Geert Castryck
Space of Transformation

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Geert Castryck

Space of Transformation

Kigoma-Ujiji, a Global History of a Liminal Town since the Mid-Nineteenth Century

DE GRUYTER
OLDENBOURG

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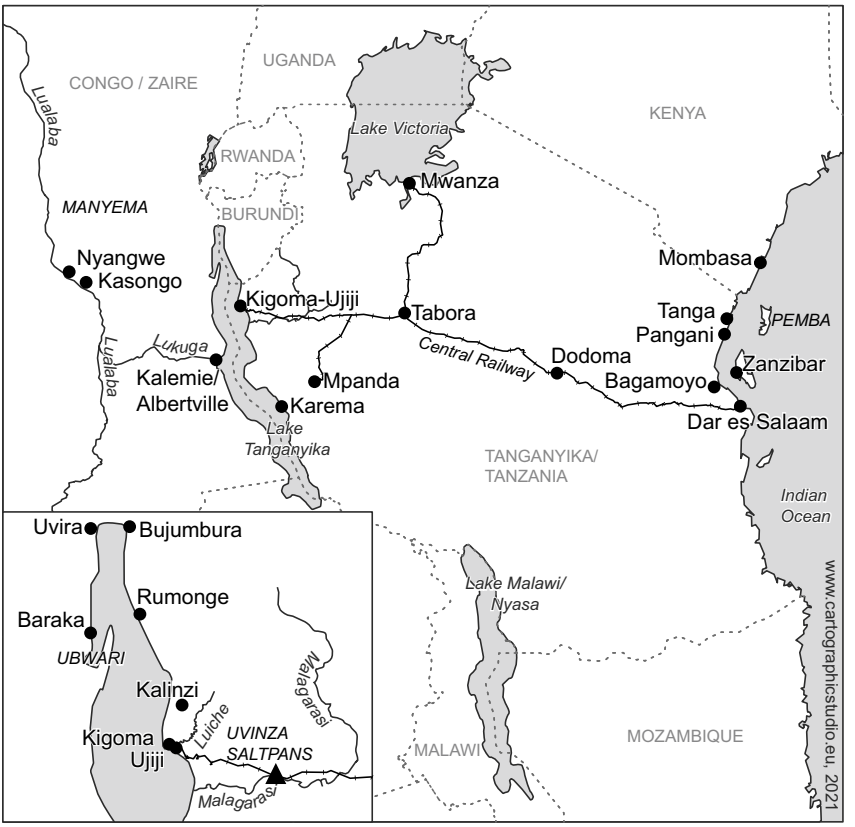
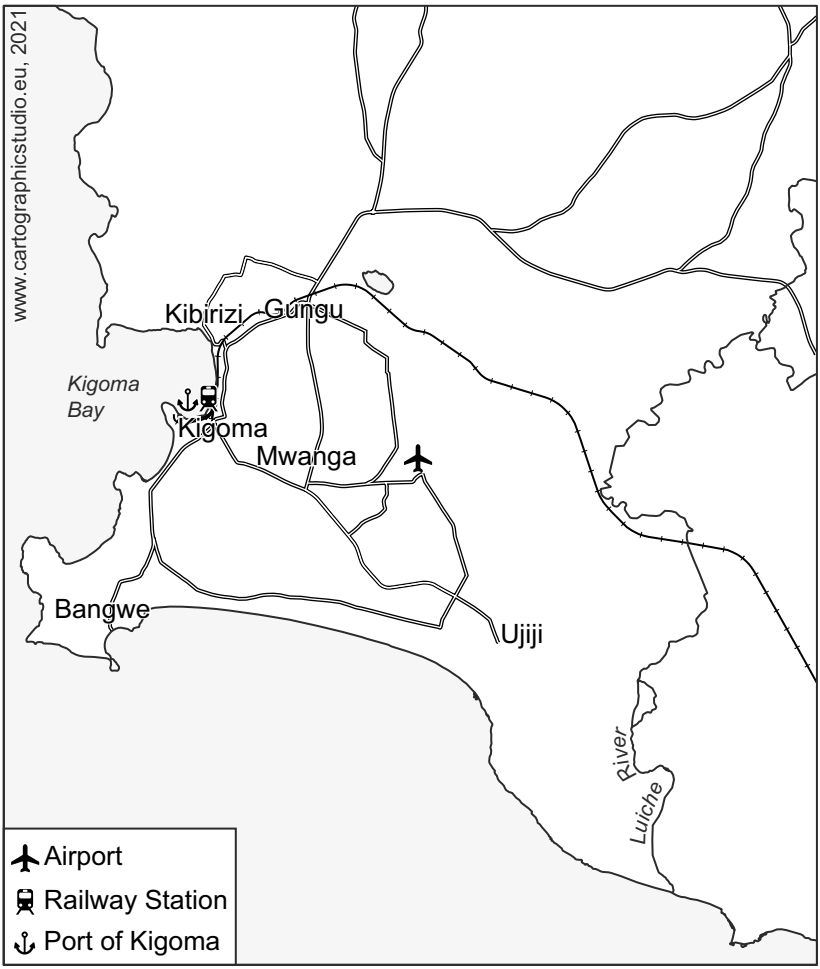
Contents

Maps



Map 1: Overview of East and Central Africa, with indication of relevant spaces for the period from the mid-nineteenth century until the present (www.cartographicstudio.eu, 2021).

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111436623-203



Map 2: Overview of the urban area of Kigoma-Ujiji, with indication of the most important neighbourhoods and transportation infrastructure (www.cartographicstudio.eu, 2021).

Figures

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111436623-204

On Language

Names of places, languages or groups of people are sometimes given in Kiswahili – the Swahili language – or in languages from near Lake Tanganyika (e.g. Kiha or Kirundi). A few prefixes are useful to know:

- Wa-, Ba- or Aba- in front of a root (e.g. Manyema, Ha) refers to the people, in plural. The singular forms are Mw-, Mu-, Umu- or M-.
  e.g. Mswahili (a Swahili person), Waswahili (Swahili people)
- U- or Bu- in front of a root (e.g. Jiji, Rundi) refers to the land of these people. U- is the Swahili form, Bu- is more common in the Lake Tanganyika region.
  e.g. Ubwari (the land of the Bwari, de facto a peninsula in Lake Tanganyika)
- Ki- in front of a root (e.g. Swahili, Ha) refers to the language – or culture more generally – of these people.
  e.g. Kirundi (the language or culture of the Warundi or of Burundi)
- The root itself can also be used as an adjective: e.g. the Swahili people, the Bwari peninsula, the Rundi language.

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Preface

The picture on the cover of this book gives an impression of the East Central African town of Kigoma evoking its connection to a power grid and to communication infrastructure. Based on the picture, one cannot determine whether Kigoma – or its twin town Ujiji, which together are the subject of this book – is on the receiving or on the distributing end of power, communication, and connectedness. This book explains that both directions matter.

This book is also the product of myself being both on the receiving and the distributing end of knowledge about Kigoma-Ujiji and of expertise in global urban history. I interpreted the history of the town as a space of transformation between global developments and local agency, but I could not have written this book without the input and support of the people who shared their knowledge and experience, pulled me through, shared insights, gave useful feedback and advice, facilitated my research and writing in practical terms, or provided indispensable distraction along the long and winding road. It is more than appropriate that this book begins with my gratitude to these people.

First of all, I want to thank my colleagues at the Institute of African Studies, the Centre for Area Studies, and the Research Centre Global Dynamics at Leipzig University as well as at the History Department at Ghent University and the Institute of Asian and African Studies at the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Forgive me for not listing all my colleagues individually. It is easy to start mentioning names – several come to my mind immediately – but there is no place to stop. You are written on the palms of my hands – in the hope that this is no blasphemy – rather than in an endless list of over a hundred names. Nonetheless, I do want to express explicit gratitude to Monika Große, Antje Zettler, Ute Rietdorf, Petra Damm, Astrid Schoeters, Astrid Kiesewetter, and Josephine Karge at the secretariats of the respective institutes, without whom academic work would not even begin to be possible.

Within my working environment, I want to make special mention of the Leipzig professors of African and global history – Adam Jones, Matthias Middell, and above all Dmitri van den Bersselaar –, who closely followed up on my progress, of the "Polenz Gang" (too many to list), who twice a year constructively, courteously, and committedly comment on each other's research, and of the "Habilitation self-help group" (Antje Dietze, Corinne Geering, Jürgen Dinkel, Katja Castryck-Naumann, Megan Maruschke, Nina Mackert, and Steffi Marung), who as a community of fate try to avert unpleasant surprises by already offering painstaking criticism when issues are not yet too late to remedy.

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I also want to thank the people who helped me during my research in Kigoma-Ujiji and in numerous archives. I am grateful to the staff of the Tanzania National Archives in Dar es Salaam, the Library of the University of Dar es Salaam, COSTECH in Tanzania, the Bundesarchiv in Berlin-Lichterfelde, the African Archives at the Federal Public Service Foreign Affairs in Brussels, the National Archives in Kew-London, and the Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies at Oxford University. The assistance of Elie Mwamba and Deo Baribwegure has been indispensable for my field research in Kigoma-Ujiji, and the support of Alexander Makulilo and Koen Stroeken for access to Tanzanian collections. The assistance of Yakoub Nsabimana and Berenike Eichhorn has been indispensable to make some of the collected information accessible in written French or German on top of spoken Kiswahili. Above all, I thank the dozens of wise men and women in Kigoma-Ujiji who were so kind to share their life histories and experiences with me.

Scattered all over the academic world, I have had the honour and pleasure to receive feedback, input, encouragement, and support from numerous scholars. I hope an alphabetical order does justice to all: Miguel Bandeiro Jerónimo, James Brennan, Jane Burbank, Eric Burton, Samuël Coghe, Frederick Cooper, – the late – Jan-Georg Deutsch, Lamine Doumbia, Andreas Eckert, Marie-Aude Fouéré, Joël Glasman, Philip Gooding, Hilde Greefs, Andreas Greiner, Nancy Rose Hunt, Emma Hunter, Konstantinos Katsakioris, Johan Lagae, Miles Larmer, Baz Lecocq, Gregory Maddox, Alexander Makulilo, Damiano Matasci, Sheryl McCurdy, Henri Médard, Ismay Milford, Jamie Monson, Jean-Marie Nduwayo, Paul Nugent, Peter Perdue, Stephen Rockel, Aldwin Roes, Stefan Rohdewald, Aidan Russell, Stefan Scheuzger, Abdul Sheriff, Koen Stroeken, Daniel Tödt, Dirk van Laak, Achim von Oppen, Andreas Zeman, Katharina Zöller and – regrettably without any doubt – some others whom I shamefully forget at this moment of writing: thanks a lot, *asante sana*, *danke schön*, *merci beaucoup*, *dank u wel*!

In the final stage of making the manuscript ready, I am grateful for the maps produced on short notice by Annelieke Vries, the proofreading by Deniz Bozkurt-Pekar and Ian Copestake – wherever I did not follow their suggestions is of course entirely my responsibility –, and in the same vein, for earlier proofreading of chapters and subchapters by Megan Maruschke, Adam Jones, and Forrest Kilimnik. For the production of the book, I thank Rabea Rittgerodt-Burke and Jana Fritsche at De Gruyter and Kalpana Sagayanathan at Integra.

After all this gratitude, I also want to apologize to family and friends for occasional grumpiness, for not responding to phone calls or emails within a reasonable timeframe, or for being absentminded when we did meet. Here, I consciously and deliberately decide not to mention you by name. You know who you are and so do I. I do want to make special mention of our two sons: Jona and Leo. I am sorry that I have not always been as present as I should have been, and I thank

you for relativizing my work by laughing your hearts out at the sound of the word “Ujiji”.

Finally, the invisible glue of this book, who stood by my side during the moments of despair, who made the indispensable writing retreats possible and even pushed me towards them, who took pains to strike a balance between her professional and private needs and mine – or ours –, who, parallel to all these, is also a colleague who critically commented on the entire manuscript, and who manages a family and a household with me: thank you Katja!

Geert Castryck
Leipzig, March 2025

1 Introduction

In the 1850s, the first European visitor to Ujiji was disappointed because what he encountered was not the great city he had expected. In the 1970s, an Italian filmmaker described Kigoma as "the centre of Africa [. . .] still close to prehistory", yet, at the same time, as "the new city" heralding a promising future for an emerging modern Africa. Kigoma and Ujiji, the two main centres of the Tanzanian lakeside town this book is about, have been characterized by ambivalences for more than a century and a half already. In the 2010s, several town inhabitants also complained about the neglect of Kigoma-Ujiji in the British colonial and Tanzanian post-independence periods yet believed in imminent change for the better.

These observations raise questions: Where do these expectations of greatness, modernity, and improvement come from? And what leads to the feelings of disappointment or neglect? Why does Kigoma-Ujiji attract attention and why does it lose it? And what do these ambivalent attitudes tell us about, and do to, this place and the people living there?

To address these questions, this book makes sense of Kigoma-Ujiji as a space of transformation. A century and a half of transformations on larger scales – be it the encroachment of a capitalist world-system and colonial conquest, de- and reterritorialization, the impact of the First World War, (colonial) state building, decolonization, the imposition of African Socialism and of neoliberalism, regional refugee crises, or heritage tourism – have not only challenged the people in the area, but how these challenges have been dealt with locally, also shapes how globalizations actually take place, in space and time. It is not an omnipotent, diffuse global scale that determines a one-size-fits-all globalization for the whole world, but multiple, often protracted and uncertain, translocal processes of adaptation and appropriation that ultimately result in numerous spatially and temporally specific histories of globalization.[1] I will soon explain why Kigoma-Ujiji is a particularly fruitful place to apply this approach, but at the same time, I argue that this approach can be applied to other places as well.

At first glance, Steven Fabian's book on Bagamoyo on the coast of the Indian Ocean and Andreas Zeman's book on Nkholongue, a tiny village on the east coast

1 For more information about the concept of "translocality", see Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen, "Introduction. 'Translocality': An Approach to Connection and Transfer in Area Studies", in *Translocality: The Study of Globalising Processes from a Southern Perspective*, (eds.), Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 1–21. I will come back to the concept later in the introduction.

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of Lake Malawi, appear to be similar to the book you are now reading about a medium-sized town on the east coast of Lake Tanganyika.[2] All three are concerned with the nineteenth-century caravan trade between the Indian Ocean and East Central Africa – or vice versa – and all three underline the importance of place or locality in interpreting how people deal with influences coming from larger spatial scales. But this book is also significantly different. For one thing, this has to do with the town itself: much more than the other two places, Kigoma-Ujiji remained regionally and infrastructurally connected after the demise of the caravan trade complex. But above all, my approach is different: instead of using external influences as a backdrop against which my colleagues meticulously reconstruct what happened in their respective places, I focus on the internal-external relations and the globally induced transformations themselves.

Although all history is social history, this book is not primarily about the everyday life of the people of Kigoma-Ujiji. Rather, people are important for their role in shaping successive – and ultimately successful – transformations in Kigoma-Ujiji. Connections are important in this, both in explaining the arrival of influences from larger scales and in enabling the mobilization of ways to deal with these influences. Furthermore, I conceive of a global urban history as a multidirectional history in which perceptions and representations of Kigoma-Ujiji interact with expectations and phenomena in the town itself. Thus, I analyse both perspectives on and from Kigoma-Ujiji. Taken together, transformations, connections, and representations are the three guiding principles of this book.

1.1 Transformations, Connections, and Representations

"Leka Dutigite", a 2012 song, allows me to pull the strings together, to combine inside and outside perspectives, and to provide a first glimpse of Kigoma-Ujiji. "Leka Dutigite" means "let us do some good", "let us show our importance", or by implication "let us be proud of ourselves" in Kiha, the language of the Waha, the predominant ethnic group in the region of Kigoma. Apart from its title, the song is in Kiswahili and sung by well-known Tanzanian singers, who formed the band Kigoma All Stars for the occasion. Although they have made their musical careers on the Indian Ocean coast, above all in Dar es Salaam, the Kigoma All Stars all have family roots in Kigoma. A local politician from the town of Kigoma, Zuberi

2 Steven Fabian, *Making Identity on the Swahili Coast: Urban Life, Community, and Belonging in Bagamoyo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Andreas Zeman, *The Winds of History: Life in a Corner of Rural Africa since the 19th Century* (Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2023).

Zitto Kabwe, took the initiative to bring the singers together and to let them perform a song of praise about Kigoma in the popular *bongo flava* music style. An accompanying video combines footage of the singers with some highlights of Kigoma, which are also evoked in the lyrics.[3] I will come back to the layout of Kigoma-Ujiji later, but for the time being, let me already point out that Kigoma is both the name of a region in the west of Tanzania bordering Lake Tanganyika to the west and Burundi to the north as well as of the administrative and infrastructural centre of the urban area of Kigoma-Ujiji. Ujiji has always been the town's most populated neighbourhood, today accounting for almost one third of the town's roughly 230,000 inhabitants, and was its political and commercial centre until the early-twentieth century. Although "Leka Dutigite" actually refers to the region, most of the references are to the urban area with which this book is concerned.

The text of the song reads like an anthology of what Kigoma has to offer, showcasing the place's cultural heritage, including the music itself. The first shot of the video shows the monumental railway station, which links the rail connection to the Indian Ocean with the lacustrine connection to East Congo. Lake Tanganyika figures prominently, showing the century-old ferry boat Liemba, the dagaa fishing industry,[4] and footage from a wooden boat carrying the singers to the Gombe chimpanzee reserve. A large part of the clip is filmed in this reserve, where Jane Goodall pioneered anthropological observations of wild chimpanzees around 1960 in search for a better understanding of the origins of mankind. Furthermore, coffee beans, kitenge cloth, salt, modern houses, and a power plant appear in the visuals or the lyrics, thus evoking the main products of Kigoma on the one hand, and images of modernity on the other. People, too, are shown in the video. Apart from the musicians themselves, we see famous soccer players and a Miss Tanzania. The people of Kigoma are displayed as anonymous masses cheering the Kigoma All Stars during an event on 12 July 2012, when "Leka Dutigite" was performed in Kigoma-Ujiji's popular neighbourhoods of Mwanga and Ujiji.

Throughout the video, the Tanzanian flag waves prominently, as the whole event should stress not only the Kigoma roots of famous Tanzanians but also the genuine Tanzanianness of Kigoma. This marks an ambivalence in the "Leka Dutigite" initiative and in Kigoma-Ujiji's history more generally. Apparently, the initiators felt the need to stress self-pride and to reassert the relevance, importance, or

3 To get an impression of the town and its environment, I recommend the following: "Official Video-Leka Dutigite Video-Kigoma All Stars," posted on YouTube by Zitto Kabwe on 31 July 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SmxmqPwysqE/ (accessed 30 September 2024). I thank Yakoub Nsabimana for helping me with the translation of the lyrics.

4 *Dagaa* are small sardine-like fishes that are sundried and consumed across the country.

contributions of Kigoma for Tanzania. This urge mirrors a feeling of lost prominence and neglect that has been widespread in Kigoma for almost a century. I heard this sentiment being articulated in several interviews in 2011 and 2012, but it can also be found in statements of the 1960s and 1970s and in reports from the colonial period.[5] Thus, "Leka Dutigite" is not only a call for self-confidence but also a message of self-defence against – perceived or real – neglect and marginality. Some of the highlights pictured in the clip date as far back as the eve of the First World War, when Kigoma-Ujiji was part of German East Africa. A railway connection from Dar es Salaam on the Indian Ocean coast to Kigoma at Lake Tanganyika together with the then-largest freshwater ship of the African continent, today know as M.V. Liemba, turned Kigoma into an infrastructural hub that was meant to channel trade with East Congo. However, its commercial importance would wither shortly after the First World War, as we will see in Chapter 5. With hindsight, the completion of the railway and the launching of the ferry in 1914 mark the end rather than the beginning of Kigoma-Ujiji's centrality for long-distance trade, as the place – above all Ujiji – had already been pivotal to the East and Central African caravan trade complex for roughly three quarters of a century before that. Although I will demonstrate in this book that transformations and connectedness have continued to characterize Kigoma-Ujiji, there indeed are some grounds for the internal perception of lost prominence and neglect.

The attention for Kigoma-Ujiji from the outside is also primarily concentrated on the period until the First World War. Whether in travel reports by explorers, colonizers, and missionaries, in popular-culture representations, or in scholarly publications dealing with the place, the overwhelming majority of attention for Kigoma-Ujiji concerns the period from the 1850s until the 1910s, with the caravan trade – dubbed the slave trade –, Stanley finding Livingstone in Ujiji, and the First World War on Lake Tanganyika as the main tropes.

In this global history of the town, I pay attention to outside perceptions and representations (see Chapter 2 in particular), because they allow for a two-way reading of globalization, whereby not only the people in Kigoma-Ujiji have to

5 Tanzania National Archives, Dar es Salaam (TNA), Tanganyika Territory – District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District (1946), 2; and (1950), 1 and 13; Adam Chobaliko Bwenda, M.P. from Kasulu Chini, quoted in Dean E. McHenry Jr., "Tanzania: the Struggle for Development. A Study of Attempts to Establish a Fisherman's Cooperative and to Introduce Cotton Growing in Kigoma Region in Western Tanzania", PhD dissertation, Indiana University, 1971, 22–23; Interview KU9, Ujiji, 15 September 2011; Interview KU19, Ujiji, 22 June 2012; Interview KU20, Ujiji, 22 June 2012; Interview KU22, Kigoma, 23 June 2012; Interview KU28, Katonga, 28 June 2012. All interviews were conducted by the author, assisted by Elie Mwamba, during field research between July and October 2011 and May–August 2012. Interviews and conversations are numbered in chronological order.

cope with global challenges, but what happens in Kigoma-Ujiji is also perceived – even if distorted – elsewhere. This global history of Kigoma-Ujiji, thus, combines an interpretation of (1) transformations as local manifestations of global processes, (2) translocal connectedness as both a resource for and result of these transformations, and (3) outside perceptions and representations of Kigoma-Ujiji, which in turn influence self-perceptions as can be seen in "Leka Dutigite". In this respect, not only the perspectives of colonizers, filmmakers or employees of international organizations or non-governmental organizations, but also views from the Tanzanian Indian Ocean coast or even from the surrounding Kigoma Region are outside views of the urban area of Kigoma-Ujiji.

The song, video, and concert also reflect this interaction and ambivalence between inside and outside perspectives. The politician who initiated the "Leka Dutigite" initiative is from Kigoma. The Kigoma All Stars manifestly identify with their Kigoma origin. Both the title – "Leka Dutigite" or "let us be proud of ourselves" – and the concert in July 2012 directly address the people of Kigoma. Yet, the people appearing in the video such as the musicians, soccer players, and Miss Tanzania achieved success outside of Kigoma. Moreover, the depiction of Kigoma reproduces what makes the place attractive to outsiders – Gombe National Park, dagaa fishes, and the music itself – and gives a prominent place to colonial remnants and expectations of modernity. These elements reflect both an inside view and connections across space and time. Evidently, the song addresses not only the people of Kigoma but also the entire fanbase of the bongo flava artists. It was a hit across East Africa.[6] More than six years after its release, in November 2018, I heard it again in Nairobi, Kenya. The message conveyed is not only "let us be proud of ourselves". It also calls its listener to look at Kigoma, be aware of what Kigoma has to offer, include Kigoma on the mental map of Tanzania and of East Africa.

This book is an attempt to do so, to make sense of Kigoma-Ujiji as a space of transformation, as a place characterized by global transformations, and, at the same time, as a place where these transformations are locally shaped; or, in other words, as a liminal town and portal of globalization. Before I explain how I employ these concepts, situate this research in relation to existing literature, and organize this book, I first want to provide some key information about Kigoma-Ujiji.

6 "'Leka Dutigite' has put Kigoma on world map", *The Citizen*, 24 August 2013 (updated on 3 April 2021), https://www.thecitizen.co.tz/tanzania/news/-leka-dutigite-has-put-kigoma-on-world-map-2495992 (accessed 30 September 2024).

