of what seems like the spread of Swahili cultural identity, but is better understood as a local and particular development, see Fabian, *Making Identity*.

39 David C. Sperling and José H. Kagabo, "The Coastal Hinterland and Interior of East Africa" in *The History of Islam in Africa*, (eds.) N. Levtzion and R.L. Pouwels (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2000), 280–289.

Ujiji for the development of Islam in the wider region were boosted by this movement. It led to a growing interest in a more pious or religious interpretation of Islam, and at the same time a strengthening and deepening of the practical or ritual experience of Islam. Greater importance was also attached to religious education and religious personnel, which increasingly consisted of locally educated people from within the own community.[40] Ujiji, furthermore, fulfilled the role of education centre for Muslims in the Belgian-administered areas of East Congo and Ruanda-Urundi.[41]

Sufi brotherhoods and in particular the Qadiriyya *tariqa* were the driving force behind this movement. Sufism itself is a phenomenon almost as old as Islam itself, and in fact goes back in part to pre-Islamic hermits. Originally, it was a contemplative, ascetic, and mystical way of submitting and devoting oneself to God. Sufis tended to live in seclusion but were often revered and respected by those around them. A holiness or blessing influence, called *baraka*, seemed to emanate from them, which could be compared to the Weberian concept of charismatic authority.[42] Through their *baraka* or charisma, these "saints" inspired the adepts who followed their *tariqa* or path. In this way, Sufi orders or brotherhoods emerged in the image of a founder or leader, and Sufism evolved from a mystical eremitic practice to a more collective, popular, and hierarchical strand of Islam. Sayyid Abd al-Qadir al Jilani was thus at the root of the Qadiriyya *tariqa*, which originated in Iraq in the twelfth century, making it the oldest tariqa. Through a chain of succession (*silsila*), he passed on his *baraka* or gave *ijazah* to his successors or *khalifas*, having first derived his own *baraka* from the Prophet Mohamed, also through *silsila*. A *khalifa* is then the local or current leader of the *tariqa*, who can himself initiate followers or *muridi* into the order. A *muridi* could be promoted to *murshid* or guide by a *khalifa*, after which the *murshid* could lead certain services or meetings himself.[43] Through this branching chain, the Qadiriyya also gained a foothold on the East African coast at the end of the nineteenth century,[44] from where it spread into the interior. The success of Sufism in East Africa is largely attributed to its tolerance of local custom and its relative egalitarianism,

40 Nimtz, *Islam and Politics*, 9–15; Sperling et al., "The Coastal Hinterland", 296.

41 Armand Abel, *Les Musulmans noirs du Maniema* (Bruxelles: Centre pour l'Étude des Problèmes du Monde Musulman Contemporain, 1960); Castryck, "Living Islam".

42 Donal B. Cruise O'Brien, "Introduction" in *Charisma and Brotherhood in African Islam*, (eds.) D. Cruise O'Brien and C. Coulon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 1–31.

43 Nimtz, *Islam and Politics*, 55–56; J.T.P. de Bruijn, "Vroomheid en mystiek" in *Islam: Norm, ideaal en werkelijkheid*, (ed.) J. Waardenburg (Houten: Fibula, 1997), 199–206.

44 B.G. Martin, *Muslim Brotherhoods in Nineteenth-Century Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 152–176.

"because status in the tariqa was based more on piety rather than on learning", thus facilitating social integration.[45] This does not mean that wealth no longer played a role in determining social status, but rather that a wealthy person could gain prestige primarily by using that wealth for *sadaka* or group solidarity. Nor does it mean that scholarship or *'ilm* ceased to play a role. *'Ilm* continued to confer prestige and authority within Sufism, but it was a means to piety and togetherness rather than a religious end in itself. The balancing act between hierarchy and egalitarianism depends largely on the charisma or *baraka* of the leader, on the one hand, and the belief in him, on the other.[46]

Qadiriyya was not new in Ujiji at the end of the 1920s. The presence of the Somali-led Uwaysiyya branch of the Qadiriyya *tariqa* can be traced back to the late nineteenth century. Rumaliza, the strong man in and around Ujiji until the early 1890s, is said to have been an adept of Qadiriyya.[47] Yet, towards the end of the 1920s a new branch was introduced from Bagamoyo, which resonated well with the population of Ujiji as well as with Muslims in Belgian-administered areas in East Central Africa: the branch was led by one of them, the Qadiriyya *khalifa* Shaykh Yahya Ramiya. His life story shows remarkable similarities with that of Heri in Kigoma (see Chapter 4). As a child, Ramiya, then called Mundu, had been enslaved in Manyema. He ended up in Bagamoyo on the East African coast in the third quarter of the nineteenth century and became employed as a domestic slave of a local Omani dignitary who would eventually become the *liwali* or governor of Bagamoyo. His position among the local elite and the trust he inspired allowed him to go into business for himself, working his way up through the fish and copra trade to become a wealthy landowner and the first African in Bagamoyo to own a stone house. In 1916 he became a *liwali* himself. He owed this success to his own qualities and perhaps a dose of commercial luck, but also to his starting position with a wealthy patron. He complemented his economic success with an impressive spiritual career that took him from a convert within the caravan trade complex to one of the most prominent East African religious leaders of the first half of the twentieth century. He took the name Yahya bin 'Abd Allah, received a basic education in the Quran, and then went on to study Islamic religious sciences with Islamic scholars on the East African coast. His material wealth enabled him to continue his studies long enough to open his own Quranic school, or *madrasa*, at the turn of the century, and to invite foreign scholars, which gave him and his *madrasa* additional charisma. He also had the means to care for orphans and foreigners in the city. All