1.2 A First Glimpse of Kigoma-Ujiji

Kigoma-Ujiji lies in the far west of Tanzania on the eastern bank of Lake Tanganyika, near the borders with the Democratic Republic of the Congo and with Burundi. It has also been the head of the railway linking Central Africa to the Indian Ocean since 1914. The urban area comprises the port town of Kigoma proper, the old town of Ujiji six kilometres to the south, residential areas which over the years filled up the area between Kigoma and Ujiji, as well as a few fishing villages gradually absorbed by urbanization (see Map 2).

1.2.1 From Lake to Liemba

Lake Tanganyika is the world's second deepest lake. It is also the lake with the second largest surface area in Africa. It is part of the East African Rift running through the continent, and as a consequence the lake shores are substantially lower than the surrounding lands. Nevertheless, Kigoma-Ujiji's lowest point is still 775 metres above sea level. Both west and east of the lake, mountainous regions and highlands dominate the landscape. Whereas the highlands are among the most densely populated areas of Africa, in many places, the lakeshores themselves mount so steeply out of the lake that human habitation is relatively sparse. It is no coincidence that two of the most important remaining natural populations of chimpanzees are to be found in these sparsely populated areas: Gombe – world-famous because of Jane Goodall's pioneering work amongst free-living chimpanzees – is 20 kilometres north of Kigoma. Mahale – intensively researched by Kyoto University – is 150 kilometres south of the town.[7]

Exceptions to the demographic pattern of sparse population on the lakeshores and dense population on the hills are the few spots where a river is causing a breach in the mountain range. The Malagarasi River is responsible for the most important breach, providing a corridor between the lake and the West-Tanzanian plateau. The vital saltpans of Uvinza, which provide salt to the whole Great Lakes region and have been a destination for long-distance trade from time

7 It is not unusual for books on the history of Africa to start with the origin of mankind or for books on the history of humanity to start in the East African Rift Valley. This start is then dated back millions of years, but it may just as well be dated back to the mid-twentieth century, when Hominini were excavated in East Africa and paleoanthropologists embarked on the observation of chimpanzees near Kigoma.

immemorial,[8] are accessible from the lake – thus also for traders coming from the west-side of the lake – via the Malagarasi Delta. A relatively small area around present-day Kigoma-Ujiji could play the role of an interface between the lake area and the Uvinza saltpans. A smaller river, the Luiche, makes the area around Ujiji a fertile zone for agriculture, which enabled the provisioning of trade caravans passing through the area in the past and feeds the area's relatively dense population today. The natural environment facilitated or funnelled exchange between the zones east and west of the lake, through the Luiche and Malagarasi Valleys. Rumonge, 100 kilometres to the north in present-day Burundi, and Karema, 250 kilometres to the south, are the closest alternatives to comfortably connect east and west of the lake.

Even though the lake is relatively easily accessible around Kigoma-Ujiji, the area as a whole is still hilly. Yet, what is today known as Ujiji continuing into the Luiche Delta is comparatively flat and has a beach which slowly descends towards the lake. The slowly descending slope makes it the ideal place for fishing boats and traditional dhow trading ships, which are pulled on the sand. Bangwe and Kibirizi, which are also part of the urban area of Kigoma-Ujiji, have a similar constitution, where boats with a shallow draft can be pulled onto the beach. The Bay of Kigoma is different, with its steeper and deeper natural harbour allowing motorized ships with deeper drafts to dock. Here is a technological component at play: as long as dhows were the prime vessels, Ujiji and Kibirizi had an advantage over Kigoma; once larger motor vessels were introduced, Kigoma had the upper hand and became the administrative centre. The completion of the railway and the launching of the steamship Götzen[9] – today M.V. Liemba – in 1914 symbolize this shift within the urban area of Kigoma-Ujiji.

Until then, Ujiji had been an important trading and provisioning station for the caravan trade, linking Central Africa with the Indian Ocean and the world market. During the second half of the nineteenth century, plugging into this caravan trade complex, European geographic, military, and missionary men travelled to and through Ujiji, leaving a relatively dense source base to reconstruct the

8 Jean-Pierre Chrétien, "Le Commerce du sel de l'Uvinza au XIXe siècle. De la cueillette au monopole capitaliste", *Revue française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer* 65, no. 240 (1978): 401–422; Michele D. Wagner, "Trade and commercial attitudes in Burundi before the nineteenth century," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 26, no. 1 (1993): 149–166; David L. Schoenbrun, *A green place, a good place: Agrarian change, gender, and social identity in the Great Lakes region to the 15th century* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1998); Jean-Pierre Chrétien, *L'Afrique des Grands Lacs: Deux mille ans d'histoire* (Paris: Aubier, 2000).

9 Count Gustav Adolf von Götzen (1866–1910) was a German explorer who was one of the first European colonials to travel through Rwanda. He was the governor of German East Africa (1901–1906) at the time of the outbreak of the Maji Maji uprising.

nineteenth-century history of urbanization in the region. As discussed in the next chapter, missionaries from the Congregationalist London Missionary Society and the Catholic *Missionnaires d'Afrique* or White Fathers were among the first to provide first-hand information about the town from the 1870s onwards, which coincides with the most successful decades of Ujiji within the caravan trade complex. Apart from the commercial role, the growth of Ujiji in this period was, at least in part, the result of a concentration of uprooted people, mostly coming from across the lake and contributing to the urbanization and Islamization of Ujiji.[10] By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the history of the urban area was at least as much a part of the Lake Tanganyika and East Congo region as it was of the surrounding Jiji or Ha region (see Chapters 3 and 4). The White Fathers settled amidst this melting pot of Islamizing immigrants, carrying with them a heavy load of European animosity towards the slave trade and Islam – two almost interchangeable concepts in the ideology of their founder Charles Lavigerie.[11] The proclaimed humanitarian mission of abolitionism and civilizing mission of implanting Christianity went hand in hand with a wish to eradicate or, at least, contain Islam. However, a century and a half later, Ujiji – the most populated part of Kigoma-Ujiji – still has an overwhelming Muslim majority, while neither the London Missionary Society nor the White Fathers are still around. Christian missionaries were destined to remain marginal in Ujiji, while, at the same time, Ujiji itself, too, became marginal.

It takes some effort to read the topography that characterized Ujiji at the time of its nineteenth- and early-twentieth-centuries heyday in the layout of today's Ujiji. Several of the late-nineteenth-century sites are still there: the old market, the (grafted) mango tree where Stanley met Livingstone,[12] the former White Fathers' mission station (now held by Indian Catholic sisters from the Congregation of Mount Carmel).[13] But all of these sites are now hundreds of metres away from the lake at whose shores these sites were originally planned. The Lukuga River, an outlet from Lake Tanganyika towards the hydrological Congo Basin,

10 To compare with a similar urban development in, for instance, Ibadan, see Ruth Watson, *'Civil Disorder is the Disease of Ibadan': Chieftaincy & Civic Culture in a Yoruba City* (Oxford: James Currey, 2003).

11 José H. Kagabo, *L'Islam et les "Swahili" au Rwanda* (Paris: Éditions de l'école des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1988), p. 22; François Renault, *Le cardinal Lavigerie (1825–1892): L'église, l'Afrique et la France* (Paris: Fayard, 1992).

12 The National Archives of the UK, London-Kew (NA-UK), Colonial Office (CO), 691/200/4: Arrangements for the rebuilding of the David Livingstone War [sic] Memorial at Ujiji, 1945–1948; C.M. Coke, "The Livingstone Memorial at Ujiji", *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 25 (1948): 34–37.

13 Informal conversation KU30, Mwanga & Ujiji, 4 July 2012.

probably breached through a sandbar in the late 1870s.[14] As if a plug was pulled, the level of the lake dropped by more than ten metres. Given that in Ujiji the slopes are smoothly descending into the lake, the dropping lake level caused a retreat of the coastline of almost half a kilometre. In the Bay of Kigoma, where the slopes are steeper, the dropping lake level turned the island of Ruanza into a peninsula, but did not dramatically affect the location of the lakeshores as such.

Apart from this natural reshaping of the lacustrine coastline, there was also a human-made spatial reorganization of the urban area of Kigoma-Ujiji at the beginning of the twentieth century that largely shifted the commercial and political centre of gravity from Ujiji to nearby Kigoma, where the railway, the port, the governor's house, and a nearby neighbourhood for African workers, Mwanga, were installed.[15] As already pointed out, the constitution of the Bay of Kigoma made Kigoma more suitable than Ujiji for motor vessels. However, it was also more convenient for European colonizers to relocate their political centre of gravity away from the township of Ujiji, which was dominated by a Muslim urban population well-connected across East and Central Africa. Yet shortly after the local relocation, the entire urban area saw its regional importance decline in the wake of the First World War (see Chapter 6).

The German colonizers had conceived Kigoma as a stepping stone towards the military conquest of Burundi and Rwanda, and as an infrastructural bridgehead giving access to the resource-rich Congo, which was part of a free trade zone according to the 1885 Act of the Berlin Congo Conference. The course of the war, however, led to the Belgian occupation of the western part of German East Africa, including Kigoma-Ujiji as well as Burundi and Rwanda. After the war, most of the former Protectorate of German East Africa became a British mandate territory through the League of Nations, but Belgium was accorded the mandate over Burundi and Rwanda, as well as privileges in the ports of Kigoma and Dar es Salaam and on the railway between both towns. This implied that for the British colonial administration, Kigoma had lost the significance it had had for the German colonizers, whereas for the Belgian colonizers, the significance of Kigoma was limited to nothing more than the port and the railhead.[16] Having been a key connecting bridgehead for many decades, Kigoma-Ujiji was now also a marginal

14 Ruud C.M. Crul, "Limnology and Hydrology of Lakes Tanganyika and Malawi: Comprehensive and Comparative Study of Great Lakes: UNESCO/IHP-IV Project M-5.1" (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1997).

15 TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1927–1955; TNA, Kigoma Provincial Book, renamed: Kigoma, Kasulu, Ufipa, Kibondo District Book, Vol. II.

16 African Archives – Federal Public Service Foreign Affairs, Brussels (AAB), Affaires Étrangères (AE/II), 3289 (1854): Accords Milner-Orts; Ingeborg Vijgen, *Tussen mandaat en kolonie: Rwanda,*

separating outpost. That is, it was not 'instead of' but 'on top of' being a place of connection that Kigoma-Ujiji had now also become a place of separation.

Despite Kigoma-Ujiji's altered positionality, the German colonial infrastructure has remained part of the town's outlook until today. This does not apply just to the port and the railway but also to the steamer Götzen. During the First World War, the ship, which had been turned into a military vessel for war purposes, was deliberately scuttled in order to prevent it from falling into enemy hands, when Belgian Congolese troops approached the town in 1916. A huge ship, built at about the same time as the Titanic, sank before it had ever embarked on one of the commercial journeys it had been made for. It was recovered by a British salvage party without much damage in 1924 and rebaptized Liemba, after the name the Fipa people presumably gave to the lake.[17] The steamer has been converted into a motor vessel and is still of vital importance for people living along the lake today. Every week, the Liemba undertakes the journey from its home port of Kigoma, via some 20 lake villages, to Mpulungu in Zambia, and back again. For many of these villages, this service is their only regular transportation link to the outer world. The lake – their Liemba – and the port town of Kigoma – or alternatively the South Tanzanian port of Kasanga – are their connection to the world.[18]

1.2.2 Urban Layout

During the colonial period, for about half a century, the estimated population of the urban area was around 10,000 inhabitants. The recorded numbers range from 8,000 to 15,000, but overall the population remained relatively stable, only moderately increasing towards the end of the colonial period, reaching 16,255 in-

Burundi en het Belgische bestuur in opdracht van de Volkenbond (1916–1932) (Leuven: Acco, 2005). See also Chapter 5.

17 Not much is known about "Liemba" as local name for (the southern part of) the lake. The name was registered by David Livingstone in 1867 and probably stems from the Fipa language. See David Livingstone, *The Last Journals of David Livingstone in Central Africa from 1865 to His Death: Continued by a Narrative of his Last Moments and Sufferings, Obtained from his Faithful Servants, Chuma and Susi, Vol. 1: 1866–1868*, (ed.), H. Waller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011 [1874]), Chapter VIII.

18 TNA, Secretariat Archives (Early Series) (Sec. (E.S.), AB.617–619: Salvage of SS von Goetzen / Steamer for Lake Tanganyika, 1921–1926; TNA, Kigoma Provincial Book; Personal observation, July 2012. The Liemba has been taken out of service in need of overhauling at the end of 2020. Joshua Wygand, "'Liemba' verrottet in Tansania", *Täglicher Hafenbericht*, 12 August 2021, https://www.thb.info/rubriken/international/detail/news/liemba-verottet-in-tansania.html (accessed 30 September 2024).

habitants at the time of the first census in 1957.[19] Notwithstanding, in the early 1930s, the urban area of Kigoma-Ujiji was second only to Dar es Salaam within the Tanganyika Territory.[20] Ujiji was the largest "African town" until the mid-twentieth century, which, in the British colonial context, refers to a town not having a three-tier European-Asian-African layout.[21]

Rapid urbanization, propelled by Congolese and Burundian refugees, on the one hand, and above all rural-urban migration from the surrounding region, on the other, took place after the colonial period. Thus, the urban population grew from 21,369 in 1967 to 84,704 by 1988 and to 144,257 by 2002 according to the respective national censuses. At the time of the national census of 2012, 215,458 inhabitants were counted in Kigoma-Ujiji, accounting for a population growth of 50 percent compared to 2002.[22] If the population growth would have continued at more or less the same rate since 2012, the municipality should by now have breached the 300,000 mark. However, the census of 2022 shows that the town's population growth slowed drastically, reaching 232,388 inhabitants ten years later (+8%).[23]

The municipality is divided into 19 wards, which largely reflect the urban layout of colonial and, to some extent, pre-colonial times. Administratively and infrastructurally, Kigoma is the most important ward, but it accounts for only

19 AAB, Rapports du Ruanda-Urundi (RA/R-U), (0a) 3: Kamer der Volksvertegenwoordigers, Verslag over het Belgisch bewind der bezette gebieden van Duitsch Oost-Afrika [Nr 547], 27 september 1921, p. 3 vs. TNA, Native Affairs General – Tanganyika Secretariat (Tang. Sec.), 12218: Native Administration – Kigoma-Province, 1928–1931; TNA, Tang. Sec., 25822: Population of the Territory, 1933–1939; TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1952. The census data were found in: Gervas P. Ishengoma, "The Impact of Capital Penetration in the Economic Development of the Fishing Industry: A Case Study of a Fishing Industry along Lake Tanganyika in Kigoma District – Kigoma Region", University of Dar es Salaam – Department of History, March 1980, 9.

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

21 Ujiji and Tabora were leapfrogging on the ranking of largest non-coastal town in the Tanganyika Territory for quite some time, until Kigoma-Ujiji was finally surpassed by several other towns towards the end of the colonial era. TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1930 and 1948; TNA, Tang. Sec., 25822: Population of the Territory, 1933–1939.

22 "Table 2.4. Population Size and Growth Rate by District; Kigoma Region, 1988, 2002 and 2012 Censuses" in *Basic Demographic and Socio-Economic Profile, Kigoma Region: 2012 Population and Housing Census* (Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Finance – National Bureau of Statistics, March 2016), 16, https://www.nbs.go.tz/nbs/takwimu/census2012/RegProfiles/16_Kigoma_Regional_Profile.zip (accessed 30 September 2024).

23 "Table 16.5: Population Distribution by Sex, Sex Ratio, Number of Households and Average Household Size by Ward, Kigoma Municipal Council; 2022 PHC" in *Administrative Units Population Distribution Report* (Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Finance and Planning – National Bureau of Statistics, December 2022), 158 https://www.nbs.go.tz/nbs/takwimu/Census2022/Administrative_units_Population_Distribution_Report_Tanzania_volume1a.pdf, (accessed 30 September 2024).

three percent of the municipality's total population.[24] The ward of Kigoma houses the administration of the Kigoma Region, the Kigoma District, and the Kigoma-Ujiji Municipality, which is a form of urban self-government for large Tanzanian cities. The monumental *Kaiserhof* [Emperor's Court], built when Kigoma was part of German East Africa, is the seat of Kigoma Region. The international presence in the town is also concentrated in the Kigoma ward, with a regional headquarters of the UNHCR, consulates of Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and a branch of the Jane Goodall Foundation. The ward is also home to the Catholic Diocese of Kigoma. There is a large marketplace and several shops run by Indians, as well as a Hindu temple. Furthermore, the monumental railway station, where the central railway line from Dar es Salaam to Kigoma ends, and the main port on Lake Tanganyika are located in the ward of Kigoma.

Ujiji, the second part to give the town its name, is six kilometres to the south of Kigoma. It is not a single ward, but comprises more than half of the municipal wards, accounting for over 30 percent of the population. Lying in-between Kigoma and Ujiji along the main road connecting these two centres, Mwanga is home to almost 20 percent of the population. The urban area has gradually grown together, leading to the emergence of a new urban neighbourhood between Mwanga and Ujiji that houses over ten percent of the population by now. This new neighbourhood is also the part of town leading to the airport. Over one third of the population lives in three other important quarters: Gungu in the north, Kibirizi facing Kigoma from the other side of Kigoma Bay, and the fishing village Bangwe to the southwest of Kigoma.

As a matter of fact, Bangwe, Gungu, Kibirizi, Kigoma and "Ujiji" were already the points of reference in the nineteenth century. In nineteenth-century sources, we can also find references to Kawele, Ugoi, and Kasimbu, each denoting specific parts of "Ujiji". I put Ujiji in inverted commas here, because back then, strictly speaking, the term *Ujiji* referred to the broader Jiji area, whereby the prefix U- indicates the land or space of the Jiji. The ambivalent relation between the town and the surrounding Jiji – or larger Ha – area is addressed throughout this book (see Chapters 3, 4, 6, 7 and 8). In a nutshell, the urban area, and the neighbourhood of Ujiji in particular, is largely disconnected from the Jiji land, the etymological *U-Jiji*. The connections across the lake into East Congo become more defining than the surrounding Jiji land from the final quarter of the nineteenth century

24 "Table 16.4: Population of Kigoma Ujiji Municipal Council by Sex, Average Household Size and Sex Ratio" in *2012 Population and Housing Census: Population Distribution by Administrative Areas* (Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Finance – National Bureau of Statistics, March 2013), 150, https://hssrc.tamisemi.go.tz/storage/app/uploads/public/5ac/0ba/af6/5ac0baaf6b923793205170.pdf, (accessed 30 September 2024).

onwards. Finally, Mwanga was created as the residential quarter for the African workforce of European and Indian employers in Kigoma during colonial times. The urbanization process that filled up the spaces between Mwanga and Gungu and between Mwanga and Ujiji has occurred only recently, mainly since the beginning of the twenty-first century.

While Ujiji is the historical centre where urbanization started in the nineteenth century, where Nyamwezi, Swahili, and Arab caravan traders, European travellers and missionaries, porters, enslaved people, refugees, and migrants passed through, it has visibly lost its prevalence. Thatched roofs are an exception, even in Ujiji, but you can still find them there. Except for the main road connecting Ujiji via Mwanga with Kigoma, and the Livingstone Road leading to the UNESCO-sponsored Livingstone memorial and museum, Ujiji has only dirt roads. The traces of past prominence are visible around the old White Fathers' mission station, the old mango-tree-lined caravan road, and the remains of the old German *boma* or military station. At least as important though are the signs of later liveliness, of religious vibrancy, of markets and associations, and of community life on the streets. My research is not primarily aimed at ethnographic observation and a description of present-day life, which makes it rather tentative in drawing comparisons between parts of town in this regard. Nevertheless, I am under the impression that Ujiji is more socially thick than other parts of town – except perhaps for the much smaller fishing village of Bangwe. Bangwe lies somewhat apart in the urban layout of Kigoma-Ujiji, with an easy access to the lake, but squeezed between rocky hills along the coastline. In general, there are no easy overland connections along the lake. Moreover, around Kigoma, there are hills in all overland directions. Gungu lies on hills, as well. Between Ujiji and Kigoma, too, the road is characterized by ups and downs – a characteristic that also applies to their shared history and their histories apart.

Kigoma-Ujiji can be seen both as the metaphorical end of the world and as a vital link tying the world together. Even within the small-scale Jiji, Ha or Kigoma Region, Kigoma-Ujiji is both central and outside, connecting and disconnected. I argue, firstly, that it is precisely this ambivalence that explains the simultaneous prominence and neglect of Kigoma in global history as well as in outsider representations, and, secondly, that a better understanding of this ambivalence is conducive to a better understanding of global dynamics in general.

1.3 Conceptual Considerations

This global history of a liminal town focusing on connections, transformations, and representations is the outcome of the research project behind this book. It

was not its starting point. The importance of connections on different scales and the feeling that the history of Kigoma-Ujiji has a relevance beyond this medium-sized East Central African town itself were already part of my assumptions from the beginning. From my initial expectation to find these connections and relevance in the domains of music, sports, and religion, only a few scattered anecdotes made it into the final manuscript. However, I only discovered the importance of moments of transformation and the interplay between outside – more often than not biased – representation and local appropriation in the course of my research.[25] In this introduction, I reflect the process from my initial expectations to a global history of a liminal town, eventually leading to an approach that can be applied beyond the case of Kigoma-Ujiji and can enhance our understanding of how globalization takes shape locally and translocally. Therefore, I start this subchapter from the place and its spatial connections, I then situate this research in relation to the literature on urban, African, and global history, and finally I introduce the concepts that I consider useful to make sense of the transformations that I discovered in the course of the research. My interpretation of Kigoma-Ujiji as a transformative space, where global processes are appropriated and shaped, involves both transformations over time and over space and highlights both its centrality as portal of globalization and the uncertainty of the liminal town.

The chapters highlight consecutive transformations, each time repositioning Kigoma-Ujiji in relation to global processes and thereby explaining not only the history of the town but also how multiple globalizations unfold translocally. Interpreting Kigoma-Ujiji as a transformative space – a space that goes through transformation and where transformations coalesce and are shaped – not only deepens our understanding of the town itself, but also challenges widespread understandings of globalization. It is a commonplace that the world is increasingly functioning as an interconnected whole, yet this truism is often understood as a process of global incorporation towards or driven by (a) global centre(s). This book supports the view that in order to grasp global integration one also needs to consider globalization from the margins and to take the margins seriously, not just as peripheral oddities but as sites where global transformations are appropriated, enacted, and counteracted.

25 For the use of the concept "appropriation", see Katja Füllberg-Stolberg, Petra Heidrich and Ellinor Schöne, (eds.), *Dissociation and Appropriation: Responses to Globalization in Asia and Africa* (Berlin: Zentrum Moderner Orient – Das Arabische Buch, 1999); Kathleen Ashley and Véronique Plesch, "The Cultural Processes of 'Appropriation'", *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32, 1 (2002): 1–15; Jan-Bart Gewald, André Leliveld and Iva Peša, (eds.), *Transforming Innovations in Africa: Explorative Studies on Appropriation in African Societies* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

The global urban history of Kigoma-Ujiji is at the same time a history of a particular place and of a transformative space where globalization is locally and idiosyncratically brought into practice, thus genuinely contributing to how global integration actually works. I am confident that our understanding of globalization can be further enhanced, when this approach to global urban history, focusing on connections and – sometimes protracted – transformations, is applied to other towns as well.

1.3.1 Kigoma-Ujiji: An Urban History

Kigoma-Ujiji's history embodies numerous telling illustrations of global transformations that were appropriated and put in practice locally. The attention to these instances, however, has been unbalanced so far. There is a rather extensive literature about Kigoma and especially Ujiji during the second half of the nineteenth century but fairly little about the twentieth century. Reconstructing the history of this town as a transformative space from the mid-nineteenth until the early twenty-first century allows us to complement the existing historiography and to fill the decades of historical and political neglect that have hitherto barely been covered in the literature. Paying attention to periods of marginalization and oblivion on top of times of prominence and prosperity, however, inevitably alters the historical narratives about Kigoma-Ujiji.

The remarkable fact that some scattered elements of Kigoma-Ujiji's history resonated in popular culture in "the Global North", to which I return in the next chapter, gives additional flavour to a global reading of Kigoma-Ujiji. A global history of Kigoma-Ujiji, therefore, combines a reinterpretation of global integration in local terms with – often distorted – outside perspectives on the town.

By the third quarter of the nineteenth century, a "town" exists in the area today known as Kigoma-Ujiji, the gradual urbanization process of which I assess in detail in Chapter 3. At the latest from this time onwards, the town was integrated in a regional zone of exchange around Lake Tanganyika as well as in a long-distance caravan trade complex connecting Central Africa with the Indian Ocean. Although there is considerable research about this caravan trade complex[26] and they all mention Ujiji as an important node in this complex, very few

26 Abdul Sheriff, *Slaves, spices & ivory in Zanzibar: Integration of an East African commercial empire into the world economy, 1770–1873* (London: James Currey, 1987); Stephen J. Rockel, *Carriers of culture: Labor on the road in nineteenth-century East Africa* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2006); Jan-Georg Deutsch, *Emancipation without abolition in German East Africa, c. 1884–1914* (Oxford: James Currey, 2006); Karin Pallaver, *Un' Altra Zanzibar: Schiavitù, colonialismo e urba-*

authors pay attention to the town itself. Ujiji is usually reduced to its role as interface in a trade network that flourished until the final decade of the nineteenth century. A few authors do zoom in on the town itself, but even then the period of the caravan trade predominates in the literature.

In 1973, Beverly Brown wrote a history of Ujiji in the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth centuries.[27] She situated the town in its regional context, both in its immediate Jiji surroundings and the Lake Tanganyika area. The merit of this work is its meticulous descriptive detail. Strictly speaking, this has been the only history of the town before the one you are currently reading. There have been other writings addressing specific aspects of the town's history or integrating the town in a broader regional or national narrative, but none has the town itself as its core research object.

The global perspective going beyond the regional Lake Tanganyika environment, the long-term timeframe going beyond the first decade of the twentieth century, and the focus on the present-day urban area of Kigoma-Ujiji as a whole, thus not limiting the 'urban' analysis to the part of town which was most vital in the nineteenth century, distinguishes this book from Brown's. These distinctive characteristics to a large extent also set my approach apart from the other authors having addressed aspects of the town's history.

Philip Gooding's 2022 monograph, based on his 2017 PhD dissertation,[28] about Lake Tanganyika as a frontier region in the nineteenth century pays explicit attention to what he calls "proto-urbanism" on the lakeshore, for which Kigoma-Ujiji[29] is his main example. Although I concur with his reconstruction of a shifting balance of power between Ujiji and Kigoma on the eve of colonization, I dissent from his characterization of late-nineteenth-century Ujiji as "proto-urban" – hence, not yet urban – as I explain in Chapter 3. However, it should be noted that Gooding's analysis clearly surpasses the case of Kigoma-Ujiji. He establishes Lake Tanganyika as an integrated region and relates the nineteenth-century dynamics

nizzazione a Tabora (1840–1916) (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2010); Philip Gooding, *On the Frontiers of the Indian Ocean World: A History of Lake Tanganyika, c. 1830–1890* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022); Thomas F. McDow, *Buying time: Debt and mobility in the western Indian Ocean* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2018).

27 Beverly B. Brown, "Ujiji: The History of a Lakeside Town, c. 1800–1914", PhD dissertation, Boston University, 1973.

28 Gooding, *On the Frontiers*; Philip Gooding, "Lake Tanganyika: Commercial Frontier in the Era of Long-Distance Commerce, East and Central Africa, c. 1830–1890", PhD dissertation, University of London – SOAS, 2017, https://eprints.soas.ac.uk/24341/1/Gooding_4369.pdf, (accessed 30 September 2024).

29 Gooding uses the contemporary, i.e. nineteenth-century, names Kawele, Ugoy [Ugoi] and Kigoma.

around the lake to long-distance trade. Despite occasional references to the Indian Ocean world and to the world market, he does not address questions of connectedness beyond the region itself (but instead makes a strong argument for the integration of the Lake Tanganyika region). His story ends with formal colonization around 1890. Although Gooding has written the first extensive work so far putting Kigoma and Ujiji in relation to each other and to a wider region, a global perspective and a timeframe going beyond the nineteenth century distinguish my approach from his.

Sheryl McCurdy's 2000 dissertation on Manyema transforming associations in urban Kigoma from the mid-nineteenth until the late-twentieth centuries deals with a specific aspect of urban life and a characteristic part of the urban population.[30] Her focus is on the intersection of associational life and – medical as well as spiritual – therapies for women's (in)fertility primarily in the popular parts of town known as Ujiji and Mwanga. The empirical analysis is entirely local, although passing attention on mobility, the political context, the ethnic melting pot, as well as the spiritual connections with ancestral areas in the Manyema Province of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and with beacons of modernity on the Swahili coast guarantee that the locality is not seen in isolation. McCurdy's "ethnohistory"[31] is the only history about the urban area of Kigoma-Ujiji so far that addresses the century and a half from the town's foundation until the present. Yet, contrary to my approach, her work does not concern the "town", but a specific community within the town. Nor does she address spatial dimensions going beyond the Tanzanian national context and perhaps the spiritual-spatial connections with East Congo.

Whereas Brown situates the town in a Jiji context, Gooding in a Lake Tanganyika context, and McCurdy in relation to Manyema in East Congo, I turn this into a problem to be analysed. Yes, Kigoma-Ujiji is related to each of these contexts – and to others –, but I do not want to privilege any of these. Or to put it another way, I decidedly privilege the urban and the translocal – i.e. connections on different spatial scales, empirically addressed from a local starting point – contexts: which connections are dominant when and why, and how do they change over time? Kigoma-Ujiji as a space of transformation is also a history of changing connections and of challenging situatedness or frames of reference.

McCurdy calls the spiritual associations that she studies "transformative". I also focus on the transformative character, while making sense of Kigoma-Ujiji as

30 Sheryl McCurdy, "Transforming associations: fertility, therapy, and the Manyema diaspora in urban Kigoma, Tanzania, c. 1850–1993", PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 2000.

31 In the abstract to her PhD dissertation, McCurdy calls her research an "ethnohistorical examination of an urban border community".

a transformative space. In her interpretation, the associations spiritually guide their members through individual transformations. I am more interested in how people in Kigoma-Ujiji contribute to global transformations, how they shape and appropriate transformations on multiple scales, from local to global, or how individual transformations – for instance, in the case of war refugees starting a new life either in or by moving through Kigoma-Ujiji – relate to Kigoma-Ujiji as a translocally connected liminal space. Nonetheless, her insistence on the transforming force of associational practices on female bodies resonates with my proposition to understand Kigoma-Ujiji as a transformative space vis-à-vis global challenges.

For the sake of comprehensiveness, I will list a few more works mentioning urban Kigoma-Ujiji: the ethnographic articles by Shun'ya Hino on stratification, clothing, and social relations in Ujiji in the 1960s,[32] the political studies on administrative organization, on decolonization, and on development in Kigoma (town and region) by Dean McHenry,[33] the scattered attention to Kigoma-Ujiji in histories with a national Tanzanian scope,[34] and Liisa Malkki's study of Burundian Hutu refugees in Tanzania, which includes a case on urban Kigoma.[35] Other scholarly works referring to Kigoma deal in fact with the Kigoma Region outside the urban area of Kigoma-Ujiji[36] in line with the colonial legacy and long dominant

32 Shun'ya Hino, "Social stratification of a Swahili town", *Kyoto University African Studies* 2 (1968): 51–74; Shun'ya Hino, "The Occupational Differentiation of an African Town", *Kyoto University African Studies* 2 (1968): 75–107; Shun'ya Hino, "Neighborhood Groups in African Urban Society: Social Relations and Consciousness of Swahili People of Ujiji, a Small Town of Tanzania, East Africa", *Kyoto University African Studies* 6 (1971): 1–30.

33 Dean E. McHenry Jr., "A study of the rise of TANU and the demise of British rule in Kigoma region, Western Tanzania," *African Review* 3, no. 3 (1973): 403–421; Dean E. McHenry Jr., "Concentrations and Ujamaa Villages: a Note on Resettlement Efforts in Kigoma Region", *Taamuli: A Political Science Forum* 5, no. 1 (1975): 54–59; Dean E. McHenry Jr., "Reorganization: an Administrative History of Kigoma District," *Tanzania Notes and Records* 84/85 (1980): 65–76. See also McHenry Jr., "Tanzania: The Struggle for Development".

34 John Iliffe, *A modern history of Tanganyika* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); August H. Nimtz, *Islam and politics in East Africa: The Sufi order in Tanzania* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980); Susan Geiger, *TANU women: Gender and culture in the making of Tanganyikan nationalism, 1955–1965* (Oxford: James Currey, 1997).

35 Liisa H. Malkki, *Purity and exile: Violence, memory, and national cosmology among Hutu refugees in Tanzania* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

36 Laurent Sago, "A Labour Reservoir: The Kigoma Case" in *Migrant Labour in Tanzania during the Colonial Period: Case Studies of Recruitment and Conditions of Labour in the Sisal Industry*, (eds.), Walter Rodney, Kapepwa Tambila and Laurent Sago (Hamburg: Institut für Afrika-Kunde, 1983); Margot Lovett, "On Power and Powerlessness: Marriage and Political Metaphor in Colonial Western Tanzania", *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 27, no. 2 (1994): 273–301;

tendency in African studies to situate "Africa proper" in the villages and countryside.[37]

Evidently, the ambitions of this book reach beyond the particular history of Kigoma-Ujiji. The town is not arbitrarily chosen, as it allows me to relate to various strands in urban history, from which I draw inspiration and to which I, in turn, contribute. A pivotal town on regional, transnational, and global scales, yet at the same time in several regards a marginal(ized) town, Kigoma-Ujiji is an in-between place which can be understood not only as a border town or a secondary city but also from the vantage point of global urban history. I will situate my research in relation to these different urban history approaches in the remainder of this subchapter.

Despite colonial-held beliefs that Africa used to be a non-urban continent – except perhaps for some coastal towns –, African urban history has become a rich and diverse field.[38] In line with a dominant feature of African history and with urban research in Africa since the 1950s, the ethnographic method and a preference for social history is widespread in African urban history.[39] Although I have conducted research along these lines before,[40] that is not what I want to do in this book. The town itself rather than daily life in the town – the spatial rather than the social – is my main concern in this research. Of course, the town cannot

Julie M. Weiskopf, "Resettling Buha: A Social History of Resettled Communities in Kigoma Region, Tanzania, 1933–1975", PhD dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2011.

37 Bryceson makes this point in: Deborah F. Bryceson, "Birth of a market town in Tanzania: towards narrative studies of urban Africa", *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 5, no. 2 (2011): 274–293.

38 Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, *Histoire des villes d'Afrique Noire: Des origines à la colonisation* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1993); David M. Anderson and Richard Rathbone, (eds.), *Africa's urban past* (Oxford: James Currey, 2000); Steven J. Salm and Toyin Falola, eds., *African urban spaces in historical perspective* (Rochester: University of Rochester Pres, 2005); Laurent Fourchard, "Between World History and State Formation: New Perspectives on Africa's Cities", *The Journal of African History* 52, no. 2 (2011): 223–248; Bill Freund, *The African city: A history* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); John Parker, "Urbanization and Urban Cultures" in *The Oxford Handbook of Modern African History*, (eds.), John Parker and Richard Reid (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 359–377.

39 See, above all, the urban anthropology of the Manchester School. Katja Werthmann, "Ethnologische Stadtforschung in Afrika", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 139, no. 2 (2014): 159–178.

40 Geert Castryck, "Moslims in Usumbura (1897–1962): Sociale geschiedenis van de islamitische gemeenschappen van Usumbura in de koloniale tijd", PhD dissertation, Universiteit Gent, 2006; Geert Castryck, "Living Islam in Colonial Bujumbura: The Historical Translocality of Muslim Life between East and Central Africa", *History in Africa* 46 (2019): 263–298; Geert Castryck, "Children of the revolution: The citizenship of urban Muslims in the Burundian decolonization process", *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 14, no. 2 (2020): 185–203.

exist without its people and space is always social,[41] therefore, I do look at people and their actions in Kigoma-Ujiji. But what I want to understand is how connectedness on different scales, global transformations, and outside representations of Kigoma-Ujiji have been dealt with and appropriated in the town, thus shaping these connections and transformations.

Although there are numerous fundamental differences regarding time-depth, size, nature of connections, and reasons for decay or neglect between the towns, I am influenced by Howard Dick's Southeast Asian reappraisal of Indonesia's second city Surabaya, Mark Mazower's Southeast European interpretation of Thessaloniki's lost vibrancy under the pressure of both national and international crises and policies, and the collective endeavour edited by John Allen, Doreen Massey, and Michael Pryke interpreting the changing fortunes of cities in relation to their global connections.[42] The focus on transformations, marginalization, and how people in town dealt with global processes is also at the heart of this book. However, my approach is more decidedly spatial, more systematically zooming in on moments of transformation, and pays more attention to outside perceptions and representations, and how these work back on a place. Thus, I try to analyse how processes of globalization are actively shaped.

Within Africa, there are urban histories paying attention to connectedness in transportation hubs like Atbara, Bulawayo, and Kapiri Mposhi, which are inspiring for this research.[43] These infrastructure nodes are more in the kind of league in which Kigoma-Ujiji could play than the bookshelves full of research on the continent's megacities, important mining centres or port cities.

For most of the town's existence, its relevance has primarily been regional, in the broad area around Lake Tanganyika, as one shackle among others in a chain linking Central Africa with the Indian Ocean. This ties in with historiography on urban networks, which John Parker highlights as one focal point of African urban

41 Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace* (Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1974).

42 John Allen, Doreen Massey, and Michael Pryke, (eds.), *Unsettling cities: Movement/settlement* (London: Routledge, 1999); Howard Dick, *Surabaya, City of Work: A Socioeconomic History, 1900–2000* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002); Mark Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews, 1430–1950* (London: Harper Collins, 2004). I am grateful to David Bassens and Isa Blumi for exchanges of ideas on the work by Dick and Mazower respectively.

43 Ahmad Alawad Sikainga, *"City of steel and fire": A social history of Atbara, Sudan's railway town, 1906– 1984* (Oxford: James Currey, 2002); Terence O. Ranger, *Bulawayo Burning: The Social History of a Southern African City, 1893– 1960* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010); Jamie Monson, "Moving Goods in Kapiri Mposhi, Zambia: The Scaffolding of Stability in TAZARA's Dry Port", *Comparativ: Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und Vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 25, no. 4 (2015): 87–101.

history.[44] There are obvious parallels with East and Central African towns such as Tanga, Pangani, Mombasa, Zanzibar, Dar es Salaam, Kisangani, Kasongo, Nyangwe and, above all, Bagamoyo and Tabora.[45] As already mentioned on the first page of this book, Bagamoyo and Ujiji were both important hubs in the nineteenth-century caravan trade and both went through a phase of subsequent marginalization.[46] Tabora, in turn, can be considered Kigoma-Ujiji's twin town, with likewise a preponderant nineteenth-century focus in the literature.[47] However, Tabora lacks the border character, which has given a specific touch to the interplay between separation and connection and between marginality and centrality in Kigoma-Ujiji.

To address this border character, I am inspired by research on border towns,[48] albeit with restraint. For instance, I could make sense of Kigoma-Ujiji in a similar fashion as scholars have done with Goma, a town with nearly the same name at the Congo-Rwanda border along Lake Kivu: highlighting the role as a border town, its recent growth under the influence of urbanization processes and the arrival of refugees, and the vibrant urban life making use of communications technology, border-crossing economic opportunity, and political creativity.[49] These elements do figure in my history of Kigoma-Ujiji, but it is not the story I want to tell. Kigoma-Ujiji's urban history is older than the border, which means that the qualification as a border town only applies to some chapters, not to the book as a whole. A primary focus on the border town character, which I disentan-

44 Parker, "Urbanization and Urban Cultures".

45 Benoît Verhaegen (ed.), *Kisangani, 1876–1976: Histoire d'une ville* (Kinshasa: Presses universitaires du Zaïre, 1976); Justin Willis, *Mombasa, the Swahili, and the making of the Mijikenda* (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1993); Jürgen Becher, *Dar es Salaam, Tanga und Tabora: Stadtentwicklung in Tansania unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft (1885–1914)* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1997); James R. Brennan, Andrew Burton and Yusuf Lawi (eds.), *Dar es Salaam: Histories from an emerging African metropolis* (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki Na Nyota Publishers, 2007); Jonathon Glassman, *War of words, war of stones: Racial thought and violence in colonial Zanzibar* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011). Also see Andrew Burton, (ed.), *The urban experience in Eastern Africa c. 1750–2000* (*Azania* / Nairobi: British Institute in Eastern Africa, 2002).

46 Fabian, *Making Identity*.

47 Pallaver, *Un' Altra Zanzibar*.

48 Paul Nugent, "Border Towns and Cities in Comparative Perspective" in *A Companion to Border Studies*, (eds.) Thomas M. Wilson and Hastings Donnan (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 557–572; Isabella Soi and Paul Nugent, "Peripheral urbanism in Africa: Border towns and twin towns in Africa", *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 32, no. 4 (2017): 535–556.

49 Karen Büscher, "Conflict, state failure and urban transformation in the Eastern Congolese periphery: the case of Goma," PhD dissertation, Universiteit Gent, 2011; Karen Büscher, "Urban governance beyond the state: practices of informal urban regulation in the city of Goma, Eastern D.R. Congo", *Urban forum* 23, no. 4 (2012): 483–499.

gle in Chapter 8, would downplay the complexity and reach of Kigoma-Ujiji's history.

The qualification "secondary city" seems more suitable. Coined for contemporary usage by Filip De Boeck, Ann Cassiman and Steven Van Wolputte, secondary cities are "fully urban in that they generate networks and practices that extend far beyond the local limits of these cities and their immediate rural hinterland" and can be interpreted as "nodal points from which to understand both more local and more global worlds".[50] Kigoma-Ujiji has not only been on the receiving end of global transformations but also made idiosyncratic contributions to the shaping of global transformations, and from time to time had – albeit distorted – resonance in global public culture. Hence, despite its medium size and marginal status, I envisage a global urban history of Kigoma-Ujiji.

So far, global urban history has primarily been concerned with the world's megacities.[51] Kigoma-Ujiji has never been in that league and never will. However, I do not consider global urban history to be the history of global cities but the global history of cities.[52] As I elaborate in the next subsection, global history is not so much history of a global scale but history with a global perspective. Global history is more about the questions asked than about an alleged hierarchy from global to local – and in this book the questions address connectedness and transformations, across time and space.

Before I move on to my ambitions at the intersection of global and African history, I briefly situate this research in Swahili studies and Indian Ocean World history, two fields that evoke the oscillation between urban, African, and global approaches. Like many area studies, Swahili studies have a linguistic pedigree, but essentially deal with an urban culture on East Africa's Indian Ocean coast.[53]

50 Kenneth R. Hall (ed.), *Secondary cities and urban networking in the Indian Ocean realm, c. 1400–1800* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008); Filip De Boeck, Ann Cassiman and Steven Van Wolputte, "Recentering the City: An Anthropology of Secondary Cities in Africa" in *Proceedings of African Perspectives 2009 – The African Inner City: [Re]sourced*, (ed.) Karel A. Bakker (Pretoria: University of Pretoria – Department of Architecture, 2010), 33–42.

51 Michael Goebel, *Anti-Imperial Metropolis: Interwar Paris and the Seeds of Third World Nationalism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Marc Matera, *Black London: The imperial metropolis and decolonization in the twentieth century* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015); Joseph Ben Prestel, *Emotional cities: Debates on urban change in Berlin and Cairo, 1860–1910* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

52 Geert Castryck, "Global Urban History" in *The Many Facets of Global Studies: Perspectives from the Erasmus Mundus Global Studies Programme*, (eds.) Konstanze Loeke and Matthias Middell (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2019), 139–144.

53 Stephanie Wynne-Jones and Adria LaViolette (eds.), *The Swahili World* (London: Routledge, 2018).

As such, Swahili studies are part of Indian Ocean World studies.[54] For over a millennium, African settlements on the coast have been connected across the ocean giving rise to a littoral urban culture embedded in its East African (Bantu) surroundings and influenced by cultural contacts with people from around the Indian Ocean basin.[55] Both Swahili studies and Indian Ocean World history have been preoccupied with these littoral cultures, societies, and their relations. Kigoma-Ujiji is over a thousand kilometres away from the Indian Ocean, yet writing the town's history is also a contribution to Swahili studies. Shun'ya Hino already called Ujiji a Swahili town in his ethnographic writings in the 1960s.[56] Among Swahili linguists, it is common sense that the language area reaches into East Congo, Zambia, and Burundi, that is, well beyond the littoral area along the Indian Ocean.[57] Too often, though, this is explained as a diffusion of the Swahili language – and to some extent culture – from coast to interior, at best complicated with some linguistic variations over time and space. This is, of course, partly correct, but it misses not only the point that Swahili was adopted or appropriated in the East and Central African interior but also that Swahili urbanity was resignified in translocal terms in response to dramatic transformations along the nineteenth-century caravan routes.

In order to understand the development of a Swahili urbanity in East and Central Africa, the disruptive effects of commercial globalization and later colonization are at least as important as the alleged diffusion of a coastal culture. Although Kasongo, Nyangwe, and Tabora were perhaps even more important for the caravan trade complex as such, Ujiji was probably the most important settlement where the invention of a new Swahili urbanity unfolded, which in turn 'spread' back to the Swahili coast and the Indian Ocean world. Thus, Swahili expansion and the integration of the Indian Ocean world should be understood as a bidirectional process, as I elaborate in Chapter 3.

54 For a relational approach to Swahili and Indian Ocean studies, see: Geert Castryck, "Indian Ocean Worlds", in *The Routledge Handbook of Transregional Studies*, (ed.) Matthias Middell (London: Routledge, 2018), 102–109.

55 John Middleton, *The world of the Swahili: An African mercantile civilization* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Mark Horton and John Middleton, *The Swahili: The social landscape of a mercantile society* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000).

56 Hino, "Social Stratification".

57 Johannes Fabian, *Language and colonial power: The appropriation of Swahili in the former Belgian Congo 1880–1938* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Lianne Belt, "How linguistic features and social arrangements can interrelate: The position of Swahili and its speakers in Bujumbura" in *Researching Africa: Explorations of everyday African encounters*, (eds.) Mirjam de Bruijn and Daniela Merolla (Leiden: African Studies Centre, 2010), 76–88.

This example of the translocal development of a Swahili urbanity is a first indication of how a town like Kigoma-Ujiji has not only been on the receiving end of global transformations, but constitutes a space where transformations are translocally dealt with, appropriated, reshaped, and redistributed. It is a first illustration of Kigoma-Ujiji as a transformative space.

1.3.2 Global and Liminal: A History of Transformations and Connections

On top of closing local, temporal, and global gaps in the historiography on the town of Kigoma-Ujiji and combining the history of border towns, secondary cities, and global urban history, I also contribute to the synergy between African and global history: strengthening African history with global approaches and global history with perspectives gained from African history, suiting the agenda of the book series in which this monograph is published.

For sure, I am not the first to bring African and global history together, let alone area and global studies more generally.[58] If we have a quick look at existing research that can be qualified as global African history, we can discern different strands. One established approach displays a preference for oceanic connections – at times with a fixation on slavery and the slave trade – primarily in precolonial times, similar to what we have observed in the brief overview of historiography about Kigoma-Ujiji.[59] This runs counter to another dominant tendency in historiography, where the bulk of the research deals with the twentieth century – both in histories dealing with transnational connections in Africa and in research on

58 See, for instance, Tilman Dedering, "Reflections on World History and African Studies", *South African Historical Journal* 50, no. 1 (2004): 249–267; Isabel Hofmeyr, "African History and Global Studies: A View from South Africa", *The Journal of African History* 54, no. 3 (2013): 341–349; Christian Büschges and Stefan Scheuzger (eds.), *Global History and Area Histories* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2019 [*Comparativ* 29, 2]), and within that volume, Andreas Eckert, "Scenes from a Marriage: African History and Global History", *Comparativ: Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und Vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 29, no. 2 (2019): 36–51. Also see the book series on *Global Africa* (Routledge) and on *Africa in Global History* (de Gruyter).