45 Nimtz, *Islam and Politics*, 56.

46 Abel, *Les Musulmans noirs*, 21.

47 B.G. Martin, "Muslim Politics and Resistance to Colonial Rule: Shaykh Uways b. Muhammad al-Barāwī and the Qādirīya Brotherhood", *The Journal of African History* 10, no. 3 (1969): 478–482.

this combined gave him a status based on wealth, connections, scholarship, and charity, which led to him being appointed Shaykh and highest religious authority by the Sunni community of Bagamoyo around 1911. Five years later, he obtained the colonially accredited function of *liwali*. By this time, he had also been initiated as a *khalifa* of the Qadiriyya *tariqa*, and with his charisma and entrepreneurial spirit, he would continue to spread this *tariqa* and pass on his *baraka*, leading to the establishment of his branch of Qadiriyya in Ujiji shortly before 1930. Shaykh Ramiya died in 1931.[48]

The fact that Ramiya and the *khalifas* he appointed had a similar background as the population of Ujiji played an important role in the charisma and appeal of the Qadiriyya in the town. Nimtz mentions Shaykh Khalfan bin Muhammad, Shaykh 'Abd Allah Kitenge, and Shaykh Kibaraka as Shaykh Ramiya's most influential *khalifas* in Ujiji and the wider East-Central-African region.[49] At the same time, the relations that were established, extended across East Africa and the entire Islamic world, and to a universal framework of meaning rooted in over a millennium of Islamic history. The adherence to Qadiriyya Sufism thus addresses different scales at the same time, one tending towards the universal, the other towards the local and the particular.[50]

Apart from the common background between Ramiya and the people of Ujiji, four features were crucial for this branch of the Qadiriyya and contributed to its success: the celebration of the Prophet's birth (*maulid*); *dhikr* or *zikri*, the mystical, repetitive recitation of phrases or prayers that can bring practitioners into a kind of trance or transcendence; the importance of talismans, healing or magic; and the participation of women. *Maulid* became, if not the most important festival, at least as important as the two major Islamic festivals, *'id al-fitr* marking the end of Ramadan and *'id al-adha* during the month of Hijja, when the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca takes place. *Zikri* and the associated use of drums became a de facto part of every religious ceremony or ritual. The supposed magical power embodied in either the *baraka* or verses of the Quran, as well as women's access to religious education and full participation in religious ceremonies, created great ap-

48 Abel, *Les Musulmans noirs*, 19–24; Nimtz, *Islam and Politics*, 59–60, 81, 99–100, 119–123; François Constantin, "Le saint et le prince: Sur les fondements de la dynamique confrérique en Afrique orientale" in *Les voies de l'islam en Afrique orientale*, (ed.) F. Constantin (Paris: Karthala, 1987), 85–87. Fabian (*Making Identity*) also pays extensive attention to Shaykh Ramiya in the local context of Bagamoyo, but he primarily draws on Nimtz, who in turn relied considerably on Abel.

49 Nimtz, *Islam and Politics*, 59–60.

50 Constantin, "Le saint et le prince", 94–100; Christian Coulon, "Vers une sociologie des confréries en Afrique orientale" in *Les voies de l'islam en Afrique orientale*, (ed.) F. Constantin (Paris: Karthala, 1987), 120.

peal as well, as they matched the expectations and experience of the people of Ujiji: connection with the ancestors, dance, percussion, spiritual force, and an important role for women in religious life.[51]

Even if the use of drums in Islamic rituals and the role of women would be questioned repeatedly in the course of the following decades, the Qadiriyya underpinned religious and community life in Ujiji for decades and would grant it great prestige as a centre of learning for hundreds of kilometres around. At the moment of its introduction, though, Ujiji was confronted with intra-community conflicts. In this strained situation, a shifting religious identification could exacerbate as much as alleviate tensions. Whereas Qadiriyya enabled connectedness on larger scales, the people of Ujiji were facing acute local divisions, not the least in their relations to nearby Jiji surroundings.

Politics of Origin and the Clash of 1932

The colonial administrative reform that put urban Ujiji under rural Jiji indirect rule did not cause the tensions between urban and rural and between people from around the lake and people emanating from within the caravan trade complex, but it gave these tensions additional weight. A plethora of conflicts transpires from the archives in the years after Ujiji's loss of township status and they all reflect the opposition between groups close and distant to Jiji surroundings.

In 1928, there was a conflict over a marriage and inheritance between some Wabangubangu – an ethnic group from Manyema – and headman Heri of Mwanga, who came from Manyema himself. Heri's son had married the daughter of the Bangubangu Bwana Fisi – elsewhere also called *mzee* Fisi – who was the leader of the people from Manyema in Ujiji. A Bangubangu woman had died, leaving an estate behind, and Heri and his son claimed a share of the inheritance. This was not in line with Bangubangu interpretations of Islamic law. The court, in which Heri himself seated, was unable to settle the matter. Moreover, Heri insulted Wabangubangu in court and was removed following this confrontation.[52] This case about marriage, inheritance, and insults is at first sight a typical interpersonal conflict, one which does not tell us much about what was going on in the urban community or with regard to the administrative reforms. However, although both parties were Muslim, the Wabangubangu insisted on following Islamic law, which in the context

51 Abel, *Les Musulmans noirs*, 37–38, 42–44; Nimtz, *Islam and Politics*, 78–79, 121, 127.

52 TNA, Tang. Sec., 12218: Letter from District Officer Kigoma to Provincial Commissioner Kigoma, 23 October 1928.

of the introduction of Native Administration was meant to keep court cases away from Jiji authorities, to which Heri incidentally maintained close relations. The emerging dividing line, thus, was not based on the area of origin – both parties were from Manyema – but on the proximity to or distance from Jiji surroundings and the position taken vis-à-vis Native Administration on the one hand, and the role of Islam on the other. This conflict also heralded a split within Ujiji between two groups, which had intermarried until recently. Islamic law, in fact, was the most obvious viable alternative that could bridge the different groups in town, which, contrary to most of the surrounding Jiji people, were almost exclusively Muslim. However, it would take a few more years until what urban population groups had in common would gain the upper hand over what divided them.

Two years later, mention was made of the risk of conflict erupting among "bani (Dancing Clubs)"[53] – which undoubtedly refers to *beni ngoma* dance associations that had developed on the Swahili coast and channelled intra-community rivalries in the form of competition and mockery.[54] These *beni* reflected divisions, typically in two opposing groups or moieties, within an urban community and balanced out rivalry and commonality – the common ground of *beni* in the first place. It was a phenomenon that could both escalate and alleviate intra-community tensions. The fact that *beni* were on the verge of erupting into open confrontation in 1930 is indicative of tensions within the urban population at large.[55]

A further sign of this imminent threat of things falling apart was the formalization of the opposing groups along areas of origin: Manyema versus Lake Tanganyika. Groups that had (co)existed for decades founded associations representing their respective interests in the late 1920s: the "Watoto ya [sic] Wamanyema", also called "Arabiani", "Manyema" or the "Arabu-Congo" association, was founded in 1928;[56] the larger "Unity of Tanganyika Society" or "Lakist" association followed not much later.[57] Both took care of mutual aid "in the cases of the poor, and burial of

53 TNA, Tang. Sec., 12218: Letter from Provincial Commissioner to Chief Secretary, 28 January 1930.

54 Terence O. Ranger, *Dance and society in Eastern Africa, 1890–1970: The Beni Ngoma* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975). Also see TNA, Sec. (E.S.), AB.856: Township – Kigoma & Ujiji, 1921–1925. Ngomas were strictly regulated and required the most expensive permits at the time.

55 McCurdy, "The 1932 'War'", 15–20; Interview KU4, Ujiji, 12 September 2011; Informal conversation KU8, Ujiji, 14 September 2011.

56 TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1928, 5.

57 Its first correspondence with the colonial administration was in 1930, but the association already existed before. TNA, Tang. Sec., 20744: Report on Affray at Ujiji, April 3rd 1932 by acting Provincial Commissioner Tabora, 13 April 1932.

the dead etc.".[58] In 1933, a spin-off of the Tanganyika association would petition for reduced tariffs to lease train wagons because the prices for *muhogo* (cassava), paddy rice, beans, and dry fish had plummeted.[59] This gives an insight into the kind of interests the associations took care of. However, apart from attending to each groups' internal interests, there was also a strong and growing rivalry. The formalization of the divide indicates that the late-nineteenth-century distinctions still – or again – mattered and had grown to the point that organization was deemed necessary. The *beni* were split along the same lines. In addition, the global Great Depression, an upsurge in sleeping sickness, and a locust plague causing bad harvests coincided in the early 1930s.[60]

In the Spring of 1932, a violent confrontation with lethal consequences erupted within the urban community of Ujiji. McHenry mentions the "Ujiji riots" as a reason for consequent reforms. But for an interpretation of the events – or "war" (*vita* in Kiswahili) as it is called in oral history accounts –, we can turn to the incisive analysis by Sheryl McCurdy. McCurdy substantiates that women took the lead in articulating the confrontation in *lelemana* competitions, the female form of *beni ngoma*.[61] The emerging confrontation in Ujiji radiated well beyond the town itself, having its fallout in Rumonge in Belgian-ruled Ruanda-Urundi for instance.[62] This underscores the fact that what happened in Ujiji was not just a defensive reaction against being overshadowed by Jiji indirect rule, but that events in Ujiji radiated well beyond the Kigoma district or the Jiji land. With a territorial lens, Ujiji may seem a relatively large town subdued by an even larger Jiji land. Seen from Ujiji's position within a Swahili urbane network, however, it clearly surpassed the reach of the Jiji land.

The conflict between the two groups that were superficially defined according to their areas of origin but fundamentally divided over their compatibility with Jiji authorities – or the lack thereof – had been boiling for four years already, when on Sunday 3 April 1932, a petty dispute escalated into a violent encounter "with spears, knives and sticks". One man was killed and "59 persons [had] various injuries, some of which were most severe".[63] The direct trigger for

58 TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1928, 5.

59 TNA, Tang. Sec., 21796: Lake National – Native Trading Society at Kigoma, 1933.

60 TNA, 523.M.5/23: Food shortage – Kigoma, 1931–1956.

61 Drawing inspiration from Margaret Strobel, see Terence O. Ranger, "Appendix: The Role of Women in Dance Associations in Eastern Africa" in Terence O. Ranger, *Dance and Society in Eastern Africa 1890–1970: The Beni Ngoma* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 167–170.

62 AAB, Archives du Burundi (Bur), (74)1: Rapport politique du Service des Renseignements, 1er trimestre 1932, Poste de Rumonge.

63 TNA, Tang. Sec., 20744: Commissioner of Police to Chief Secretary, 12 April 1932.

the fight had been a disagreement over a debt, but the high tensions between the two groups were the precondition for the grave escalation. 45 men were convicted and imprisoned with hard labour for the riot in general. It turned out that a policeman had at least indirectly been involved in the killing by leaving the handcuffed Maseya – a member of the Manyema – to the mob. Yet, as such, the murder was never resolved.[64]

In a report written ten days after the confrontation, the acting Provincial Commissioner for the Western Province Frank Longland explicitly makes the link with the administrative reform: "[T]he present system of native administration in Ujiji is a failure. The town possesses a native court for which an appeal lies to Chief Lusimbi's Court. Chief Lusimbi has not taken the slightest notice of the recent events, he has not even put in an appearance at Kigoma, much less Ujiji".[65]