59 Donald Wright, *The World and a Very Small Place in Africa: A History of Globalization in Niumi, the Gambia* (New York: Sharpe, 1997); Joseph E. Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Robin Law, *Ouidah: The Social History of a West African Slaving 'port' 1727–1892* (Oxford: James Currey, 2004); Jeremy Prestholdt, *Domesticating the World: African Consumerism and the Genealogies of Globalization* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2008); Edward Alpers, *East Africa and the Indian Ocean* (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 2009).

colonial Europe.[60] In contrast, historiography around the time of national liberations – as well as later histories keeping this legacy alive – underscore continuities from precolonial to post-independence times but they do so primarily within national frameworks without foregrounding connectedness.[61] Highlighting connectedness while adopting a timeframe from precolonial to postcolonial times remains a rare combination.[62]

It is of course all about which message the historian wants to convey. We all pay attention to both continuity and change, but the hermeneutics can either lead the writer and the reader along a narrative chain of changes and contingencies that brings us from a starting point to an end, or else, the spotlights can be put on a decisive turning point that marks the end of an era and the beginning of a new period. Colonization, obviously, can be seen as such a turning point, which, along with – and undoubtedly related to – industrialization, nation-building, and the two World Wars, is a prime reference for anyone studying nineteenth- and twentieth-century history. Yet, hermeneutically, colonization can either be integrated as a disruptive intermezzo in a long national narrative of continuity, or it can be marked as a global moment or a critical juncture of globalization that changed the course of history on a world-wide scale. Thus, Jacob Ade Ajayi, in the first decade after most African states gained independence, saw colonialism as only "an episode in African history". In the early 2000s, Crawford Young raised a similar question about the postcolonial period, asking how long the colonial impact can be used as an explanans for contemporary Africa. Decolonization scholars, on the contrary, argue that the entire modern era is and continues to be defined by Coloniality.[63]

60 Richard Reid, "Past and Presentism: The 'Precolonial' and the Foreshortening of African History", *The Journal of African History* 52, no. 2 (2011): 135–155. The book series *Africa in Global History* (De Gruyter), too, primarily focuses on the twentieth century.

61 For reflection on continuity from precolonial to colonial and postcolonial times, primarily within a national framework, see: Jacob F. Ade Ajayi, "The Continuity of African Institutions under Colonialism" in *Emerging Themes of African History*, (ed.) Terence O. Ranger (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1968), 189–200; Jacob F. Ade Ajayi, "Colonialism: An Episode in African History" in *Colonialism in Africa 1870–1960, Volume 1: The History and Politics of Colonialism 1870–1914,* (eds.) L. H. Gann and Peter Duignan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 497–509; R. Hunt Davis, "Interpreting the Colonial Period in African History", *African Affairs* 72, no. 289 (1973): 383–400; Thomas Spear, "Neo-Traditionalism and the Limits of Invention in British Colonial Africa", *The Journal of African History* 44, no. 1 (2003): 3–27; Reid, "Past and Presentism".

62 But see, for instance: Nigel Worden, Elizabeth Van Heyningen and Vivian Bickford-Smith, "Cape Town", *The Making of a City: an Illustrated Social History* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1998); Zeman, *The Winds of History*.

63 Ajayi, "Colonialism"; Crawford Young, "The End of the Post-Colonial State in Africa? Reflections on Changing African Political Dynamics", *African Affairs* 103, no. 410 (2004): 23–49; Aníbal

My aim here is not to make a full assessment of Africa-related and colonial historiographies, but rather to define how I relate to these apparent divergences between pre-colonial and twentieth century, between continuity and change and between "global" and "national". The underlying question is what do I want to interpret, understand, and explain? Basically, I want to understand transformations and connections or, more precisely, how transformations and connections have shaped Kigoma-Ujiji and been shaped in Kigoma-Ujiji. This means, as already mentioned, that you will read neither a biography of this town nor a social history of its constituent population groups, although I am confident that you will see sufficient glimpses to gain a variegated view of the town and its people. The organizing principle, however, is moments and focal points of transformation that are intertwined with processes unfolding on different scales, "constantly shifting the scale of analysis from the most spatially specific [. . .] to the most spatially diffuse".[64] Thus, the focus is not on a single and all-defining transformation but, again and again, on new challenges and transformations, which are connected to processes on other scales and sometimes take several decades to come to fulfilment.

Why do I call this a global history? History of globalization(s) and history under the global condition are two different approaches within the broad field of global history to which this research relates. History of globalization concerns the – multiple – processes leading to an increasing interconnectedness, whereas history under the global condition starts from the premise or the observation that from a given time onwards no single history can be adequately understood without seeing it in relation to other places and other scales. The latter approach is in line with Frederick Cooper's plea for the profession of history, which should analyse non-linear and conflictual processes, increasing as well as decreasing intensities of connectedness, and interactions on all spatial scales without deeming a global scale more important than others or expecting a homogenous outcome.[65]

That being said, it still makes a difference whether the historian starts from a "long-term commitment to place", which is characteristic for area studies,[66] and analyses the global interconnectedness from there, or s/he takes the global condi-

Quijano, "Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality", *Cultural Studies* 21, nos. 2–3 (2007): 168–178. Also see, Bogumil Jewsiewicki, "African Historical Studies, Academic Knowledge as 'Usable Past,' and Radical Scholarship", *African Studies Review* 32, no. 3 (1989): 1–76.

64 Frederick Cooper, "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History", *The American Historical Review* 99, no. 5 (1994): 1539.

65 Frederick Cooper, "What is the concept of globalization good for? – an African historian's perspective", *African Affairs* 100, no. 399 (2001): 189–213.

66 Jane I. Guyer, "Anthropology in Area Studies", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (2004): 501.

tion as a starting point and queries into illustrative cases across the globe. Area studies' local expertise and epistemological rebuke of eurocentrism is too valuable to be put at risk by approaching history from above, substituting Eurocentrism with some other normativity. Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen, who were not at ease with the top-down tendency of the global turn in the first decade of the twenty-first century, introduced the idea of "translocality" as an area studies' approach to global history.[67] Their alternative acknowledges the unescapable interconnectedness under the global condition, yet they start from the local, in line with area studies' "long-term commitment to place".[68]

Alongside the bottom-up "translocality" contribution to global history suggested by area studies historians, I also follow in the footsteps of scholars of global history – two fields that are of course not mutually exclusive. As implied above, in my view global history is neither characterized by a specific object of study nor by a focus on or a view from a global scale, but rather by a heuristic and hermeneutic approach that highlights interconnectedness on all conceivable scales. This view implements global history as a way of practicing history that searches for and interprets in terms of connectedness and interrelatedness under the global condition, which is a historical context where no single entity exists and can be understood independently from phenomena and processes that take place across the globe.[69] This does not mean that all of these phenomena and processes are necessarily world-encompassing let alone homogeneous, but phenomena across the globe are, somehow, directly or indirectly connected to each other.

One can study how this global condition came into being, how historical agents deal with, manage or shape connectedness, how a specific place is – translocally – connected, which kinds or carriers of connectedness are at play and on which scale, what the role of technology and material actants is in enabling or changing connectedness, which evolutions, intensifications, densifications, and variations in connectedness can be observed over time, which reactions, resistances, and resilience towards global interrelatedness exist, which asymmetries, inequalities, and injustices are produced and reproduced under the global condition, where and how disconnections occur, and so forth. Cooper's 2001 criticism of this characterization of global history would have been that then everything

67 Freitag and von Oppen, "Introduction", 1–21.

68 For transnational and transregional approaches, that to some extent address the same problem, see Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational History* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2013); Matthias Middell (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Transregional Studies* (London: Routledge, 2018).

69 Charles Bright and Michael Geyer, "Chapter Nineteen. Benchmarks of Globalization: The Global Condition, 1850–2010" in *A Companion to World History*, (ed.) Douglas Northrop (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2012), 285–300.

would be global history and thus be meaningless.[70] However, although everything can indeed be studied with a global history approach, it is the heuristic and hermeneutic focus on connectedness and interrelatedness on all conceivable scales that makes it global history, not the object of study as such. Hence, global history does not have to be preoccupied with either bird's eye views or with a centric focus privileging success stories or big moments. At least in principle, it has become widely accepted that globalization is not always a success story, there are multiple globalizations, there are places, times, and arenas of condensation, and globalization is not only about ever increasing and accelerating flows but also about moments of disconnections and about potentially violent or oppressive impositions of control. Yet the awareness and acknowledgement as such do not so easily translate in large numbers of decentred or bottom-up research projects.[71]

Portal of Globalization

Several conceptual tools developed for global history are applicable in seemingly marginal contexts. In their article "Global History and the Spatial Turn", Matthias Middell and Katja Naumann develop a conceptual toolbox for global history based on an understanding of globalization processes as spatial, historical, and discontinuous. Drawing on the ideas of Charles Maier,[72] they focus on the reconfiguration of political space and the historicity of territoriality. They are particularly interested in how territorial orders have been produced, controlled, and challenged in historical processes of de- and re-territorialization, and how these processes have led to global convergence. Although territorialization and the reorganization of territory play a prominent role in only a few chapters of this book (above all in Chapters 3, 5 and 8), the vocabulary they have developed to facilitate empirical research of inherently spatial, historical, and discontinuous globalization processes is also applicable beyond the focus of de- and re-

70 Cooper, "What is the concept". Also see, Geert Castryck, "Introduction – From Railway Juncture to Portal of Globalization: Making Globalization Work in African and South Asian Railway Towns", *Comparativ: Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und Vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 25, no. 4 (2015): 7–16.

71 But see, for instance, the recent monograph by Zeman, *The Winds of History*.

72 Charles Maier, "Consigning the twentieth century to history: alternative narratives for the modern era", *American Historical Review* 105, no. 3 (2000): 807–831; Charles Maier, "Transformations of territoriality, 1600–2000" in *Transnationale Geschichte: Themen, Tendenzen und Theorien*, (eds.) Gunilla Budde, Sebastian Conrad and Oliver Janz (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 32–56.

territorialization.[73] This vocabulary provides a scheme that allows us to talk about processes of globalization in an analytical way. "Critical junctures of globalization" are spatial-temporal arenas of accelerated and intensified transformation, in other words, the sites and moments where processes of globalization take a decisive leap or turn. "Portals of globalization" are those places where globalization processes crystallize or pop up repeatedly over time, or put differently, where transformations occur, accelerate, and intensify frequently. Finally, "regimes of territorialization" indicate political-spatial orders that converge in the wake of critical junctures of globalization and stabilize for a certain period until a next critical juncture redefines the regime.[74]

I pick up on two elements of this reading grid: the focus on moments of transformation, which are understood as both temporal and spatial, and the idea of portal of globalization as a place where such moments of transformation coincide or occur recurrently. As mentioned at the beginning, global moments of transformation are one of the three main angles of this research and will be used as an organizing principle for the book outline. Portal of globalization will be one of the analytical concepts used to interpret Kigoma-Ujiji's global history. Therefore, I will go deeper into the conceptualization of this category, into a couple of drawbacks in the initial conceptualization, and into my operationalization of the concept.

Middell and Naumann characterize such portals as "those places that have been centres of world trade or global communication, have served as entrance points for cultural transfer, and where institutions and practices for dealing with global connectedness have been developed". They stress the longevity of portals of globalization when pointing out that "such places have *always been known* as sites of transcultural encounter and mutual influence".[75] An investigation of portals of globalization is tantamount to "an examination of those places where flows and regulation come together" and can empirically be conducted with a focus on actors and a combination of local and global aspects.[76]

Although their own tentative illustrations are primarily drawn from European and elite contexts, Middell and Naumann indicate that the category portal

73 They would probably argue that even if you do not pay attention to the redefinition of territory at times of global transformation, there is always a renegotiation of territory, of the meaning of territory (territoriality) or of the configuration of territories involved.

74 Matthias Middell and Katja Naumann, "Global history and the spatial turn: from the impact of area studies to the study of critical junctures of globalization", *Journal of Global History* 5, no. 1 (2010): 149–170.

75 Middell and Naumann, "Global history and the spatial turn", 162. Emphasis added.

76 Middell and Naumann, "Global history and the spatial turn", 162.

of globalization can be used to focus on a whole range of concrete historical actors, on perspectives "from below", or on small towns as well.[77] Since they wrote their article as an inviting programmatic text, I want to do exactly that and analyse Kigoma-Ujiji as a portal of globalization, thus expanding the application beyond Europe and elite and heuristically specifying how the analytical concept can be applied.

This interpretation of a seemingly marginal place as a portal of globalization comes with a caveat: if the whole world is living under the global condition, then every place can end up being called a portal of globalization. However, portal of globalization should not be seen as a label but rather as a litmus test. It should be used as an analytical category to empirically gauge the interplay of locality, transformation, and connectedness in making globalization work. It can and must not be ruled out that this interplay can be found everywhere, but it would still not mean that it applies to everything. The local and historical particularity of the place, the idiosyncratic creativity of the actors, and the specific ways in which connectedness operates draw empirical attention to the heart of the production of globalization. The sites where practices and institutions that enable the making and managing of global connectedness are concentrated do not necessarily coincide with an entire town; they are at the same time constitutive of the spatial organization of that town and crucial for its spatial connectedness. For each instance where global challenges are seen in local manifestations, it may be another part of the town where the analytical category portal of globalization can be applied to. In this book, it is the caravan trade complex, the border, the harbour, the interface of local administration and decolonization, the integration of international organizations, and both the collective and individual experiences of war refugees in Kigoma-Ujiji where transformation and connectedness are concentrated. Transformation is shaped locally and connected to other scales at the same time, and it is this connected transformation or transformation of connections that we seek to come to grips with.

This operationalization of "portal of globalization" implies that the forces that make globalization work are to be found all over the world. Yet these locations need to be precisely identified not only as a lumped-together town but as specific spaces within the town. What actually happens is made by people on the spot – who may stem from anywhere – making use of creativity and local assets or resources. Seeing these specific places as portals of globalization provides an inspiring approach to act as a bridge between the particularity of the individual instance and a better understanding of globalization in practice. This is in line

77 Middell and Naumann, "Global history and the spatial turn", 164.

with the translocal argument by Freitag and von Oppen and allows for an ethnographic focus on the agency of people who cope with challenges they encounter in sometimes creative and original ways, thus also shaping globalization from below.

Liminal Town

The focus on space and connection and on moments of transformation underpins this research. More precisely, I make sense of Kigoma-Ujiji as a space of transformation by reconstructing how people in the town have coped with, appropriated, and shaped global transformations that challenged town life since the mid-nineteenth century. However, apart from focusing on specific spaces of transformation and the way in which they determine and are determined by connections on different scales, I also focus on the transformation process itself. That is, I am not so much interested in transformation as a transition from a before to an after; what I want to understand is the phase between the before and the after, the – sometimes protracted – phase betwixt-and-between.

The interpretation of the town as a transformative space is based on an approach from within, in line with the idea of translocality introduced before. It is by looking at what happens in Kigoma-Ujiji that we can understand how global transformations have affected the town, but also how the people of Kigoma-Ujiji have managed to cope with these transformations. Even if the course of history has made it hard to uphold the town's positionality, several idiosyncratic responses to global challenges attenuated the pressure of globalization on the town. Depending on the situation, the agents of resilience and innovation could be locally born people, recent immigrants, colonial or national authorities, or a combination thereof. What they have in common is the place of operation . . . and the uncertainty of the outcome.

With the concept "liminality" I combine the aspect of marginality and in-between-ness with the uncertainty of the outcome and the transformative character, and more importantly, I draw attention, rather than to the before and after that is bridged by the transformation, to the transformation itself.

Victor Turner introduced the concept in his research on the liminal or transitional phase of "rites de passage" [rites of passage].[78] A liminal position is neither an outsider position, nor, strictly speaking, a marginal position. Rather it is a tran-

78 Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967); Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (London: Transaction Publishers, 1969). See also Arnold van Gennep, *Les rites de passage: étude systématique des rites de la porte et du seuil, de l'hospitalité, de l'adoption, de la grossesse et de l'accouchement, de la*

sitional stage on the way to something unknown and uncertain. Liminality, then, points to this stage "betwixt and between", when the status of the respective individual is ambiguous, somehow cut loose, and virtually invisible. Or in Turner's own words: "Liminality may perhaps be regarded as the Nay to all positive structural assertions, but as in some sense the source of them all, and, more than that, as a realm of pure possibility whence novel configurations of ideas and relations may arise".[79]

Although Turner developed the concept to describe a temporal stage in a ritual context, I believe it can be transposed to a historical and spatial approach and allows us to inscribe transition, ambiguity, and uncertainty into the situation of Kigoma-Ujiji.[80] As a matter of fact, etymologically Turner took a spatial term – "limes" – and temporalized it. Now, I spatialize it back again.[81] Other historians, anthropologists, as well as, for instance, transportation and tourism scholars have done so before, operationalizing the concept of "liminal spaces".[82] In current usage liminal space is mainly conceived as a contact and merging zone between essentially different spaces. The idea evokes a possible transition to a profoundly different space, a step into the unknown, and an uncertain outcome. However, contrary to Turner, these scholars employ "liminal spaces" as in-between spaces, not so much as spaces where transformations take place. In my reading, liminal space does not characterize a place between different spaces, but a space of transformation, a space cut loose from a previous condition and on an uncertain trajectory towards an as yet unknown future condition. In the end, I combine the spatial and the temporal dimensions of liminality – drawing on Turner as well as on Perdue and Roberts – when coining the liminal town as a space of transformation.

Just like border or frontier, the idea of liminality suggests both demarcation and connection, but in addition to these, it also intrinsically entails the crossing and the transformation while crossing. Despite the uncertain outcome, liminality also has a more resilient and proactive ring to it than concepts like periphery and marginality, which by definition take somewhere else rather than the transforma-

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naissance, de l'enfance, de la puberté, de l'initiation, de l'ordination, du couronnement, des fiançailles et du mariage, de funérailles, des saisons, etc. (Paris: É. Nourry, 1909).

79 Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*, 97.

80 For a thorough reflection about spatial approaches to liminality, see C. La Shure, "What is Liminality?", http://www.liminality.org/about/whatisliminality/, 2005, (accessed 30 September 2024).

81 Thanks to Samuël Coghe for drawing my attention to the spatial etymology of liminality.

82 Peter C. Perdue, *China marches west: The Qing conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 41; Les Roberts, *Spatial Anthropology: Excursions in Liminal Space* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018).

tion itself as the point of reference. Characterizing Kigoma-Ujiji as a liminal town picks up on the inhabitants' perception of being neglected and marginalized yet also makes a case for an interpretation that underscores the agency to perform and shape transformations and to move through the liminal phase again and again either collectively or in countless individual cases.

By calling Kigoma-Ujiji a liminal town, I do not suggest that the town is stuck in transformation, in a permanent stage of liminality, but rather the history of the town reads as an intrinsically transformative space, where transformations with an uncertain outcome are shaped again and again. The concept evokes the connections – both between before and after and between inside and outside – as well as the transformations, which are at the heart of this book. Thus, the characterization of Kigoma-Ujiji as liminal town both accounts for the peripheral traits, the gradual marginalization, and the global pressure on the positionality of the town, as well as for the resilience, originality, and strength at moments of transformation.

This is where "liminal town" and "portal of globalization" can be brought together. Both concepts refer to spaces of transformation, but "liminal town" underscores the uncertainty and precariousness while "portal of globalization" highlights centrality and a high concentration of global transformations. The concepts can be enriched by combining them: the liminal town is not only characterized by uncertain transformations, but also by the resilience to appropriate global processes and to shape the world through these transformations. Applying the analytical category "portal of globalization" not only draws attention to a focal point where globalization is shaped, but should also account for complications, intermittent and protracted transformations, periods of stagnation, and uncertain outcomes.[83] Rather than claiming that liminal towns are portals of globalization – and vice versa – I suggest that the overlap between both concepts helps us better understand how globalization works.

The portal of globalization is, then, not the place where global transformations are initiated but where they are channelled, where they are transferred and transformed, where coping with global transformations is firmly established, where, time and again, global transformations are translocally shaped, appropriated, and remade. In-between moments of transformation, during relatively tran-

83 Middell acknowledges the intermittency, as he points out that portals of globalisation carry a legacy that can underpin a place's long-term identity and perception, and provide the germ for future creativity and inventiveness in the context of another critical juncture of globalisation. Matthias Middell, "Erinnerung an die Globalisierung? die Portale der Globalisierung als 'lieux de mémoire' – ein Versuch" in *Europäische Erinnerungsräume*, (eds.) Kirstin Buchinger, Claire Gantet and Jakob Vogel (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2009), 296–308.

quil times, the outside world can easily ignore or neglect the place, but that does not stop the transformations from being further negotiated in the liminal town.

1.4 Method and Outline

The available sources for this research raise a number of methodological challenges, which can also be observed in the way the chapters are organized. For the nineteenth century, I rely primarily on European accounts as well as on secondary literature based on the same accounts. These accounts consist mainly of travel reports or memoirs but also include some traces in missionary and early colonial archives dealing with the phase of colonial conquest. Among them is also a rare African-Arab autobiography that gives external observations by people travelling through Ujiji. Testimonies by people actually living or settling in the area are often registered several decades later by European missionaries and administrators with either an interest in ethnography or in power relations for the sake of colonial rule, or both. For the colonial period or the first half of the twentieth century, the archives of the colonial administration provide the bulk of the research material, which entails not only European colonial but also administrative governmental bias. Oral accounts do allow us to get glimpses of daily life during the colonial period, but these impressions are haphazard and increasingly so as I travel further back in time.[84] The second half of the twentieth century, which starts with the decolonization process and continues into the post-independence state, left remarkably fewer and more disparate written sources. Official documentation about local affairs is often limited to entries in published national statistics. For sure, statistics had been important for the colonial administration, as well; and there is undeniably a lot of administrative continuity – in the 1960s even as far as staff is concerned. But contrary to the colonial period (and the first half a decade after independence), there are no accessible archives that allow the researcher to follow the paper trail all the way to the local gathering and producing of information. On the other hand, oral history becomes much more useful and reliable, as interlocutors speak about their own lived experience. As this pe-

84 There is of course an oral history methodology to go further back in time well into the precolonial period. In fact, most of what we know about the precolonial history of Africa is, at least partly, based on oral accounts – oral traditions and accounts of lived experiences. However, for an urban history of Kigoma-Ujiji, which, as we will see, cannot be properly understood within the context of the surrounding Jiji or Ha areas, the oral traditions and accounts for these areas are of limited use. I do make use of them in the very few cases where they help us understand the town as a transformative space.

riod overlaps with the late-colonial period, both because of the continuities from decolonization movement and local self-rule into the post-independence period and because of the possibility to gain access to this period by means of oral history, I prefer not to call this period post-colonial or post-independence. The lived experience of people in the present as well as the continuities across the moment of national independence, or rather the long-drawn out moment of transformation that started well before formal independence, justify labelling this period contemporary. Thus, I end up with different source bases for the nineteenth century, the colonial period, and the contemporary period.

During two periods of field research in Kigoma-Ujiji in 2011 and 2012, I conducted 33 semi-structured interviews, four of which were with two informants at the same time. Six informants were interviewed twice. The interviews were conducted with the help of a research assistant and were held in Kiswahili (25), in French (4), and in English (4). The informants were selected either because of their role in community life (religion, local politics, music, sports), or because of their professional engagement with one of the leading institutions in town (city administration, railway authorities, consulates, Christian missions, UNHCR, non-governmental organizations). Furthermore, I had several informal conversations in Kiswahili (3), French (3) and English (2), which gave me additional information about everyday life.