Apart from the unease with Jiji interference from the side of the Manyema, they also wanted to enable marriages and trade with people from the Tanganyika Association as well as with Arabs, whereas the larger Tanganyika Association tended towards a more closed community, favouring exchange amongst its own members.[66] McCurdy highlights in particular the role of women, including their options for marriage, in inciting the escalation in April 1932. The *lelemana* dance competition had been used to stir up animosity. However, despite violent chants addressed at the Manyema leader, Mzee Fisi, the lethal outcome of the confrontation had probably not been anticipated by any of them.[67]

A little over a year after the fight, the fierce animosity seems to have been settled with the help of their Tabora counterparts, the once again crucial figure of the *liwali*, and Allah – Ar-Rahman Ar-Rahīm – Himself. I quote the report by the Provincial Commissioner at length, because it raises a range of issues that are uncommon in the colonial archives:

> An incident occurred [in Tabora] which has had an important reaction on the contending parties. As you are aware, the Manyema and Tanganyika factions are not confined to Ujiji. The parties are to be found in Tabora, and in Dar es Salaam, and at least in Tabora there was as little love lost between them as in Ujiji. Two lads, who were great friends, but whose parents were of opposing parties, were accidently drowned in an almost disused well in Tabora. The party leaders decided that if God had allowed both lads to be drowned He could not favour one party above the other. They, therefore, sought to come to terms with each

64 TNA, Tang. Sec., 20744: Affray between Tanganyika and Arab factions at Ujiji, 1932–1935.

65 TNA, Tang. Sec., 20744: Acting Provincial Commissioner Western Province to Chief Secretary, 13 April 1932.

66 TNA, Tang. Sec., 20744: Rules of the Manyema Association; Ibid., Rules of the Unity of Tanganyika Society or Tanganyika National Association.

67 McCurdy, "The 1932 'War'", 15–20.

> other. They also wrote to Ujiji to exhort their friends to do the same. When the liwali of Tabora went to Ujiji, he took with him a deputation of the Manyema and Tanganyikans of Tabora in order to induce the parties to make peace. It was considered politic to issue these men with a railway warrant.
>
> I arrived at Kigoma on April 23rd, and on April 24th, went to Ujiji. At a well attended baraza [a public council], the head of the Manyema, Mzee Fisi, publicly proclaimed peace with the Tanganyikans, and the new head of the Tanganyikans, Mzee Hamisi, proclaimed peace with the Manyemas. All of their party who were present acclaimed the action of their leaders. Many women were present as is usual in the barazas at Ujiji. "Ngomas" were held in which both parties took part, the "ngomas" continued for several days.
>
> Seeing so many women present and knowing that they exercise a considerable influence in their "ngomas", and on the advice of the liwali of Tabora, on April 26th, another baraza was held at Ujiji in which the women were asked to state their views on affairs. The net result was that the women of the Manyema Party went to pay their respects to the head of the Tanganyikans, and the Tanganyikans returned the complement [sic]. Since April 24th, there has been "great rejoicing" in Ujiji.[68]

It is remarkable to find overt attention paid to the important role of women in the public life of Ujiji in the colonial archives. There are a few other places where women are mentioned – for instance, in lists of local leaders of the Tanganyika African National Union leading up to and after the independence –, but their role is rarely highlighted and reflected upon.[69] Complementing the role of women, the reconciling intervention by the *liwali* also mattered. That intervention underscores how this religiously vested authority had significantly more legitimacy within the urban community than the Jiji *mwami*, who showed no interest. Moreover, proper self-administration or self-organization was, at that moment, channelled through the Tanganyika and Manyema Associations. When Longland contemplated towards the end of his letter to the Chief Secretary that he "hardly th[ought] that we have got to the bottom of the crucial differences between the Tanganyikans and the Manyemas yet",[70] he missed that the sources of discord between the Manyema and the Lakists had already been resolved. The mutual female recognition, which implies that respect was not only paid but also accepted, symbolizes that the ban on inter-community marriages had been lifted. It was also clear to all parties involved, including the colonial administration for that matter, that urban Ujiji had nothing to expect from the Jiji native administration and all the more

68 TNA, Tang. Sec., 20744: Provincial Commissioner Western Province to Chief Secretary, Re Affairs in Ujiji, 2 May 1933.

69 For research on the role of women in Tanganyikan politics or in Kigoma-Ujiji, see Geiger, *TANU women* and McCurdy, "Transforming associations".

70 TNA, Tang. Sec., 20744: Provincial Commissioner Western Province to Chief Secretary, Re Affairs in Ujiji, 2 May 1933.

from the urban and Islamic connection with Tabora and perhaps also Dar es Salaam and other coastal towns. It had become obvious that Manyema and Tanganyikans in urban Ujiji were a community of fate. After all, both societies had only been established when native administration was introduced at the end of the 1920s. This does not mean that there were no tensions before, but the administrative reform and the increased Jiji power over Ujiji had triggered the urge to organize – or at least to organize apart from and against each other. On 24 April 1933, the achievement of peace was formalized in a joint letter by the two leaders, recognizing the decisive role of the *liwali* of Tabora.[71]

Despite the confirmed reconciliation, there were again some tensions in Ujiji in June 1935 on the eve of *Maulid*, the birthday of the Prophet and one of the most important festivals within the Qadiriyya. The colonial administration attributed this eruption of discord to Manyema-Tanganyika dissensions, although it seems that Islamic scholars from the coast – two from Bagamoyo and one from Dar es Salaam – were showing off who was strongest in "wealth and learning", hence in gaining followers.[72] The qualification of this dispute as part of the Tanganyika-Manyema conflict is a telling illustration of how the colonial administrators looked at Ujiji for at least a decade after 1932. For the colonial administration, the so-called "riots" and the two associations remained the touching stone for whatever happened in Ujiji. For the people of Ujiji, the Qadiriyya cohesion had been questioned one last time – until around 1980, that is – but had become far more important than the previous divisions for decades to come.