Three informants wished to remain anonymous. I also know that some of my informants are undocumented, and there are a few more who I fear may be. I have therefore decided to keep all references to interviews anonymous so as not to cause anyone trouble. I have given some basic information about each informant in the list of sources. On some occasions I disclose who the informant is in the text corpus. Of course, I only did this when the informant did not wish to remain anonymous and when I was sure that he or she was on the safe side as far as their residence status was concerned.

I went through archival records at the Tanzania National Archives in Dar es Salaam, the National Archives of the United Kingdom in London-Kew, the Bundesarchiv in Berlin-Lichterfelde, the Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies at Oxford University, and the African Archives of the Federal Public Service for Foreign Affairs in Brussels. Most of the records date back to the respective colonial eras (German from the 1890s until 1916, Belgian from 1916 until 1921, and British from 1921 until 1961) and to the first decade after independence. Although few personal files at the Bodleian Library are younger, they nonetheless look back on life experiences in Kigoma-Ujiji during the British colonial period.

Further important sources for my research are publications of travellers, missionaries, and a few colonial officers dating back to the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, manuscripts, papers and theses retrieved at the Library of

the University of Dar es Salaam, as well as writings, films, songs, and images representing Kigoma-Ujiji in global popular culture. This source material is introduced and interpreted in the next chapter.

The heuristic challenge to combine, in the end, four different source bases – linked to three different periods plus a century and a half of external representation – leads to a book that runs the risk of falling apart. It is not a coincidence that most of the historiography, as I have already pointed out, is limited to either the nineteenth-century, the colonial, or the contemporary period; rarely combining different periods. For sure, the historians who have chosen one or the other timeframe also use different types of sources, but these sources complement each other in the same time period. The difficulty is to craft a coherent narrative across periods, despite the heuristically different ways to access each period. The external representation helps to forge a bridge over the entire timeframe, but above all it is the focus on moments of transformation that allows me to make productive use of the caesurae between the different periods. The hermeneutic choice to interpret Kigoma-Ujiji as a transformative space, which combines an analysis of dealing with, appropriating, and shaping global transformations using the category portal of globalization, while also making sense of the town as liminal, which also accounts for the lulls in-between and the periods of neglect and oblivion as an intrinsic aspect of the transformative space, gives cohesion to the main argument. This does not absolve me from the methodological challenge of dealing with different source bases for different periods, which basically means that the interpretation of the differences between before and after can be thoroughly distorted by the fact that the sources have different takes. In the end, however, the narrative that interprets Kigoma-Ujiji as a transformative space, a portal of globalization, and a liminal town ties the different strands together.

This hermeneutic cohesion grafted upon heuristic division translates into seven chapters reflecting the different takes (external representation, nineteenth century, colonial, and contemporary), interpreting Kigoma-Ujiji as a transformative space across six moments of transformation, and, in the end, tying the different strands together in an analytical observation of present-day dealings with the past.

In the next chapter, I introduce three clusters of outsider perspectives on Kigoma-Ujiji since the mid-nineteenth century. First, I introduce the representation of Kigoma-Ujiji in accounts by European travellers, missionaries, colonial officials, and an occasional African-Arab trader in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Thereafter, I analyse the town's representation and perception in popular culture ranging from iconic images of colonization, to North-American and European movies and novels, to colonial heritage, and memories of past centrality and tourism, all directly or indirectly relating to Kigoma-Ujiji. "Leka Dutigite", with which this introduction began, too, can be situated here. Fi-

nally, I reflect on my own position and perception, after having spent half a year in and around Kigoma in 2011 and 2012. Taken together, the first chapter presents an outside picture of Kigoma-Ujiji, which is partly distorted but nevertheless had a real influence on the town, because it both influenced how people from elsewhere approached the place and how people in the town responded to and, to some extent, appropriated these representations.

In Chapter 3, I analyse the origin of urban Kigoma-Ujiji in the second half of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth centuries. The urbanization process took place in several places along the nineteenth-century caravan route in East and Central Africa, where Swahili urban centres emerged. Kigoma-Ujiji was part of this urbanizing network and, along with Tabora, became the most important centre by the beginning of the colonial period. It was, rather than a diffusion of Swahili culture coming from the Indian Ocean coast, a de- and reterritorialization and ethnic exclusion in Central Africa that characterized this first global moment of transformation to which urbanization and Swahilization proved to be an effective translocal response most clearly visible in Kigoma-Ujiji.

Chapters 4 to 6 cover the colonial period, at first sight neatly divided into the periods of German (1890s–1916), Belgian (1916–1921), and British (1921–1961) colonial rule. However, the seemingly tidy temporal demarcations are misleading because of the overlap with a precolonial context and the piecemeal introduction of colonial rule in Chapter 4, the longevity of the Belgian presence and semi-sovereignty in the port of Kigoma long after the end of their military occupation in Chapter 5, and the long transformation towards ending the colonial rule in Chapter 6.

Chapter 4 addresses colonization as a moment of transformation and more precisely engages with the respatialization of Kigoma-Ujiji under the German colonial rule. The redefinition of separations and connections is illustrated in this chapter through the functional differentiation between the African residential town Ujiji and the colonial administrative and commercial centre Kigoma, the new status as border town, and the projected function as an infrastructural hub linking the central railway with Lake Tanganyika and thus the Indian Ocean with the Congo basin. This respatialization on different scales also involved the reallocation of land. Especially a specific dispute about property of land in the Bay of Kigoma allows me to detail the heuristic challenge of writing history amidst the transformation from the nineteenth century until the colonial period and between different scales of regional embeddedness.

The port of Kigoma lies at the heart of Chapter 5. The railway connection, the port at the Bay of Kigoma, and a first large ship on the lake were planned and implemented under German colonial rule, but only after the First World War could the infrastructure be used for its intended purpose of increasing the capac-

ity and the speed of traffic between the Congo Basin and the world market. The war and its aftermath, our third moment of global transformation, changed quite a bit for Kigoma-Ujiji. After five years of Belgian military occupation in the western part of what used to be German East Africa, Kigoma-Ujiji came under a British mandate of the League of Nations, but Belgium retained the infrastructural link with the Indian Ocean, including an extra-territorial Belgian Base in the port of Kigoma. The town without its international port was of reduced interest to the British colonial authorities, whereas the Belgians were interested in the port but had nothing to do with the town, leading to a relative marginalization of Kigoma in the administration of Tanganyika. On the spot, however, the informal pragmatism of local Belgian, British, Indian, and African agents alike facilitated an interaction between the port and town that went smoothly as long as governments stayed aloof. Likewise, the prolonged Belgian presence in the port until the mid-1990s was made possible by a lack of formal agreement between the adjacent African states after independence.

Chapter 6 deals with Kigoma-Ujiji under British colonial rule and gives a more prominent place to African agents and everyday life than the previous two chapters. From a colonial authorities' perspective, the town's dwindling positionality within Tanganyika, its relation to rural surroundings, as well as the administration of a spatially scattered urban area attract attention. The people's perspective, above all in Ujiji, on the other hand, makes us aware of a protracted translocal transformation towards self-governance and decolonization. Starting from reconciling conflicting groups in town in the early 1930s, local politics were gradually reorganized along spatial lines. Translocal connectedness enabled the people of Ujiji to overcome challenges posed by the colonial administration and by rural authorities, and turned the town into a stronghold of the political independence movement.

Chapter 7 is concerned with the post-independence period and pays particular attention to ways in which the recurrent arrival of war refugees from neighbouring Congo/Zaire and Burundi was dealt with and how globalization projects affected Kigoma-Ujiji. African Socialism, a homegrown Tanzanian globalization project in a Cold War context, together with neoliberal reforms towards and after the end of the Cold War constitute the fifth moment of transformation in our analysis, and the translocal and international dynamics regarding war and refugees the sixth. African Socialism had ambivalent effects on Kigoma-Ujiji, whereby an attempt at rural development led to rapid urbanization and an ideology of self-reliance ushered into neoliberal privatizations later followed by re-nationalizations. Parallel to that, Kigoma-Ujiji became a hotspot for international and non-governmental organizations dealing with the refugee crisis in the region. These parallel developments had a paradoxical effect: a lot was going on, yet Ki-

goma-Ujiji seemed for a while to be overrun by transformations coming from North and South and from East and West – both geopolitically and nationally. I juxtapose the global transformations affecting urban life with the international imposition and local appropriation of a heritage sector, which, while reducing Kigoma-Ujiji's rich history to a one-sided external reading of it, also offers economic opportunities.

Chapter 8 provides a narrative of Kigoma-Ujiji's history based on a spatial reading of the town and can be seen as an intermediate conclusion to Chapters 3 to 7. Over the past century and a half, the spatial order in the Lake Tanganyika region was repeatedly redefined. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Kigoma-Ujiji also experienced massive immigration from around and across Lake Tanganyika, including waves of refugees from Burundi and East Congo in the most recent decades. I argue that the succession of spatial orders in the area provides the historical context to distinguish between successive groups of urban settlers, as well as to understand their sense of a common destiny under the dominant territorial/national spatial order of today. Deploying this spatial approach avoids an exclusive nationalist or state-centred reading of (this) history.

In the conclusion, I substantiate the claim that this urban history of a medium-sized town on the fringes of East and Central Africa is a genuine global history. Analysing Kigoma-Ujiji as a space of transformation, as both a portal of globalization and a liminal town, enhances our understanding of not only the town itself but also processes of globalization and the role of representation in the shaping of global connectedness.

2 Entering the Town: Representation and Imagination

What do we already know about Kigoma-Ujiji? Undoubtedly, the answer to this question depends on whom you ask. Some readers probably know details about the town that I have not yet become aware of since I first set foot in Kigoma-Ujiji. Others may have consulted a world map to vaguely situate which part of the planet we are talking about. The huge variety in knowledge and interest has characterized representations of the town ever since it was first mentioned in the 1850s. Sure, there must have been plenty of people in the region who had mentioned Ujiji before this date. But the first mentioning of 'the town' of Ujiji – "die Stadt Ujiji", to be precise – was most probably not earlier, if only because there was not yet a town with a semblance of urbanity at that time. The first mention of the town was flawed. Ujiji, back then, more accurately referred to the land of the Jiji people rather than the town that would indeed develop here in the following decades.

In this chapter, I introduce the often biased knowledge that people from elsewhere entering the town – or in some rare cases, representations by people who have never been there – provided about Kigoma-Ujiji during a period of over a century and a half. I present three sets of outside perceptions and representations of the town: outsider views by visitors since the mid-nineteenth century, representations in popular culture, and finally a reflection on my own position as an outsider – whether I like it or not.

Taken together, these outside representations provide a backdrop of expectations, imaginations, stereotypes, and observations against which a global history of Kigoma-Ujiji can be staged and with which I critically engage in this chapter. This backdrop is often more informative for nineteenth- and twentieth-century European history than for Kigoma-Ujiji. The remaining chapters of this book, then, address what happened 'on stage', in the urban space itself.

Yet, the backdrop matters. For one, especially for the nineteenth century, we have no other choice than to rely on these outside accounts as our main sources to reconstruct the history of the place and its people. The next chapter is to a considerable extent based on the same sources as the nineteenth-century section of this chapter. However, in the next chapter these sources are used to reconstruct the historical process of urbanization, whereas, in this chapter, I primarily reconstruct how Kigoma-Ujiji has been perceived and represented by outsiders, and which images and imaginations have been circulating. Even if this results in a

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mixed bag of scattered information about the place itself complemented with exoticization, stereotypes, and colonial agendas, these representations, in turn, also had an impact on the town itself, be it in the actions of colonial officials, in the development of heritage tourism, or eventually in the self-perception of people of Kigoma-Ujiji themselves.

2.1 Visiting Kigoma-Ujiji since the Mid-Nineteenth Century

In this first subchapter, I give an overview of impressions of Ujiji by geographical explorers, one ivory trader, and missionaries from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries. I reconstruct outsiders' expectations of Ujiji, their ways of rendering and thereby creating an image of Ujiji, as well as the transformation in the representation and perception of Ujiji from a hub of commerce and communication to the ghastly epitome of the slave trade. I deliberately organize this subchapter according to the attitudes of the outsiders, which were, more often than not, barely based on anything relating to Ujiji or Kigoma as such. Instead, they help answer questions such as which 'expectations' guided them, in how far did 'narrative' genre shape the travelogues, what were the real 'destinations' or motivations for visitors in Ujiji, how did representations shift in the 'transition' from exploration to colonization, and finally, how have we arrived at a 'confrontational' perception of Ujiji as the evil epicentre of slave trade by the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

2.1.1 Expectation

Ujiji's first visitor to have left a written account was rather disappointed by what he encountered. Richard F. Burton, who was on a Royal Geographical Society mission in search for the source of the Nile together with John H. Speke, had expected to find a great town. Instead, when his caravan arrived in Ujiji's main quarter Kawele on 14 February 1858, this was his first impression:

> *At eight A.M., on the 14th of February, we began coasting along the eastern shore of the lake in a northwesterly direction, toward the Kawele district, in the land of Ujiji. The view was exceedingly beautiful:*
>
> *". . . the flat sea shone like yellow gold*
> *Fused in the sun,"*
>
> *and the picturesque and varied forms of the mountains, rising above and dipping into the lake, were clad in purplish blue, set off by the rosy tints of morning. Yet, more and more, as we approached our*

destination, I wondered at the absence of all those features which prelude a popular settlement. Passing the low, muddy, and grass-grown mouth of the Ruche River, I could descry on the banks nothing but a few scattered hovels of miserable construction, surrounded by fields of sorghum and sugar-cane, and shaded by dense groves of the dwarf, bright-green plantain, and the tall, sombre elæis, or Guinea-palm. By the Arabs I had been taught to expect a town, a ghaut, a port, and a bazar, excelling in size that of Zanzibar, and I had old, preconceived ideas concerning "die Stadt Ujiji," whose sire was the "Mombas Mission Map." Presently mammoth and behemoth shrank timidly from exposure, and a few hollowed logs, the monoxyles of the fishermen, the wood-cutters, and the market-people, either cut the water singly, or stood in crowds drawn up on the patches of yellow sand. About 11 A.M. the craft was poled through a hole in a thick welting of coarse reedy grass and flaggy aquatic plants to a level landing place of flat shingle, where the water shoaled off rapidly. Such was the ghaut or disembarkation quay of the great Ujiji.[1]

This first written eye-witness account makes clear that when Burton, Speke, and their company first set foot on the shores of Ujiji, the town obviously already had a reputation both among the Arabs in Zanzibar and in European writings. Thus, Burton's first impression tells us more about a representation of Ujiji, which had raised high expectations, than about the town itself.

In an earlier pre-publication of his travel account in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, Burton was even more explicit in expressing his disappointment: "An unpleasant surprise [. . .] awaits the traveller, who, having read of and believed in 'die Stadt Ujiji,' expects to find a large town inhabited by Arab settlers, with extensive slave depots and plantations of rice".[2]

His expectation of finding a great town on Lake Tanganyika had first been raised by the German missionaries Jakob Erhardt, Johannes Rebmann, and Johann Ludwig Krapf, who were at the service of the Church Missionary Society and stationed in Mombasa and Tanga on the East African coast. They gathered information from caravan traders about the interior and, based on this information, drew a map depicting a huge inland lake in the shape of a slug. This map was published in different journals in 1855 to 1856 and triggered the Royal Geographical Society's East Africa expedition by Burton and Speke. With hindsight, one could say that the "slug map" or, as Burton calls it, the "Mombas mission map" (Figure 1) lumped the African Great Lakes together into one massive sea.

1 Richard F. Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa: A Picture of Exploration* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1860), 309.

2 Richard F. Burton, "The Lake Regions of Central Equatorial Africa with Notices of the Lunar Mountains and the Sources of the White Nile; being the Results of an Expedition Undertaken Under the Patronage of Her Majesty's Government and the Royal Geographical Society of London, in the Years 1857–1859", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* XXIX (1859): 215.

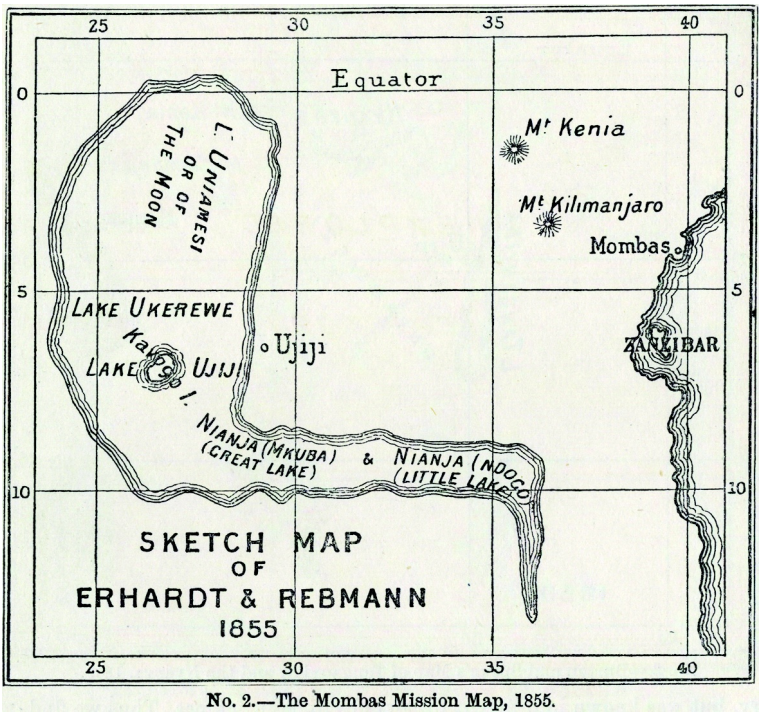

Figure 1: The Mombas Mission Map, 1855.[3]

A lot has been said about this map regarding the role of indigenous knowledge, caravan traders' conceptions of space, and its influence on geographic expeditions. Yet, in the context of the current research, I am primarily interested in the very concise information about Ujiji contained in the map. For one, Erhardt calls the central section of the inland "sea" Lake Ujiji and in the version of the map

3 The "Mombas Mission Map" or "Slug Map", published by Johann Rebmann and James J. Erhardt in *The Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society* 6 (1855): 209, has been retrieved from the Digital Collections of Illinois Library, https://digital.library.illinois.edu/items/46d8d580-e946-0133-1d3d-0050569601ca-f (accessed 30 September 2024). A more detailed map was published in: "Skizze einer Karte eines Theils von Ost- u. Central-Afrika. Mit Angabe der wahrscheinlichen Lage u. Ausdehnung des See's von Uniamesi, nebst Bezeichnung der Grenzen u. Wohnsitze der verschiedenen Völker sowie der Caravanen-Strassen nach dem Innern. Gestützt auf die Angaben zahlreicher Eingeborenen und muhamedanischer Reisenden und zusammengetragen von Jakob Erhardt u. Johann Rebmann, Missionare der Church Miss. Soc. of London in Ost-Afrika, nach J. Erhardt's Original und der Engl. Küsten Aufnahme gezeichnet von A. Petermann. Maaßstab 1:5 000 000" in *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt 2* (Gotha: Perthes 1856), table 1.

reproduced above Ujiji is the only town beyond the Indian Ocean coast. In the more detailed map drawn by Petermann based on Erhardt's information, there are no more than two sentences about the town itself:[4]

> *The city of Ujiji is partly inhabited by Arabs from Zanzibar, who introduced rice cultivation. They trade in slaves and maintain large slave compounds.*[5]

It was not "die Stadt Ujiji" but rather the "Sea of Ujiji" – the hydrography in East and Central Africa – and solving the mystery of the Source of the Nile that motivated the Royal Geographical Society to send out an expedition to the area. Burton, however, was fascinated by Arab culture, had travelled – in disguise – to Medina and Mecca in 1853,[6] and translated numerous works from Arabic to English, the most famous among which is *The Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night* (1885). Perhaps his innate fascination for Arab urbanity made him read more into these two short sentences than they actually professed. Yet, his expectations were not only based on "preconceived ideas concerning 'die Stadt Ujiji,' whose sire was the 'Mombas Mission Map'". They had risen even higher during his journey: "By the Arabs I had been taught to expect a town, a ghaut, a fort, and a bazar, excelling in size that of Zanzibar". Against this background, Burton's first impression upon arrival in Ujiji is understandable:

> *[A] hole in a thick welting of coarse reedy grass and flaggy aquatic plants to a level landing-place of flat shingle, where the water shoaled off rapidly. Such was the ghaut or disembarkation quay of the great Ujiji. Around the ghaut a few scattered huts, in the humblest beehive shape, represented the port town.*[7]

Rather than Burton himself, it is the following three aspects of his first impression that are relevant to our study. First of all, Burton's experience demonstrates the

4 Isabel Voigt, "Die "Schneckenkarte": Mission, Kartographie und transkulturelle Wissensaushandlung in Ostafrika um 1850", *Cartographica Helvetica* 45 (2012): 27–38; Adam Jones and Isabel Voigt, "'Just a First Sketchy Makeshift': German travellers and their cartographic encounters in Africa, 1850–1914", *History in Africa* 39 (2012): 9–39; Adrian S. Wisnicki, "Charting the Frontier: Indigenous Geography, Arab-Nyamwezi Caravans, and the East African Expedition of 1856–59", *Victorian Studies* 51, no. 1 (2008): 103–137; Adrian S. Wisnicki, *Fieldwork of Empire, 1840–1900: Intercultural Dynamics in the Production of British Expeditionary Literature* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019).

5 "Skizze einer Karte eines Theils von Ost- u. Central-Afrika". Original in German: "Die Stadt Ujiji ist zum Theil von Arabern aus Zanzibar bewohnt, welche die Reis-Kultur eingeführt haben. Sie handeln mit Sklaven und halten grosse Sklaven-Depôts".

6 Richard F. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1855–6), 3 vols.

7 Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*, 309.

importance of preconceived ideas and expectations for the treatment and representation of Ujiji. Even though the role of outside perspectives and perceptions are partly at odds with local realities, these realities are nonetheless influenced by the views and insights of outsiders.

Secondly, there indeed was not yet a town in Ujiji at the end of the 1850s. Ujiji already fulfilled a role as depot, market place, provisioning centre, and hub in the caravan trade complex as well as in regional trade around the lake; but as it will be argued in the next chapter, the process of urbanization leading to "the great Ujiji" that Burton already expected back in 1858 would take until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It is remarkable, though, that even before there was an urban centre in Ujiji and before the first European reached the area, European authors – and perhaps Arab-Swahili caravan traders who were these Europeans' source of information – already used Ujiji, which is, strictly speaking, the name for the land of the Wajiji, as the name of a town. Ujiji, thus, was already a liminal town, an expected but not-yet-town, and a "[n]ay to all positive structural assertions, but [. . .] in some sense the source of them all, and, more than that, [. . .] a realm of pure possibility whence novel configurations of ideas and relations may arise".[8]

Thirdly, Burton's account contains some tropes that characterize the travel accounts of visitors to Ujiji or Lake Tanganyika – or travelling through Africa more generally – throughout the nineteenth century, during the colonial period, and, to some extent, until today. The rather predictable pattern of travel accounts allows us to move more quickly over most of the European travellers who came after Burton and Speke. The outsider perspective on Ujiji was fixed quite early on, in fact, before the town as such even existed.