Urban Self-Organization as a Prelude to Decolonization

Nevertheless, British colonial administrators understood that the subjugation of Ujiji to Jiji indirect rule had played a role in triggering the Ujiji conflict. Relatively soon, they developed a new administrative entity that was considerably smaller than the previous polity of Jiji indirect rule and in which Ujiji became the leading component. Plans to create "a peculiar mixture of direct and indirect rule" were discussed from 1934 onwards, resulting in the establishment of the Luiche Federa-

71 TNA, Tang. Sec., 20744: Letter from Tanganyika and Arabian Congo, Ujiji, 24 April 1933 (literal translation). In the letter, eighteen "Elders" who came from Tabora to Ujiji with liwali Hamedi bin Salehe are listed. Twelve of them were Arabu-Congo, six were Tanganyika. This probably indicates that the balance between the two groups differed between Tabora and Ujiji, the former town counting more people who came directly from the caravan trade complex (Manyema), whereas in Ujiji, understandably, a larger group came from around Lake Tanganyika.

72 TNA, Tang. Sec., 20744: Affray between Tanganyika and Arab factions at Ujiji, 1932–1935. On *Maulid*, see Nimtz, *Islam and Politics*, 80–81 and 121–133.

tion in 1936.[73] The federation was centred on the town of Ujiji and also contained the fertile areas near the Luiche River Delta in its immediate vicinity. This constellation did justice both to the enduring importance of agriculture for Ujiji and to Ujiji's relative standing apart from its Jiji surroundings, granting it its own judicial power and assigning it responsibility over a self-procured budget for the federation. The *liwali* presided over the Luiche federation's court. He was assisted by six town *jumbes* or headmen, as had been the case when Ujiji was still a township in the 1920s. Furthermore, the leaders of the Arabiani and Tanganyika associations held honorary seats on the bench.[74] Contrary to the 1928 reform when the colonial ideology of Native Administration was imposed, now local realities and needs were taken into consideration as well. Nevertheless, the Luiche Federation was as much a colonial construct as Jiji indirect rule. Colonial administrative reforms responded to local constellations and challenges, undoubtedly having an influence on them, but not necessarily causing them. For the historian, however, a chain of reforms indicates that something did not work as expected, hence it is worthwhile taking a closer look.

Although the introduction of the Luiche Federation seems to have helped to appease the tensions in Ujiji and improved the functioning of the local "native" administration from the point of view of the colonial administration, malfunctions surfaced after a couple of years. From the colonial sources it permeates that the Ujiji populace accommodated themselves to the way the British had designed the Luiche Federation, whereas the British colonial administration increasingly sensed that the representatives were in fact not really representative of the town's population. In other words, the new form of colonial administration was no longer a ground for confrontation between the people of Ujiji, yet it still did not reflect how the people of Ujiji conceived of – and probably organized – themselves. Expectations differed as well. For the people of Kigoma-Ujiji, as long as colonial forms did not cause any disturbance, they were nothing more and nothing less than vehicles of colonial administration. From the point of view of the colonial administration, their forms had to be as effective as possible as a means of control, taxation, recruitment or, during the Second World War, conscription. Therefore, it should not come as a surprise that the people of Ujiji made no effort to "improve" the representativeness of the Luiche Federation's institutions and instead merely designated the bench members that the administration asked for.

73 TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1934, 7 and 1937, 7.

74 TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1936, 7, 1939, 12, and 1941, 2; TNA, Sec. (E.S.), AB.57: Annual Report: Kigoma District, 1925, 1.

I come to this interpretation through a reverse reading: In 1941, the colonial administration noted that the Luiche Federation was not "effective" in drafting people for the war effort. They concluded that the *jumbes* were incompetent and instead promoted the hitherto "honorary" members, that is, the leaders of the Arabiani and Tanganyika Associations, to Native Administration.[75] The archival sources do not disclose who these *jumbes* were in 1941. However, it is not unlikely that their "incompetence" in recruiting people for the war effort meant that they perfectly represented the will of the people of Ujiji. Indirectly, the colonial sources already disclose that the reorganization of 1941 was not in line with how the people of Ujiji read the situation:

> Unfortunately the people were not consulted over this important change, with the result that the attempt to give them [the Arabiani and Tanganyika consuls] their true position and standing as an Authority has failed and an application has now been received to have them removed.[76]

Could it be that the people did not want to be conscripted for the war effort, not caring whether the recruiters were *jumbes* or consuls?

It took less than two years – and the Second World War was not even over – until "the swollen heads the Consuls have got" made clear that "the two Societies, the Tanganyika and the Congo Arabiani [. . .] were in fact defunct and for the past three years had only maintained a semblance of existence owing to the official position and salaries accorded to the two Consuls".[77] In fact, the District Commissioner of Kigoma had already signalled a lack of leadership in November 1941 – less than half a year after having installed the consuls as a native authority – but was harshly rebuffed by the Provincial Commissioner.[78] Yet, not only had the societies, which the British had seen as Ujiji's primordial division, ceased to exist, but there are also no other traces of division to be found in the archival sources from the 1940s onwards. This does not tell us much about everyday life in the town, but it does suggest that the populace of Ujiji was united in their attitude towards colonial rule. The lack of dissonance, at least in so far as the colonial administration was aware, presages the massive and seemingly unanimous participation in the political decolonization movement in the second half of the next decade.

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75 TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1941, 2; TNA, Tang. Sec., 20797: Ujiji Township Authority, 1944–1954: Note from DC Kigoma to Chief Secretary, 10 June 1944.

76 TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1941, 2.

77 TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1943, 2 and 1944, 1–2.

78 TNA, 523.M.70/11: Administration: Ujiji Fire, 1934–1947, Letter DC Kigoma to PC Western Province, 22 November 1941; Letter PC Western Province to DC Kigoma, 11 December 1941.

Meanwhile, the British realization that the Manyema-Tanganyika opposition had lost its relevance came at a time when an alternative organizing principle for the town of Ujiji was already at hand: firefighting provided the inspiration for a reform of the organization of indirect rule in Ujiji. It would lead to a relatively effective organization, albeit limited to the role of an interface between population and administration, hence not necessarily representative of town life in general.

Densely populated and disorderly built, Ujiji was particularly prone to huge fires at the end of the dry season when sparks could easily ignite reed roofs. The sources mention numerous cases of ravaging fires: "A serious outbreak of fire on 3rd August 1925 destroyed 13 houses in less than half an hour [in the Ujiji township]".[79] An incinerator caused a fire in September 1930 and again on 10 September 1934, this time leading to one fatality, damage to 264 buildings and the destruction of 7,500 shillings worth of rice seeds. In 1935, four houses in Ujiji were destroyed by a fire on 9 July, two houses on 28 July, and eight on 23 August. On that same day, two more houses burned down in Mwanga. On 29 August 1940, Mwanga was again struck by a fire burning 96 houses. On 17 September 1941, 300 houses in Ujiji were destroyed by fire that killed two women and a child. There had also been fires in Gungu and Mwanga that same week. On 12 September 1944, another fire in Ujiji destroyed 232 houses, killing three women.[80]

Above all, the devastating fires of 1934, 1941, and 1944 gave rise to colonial insistence on a firefighting scheme and on preventive measures in the layout of the town. Suggested measures included street widening, making open spaces, using corrugated iron instead of thatched roofs, slum clearance, removing trees, buying fire hooks in order to quickly remove thatched roofs, the installation of water tanks or piped water, and introducing a system of fire wardens.[81] It seems that only the purchase of 16 fire hooks, the installation of water tanks, and the appointment of fire wardens were actually implemented.[82] Eight firefighting wards in Ujiji and three more in Mwanga, each supervised by a fire warden, formed the basis of a firefighting scheme. The expectation was that these wardens

79 TNA, Sec. (E.S.), AB.57: Annual Report: Kigoma District, 1925, 8.

80 TNA, 523.M.70/11: Administration: Ujiji Fire, 1934–1947.

81 TNA, Tang. Sec., 30158: Fire at Ujiji Minor Settlement (1941–1944); TNA, 523.M.70/11, Administration: Ujiji Fire, 1934–1947.

82 TNA, 523.M.70/11: Administration: Ujiji Fire, 1934–1947, Letter DC Kigoma to PC Western Province, 22 November 1941; TNA, Tang. Sec., 30158: Fire at Ujiji Minor Settlement (1941–1944), The Native Authority Ordinance (cap. 47), The Fire (Ujiji and Mwanga) Rules, 1942; and Letter of PC Western Province to Chief Secretary, 29 July 1947.

would have the authority and legitimacy to mobilize every "able bodied person" in his sub-area to fight fire when needed.

It soon turned out that the fire wardens were colloquially called *jumbes* (headmen) rather than "katikiro wa moto". The colonial administration interpreted this as recognition of their authority. In 1944, the fire wardens-turned-*jumbe* were formalized as a native authority under the *liwali*, who was still the chair of the court.[83] I assume that these *jumbes* were indeed widely respected for their useful role in firefighting, which was ipso facto a chore that involved cooperation with the colonial administration and they therefore had popular legitimacy as representatives of Ujiji in native administration. Whether that involved a leadership position inside the community is an altogether different issue. However, this reorganization of Native Administration, regardless of leadership positions, involved a shift from a hitherto primordial ethnic reading based on a division between Manyema and Tanganyika toward a spatial organization of the administration of Ujiji and Mwanga based on wards.

6.2 Tanganyika, from Lake to Nation

A quarter of a century after Ujiji had been squeezed betwixt-and-between a native-free Kigoma and an ethnic-territorial Jiji indirect rule, which had incited tensions within the town itself, Ujiji again became a township in 1953.[84] Soon afterwards, the first proposals for a combined authority for Kigoma and Ujiji were discussed, contemplating the possibility of economizing by sharing one township hospital or pondering the language to be used at Township Authority meetings, given that such meetings were held in English in Kigoma and in Kiswahili in Ujiji.[85] At first, the idea was postponed but it was soon taken up again by TANU (Tanganyika African National Union) representatives in town.[86] One of their concerns was that the council and its chairperson should be elected rather than appointed by the District Commissioner. In the end, it would not be until 1963,

83 TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1943, p. 2; TNA, 180.A2/3: African Administration & Affairs, Administration Ujiji & Mwanga & Mwandiga, 1933–1954, Report on Local Government, Ujiji, 25 April 1944.

84 TNA, 523.M.70/9: Constitution: Ujiji Township Authority, 1952–1962; TNA, 523.M.70/10: Ujiji Township, 1952–1956.

85 TNA, 523.M.70/10: Ujiji Township, 1952–1956, Suggested amalgamation of Ujiji and Kigoma Townships, 12 April 1955.

86 TNA, 523.M.70/9: Constitution: Ujiji Township Authority, 1952–1962, PC Western Province to DC Kigoma, 2 September 1959.

the second year after the independence of Tanganyika, that an amalgamated township Kigoma-Ujiji would be formed.[87] The TANU intervention, however, makes it clear that these discussions were already intertwined with the decolonization process.