2.1.2 Narration

Particularly strong in the case of Burton but, more generally, characteristic of nineteenth-century visitors to Ujiji is the reliance on information given by Arabs or coastal Africans, while neglecting or even despising local Africans. I refrain from reproducing Burton's loathful descriptions of "East Africans",[9] but I will provide some general traits of Burton's observations and descriptions of local people, which also characterize later travelogues and colonial sources. Whereas "Arabs" –

8 Turner, *The Forest of Symbols*, 97.

9 See especially Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*, Ch. XIX, 489, but racist stereotypes are to be found throughout the book.

which often includes coastal or Swahili Africans – are identified individually, "East Africans" – the term Burton uses to lump together people living in the East and Central African interior – are described collectively, as if they were part of the landscape. Even though Burton was interested in culture and had hoped to find a great town, he seemed more interested in landscape and commerce than in people – except if they were "Arab" people. It is a trait shared by many European travellers to Africa in the second half of the nineteenth century.[10] After Burton's first impression upon arrival in Ujiji, his first observation shows how he subsumed people either under a description of scenery and trades or as Arabs:

> *Around the ghaut a few scattered huts, in the humblest beehive shape, represented the port-town. Advancing some hundred yards through a din of shouts and screams, tom-toms, and trumpets, which defies description, and mobbed by a swarm of black beings, whose eyes seemed about to start from their heads with surprise, I passed a relic of Arab civilization, the "bazar." It is a plot of higher ground, cleared of grass, and flanked by a crooked tree; there, between 10 A.M. and 3 P.M.—weather permitting—a mass of standing and squatting [N*] buy and sell, barter and exchange, offer and chaffer with a hubbub heard for miles, and there a spear or dagger thrust brings on, by no means unfrequently, a skirmishing faction-fight. The articles exposed for sale are sometimes goats, sheep, and poultry, generally fish, vegetables, and a few fruits, plantains, and melons; palm-wine is a staple commodity, and occasionally an ivory or a slave is hawked about: those industriously disposed employ themselves during the intervals of bargaining in spinning a coarse yarn with the rudest spindle, or in picking the cotton, which is placed in little baskets on the ground. I was led to a ruinous tembe, built by an Arab merchant, Hamid bin Salim, who had allowed it to be tenanted by ticks and slaves. Situated, however, half a mile from, and backed by, the little village of Kawele, whose mushroom-huts barely protruded their summits above the dense vegetation, and placed at a similar distance from the water in front, it had the double advantage of proximity to provisions, and of a view which at first was highly enjoyable. The Tanganyika is ever seen to advantage from its shores: upon its surface the sight wearies with the unvarying tintage—all shining greens and hazy blues—while continuous parallels of lofty hills, like the sides of a huge trough, close the prospect and suggest the idea of confinement.*[11]

The fragment about his first day in Ujiji, about arriving and installing in the not-yet-town, ends with another recurrent trope of travellers to Ujiji: the awe felt when sighting Lake Tanganyika after a long journey. Mary Louise Pratt, whose almost 30-year-old monograph *Imperial Eyes* remains a seminal reference for the historical study of travel writing, quotes at length from Burton's first sighting of the lake on the previous day, 13 February 1858. Although her book is primarily concerned with travels to the Americas during the imperial age, Pratt calls Burton's "discovery" of

10 See Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 2007 [1992]).

11 Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*, 309–310. I choose not to spell out the N-word, but replace it with [N*] instead.

Lake Tanganyika "one of my favorites in the monarch-of-all-I-survey genre". Burton marvelled at the beauty of the lake – he allegedly just "discovered" – using esthetic-izing language, densifying meaning by referring to his own home culture (using references to plum, steel, snow, etc.), and claiming mastery over "his discovery" by at the same time depicting himself as the seer, while acting as the author defining what is (to be) seen.[12] Pratt's quote starts with the following:

> *Nothing, in sooth, could be more picturesque than this first view of the Tanganyika Lake, as it lay in the lap of the mountains, basking in the gorgeous tropical sunshine.*

It ends with:

> *[A]ll the fairest prospects in these regions wants but a little of the neatness and finish of art—mosques and kiosks, palaces and villas, gardens and orchards—contrasting with the profuse lavishness and magnificence of nature, and diversifying the unbroken coup d'œil of excessive vegetation, to rival, if not to excel, the most admired scenery of the classic regions.*[13]

The depiction evokes admiration for the natural scenery as well as a description of a lack of culture, whereby the classic regions and the Islamic world figure as the reference of what is lacking. This, obviously, tells us something about Burton and about "imperial eyes", but very little about Ujiji and the people living there. As a source for the urban history of Kigoma-Ujiji, Richard Burton or, more generally, the European travellers may seem irrelevant. However, for a global history of Kigoma-Ujiji, the outsider perspective on the town and even stereotypes do matter, as they have an impact on developments in the town and have been reproduced until today in popular culture representations and references to Kigoma-Ujiji, as elaborated in the next subchapter.

Nevertheless, I find the paragraphs before and after Pratt's quote from Burton's "discovery" of Lake Tanganyika more revealing. Burton's report of 13 February 1858 opens with the following:

> *On the 13th of February we resumed our travel through screens of lofty grass, which thinned out into a straggling forest. After about an hour's march, as we entered a small savanna, I saw the fundi before alluded to running forward and changing the direction of the caravan. Without supposing that he had taken upon himself this responsibility, I followed him. Presently he breasted a steep and stony hill, sparsely clad with thorny trees: it was the death of my companion's riding-ass. Arrived with toil—for our fagged beasts now refused to proceed—we halted for a few minutes upon the summit. "What is that streak of light which lies below?" I inquired of Seedy Bombay. "I am of*

12 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 197–201; quote on 197.

13 Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*, 307–308.

opinion," quoth Bombay, "that that is the water." I gazed in dismay; the remains of my blindness, the veil of trees, and a broad ray of sunshine illuminating but one reach of the lake, had shrunk its fair proportions. Somewhat prematurely I began to lament my folly in having risked life and lost health for so poor a prize, to curse Arab exaggeration, and to propose an immediate return, with the view of exploring the Nyanza, or Northern Lake. Advancing, however, a few yards, the whole scene suddenly burst upon my view, filling me with admiration, wonder, and delight.[14]

It is pretty clear from this fragment that either the *fundi* – i.e. the steward or manager of the caravan, which was Said bin Salim at the time – or "Seedy Bombay" took Burton to the site where he could view Lake Tanganyika. Sidi Mubarak Bombay was perhaps the most influential "British" traveller to East and Central Africa in the nineteenth century. Born around 1820 among the Yao people in what is today the border region between Tanzania and Mozambique, he was enslaved as a child and sent across the Indian Ocean to Gujarat. When his "owner" died, he was set free and returned to East Africa in the 1850s where he joined the army of the Sultan of Zanzibar. There, in 1857, he was hired by Speke as his personal guide, guard, and interpreter. Speke and Mubarak both spoke Hindi. Towards the end of the expedition Mubarak would replace the caravan manager Said bin Salim, who was a Swahili or coastal African – "half-caste Arab of Zanzibar" in the words of Burton. Speke hired Sidi Mubarak again as caravan manager for his next expedition, which, however, did not take him to Ujiji. Henry M. Stanley and Verney L. Cameron, who reached Ujiji in 1871 and 1874 respectively, also relied on the services of Sidi Mubarak Bombay. "As a result, Mubarak became the most widely travelled man in Africa, having covered some 9,600km [. . .] overland". He died in 1885.[15]

A final trope I want to highlight is touched upon in the fragment immediately following the estheticizing monarch-of-all-I-survey quote by Pratt:

The riant shores of this vast crevasse appeared doubly beautiful to me after the silent and spectral mangrove-creeks on the East African sea-board, and the melancholy, monotonous experience of desert and jungle scenery, tawny rock and sun-parched plain or rank herbage and flats of black mire. Truly it was a revel for soul and sight. Forgetting toils, dangers, and the doubtfulness of return, I felt willing to

14 Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*, 306–307.

15 John H. Speke, *What Led to the Discovery of the Source of the Nile* (Edinburgh & London: Blackwood, 1864), 210–212; Royal Geographical Society, "Hidden histories of Black geographers", https://www.rgs.org/about-us/our-work/equality-diversity-and-inclusion/black-geographers-past-present-future/hidden-histories-of-black-geographers (accessed 30 September 2024); Royal Geographical Society, "Exploring Africa Fact Sheet: Sidi Mubarak Bombay," https://www.rgs.org/schools/resources-for-schools/exploring-africa (accessed 30 September 2024); Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*, 26 and 431–432.

endure double what I had endured; and all the party seemed to join with me in joy. My purblind companion found nothing to grumble at except the "mist and glare before bis eyes." Said bin Salim looked exulting—he had procured for me this pleasure—the monoculous jemadar grinned his congratulations, and even the surly Baloch made civil salams.[16]

Burton's marvelling at the beauty of the lake is typically contrasted with the hardships of a long journey. In his case, the trip from the coast to Ujiji had taken more than eight months and he had fallen ill several times along the way. His companion Speke also suffered and was in bad shape when they arrived at the lake and in Ujiji.[17] Yet, as a trope in travel writing, stressing the hardship and health hazards also functions as a narrative device highlighting the larger-than-life heroism of the adventurous voyagers. The aura of self-sacrifice or putting oneself in danger for the sake of scientific progress, humanity, and civilization contributed to the appeal of travel writing. There was clearly an ambivalence between seeing hardship and health hazards both as a curse and as a blessing. This nexus of heroism and suffering was already contained in the secular writings of Burton and others but was even more pronounced in the missionary mythology of martyrdom. The long list of missionary expeditions that failed due to illness or death in the *History of the London Missionary Society*, for instance, tellingly figures under the heading "Legacy of Heroism": "[O]n one of the expeditions which cost so much in lives and health [. . .] east of Lake Tanganyika, his health broke down", "another of the pioneers whose attempt to start work at Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika was thwarted by ill health", "after an eight months' journey and many vicissitudes [he] managed to reach Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika in 1885, but illness drove him back to England", "members of the fourth of the series of abortive expeditions [to] the shores of Lake Tanganyika [. . .] experienced the all too familiar sequence of obstacles and mishaps, and [. . .] the losses by death and illness nearly brought this undertaking – like its predecessors – to an end. [. . .] his health made further work with the London Missionary Society impossible [. . .] after sixteen years' heroic and faithful service," and so it goes on and on.[18]

16 Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa*, 308.

17 Not only did Speke not give any first impression of the lake and of Ujiji upon arrival, as his illness had turned him blind at the time, but in his writings he also provides very little information about Ujiji. Only his unsympathetic description of the chief Kannina and the statement "Ujiji being the only district [on Lake Tanganyika] where canoes are obtainable" are as much as one can learn about the place. See John H. Speke, "Journal of a Cruise on the Tanganyika Lake, Central Africa", *Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine* 86 (1859): 342–343.

18 Norman A. Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society, 1895–1945* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 255–256, 267 and 274–275. The examples are limited to cases explicitly referring to Ujiji or Lake Tanganyika.

These self-applauding narrations of self-sacrifice make us aware that our prime sources – as, for lack of alternatives, these fragments give an impression of the source base for the nineteenth-century history of the area – reflect other motivations, concerns, and priorities than giving us insights into the town-in-the-making.

2.1.3 Destination

I do not want to dwell much longer on this European mindset, yet it sheds some light on the place of Ujiji in these travels. Ujiji was not the destination, let alone the purpose, of this journeying. Granted Burton had hoped to find a great town in 1858; in the late 1870s and 1880s, the expeditions of the London Missionary Society aimed for a suitable location for a mission station in the Lake Tanganyika area; and in 1871, Stanley found what he was looking for in Ujiji, although his destination was not the place but Dr. Livingstone, who happened to be recovering from illness in Ujiji. Rather than the destination, Ujiji was a symbolic stop at the heart of the journeys that were only halfway through when the travellers paused there. The travelogues can be compared with road movies, where the journey overshadows the stops. Burton and Speke, as well as Stanley in his first voyage, still had to return; Cameron, as well as Stanley during his second passage, still had to move on; and most of the missionaries, who attempted to settle in Ujiji before formal colonization reached the area in the late 1890s, either died or had to leave the place shortly after their arrival. Expeditions, missions, or even later colonial inspection tours did not target but moved through Ujiji. If we understand these expeditions or missions as defining life moments, as rites of passage for the voyagers involved, then Ujiji was at the heart of the long and lingering liminal phase that constituted the journey as a whole. Ujiji was a site of repose and recovery, idyllically situated on the shores of Lake Tanganyika, but the ones who rested knew all too well that all what had already been endured was awaiting the caravan once again on the return or onward journey. In several instances, Ujiji also became a place of demise, which underscores the uncertain and insecure outcome of the liminal phase.

Neither the liminality nor the transformation was concentrated much on Ujiji, but Ujiji was a stepping stone in a protracted process of transformation that took place primarily on the road. This peregrine perspective on transformation in nineteenth-century East and Central Africa also guides the next chapter, where I interpret the process of urbanization in the region as taking place first and foremost within the mobile caravan trade complex, until Swahili urbanity gradually took hold in specific locations. Ujiji would become one of the most important towns evolving out of this mobile urbanization. This

process goes well beyond the outside perspectives and perceptions that are addressed in this chapter. Yet, these nineteenth-century outsiders' imaginations, too, were constructed out of experiences and observations in the caravan trade complex – be it based on Erhardt and Rebmann collecting information from caravans arriving on the coast or more directly on later travellers having their caravans composed and reorganized in Zanzibar, on the coast, in Tabora, Ujiji, or other hubs of the caravan complex.

This function of Ujiji, amongst a couple of other places, as a hub also becomes clear from one of the few non-European written testimonies about nineteenth-century East and Central Africa: the autobiography of Hamad bin Mohammad al-Murjebi, aka Tippu Tip. In his *Maisha* or life story, written in Zanzibar on the instigation of the German consul Heinrich Bode, Tippu Tip refers to Ujiji on eight occasions, but not once does he give information about the place itself. Ujiji is important for its role in the caravan complex and not for its own sake. As Tippu Tip narrated his autobiography from his memory in the first years of the twentieth century when he was in his mid-60s, it is not always easy to reconstruct the chronology of his life story, especially concerning the early years of his narrative. After four sentences about his childhood, he mentions his first caravan trip together with his father at the age of 18, which brings him to Ujiji for the first time. In line with the European tropes mentioned before, Tippu Tip fell ill with smallpox. That must have been in the second half of the 1850s, in other words, at about the same time that Burton and Speke travelled through the region. He mentions that the ivory trade was not going well and he continued across the lake without his father.[19] All we can tell from this message is that Ujiji was a hub in the caravan trade complex, where caravans were reorganized in order to move on or travel back, much like Tabora, from where Tippu Tip's father coordinated his operations. I will come back to trade and navigation on the lake in the next chapter.

The next occasion when we learn about Ujiji, is when Tippu Tip was about a thousand kilometres away from the place. In July 1867, he met David Livingstone several hundred kilometres south of Lake Tanganyika close to what is nowadays the border region between Zambia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. After Tippu Tip provided escorts for Livingstone on several of his travels in the area, the latter requested help from Tippu Tip with the shipment of some trunks from the coast to Ujiji. Incidentally, Jiji copper traders were in the area as well. Among them was also Hebee (Hebeya), a *mteko* or official for the land in the Ugoi

19 François Bontinck, *L'autobiographie de Hamed ben Mohammed el-Murjebi Tippo Tip (ca. 1840–1905)* (Brussels: Académie royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer, 1974), 21, 41–42 and 179 n5.

quarter and a leading figure in the Kawele quarter of Ujiji who had good relations with the Swahili-Arabs in Ujiji and whom Tippu Tip called a friend of his.[20] Tippu Tip asked Hebeya to take care of Livingstone's trunks and, according to his account, paid Hebeya for this job.[21] It was no sooner than March 1869 that Livingstone visited Ujiji for the first time. But two years before this date, he had already engaged with an Arab-Swahili caravan trader, who in turn relied on a Jiji local leader involved in long-distance regional trade to ship his supplies to Ujiji. In fact, Livingstone had already ordered this shipment when he was still on the coast in March 1866.[22] A lot has been written about the good relations between Livingstone and Tippu Tip, one of the most notorious denouncers of the slave trade and one of the most notorious slave traders in the region, but that is beyond our concern here.[23] We also know from Livingstone's diaries that in the end the shipment went wrong.[24] Yet, what I derive from this configuration is that for a thousand kilometres in all directions, Ujiji was a hub, depot, provisioning station, and prime point of reference for caravans between the Indian Ocean coast and Central Africa in the 1860s. It was not necessarily the place to be, but it was a relay of the utmost importance; not yet a town, but a hub in the caravan trade complex.

The centre of gravity of Tippu Tip's operations moved to the Manyema area in what is today the Democratic Republic of the Congo and in particular to the towns of Nyangwe and, above all, Kasongo.[25] For Tippu Tip, Ujiji was a logistic relay to ship ivory to the Indian Ocean coast, for which he needed good relations with the local leaders, of which the Jiji leader Hebeya, the Swahili strongman Mwinyi Heri, and the coastal Arab merchant Mohammad bin Khalfan al-Barwani – aka Rumaliza – were the most important to secure his commercial-strategic interests.[26] Although ivory trade was Tippu Tip's main concern, this relied heavily

20 For more information about the Jiji leadership roles, including the *mteko*, as well as about Hebeya himself, see subchapter 3.3.1. The Pangani Triumvirate.

21 Bontinck, *L'autobiographie*, 56–57; Livingstone, *The Last Journals*, vol. I, 222.

22 Bontinck, *L'autobiographie*, 203 n103.

23 See, for instance, Andrew Ross, *David Livingstone: Mission and Empire* (London: Hambledon Press, 2002), 209; Andrew Roberts, "Tippu Tip, Livingstone, and the Chronology of Kazembe", *Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa* 2, no. 1 (1967): 115–131.

24 Livingstone, *The Last Journals*, vol. II, 6–8.

25 Contrary to Burton's disappointed impression of Ujiji, Kasongo must have been a "proper" town by the mid-1870s at the latest, when Tippu Tip first arrived there and around the same time that Verney L. Cameron travelled through the area. See Bontinck, *L'autobiographie*, 99 and 242 n286, who in turn refers to the Leipzig-born and -trained explorer Oskar Lenz: "Kasongo fait l'effet d'une ville" (Oskar Lenz, "L'expédition autrichienne au Congo", *Bulletin de la Société Royale Belge de Géographie* 11 (1887): 226).

26 See, for instance, Bontinck, *L'autobiographie*, 113–114, 131–133 and 149–150.

on political alliances and wars, capturing and trading of enslaved people, and armed control of trade routes whenever caravans had to move through. To this end, he depended on his lines of communication. Maintaining good relations with local leaders – or defeating them if good relations were not an option –, with Swahili-Arab leaders in East and Central Africa as well as with Europeans moving through or settling in the wider Central African region, who in turn often depended on Tippu Tip for provisioning or escorting, made Tippu Tip the pivotal figure in Central Africa by the 1880s. The caravan trade complex was not only a commercial but also a communication infrastructure and Ujiji was a hub for both. This also becomes clear from the testimony of Livingstone, who on 10 December 1867, before ever having been in Ujiji, wrote: "I am so tired of exploration without a word from home or anywhere else for two years, that I must go to Ujiji on Tanganyika for letters before doing anything else".[27] For that part of the continent, Ujiji was the link to the outside world – and vice versa.

I have dwelled quite long on the first written eye-witness account and the most prominent non-European written source on the pre- and proto-colonial periods,[28] yet I have done so in order to shed light on more general traits of the outside perception and representation of Ujiji as well as on Ujiji as a hub for commerce and communication within the caravan trade complex. The next chapter takes up the latter point as the frame of reference for Swahili urbanization. In the remainder of this subchapter, I juxtapose the perception and representation of Ujiji with direct experiences of the place.

2.1.4 Transition

By the mid-1870s, five Europeans had visited Ujiji and reported on it.[29] They were all British, they were all interested in geographical exploration, and they all relied on Sidi Mubarak Bombay or on Tippu Tip, or on both. This picture changed from the second half of the 1870s onwards. At the height of the caravan trade, we witness a proliferation of backgrounds and motivations of Europeans travelling through the area. Missionary and military motivations, Belgian and French missions, German and Dutch travellers followed in the wake of the British geographi-

27 Livingstone, *The Last Journals*, vol. I, 261. Oskar Lenz also mentions the reliable delivery of correspondence via Ujiji (Oskar Lenz, *Wanderungen in Afrika: Studien und Erlebnisse* [Wien: Verlag der literarischen Gesellschaft, 1895], 107).

28 Although Tippu Tip's autobiography was partly also "European", as it was the German consul Heinrich Brode who registered it.

29 Burton, Speke, Livingstone, Stanley and Cameron.

cal expeditions.[30] Nonetheless, for most of the travellers, Ujiji remained an entry point to Central Africa rather than a destination in its own right. Increasingly, military expeditions also circumvented Ujiji, establishing their own stations on both shores of Lake Tanganyika. Missionary expeditions, too, sometimes had a semi-military quality, both depending on and hostile to Arab-Swahili strongholds in the region.[31] Parallel to the growth of Ujiji as a town and a centre from which a surrounding area was dominated (see Chapters 3 and 8), European expeditions reduced their reliance on the town to gain access to Central Africa from the east. Above all, the hostility towards the Arab-Swahili from the side of the Belgian King Leopold II's expeditions and enterprises led to the deviation of caravans via Karema, on the one hand,[32] and access to Central Africa from the west, on the other. Consequently, until the German colonial conquest in the second half of the 1890s, it was primarily missionaries who kept travelling via Ujiji.

The first missionary in Ujiji had been Livingstone in 1869 – although he had already left the London Missionary Society by then. In his *Last Journals* he wrote very little about the place, but more about its people – and it was not friendly. He depicted what he called "Ujijians" as "worse than [. . .] the traders from Ujiji",[33] who, in turn, were "the vilest of the vile" according to Livingstone.[34] He gave this impression of "Ujijians" while in the Manyema region of the present-day Democratic Republic of the Congo. It is clear from his descriptions that "Ujijians" does not refer to the Jiji people or Wajiji, although there may have been some Wajiji who participated in what Livingstone called the "*Ujijian* trading [of] plunder and murder".[35] Although he did not explain what he meant by the categories he used, he probably made a distinction between two rival factions of caravan traders from Ujiji, one group led by Omani "Arabs" – often partly of African descent –, who were his primary source of information, and one group led by people from the Swahili coast, whom he probably referred to as "Ujijians" (see Chapters 3 and 4). The distinction from "Arabs" transpires from his assertion about "Ujijians"

30 The Protestant London Missionary Society and the Catholic *Missionaires d'Afrique* or White Fathers, as well as the Belgian King Leopold II's *Association internationale africaine* were the most active organisations in the area between the mid-1870s and formal colonisation.

31 Adam Jones and Geert Castryck, "Mission Spaces in German East Africa: Spatial Imaginations, Implementations, and Incongruities against the Backdrop of an Emerging Colonial Spatial Order" in *Transnational Religious Spaces: Religious Organizations and Interactions in Africa, East Asia, and Beyond*, (eds.) Philip Clart and Adam Jones (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 51–83.

32 See, for instance, Lionel Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa* (London: Methuen, 1898), 288 and 307–309.

33 Livingstone, *The Last Journals*, vol. II, 107.

34 Livingstone, *The Last Journals*, vol. II, 11.

35 Livingstone, *The Last Journals*, vol. II, 67. Italics added.

that "they are nearly all miserable *Suaheli* at Ujiji, and have neither the manners nor the sense of *Arabs*".[36] "[T]hey thirst for blood more than for ivory, each longs to be able to tell a tale of blood, and the *Manyuema* are an easy prey".[37] I do not want to attach too much value to Livingstone's assessment per se, but it is remarkable that around 1870 he juggled with these four categories of people – Ujijian, Suaheli, Manyuema, and Arab –, which would structure communities and conflicts in Ujiji until the mid-twentieth century, as we will see later. However, the distinction between Swahili and Arab was in fact a gradual question of status: Swahilization was a process that was still in the making at the time of Livingstone's writing, Manyema would become a prominent part of that Swahili-Arab urbanity and "Ujijians" encompassed people from around the northern half of Lake Tanganyika, who would rival Manyema for over half a century. There is more to gather from Livingstone's spiteful statements than he could have possibly known when he wrote them.

Where Burton had expected a great town, which was echoed in a comment by the editor of Dr. Livingstone's *Last Journals*,[38] the missionary doctor stained Ujiji with the odium of being the evil slave trading centre in Central Africa. Combined with its hub function and reputation, this turned Ujiji's perception into the interface between alleged civilized and savage worlds, between damnation and redemption; in short, into a liminal town. Ujiji was already charged with reputations before first visitors took the effort to describe the place.