By the time Tanganyika's leading decolonization party, the TANU, was founded in 1954, Ujiji had already gone through a local liberation process, gaining autonomy from Jiji authority as well as from a colonial ethnic-territorial reading grid. Once the native authority had been shifted from the Jiji land to the local level, first within the Luiche Federation and eventually within Ujiji as township, differences amongst the urban population stopped being the organizing principle for representation and self-organization. By 1944, a dispassionate spatial division in fire wards had replaced colonial representation but also identification based on group identity, area of origin or degree of connectedness with the Jiji surroundings. As we have seen, connectedness across an East African urban and Muslim network with Tabora but also all the way up to the coast proved more decisive in solving conflicts than the envisaged ethnic-territorial native administration. I argue that this network – rather than colonial, national or state-in-the-making territorial connectedness – would characterize the decolonization movement in Kigoma-Ujiji.

TANU had had a particularly active branch in the Kigoma District ever since its establishment,[88] despite being far away from the political centre of Tanganyika and not containing a provincial capital. Yet, political activity at the fringes of the incipient national territory seems perfectly in line with schoolbook expectations of territorial homogeneity and with the border as the focal point of establishing the nation-state. When we have a closer look, however, TANU activity in Kigoma did not neatly fit a territorial order.

Before we come to this relation to territoriality, I first zoom in on TANU in Kigoma in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Ujiji was at the heart of TANU activity in the urban area – seconded by Mwanga. The Ujiji-Kigoma TANU branch for the region, the Kigoma District branch, the Ujiji Town branch, the Mwanga (Kigoma) branch, and the TANU Youth League Ujiji branch were all operating from Ujiji. Most meetings took place in Cine-Atlas, which was owned by the Hindu R.N. Desai, who also became one of the representatives of the Asian communities.[89] The Asian representation – both for the preparation of the independence celebrations and later within the TANU-led town administration – was organized according to communities, with representatives of Ismailia and Ithna-Ashari Shiites, of Sunni, and of Hindu – four

87 McHenry, "Reorganization", 72.

88 McHenry, "A study of the rise of TANU".

89 TNA, 180.A6/5: Associations: The Tanganyika African National Union, Vol. I, 1955–1960 and Vol. II, 1960–1963; TNA, 523.A.60/1: Associations, Societies etc. – TANU.

religious categories – and of Arab and Somali communities. The vastly more numerous and more crucial African core of TANU, however, was not further subdivided. Yet, it is noticeable that committee members of TANU branches on town, district, and regional levels almost all had Swahili names. I do not want to jump to a conclusion based on a tentative assessment of names, but it is an indication of the urban Muslim predominance within TANU in the westernmost part of the country, a fact also observed by John Iliffe.[90]

As further circumstantial evidence, I could retrieve details about the TANU district staff for 1963, showing that of 17 staff members, seven were Bwari, two Horohoro, one Bembe, and one Manyema.[91] Bwari, Bembe, and Horohoro are ethnonyms from the west side of Lake Tanganyika and which, in the context of the Manyema-Tanganyika division of the 1930s, would have been part of the Tanganyikans. Obviously, given their commitment to the Tanganyika African National Union, they still identified with Tanganyika 30 years later, but meanwhile the reference to Tanganyika had shifted from origins around Lake Tanganyika to an identification with the Tanganyikan nation. Parallel to that, Manyema had also been re-signified, coming to include the entire urbanized, Muslim, and Swahili-speaking – that is, as a mother tongue – population originating from the nineteenth-century caravan trade complex and its fallout (see Chapter 3). In other words, Manyema by then also included the former Tanganyika.[92] Almost four years after independence, the TANU leadership underscored at a Ujiji party meeting in 1965 that people in Ujiji had struggled for *Uhuru* [freedom or independence] and that "Wamanyema are among strong TANU leaders and members of the party".[93] This message came under the heading "Citizenship". By then, the

90 Iliffe, *A Modern History*, 570.

91 TNA, 180.A6/5: Associations: The Tanganyika African National Union, Vol. II, 1960–1963, TANU District Headquarters Ujiji, Majina ya Watumishi, 3 May 1963.

92 This was in line with the use of the term on the coast, in places like Bagamoyo and Dar es Salaam, where Manyema referred to all people having come from across Lake Tanganyika in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. However, the farmers and fishers from around the lake, who constituted the core of the Tanganyika Association in Kigoma-Ujiji in the 1920s and 1930s, had never been as numerous on the coast, which implies that most Manyema on the coast never were "Tanganyikan" or "Lakist" in the Kigoma-Ujiji meaning of the term. For more information about the Manyema in Tanzania, see Katharina Zöller, "The Manyema in colonial Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) between urban margins and regional connections" in *Understanding the city through its margins: Pluridisciplinary perspectives from case studies in Africa, Asia and the Middle East*, (eds.) Andre Chappatte, Ulrike Freitag and Nora Lafi (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), p. 117–146; Zöller, "Tracing the Past"; Zöller, "Crossing Multiple Borders".

93 TNA, 523.A.60/1: Associations, Societies etc. – TANU, messages to be delivered at the party meeting at Ujiji on 14 June 1965.

urban Muslim hold over TANU in Kigoma was already under pressure, with rural Ha authorities – including the Jiji *mwami* George Rusimbi – rapidly taking over leadership positions and mandates.[94] Those at the 1965 meeting apparently felt the need to confirm the citizenship of Manyema Tanzanians. I will return to this issue in the next chapters.