The most renowned association between Livingstone and Ujiji is, without doubt, the reporter Henry M. Stanley finding him there, recovering from illness, in November 1871. Stanley's famous salutation "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?" is part of the European canon of how colonial history is represented. The meeting as such is a banal anecdote, but it is at the same time a culmination of European fascination with the heroic explorer's trope mentioned before, as well as, with hindsight, a transition point from exploration to colonization, symbolized in the missionary geographical explorer who had just become an ardent critic of the slave trade and in the newspaper reporter who would become a colonial conqueror at the service of Leopold II. Because the meeting of Stanley and Livingstone is not only part of outsider representation of Ujiji but became the ultimate icon of that representation and of the "Scramble for Africa" more generally, I go deeper into this event in the next subchapter, where Kigoma-Ujiji in global popular culture is addressed.

36 Livingstone, *The Last Journals*, vol. II, 12. Italics added.

37 Livingstone, *The Last Journals*, vol. II, 107–108. Italics added.

38 "At last he reached the great Arab settlement at Ujiji, on the eastern shore of Tanganyika"; Livingstone, *The Last Journals*, vol. II, 6.

Besides the iconic meeting, Stanley gives us a first impression of daily life in the town or, more precisely, of the marketplace:

> *The market-place overlooking the broad silver water afforded us amusement and instruction. Representatives of most of the tribes dwelling near the lake were daily found there. There were the agricultural and pastoral Wajiji, with their flocks and herds; there were the fishermen from Ukaranga and Kaole, from beyond Bangwe, and even from Urundi, with their whitebait, which they called dogara, the silurus, the perch, and other fish; there were the palm-oil merchants, principally from Ujiji and Urundi, with great five-gallon pots full of reddish oil, of the consistency of butter; there were the salt merchants from the salt-plains of Uvinza and Uhha; there were the ivory merchants from Uvira and Usowa; there were the canoe-makers from Ugoma and Urundi; there were the cheap-Jack pedlers from Zanzibar, selling flimsy prints, and brokers exchanging blue mutunda beads for sami-sami, and sungomazzi, and sofi. The sofi beads are like pieces of thick clay-pipe stem about half an inch long, and are in great demand here. Here were found Waguhha, Wamanyuema, Wagoma, Wavira, Wasige, Warundi, Wajiji, Waha, Wavinza, Wasowa, Wangwana, Wakawendi, Arabs, and Wasawahili, engaged in noisy chaffer and barter.*[39]

In this brief description, Stanley managed to identify the different groups with more precision than Livingstone's four categories mentioned above. Although Livingstone had spent many years in Africa, never in his life had he travelled the caravan route from the coast to Ujiji, whereas Stanley had just spent more than seven months in such a caravan. This probably explains why Stanley already had a better understanding of the different groups that composed the ecosystem of the caravan trade complex and, consequently, of the emergent town of Ujiji in the early 1870s.

In 1876, Stanley returned to Ujiji, as part of an expedition to further clarify the hydrography in the African Great Lakes region and, still, to gain confirmation of the source of the Nile. He describes Ujiji as "a long straggling village, formed by the large tembes of the Arabs" and notes that "nothing was changed much, except the ever-changing mud tembés of the Arabs".[40]

Meanwhile, in 1874, Verney L. Cameron had also visited Ujiji. However, while in Ujiji, none of the European visitors was really interested in the town, but rather in checking supplies, organizing the onward journey, social talk with "Arabs", at best a page-long impression of the market,[41] perhaps recovering from illness, and also,

39 Henry M. Stanley, *How I Found Livingstone: Travels, Adventures and Discoveries in Central Africa: Including an Account of Four Months' Residence with Dr. Livingstone* (London: Low, Low & Searle, 1872), 473–474.

40 Henry M. Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent or the Sources of the Nile around the Great Lakes of Equatorial Africa and down the Livingstone River to the Atlantic Ocean* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1878), vol. I, 45 and 509.

41 Cameron provided a similar description of the market in 1874 as Stanley had given in 1871; Verney L. Cameron, *Across Africa* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1877), vol. I, 175–176.

since 1871, the memories of Livingstone.[42] "The grand old hero, whose presence once filled Ujiji with such absorbing interest for me was gone!" laments Stanley in the final sentence of the first volume of *Through the Dark Continent*. No better way to state that Ujiji did not interest him, per se. As always, outside expectations and imaginations overlay the tiny glimpses of the town we catch.

2.1.5 Confrontation

Shortly after Stanley's second passage through Ujiji in 1878, the first European travellers who intended on establishing themselves in the town arrived at Lake Tanganyika. A few of them indeed stayed in the area for several years and published written accounts of their experiences. The titles of their memoirs stress their relatively lengthy stays in the Lake Tanganyika area. Edward C. Hore, who was a lay missionary and mariner for the London Missionary Society who stayed in the area from 1878 till 1888, wrote *Tanganyika: Eleven Years in Central Africa*.[43] Although he was supposed to be in charge of navigation on the lake and to launch a small steamship as soon as feasible, he soon became the leading figure of the protestant mission in the region, as the ordained missionaries died shortly after their arrival. One year later, in 1879, the Catholic *Missionnaires d'Afrique* or White Fathers also arrived in Ujiji with the intention to establish themselves permanently in the town. François Coulbois, who arrived in 1883 and stayed in the area until 1891, authored the most extensive White Fathers' account, *Dix années au Tanganyka*, similarly stressing – and slightly exaggerating – the length of his stay.[44] A few months before Coulbois, Alfred J. Swann, who was, like Hore, a lay missionary and mariner for the London Missionary Society, arrived in Ujiji and stayed in the region until 1909. His memoirs also mention the length of the stay, but he explicitly foregrounds his intrinsic motivation – at least with hindsight – in *Fighting the Slave-hunters in Central Africa: A Record of Twenty-six Years of Travel & Adventure round the Great Lakes and of the Overthrow of Tip-pu-tib, Rumaliza and other Great Slave-traders*.[45] Hore, by contrast, had expressed his gratitude to the same Tippu Tip and Mohammed-bin-Alfan – i.e. Rumaliza – "for the

42 Cameron, *Across Africa*, 179; Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, vol. I, 509.

43 Edward C. Hore, *Tanganyika: Eleven Years in Central Africa* (London: E. Stanford, 1892).

44 François Coulbois, *Dix années au Tanganyka* (Limoges: P. Dumont, 1901).

45 Alfred J. Swann, *Fighting the Slave-hunters in Central Africa: A Record of Twenty-six Years of Travel & Adventure Round the Great Lakes and of the Overthrow of Tip-pu-tib, Rumaliza and other Great Slave-traders* (London: Seeley, 1910). A second edition of the book, published in 1969 with Frank Cass, contains an extensive introduction by Norman R. Bennett.

maintenance of peace" and "for hospitality, for aid in imminent peril, and frequent assistance and information".[46] A difference in temper undoubtedly explains the contrast to some extent; but above all, it was the fact that a lot had changed in the 20 odd years between Hore's departure from Lake Tanganyika in 1888 and Swann leaving in 1909 which resulted in their differing rhetoric. Tippu Tip, Rumaliza, and the like were at the height of their powers when Hore left. By the time Swann left the area, however, their entire realm had been swept away by gruesome violence and blatant betrayal during colonial wars of conquest by imperial troops of the Belgian king and the German Empire.[47] In the following chapters, I elaborate on the effects of these evolutions on the town and its population in as far as they directly concern Ujiji. In this chapter, I pay attention to the additional and gradually dominant layer of significance that was grafted upon the perception and representation of Ujiji: the evil slave-trading centre.

When Hore arrived, his firm intention was still to found a mission station in the town. After ephemeral attempts in town both by the London Missionary Society and by the White Fathers, missionary stations were established in places around the lake rather than in the town of Ujiji. As a consequence, of all our nineteenth-century informants, Hore is probably the one to pay the most attention to the town itself. He calls Ujiji "a big town" that used to be "the terminal depot" for caravan traders but had lost this position to Nyangwe and Kasongo and by the late 1870s, had "become rather a station on the road to those places than a position of independent importance". He highlights the "variety of people, languages, and customs" as well as the dominance of the "Arabs", by which he means "all those – pure Orientals, Waswahili, Beloochis, and half-castes of every shade – who have come there as civilised people from a distance".[48] One can problematize this classification, but in comparison to most other European travellers in the second half of the century, Hore stands out by unpacking the category

46 Hore, *Tanganyika*, viii–ix.

47 The "Arab wars" (1892–1894) and the suppression of the Batetela mutinies (1895–1901/8) in the Congo Free State as well as the crushing of the Abushiri (1888–1889) and the Maji Maji uprisings (1905–1907) in German East Africa are the most notorious examples. See Benoît Verhaegen, *Rébellions au Congo, Tôme II: Maniema* (Bruxelles: Centre de recherche et d'information socio-politiques, 1969); Guy De Boeck, *Baoni*: *Les révoltes de la force publique sous Léopold II: Congo 1895–1908* (Berchem: EPO, 1987); Philippe Marechal, *De Arabische campagne in het Maniema-gebied (1892–1894): situering binnen het kolonisatieproces in de Onafhankelijke Kongostaat* (Tervuren: Museum voor Midden-Afrika, 1992); Jonathon Glassman, *Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856–1888* (Oxford: James Currey, Education, 1995); Felicitas Becker and Jigal Beez (eds.), *Der Maji-Maji-Krieg in Deutsch-Ostafrika, 1905–1907* (Berlin: Christoph Links Verlag, 2005).

48 Hore, *Tanganyika*, 69–70.

"Arabs" in the first place. He wrote more pitifully about the "natives", who seemed to accept Arab rule and arbitrariness, and explained the ambivalent relation between enslaved people and free labourers, whereby the former could easily be better dressed than and commanding the latter.[49]

We also find the first relatively detailed description of the town's outline in Hore's account:

> *Thirty or forty large flat-roofed Arab houses (tembes), mostly hollow squares with massive walls and broad verandahs, form the principal feature of the town, and, with erections of every kind between that and the little grass bee-hive hut,—very irregularly placed amidst straggling oil-palms, bananas, and fruit-gardens,—make up the metropolis of Ujiji. A few winding tracks between these, worn down by common consent and use in the direction of greatest general convenience, form the streets or roads, mostly converging eventually upon the market-place. The market is essentially a native institution, and as such may be seen here and there over the whole territory of Ujiji and Urundi. But here in the town it is the meeting-place of all the various classes. The real native Mjiji from the hills brings his goats and produce; the poor Mswahili builds a little booth of palm leaves, and investing all his capital in a goat, displays his joints and penny lots of meat, warranted as being killed in true Mohammedan fashion. His wife may be close at hand with a jar of palm oil, which she retails in tiny gourd measures for cooking or lighting; towards the cool of the evening she lights a little fire under the jar to keep the oil liquid.*[50]

The contrast between Hore's description and Swann's first impression could not be more telling. Standing in Ujiji, looking over Lake Tanganyika, Swann ponders as follows:

> *Beyond this I could picture the Congo, with its mysteries, cannibalism, and wealth. I tried to enter into Livingstone's thoughts as he stood here, wondering whether this mass of water was the source of the Nile. I knew that at this spot Africa's greatest missionary explorer was found by the intrepid Stanley. It was an historic spot. Here centred all the villainy which for centuries had cruelly oppressed the coloured races, and here the Arabs were, as they thought, established in their impregnable fortress. Little did they imagine that yonder howling crowd of East Coast porters had deposited in their midst a British ensign which, in company with those of Germany and of Belgium, would soon fly over the ruins of their vile trade-centres.*[51]

Likewise, Coulbois associates Ujiji with vile evil:

> *Ujiji! Town with a sinister name! Ujiji was the centre of the importation of slaves from Central Africa and from the banks of the Congo to the island of Zanzibar [. . .] Ujiji! An Arab city by its influence, an African*

49 Hore, *Tanganyika*, 70 and 72–74.
50 Hore, *Tanganyika*, 70–71.
51 Swann, *Fighting the Slave-hunters*, 74.

city by its character. A singular mixture of a fake civilization and a savageness that is worthy and even preferable to it.[52]

Ujiji was no longer perceived as the great Arab town that Burton had hoped to find, nor was it the entry point to map the hydrography of the African Great Lakes and rivers. It now epitomized the abhorrent centre of the slave trade amidst savage Africa. In parallel, it was the place where the two mariners of the London Missionary Society put steamships on the lake. In short, by then, Ujiji was framed to both legitimize and implement colonial conquest.

2.2 Representation and Perception of Kigoma-Ujiji in Popular Culture

The popular perception of Ujiji has largely been shaped by the nineteenth-century travelogues and memoirs studied in the previous subchapter, with the meeting of Stanley and Livingstone as the outstanding moment in which geographical exploration, adventure and self-sacrifice, humanitarian or abolitionist zeal, and a window towards colonization are condensed. However, the appearance of Ujiji and increasingly also of Kigoma in popular culture have continued well into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

In this subchapter, I briefly illustrate how reality and fiction have become intertwined and mutually informed each other with regard to Kigoma and Lake Tanganyika. I focus on the meeting of Livingstone and Stanley in 1871, the movie *The African Queen*, and Pasolini's 1970 *Notes for an African Orestes* (*Appunti per un'Orestiade africana*). There are several more recent novels and television series referring to Kigoma-Ujiji, but they basically amount to the same argument: taken together, these instances of popular culture dealing with Kigoma-Ujiji produce and reproduce a pattern of both paying attention to and ignoring the place and of seeing it as both outlying and central at the same time.

Basically, Kigoma-Ujiji has already been present in European popular culture for about a century and a half. History textbooks about nineteenth-century colonization seldom fail to mention the 1871 meeting of Dr. David Livingstone and

52 Quoted in M. Vanneste, "Coulbois (François)" in *Biographie Coloniale Belge* (Bruxelles: Institut royal colonial belge, 1958), vol. V, col. 168. French original: "Ujiji! Ville au nom sinistre! Ujiji a été le centre de l'importation des esclaves de l'Afrique centrale et des rives du Congo à l'île de Zanzibar [. . .] Ujiji! Ville arabe par l'influence, ville africaine par nature. Singulier mélange d'une civilisation factice et d'une sauvagerie qui la vaut et même lui est preferable".

Henry M. Stanley in Ujiji, including the winged words uttered by the latter. Travelogues – discussed selectively in the previous subchapter in order to distil representations of Ujiji – were immensely popular. The adventurous, dangerous, threatening, inhospitable, unknown, and exotic characteristics of the depicted travels were an essential part of the success of these accounts. Besides the expectations of travellers mentioned earlier, the readers' expectations, too, were to be met. Descriptions of places, therefore, were perhaps even more inspired by the genre than by the intrinsic qualities of these places. In this context, Ujiji was one of these places that symbolically took the meaning of the end of the world, much like the "heart of darkness" in Joseph Conrad's novel[53] or in Francis Ford Copolla's movie *Apocalypse Now*,[54] which, despite being set in Vietnam, is based on Conrad's Congo novel. The main difference between places like the heart of darkness and places like Ujiji is the real-life existence of the latter. Ujiji is real and symbolic at the same time: it really was one of the largest urban settlements in the African interior by the end of the nineteenth century; it really was an important market town where salt, fish, ivory, cloth, and enslaved people were traded; and it really was the place where Livingstone, as well as Speke and Burton before him and a number of others after him, stayed for a while. But at the same time, it was imagined both spatially and morally as so far away from civilization that this symbolic meaning and role of the town overshadowed or, at least, reshaped its reality.

In this respect, it is significant that the two people having agency in the story of Stanley meeting Livingstone are these two white men. While a handful of Arab bystanders do passively appear in some images or descriptions (Figure 2, left-hand side), the bulk of the local population seems to exist only in so far as missionaries liberate them – from slavery or from oblivion?

The depiction of a place regardless of its reality and its people can also be seen in *The African Queen*, the 1935 novel by C.S. Forester,[55] or the 1951 film starring Humphrey Bogart and Katherine Hepburn (Figure 2, right-hand side).[56] A white boatman and a white missionary face a threatening wilderness devoid of people, life, or reality. They confront vaguely personified evil enemies, albeit Germans instead of "Arabs" in this case. Set in some unidentified part of Africa during the First World War, the two white people, who dislike each other at first and marry in the end, try to alter the course of the war by scuttling a massive German

53 Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness* (London: Penguin Classics, 2007 [1899]).

54 Francis F. Coppola (dir.), *Apocalypse Now* [movie], 1979. See http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0078788/ (accessed 30 September 2024).

55 C.S. Forester, *The African Queen* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1935).

56 John Huston (dir.), *The African Queen* [movie], 1951. See http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0043265/ (accessed 30 September 2024).

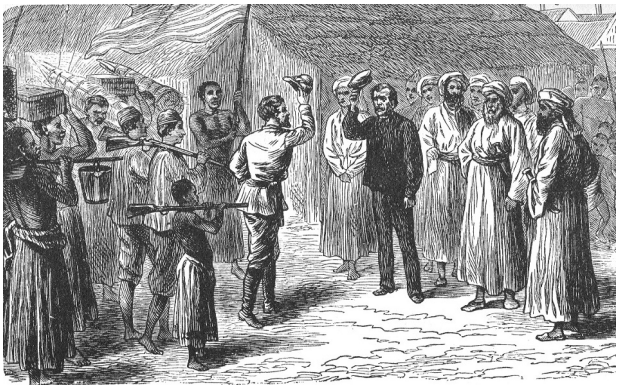

Figure 2: "Dr. Livingstone, I presume": H.M. Stanley meeting Dr. Livingstone in Ujiji (1871), and "The African Queen", US theatrical release poster (1951).[57]

warship that dominates the nearby lake. The ludicrous idea to head for the lake and sink the huge German gunboat Königin Luise is loosely based on the true story of the German steamer Götzen, which was scuttled by German engineers in the Bay of Kigoma in 1916.

Neither Kigoma nor the Götzen are identified in this film, but, then again, there is no need for 'real' knowledge. The setting has to substantiate the feeling of being at the very heart of the end of the world, the middle of nowhere surrounded by menacing nature, devoid of an actual place or people. The vessel and the war are disconnected from the historical context of the Kigoma-based gunboat on Lake Tanganyika. The population is completely absent from the movie. Admittedly, the novel and movie are romantic fiction and nobody has ever pretended otherwise. However, the colonial mindset that allowed a scenario to be set in a non-place and enacted by outsiders reveals a degree of neglect that characterizes the ambivalent history of Kigoma. The Oscar-winning Hollywood movie pays partial attention to Kigoma-Ujiji or, at least, to the events that took place there, while at the same time ignoring the town in its own right and rendering it invisible.

In his 1970 film *Appunti per un'Orestiade Africana*,[58] the film director Pier Paolo Pasolini did at least put some effort into coming to grips with Kigoma but

57 Free of copyright: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Henry_Morton_Stanley#/media/File:Rencontre_de_Livingstone_-_How_I_found_Livingstone_(fr).png, and https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/81/The_African_Queen_%281952_US_poster%29.jpg (accessed 30 September 2024).

58 Special thanks to Konstantinos Katsakioris for drawing my attention to this film and its references to Kigoma.

only as scenery for a projected movie, which in the end he never produced. *Appunti* is a film about the preparations for making a film. He travels through Tanzania and Uganda in search of suitable cast and scenery, integrates footage about the Biafran War, experiments with African-American jazz musicians to sing in the film, and gathers feedback from African students in Rome – who are not at all convinced by Pasolini's concept. What Pasolini had in mind was to situate Aeschylus' ancient Greek trilogy *Oresteia* in Africa as an allegory for an alleged transformation from primitive to modern, as a metaphor of development and democratization. In a nutshell, the Oresteia tells the story of the assassination of Agamemnon by his wife Clytemnestra upon his return to Argos after having won the Trojan War, followed by the revenge killing of Clytemnestra by their son Orestes, after which the Furies hunt down the latter. The plot takes place in a context of retaliation, where the gods determine what ought to happen. When Orestes finally arrives in Athens, the goddess Athena diverts from the path of retaliation and instead brings Orestes and the Furies before a tribunal based on moral responsibility and a fair trial. Pasolini believed that "Africa" was on a similar path in the first decade after political independence and wanted to illustrate this by contrasting a primitive and a modern Africa with each other. Thereby, he reproduced virtually every stereotype about Africa one can imagine. He combined scenes from East Africa, footage of war in West Africa, African American musicians, and African students in Europe in order to depict "Africa" as a unit. He assembled scenes of poverty and cruelty represented by people who can be seen talking but whose voice is not heard.[59] He contrasted these scenes with images of modernity expressed more by objects than by people. Modern buildings and car traffic in towns like Kampala and Dar es Salaam along with African students in Rome and African American musicians represent modernity. People in "the centre of Africa" stand for an Africa "still close to prehistory" but "the houses are recently built", as he comments in a voice-over. Projecting his own view of a developing "Africa" on the scenes that he encounters, he interprets recent buildings as expressions of the evolution towards modernity. That is where Kigoma comes in.

After about 10 minutes into the film, with a score of a Soviet workers' song, Pasolini travels by ship, departing on Lake Victoria and, using the magic of filmmaking, arriving in Kigoma, which he calls "the centre of Africa" (Figure 3, left-hand side).[60] Given that at this point in the film, he is still primarily depicting a

59 Tom Hawkins, "Orestes on Trial in Africa: Pasolini's *Appunti per un'Orestiade africana* and Sissako's *Bamako*" in *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Aeschylus*, (ed.) Rebecca Futo Kennedy (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 458 n8.

60 Pier Paolo Pasolini, *Appunti per un'Orestiade Africana* [movie], 1970. The fragment begins after 9 minutes 48 seconds: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tjcx8Mhtoxc&feature=youtu.

Figure 3: Stills from P.P. Pasolini's *Appunti per un'Orestiade Africana* (1970).

primitive "Africa" "still close to prehistory", this designation of it as the centre of Africa is evocative more of Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* than the core of modernization. Yet, it is also here that modern houses, bicycles, and a motor vessel appear. Half a minute later, he again calls Kigoma the centre of Africa.

Notwithstanding, 40 minutes later, Pasolini returns to Kigoma, when he is allegorically depicting Athens, the modern city. An African man symbolizing Orestes walks through Kigoma, with the railway station in the background (Figure 3, right-hand side), when Pasolini spells out that "the new city is represented by material collected in Kampala, Dar es Salaam, and Kigoma".[61] In the whole film, Kigoma is the only place depicting both Argos and Athens, the only place that is called "the centre of Africa" in both the primitive and the modern sense. Obviously, I agree with the scepticism of the African students in Rome, who repudiated the projection of the Oresteia on a lumped together "Africa" rising from prehistory to modernity. Yet, while mirroring his own view on a global "Africa" in transformation, it is striking that of all places Kigoma stands out as ambivalent, as both "close to prehistory" and on its way to modernity, or, in the terminology of this book, as a liminal town and a transformative space.

There are further examples of Kigoma-Ujiji continuing to stimulate the imagination into the twenty-first century. For instance, in the 2004 Giles Foden novel *Mimi*

be&t=588 (accessed 30 September 2024). The left-hand picture is a still, taken when the quoted reference to "the centre of Africa" is made.

61 Pier Paolo Pasolini, *Appunti per un'Orestiade Africana* [movie], 1970. The fragment begins after 51 minutes 57 seconds: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tjcx8Mhtoxc&feature=youtu.be&t=3117 (accessed 30 September 2024). The right-hand picture is a still, taken when the fragment begins.

and Toutou go Forth[62] and the 2007 Alex Capus novel *Eine Frage der Zeit*,[63] both of which are about the Götzen during the First World War, in the 2014 Hermann Schulz novel *Die Nacht von Dar es Salaam*, which largely deals with missionary experiences in Kigoma-Ujiji during the interwar period,[64] or in the 2012 Flemish television format *Dr. Livingstone*,[65] in which two travellers cross the African continent to finally meet in Ujiji. Kigoma-Ujiji has contributed to Western popular culture largely regardless of its reality and more often than not harking back to either Stanley finding Livingstone or the Götzen during the First World War.