In the years leading up to independence, however, connections across the country as well as the lake characterized the operations of the urbanites who still held the reins of TANU in Kigoma-Ujiji. This connectedness was more intense with other urban centres along what had been the caravan trade complex in the nineteenth century – and had since been connected by rail or by lake navigation – than with the rural surroundings of Kigoma-Ujiji. These connections – mobilized for decolonization purposes – were not limited to the Tanganyika territory, but clearly included exchange with Burundi and Congo as well. The first political party in Ruanda-Urundi, the *Union Africaine Nationale du Ruanda-Urundi* (Rwanda-Burundi African National Union), was modelled after TANU,[95] and already before that, urban Muslims founded TANU cells in Burundian towns along Lake Tanganyika. In 1958, a clerk of the Swahili court of Rumonge smuggled TANU propaganda while returning from a football game in Kigoma and consequently lost his job.[96] In Bujumbura, too, the colonial intelligence service identified people who operated as liaison with TANU in Kigoma-Ujiji.[97] Still after independence, in 1963, TANU in Kigoma-Ujiji invited long-term political allies from the Swahili towns along the lake in Burundi to *Saba Saba* (seven seven or 7 July) festivities to celebrate the anniversary of TANU.[98] Political exchanges also took place with Congo. In the music scene, for instance, hugely popular Congolese musicians toured in Tanganyika, local musicians in Ujiji translated political songs to Kiswahili and to the Tanzanian political context or bands from Ujiji gave concerts at political meetings in Congo – and in Rwanda – both before and after independence.[99]

It is not surprising that TANU was engaged in transnational exchanges. To start with, the party's name does not refer to a Tanganyikan nation but to an African national union. This may seem a semantic discussion, but, in fact, it is more

94 Iliffe, *A Modern History*, 570.

95 Castryck, "Children of the revolution"; Christine Deslaurier, "Un monde politique en mutation: le Burundi à la veille de l'indépendance (circa 1956–1961)", PhD dissertation, Université Paris I Panthéon Sorbonne, 2003.

96 AAB, Bur (74)5: Rapports par territoires sur les incidents au Ruanda-Urundi 1949/61.

97 AAB, Bur (74)4 c7: Administration de la Sûreté - Bulletin d'information, N° 0570/267/B.I.208, 28 mars 1958.

98 TNA, 180.A6/5: Associations: The Tanganyika African National Union, Vol. II, 1960–1963, Sikukuu ya Saba-Saba, 24 June 1963.

99 Interview KU7, Ujiji, 14 September 2011; Interview KU27, Ujiji, 27 June 2012.

than just a play of words. This denomination was grafted upon the discarded British proposal to have European, Asian, and African delegations sharing power in the Tanganyika Territory, which led to the founding of the Tanganyika African Association 25 years before TANU.[100] In that sense, the reference to "African National" is set against an inner-Tanganyikan background. However, there is also a transnational aspect involved and a form of Pan-Africanism evoked. TANU invested a lot in maintaining good relations with liberation movements in the region, and in 1958 Nyerere took the initiative to found the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) to that purpose.[101] The transnational exchanges by TANU in Kigoma-Ujiji may at first sight seem to fit the party's Pan-Africanist outlook, yet, the grassroots character as well as the orientation towards Ruanda-Urundi and Congo divert from PAFMECA's exchange amongst the top-level party leaders and their primary focus on British colonial territories. The transnational activity by TANU from Kigoma-Ujiji is not between territories but based on connections dating back to the caravan trade complex. As a consequence, when control over TANU in Kigoma shifted from urban Ujiji-controlled to rural Jiji- or Ha-controlled, this ethnic-territorial takeover – within a national-territorial state-in-the-making – also aborted the grassroots transnational exchanges in the political domain.

Many contemporary observers and historians have taken the colonial and later nation state as a given. Conditioned by this frame of reference, we can read in reports and monographs that Ujiji was politically active but mainly concerned with local issues.[102] This may be partly true, but I claim that it also partly misses the point. Of course, when scholars such as John Iliffe narrate their story in a strictly Tanganyikan national frame, everything that is not national can only be smaller than national, therefore local. Only because the colonial borders have become national borders without alterations does it seem natural that the historical outcome was also the historical intention, or that the resulting national belonging was also the basis of political activity. However, in Kigoma-Ujiji's decolonization process, the urban Muslim Swahili network, also known up to the coast as the Manyema connection, was more decisive than the Tanganyikan-national orientation and did not stop at state borders. This network was not only smaller than or part of Tanganyika but was also larger and crossing borders with Congo and Bur-

100 Iliffe, *A Modern History*, chapter 13.

101 Ismay Milford, *African Activists in a Decolonising World: The Making of an Anticolonial Culture, 1952–1966* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023); Eric Burton, *In Diensten des Afrikanischen Sozialismus: Tansania und die globale Entwicklungsarbeit der beiden deutschen Staaten, 1961–1990* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021).

102 Iliffe, *A Modern History*, 503; TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1954, 1.

undi – and with Zanzibar for that matter, which was then still a political entity apart from Tanganyika. What happened politically in Ujiji was not local but translocal. It was linked with towns in Tanganyika as much as it radiated along and across the lake.[103]

Throughout the colonial period, the population of Ujiji transformed its multilayered connections in response to colonization itself, to the drawing and redrawing of borders, to a British colonial ideology of indirect rule, to economic and environmental crises, to a global decolonization process, and to territorial nation-building as soon as independence was achieved. In the person of Heri, who embodied the Mrima-Omani, the Jiji-Ujiji, the Ujiji-Kigoma as well as the Tanganyika-Manyema binaries, we can recognize how different layers of connections were negotiated. The relation to different areas of origin in what had become Belgian Congo, the relation between urbanites from these different areas of origin, the relation to the Indian Ocean coast and to different groups on the coast, the relation to Islam and to different currents of Islam, the relation with Jiji rural surroundings, and the relation between different parts of the urban area all needed to be sorted out. The protracted transformation into an urban community where these manifold connections became a strength rather than a source of conflict eventually resulted in a translocally connected hotbed of decolonization around 1960. Soon afterwards, national politics strengthening the rural and territorial basis of the newly independent state would play down the political weight of Ujiji's connections. As we will see in the following chapters, however, the capacity for transformation and the reconfiguration of connections would reappear in other globally and internationally entangled domains.

103 Castryck, "Children of the Revolution".