The fascination with the century-old vessel, now called the Liemba, manifests itself in Kigoma as well, not merely as a transportation infrastructure but also as heritage, as tourist attraction, and possibly as an event location. The Friends of Liemba Foundation was established in 2009 and has partners in Germany (Run Liemba e.V.) that are likewise committed to the preservation of this colonial heritage.[66] Similarly, the inclusion of The Central Slave and Ivory Trade Route from Bagamoyo to Ujiji on the tentative list for UNESCO World Heritage together with the renovation of the Livingstone Museum in Ujiji bring the fascinations of outsiders into the town itself.[67] Outside perceptions and representations, therefore, cannot be fully dissociated from real life in Kigoma-Ujiji.

I can add a final instance of perception by seemingly close outsiders: patterns of prejudice, whose origins can be traced back to what we have seen in the first part of this chapter, provide a breeding ground for rumours of witchcraft and magic, assumed to be very powerful in Ujiji, in particular among its inhabitants of Congolese descent. This reputation reaches across the country. When I was doing archival research in Dar es Salaam and told people that I was preparing a book about the history of Kigoma-Ujiji, my interlocutors hinted several times at the strong magic or spiritual forces in Ujiji. On a weekend trip to Bagamoyo, a town on the coast historically connected to Ujiji, a museum guide, too, warned me about the magical force of Ujiji. When in Kigoma and Ujiji, Christians in particular talked about the strength of Muslim magic. When I began to present my then on-

62 Giles Foden, *Mimi and Toutou Go Forth: The Bizarre Battle for Lake Tanganyika* (London: Penguin, 2004).

63 Alex Capus, *Eine Frage der Zeit* (München: btb, 2007).

64 Hermann Schulz, *Die Nacht von Dar es Salaam* (Frankfurt am Main: Brandes & Apsel, 2014). I am grateful to Adam Jones and Kristin Jäger for drawing my attention to this publication.

65 Woestijnvis, *Dr. Livingstone* [TV Series], 2012. See: https://www.woestijnvis.be/producties/dr-livingstone (accessed 30 September 2024).

66 Interview KU36, Kigoma, 20 July 2012. Also see: "Von Goetzen bis Liemba", https://liemba.wordpress.com/ (accessed 30 September 2024).

67 "The Central Slave and Ivory Trade Route", UNESCO World Heritage – tentative lists, https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/2095/ (accessed 30 September 2024).

going research at conferences and colloquia, people from the Kigoma region who happened to be in the audience time and again referred to this magical force or asked why I had not mentioned it. You can hear stories about Ujiji witchcraft from inhabitants of Kigoma as wells as from people in Mwanza on Lake Victoria, Dar es Salaam on the Indian Ocean, or Berlin along the River Spree. Thus, a force to be reckoned with is ascribed to this both marginal and magical place and its people, yet at the same time, there is a subtext of weakness and marginality conveyed as well, implying that spirituality and magic is their only force.[68]

The question arising from all of these images of Kigoma-Ujiji as marginal, as magical, as the beginning of the end of the world, as unduly neglected, as in need of reappraisal, or as the starting point for modernization is not whether or not these representations are accurate. The point is that the images exist even all the way down to the inhabitants of Kigoma-Ujiji themselves. These images share a positioning of the place beyond the common or the familiar, as both marginal and transformative, in short, as a liminal town.

2.3 Visiting and Representing Kigoma-Ujiji Today

In this chapter, I have thus far discussed outside perspectives on Kigoma-Ujiji from the mid-1850s until the 2010s. My own perception of Kigoma-Ujiji, too, came to fruition in the 2010s and is undeniably an outside view. Despite its relevant differences, it also has some similarities with nineteenth-century travellers' accounts. When I first travelled to Kigoma-Ujiji, I had preconceived expectations and scientific motivations, not unlike my predecessors a century and a half before. I travelled across East Africa, following more or less the same trajectory as the nineteenth-century central caravan route, although it took me several days by train instead of several months by caravan. When we reached the rim from where Lake Tanganyika could be sighted, my travel companion in the train compartment drew my attention to the marvellous view. For most of our journey, we either talked, slept or read. My companion, a clerk at the Congolese Consulate in Kigoma, had been reading the Bible, while I was absorbed by John Iliffe's *A Modern History of Tanganyika*. He was convinced – and tried to convince me – that I was wasting my time on these profane writings. When we finally arrived at the Kigoma railway station on a Sunday in August 2011, he took me to a hotel and invited me to his place for dinner that evening. The next day, a Burundian refu-

68 For an ethnohistorical analysis of, amongst others, spirituality in Kigoma-Ujiji, see McCurdy, "Transforming associations".

gee, who had earned his PhD in biology from my alma mater, introduced me to my research assistant, a Congolese refugee from the Kasai.

In short, I was introduced to Kigoma by two Congolese and one Burundian, by two refugees and an employee in the consular service, by three Christians also, one of whom was a quite ardent pentecostalist. With hindsight, I can say that I was thrown into the town with a few relevant building blocks for the history of Kigoma-Ujiji (the Congolese and Burundian element, refugees, religion), but I was not dropped into the heart of the urban community, to say the least. Of course, I did not stay confined to this circle for the rest of my stay; but can I really claim that my entrance was fundamentally different from arriving in nineteenth-century Ujiji and being encapsulated in the Arab-Swahili caravan complex? Perhaps what I did is even more consequential, because I was there because of the town and not to find sources of rivers, contours of lakes or locations for mission stations. I should rephrase that: I was there because I wanted to write a global history of the town. I doubt that the people living there were aching for a global history of their town. In order to write this history, I now draw on a couple of months in Kigoma-Ujiji, complemented with archival research and reading through the relevant historiography. This brings me closer to Burton than to Hore, when it comes to time spent in the area. Do not get me wrong, I believe that I did my job as a historian of African, global, and urban history in an appropriate way, and it would please me if I can also convince the reader. I did my best to get a feeling for different parts of town, to listen to all sorts of people, and to put my expectations to the test, and in the end, I almost completely abandoned my initial hypotheses regarding leisure and subaltern politics. Yet, one thing is sure: mine is as much an outsider perspective as the ones discussed so far.

3 Urbanization on the Move: From Caravan Trade to Urbanity

In this chapter, I trace the urban origins of Kigoma-Ujiji. Whereas I have looked for information about the 'place' where the town of Ujiji emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century in the previous chapter, in this chapter, I take the 'space' of urbanization as the starting point. I argue that urbanization took place within the caravan trade complex and occurred on the move before it sedimented in a few particular places – places that, for sure, were already integrated in the caravan trade complex as markets or provisioning stations before they became urban(e). In the Sahel context, it has already been pointed out that in order to understand trade patterns and frontiers it is worthwhile considering "mobile space" or to recognize that in some instances "mobility and movement were prior to place".[1] I take this insight one step further by applying it to the process of urbanization, understood as the development of an urban culture or the appropriation of urbanity.

The short-cut for this interpretation would be that the coastal or Swahili culture is an urban culture, one appropriated by certain groups within the caravan trade complex, and when they settled permanently in places like Ujiji these places became urban as well. Phrased like this, my argument would be quite conservative. The Swahili culture on the Indian Ocean coast has been characterized as urban, urbane, and mercantile ever since scholars started to pay attention to it.[2] The porters, guides, and aides in the trade caravans across East Africa have been

1 Denis Retaillé and Olivier Walther, "Spaces of uncertainty: A model of mobile space in the Sahel", *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 32, no. 1 (2011): 85–101; Olivier J. Walther, Allen M. Howard and Denis Retaillé, "West African Spatial Patterns of Economic Activities: Combining the 'Spatial Factor' and 'Mobile Space' Approaches", *African Studies* 74, no. 3 (2015): 346–365; Judith Scheele, "Garage or *Caravanserail*: Saharan Connectivity in Al-Khalīl, Northern Mali" in *Saharan Frontiers: Space and Mobility in Northwest Africa*, (eds.) James McDougall and Judith Scheele (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), 233. I thank Philip Gooding for drawing my attention to the work on frontiers, space and mobility in the Sahel.

2 Derek Nurse and Thomas Spear, *The Swahili: Reconstructing the History and Language of an African Society, 800–1500* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 80–98; Middleton, *The World of the Swahili,* 54–82; James De Vere Allen, *Swahili Origins: Swahili Culture & the Shungwaya Phenomenon* (Oxford: James Currey, 1993); Thomas Spear, "Early Swahili History Reconsidered", *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 33, no. 2 (2000): 257–290; Stephanie Wynne-Jones and Jeffrey Fleisher, "Swahili Urban Spaces of the Eastern African Coast" in *Making Ancient Cities: Space and Place in Early Urban Societies,* (eds.) Andrew T. Creekmore III and Kevin D. Fisher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 111–144.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111436623-003

recognized as "Carriers of Culture"[3] and Ujiji has already been analysed as a Swahili town.[4] However, the point I want to make is not that caravans transported an urbane culture from the shores of the Indian Ocean to the shores of Lake Tanganyika thus prompting the birth of a town. I maintain that the urbanization process took place on the move, not merely by transferring, adopting or slightly adapting a coastal culture but by developing an urbane identity motivated by the dynamics in East Central Africa and within the caravan trade complex itself, by which I not only refer to the travelling caravans, but to the entire apparatus – provisioning stations, market places, skilled labour, political orders, etc. – that facilitated the caravan trade. Certainly, the coastal Swahili culture played a role as a reference, ideal, or inspiration, and was not invented or created within the East Central African caravan trade complex. Of course, people were fully aware that they were adopting an urbane culture from the Indian Ocean coast, a culture connected to a wider world, but this coastal culture was neither the starting point nor the driving force of the urbanization process in East Central Africa.

Likewise, the dynamics in Ujiji were not the starting point for the urbanization of the place, either. Local power relations and residential patterns indeed played a role in the unfolding of the process. But in order to understand the urbanization process we have to look at the caravan trade complex and, above all, to look west rather than east of Lake Tanganyika. For a variety of reasons, existing research on East Africa has often stopped at the lake,[5] whereas the people responsible for the urbanization process crossed it. The few people who have dealt with the area around Lake Tanganyika in the nineteenth century inevitably take both sides of the lake into consideration,[6] although they either stay in the direct perimeter of the lake or are not concerned with urbanization much. The single exception is Philip Gooding. Although his focus is on the integration of the Lake Tanganyika region and like me he has not done any original research on the Manyema region in East Congo per se, he productively uses information about Manyema in his interpretation of power relations, competition, and conflict in Ujiji.[7] Most of the material I use in this chapter has also been used by Gooding. Of

3 Rockel, *Carriers of Culture*.

4 Hino, "Social Stratification".

5 Geert Castryck, Achim von Oppen and Katharina Zöller, "Introduction: Bridging Histories of East and Central Africa," *History in Africa* 46 (2019): 217–229.

6 Brown, "Ujiji"; Norman R. Bennett, *Arab Versus European: Diplomacy and War in Nineteenth-Century East Central Africa* (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1986); McCurdy, "Transforming Associations"; Gooding, *On the Frontiers*; McDow, *Buying Time*; Katharina Zöller, "Crossing Multiple Borders: 'The Manyema' in Colonial East Central Africa", *History in Africa* 46 (2019): 299–326.

7 Especially Gooding, *On the Frontiers*, 130–135.

course, there are only so many source materials available, but still, it would have been hard to write this chapter without being able to build on Gooding's work. Nevertheless, I come to a slightly different conclusion than he does. He argues that Ujiji was only "proto-urban" by lack of an "urban culture" in the late nineteenth century,[8] whereas in the following I develop the argument that the urban culture was already present in the caravan trade complex and sedimented in the town of Ujiji before the turn of the century. The urbanization process happened on the move as much as on the spot, translocally rather than just locally.[9]

As urbanization took place in the caravan trade complex, Ujiji is not the only town that emerged out of the process. In this chapter, I combine three vantage points: what happened in the caravan trade complex; how does this relate to coastal Swahili culture; and how did the settlement of urban culture work out in Ujiji, the first urbanized quarter of the present-day urban area of Kigoma-Ujiji? The overall interpretation is translocal. It combines characteristics in specific locations with global processes of increasing interconnectedness: long-distance movements across East and Central Africa intertwined with mobilities in the region, opportunities and crises caused by caravan trade and colonization, as well as the production of an East-Central-African Swahili urbanity, which became residential in a few localities of which Ujiji became one of the most important, if not the most important, by the turn of the century. I argue that the scattered urbanization and Swahilization in East Central Africa can only be understood by looking at the challenges faced by people in a region in disorder, at the local motivations of these people for adopting and adapting Swahili ways of life, and at the translocal urban citizenship they thus produced.

3.1 The Caravan Trade in East and Central Africa

The development of new towns in the region was a corollary of the thriving caravan trade complex that connected mainland East and Central Africa with the Indian Ocean coast and world. However, there is no direct or automatic causality between the caravan trade and the emergence of Swahili towns. Areas in the immediate hinterland of the Indian Ocean coast had been connected to the coast for centuries, without these connections leading to the emergence of Swahili towns beyond the coast.[10] Further inland the chain of exchange remained indirect until

8 Gooding, "Lake Tanganyika", Chapter 6, especially 224 and 232.

9 For the use of "translocality", I draw on Freitag and von Oppen (see Chapter 1).

10 For a thorough analysis of coast-hinterland relations, see Willis, *Mombasa* and Felicitas Becker, *Becoming Muslim in Mainland Tanzania, 1890–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,

the beginning of the nineteenth century, when caravans instituted direct connections between mainland East and Central Africa on the one hand and the Indian Ocean coast and world on the other. Nyamwezi and Yao traders were at least as important for these commercial connections as the traders from the coast. The first Nyamwezi caravans reached the coast around 1800; and only a quarter of a century later, the first traders from the coast settled in the main Nyamwezi marketplaces, especially in Tabora. At this point in time, the coastal traders had not yet reached further than Tabora on the African continent, although they already had connections across the Indian Ocean for centuries. At the same time, the Nyamwezi caravans travelled as far west, north, and south as they travelled east, collecting and distributing ivory, copper, wax, textiles, salt, and enslaved people in different directions. It took until the 1840s for coastal traders to settle on the shores of Lake Tanganyika, an area which had already been frequented by Nyamwezi traders for quite some time by then. The Nyamwezi would remain crucial in the caravan trade throughout the nineteenth century, although coastal traders gradually took over control.[11]

The most important trading area on the shores of Lake Tanganyika was Ujiji, back then not yet a town, but the land of the Jiji people. Both place and people help explain why this location became the main commercial hub on the eastern lake shore. As the lake is part of the Great Rift Valley, cut deep amidst surrounding mountain ranges, only a few places provide comfortable access to the lake. As mentioned before, Ujiji had a few beaches descending smoothly into the, for the most part, very steep and deep lake, allowing the boats used for navigation on the lake to be pulled on the shore or pushed into the water. As part of the larger Ha and overarching Great Lakes peoples, the Jiji people were primarily oriented towards agricultural and livestock farming.[12] However, thanks to the easy access to the lake, navigation and lacustrine trade became a significant Jiji specialization.[13] A further spatial coincidence contributed to the appeal of Ujiji as a strategic place for long-distance trade in the Lake Tanganyika area: it was the closest access point to the lake for salt from the hugely important Uvinza saltpans – or the other way around, it was the closest access point to the vital commodity of salt

2008). However, in both cases, the relations remain relatively close to the coast and the focus is on the colonial period and not on the centuries before.

11 See Rockel, *Carriers of Culture*; Andreas Greiner, *Human Porterage and Colonial State Formation in German East Africa, 1880s–1914: Tensions of Transport* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022).

12 For a compelling argumentation making a case for a Great Lakes commonality, see Chrétien, *L'Afrique des grands lacs*.

13 Gooding, *On the Frontiers*, Chapter 4.

for people living around the lake.[14] This combination of features made Ujiji, the land of the Jiji people, a strategic commercial hub for the caravan trade complex.

By and large it was the Nyamwezi caravans that took care of overland trade east of the lake, whereas Jiji expeditions were in charge of trade across the lake. Initially only the junior partners in the caravan trade complex, the coastal caravan traders became competitors over time and gradually took control over a complex that reached between the Indian Ocean coast and the area west of Lake Tanganyika, in the present-day Democratic Republic of the Congo. By mid-century, coastal traders reached as far as the Lualaba River, a tributary of the Congo Stream in an area (back then) rich in ivory – i.e. in elephants. As ivory had become the main export product from the region to the world market, increasingly complemented with slave trading within the region, the focus of the long-distance caravan trade shifted to the lands west of Lake Tanganyika. Manyema, an area in the east of present-day Congo, became the final destination of the central caravan route and the area of origin of many future urbanites along that route. Thus, while characteristics of the Jiji land and people help explain the location of the future town, urbanization unfolded elsewhere and the carriers of the emerging urban(e) culture mainly originated from the lands west of the lake.

However, the expansion of the caravan trade complex to the Manyema region, which is at the same time part of a process of incorporation into a global capitalist market,[15] does not suffice to explain the emergence of urban centres along the caravan routes. The disruption of political orders, the widespread occurrence of violence and the concomitant migration of refugees, the spread of diseases, enslavement of kinds, as well as the creation of new political orders, the availability of professional opportunities and fashionable consumption goods for young people, and changing tides in local rivalries are at least as important to understand urbanization along the caravan routes.

3.2 Disorder and New Order in East Central Africa

A telling figure illustrating the process of disruption and opportunity is Hamed bin Mohamed al-Murjebi, better known as Tippu Tip, whom we have already met in the previous chapter. Drawing on superior weaponry, divide and rule strategies, as well as kinship claims not only building on his Omani pedigree but also

14 See Jean-Pierre Chrétien, “Le Commerce du sel”; Wagner, “Trade and Commercial Attitudes”.
15 Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices & Ivory; David Northrup, Beyond the Bend in the River: African Labor in Eastern Zaire, 1865–1940* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1988).

referring to his – alleged or actual – grandmother Daramumba from Utetela (in present-day Congo), Tippu Tip not only traded but, by the 1880s, he militarily and politically dominated the area west of Lake Tanganyika.[16] It was in this realm that the process of urbanization, of becoming urbane, that eventually led to an urban Ujiji, unfolded. This is quite paradoxical, as the record depicts chaos and violence in the area: seemingly the complete opposite of civilized behaviour and of urbanity. However, it was against the background of disorder that a new order became appealing.

By the 1860s at the latest, the caravan trade complex encroached upon the ivory-rich Manyema area, around the Lualaba River. Much like Bagamoyo, Tabora, and Ujiji further in the east, Nyangwe became the most important commercial centre in Manyema. But a marketplace and provisioning station do not yet make an urban centre. The population fluctuated on the rhythm of arriving and departing caravans, which in turn depended on the availability of ivory. Although moving caravans were of paramount significance for the trade system, fixed places were also pivotal for the functioning of the system. The storage of collected trade goods was localized. The teams in charge of collecting goods were gathered in and sent from the same localities. Commodities, too, were brought to these localities. Composing of the caravans to ship the collected goods to the world market happened in these places. Plantations were needed for provisioning the caravans as well as the numerous people responsible for all the other tasks emanating from these localities. Nyangwe was such a locality, as were Ujiji and Tabora; and Tippu Tip operated from Kasongo, a town nearby Nyangwe, because he felt the need to distance himself from the coastal traders who had gathered in Nyangwe. Either way, the caravan trade complex relied on a decisive static component, staying put in particular places that buttressed the complex and provided its infrastructure. While intrinsically mobile, the caravan trade complex thus also depended on locations which were the hotspots where urbanization would – literally – take place.

Apart from rivalries amongst coastal traders, which is central to Gooding's interpretation and to which I return later, the system of ivory harvesting – a euphemism for elephant hunting – depended upon mobilizing local people to bring ivory to the caravan traders. Direct coercion was one way to achieve this goal; alliances and commerce an even better one. And these allies could, in turn, also use coercion. Tippu Tip was a master in playing this game of alliances. There is no doubt that violence predominated in the rivalries amongst coastal traders, in the processes of building alliances as well as in the coercion deployed by coastal

16 McDow, *Buying Time*; Bontinck, *L'autobiographie*, 89.

traders and their allies. In his autobiography, Tippu Tip talks at length about his many fights. Yet, *within* the caravan trade complex there were opportunities to escape disorder and achieve social status. That was where the nucleus of an urban culture developed, which would later sediment in places like Nyangwe, Kasongo, and Ujiji. The driving force behind the urbanization process lies in the disruption, on the one hand, and the people from Manyema trying to find a way out of disorder, on the other. The new order of Tippu Tip and his allies, which is part of the caravan trade complex, is the context where "The Manyema Hordes of Tippu Tip", as Melvin Page called them, found this way out.[17] It would lead to a "Swahili" urban culture, but this process of Swahilization and urbanization was an East Central African one and not a mere diffusion of a Swahili culture from more than 1,300 kilometres away on the Indian Ocean coast.

Before I turn to the urbanization of Ujiji in the final section of this chapter, I will first explain the urbanization process within the East Central African caravan trade complex from four perspectives: "European" (source-criticism), global, regional, and *ngwana*.

3.2.1 A European Perspective, or Some Thoughts on Source Criticism

The available sources help explain why the mobile caravans and the situated towns are insufficiently considered together when it comes to the people living in them. What we know about the urbanizing nucleus within the caravan trade complex, usually referred to as *waungwana*, is mainly based on travelogues, diaries, and memoires recorded by Europeans who went to East and Central Africa during the second half of the nineteenth century. Despite the "imperial eyes" (see Chapter 2), the information in these sources is relatively detailed when it comes to the caravans. There is a perfectly logical explanation for this. These Europeans used the "infrastructure" of caravans as their means of transportation. All of them spent months walking across the continent, which gave them ample time to closely observe – and describe – these caravans. On the contrary, their descriptions of towns, which they merely crossed along the way, were usually based on shorter stays and superficial observations.

There were a few exceptions, like Edward Coode Hore of the London Missionary Society, who spent quite some time in Ujiji between 1878 and 1888, or Jérôme

17 After Melvin E. Page, "The Manyema Hordes of Tippu Tip: A Case Study in Social Stratification and the Slave Trade in Eastern Africa", *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 7, no. 1 (1974): 69–84.

Becker, whose sojourn in Tabora led to more sensitive descriptions of town life.[18] But for the most part, European depictions of East and Central Africa in the second half of the nineteenth century give us more detailed information about the caravans than about the towns. Even what we know about the towns is often seen from a caravan perspective, such as provisioning on markets or the networks of those who organize the caravans. The commercial interconnectedness between marketplaces and caravan trade is apparent, for sure, but the connectedness of town and caravan life, of people, and of culture is highlighted far less often.

This leads to a decisive bias in the descriptions of town life: whereas the Europeans (and the caravans) are highly mobile, the towns are depicted as static – albeit vibrant – spaces through which the mobile caravans pass. The mobility that is inherent to European travelling and caravan trade is largely blended out when it comes to towns. Obviously, this tells us more about the experience of the European travellers – whether as part of geographical, missionary, or military expeditions – than about the reality of booming towns. However, as the caravan *waungwana* and the urban Swahili are in fact intertwined, if not identical, we indirectly learn more about town life from the description of caravan life than the actual snapshots in town make us believe.

Two further biases in European writings on nineteenth-century East and Central Africa distort our understanding of caravan and urban culture. I have mentioned the obsession with slavery and the slave trade before. Added to this obsession was a proximity to the leadership of the caravan trade complex, which was mostly of coastal – Omani or Mrima[19] – origin, which also limited the awareness of the Central African masses in the complex. This bias was partly social, as European travellers often dealt with the top layer of society. But it also had to do with the travellers' own trajectory, which started from the East African coast and built on the received knowledge gathered on and near the coast. Their perspective mostly started from the eastern leg of the caravan trade complex – between the Indian Ocean and Lake Tanganyika – which made them less perceptive of a Central African Swahili urbanity emerging west of the lake.

The caravan bias and coastal perspective of nineteenth-century sources also left traces in academic literature. Although several authors have written about

18 Hore, *Tanganyika*; Edward C. Hore, "On the Twelve Tribes of Tanganyika", *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 12 (1883): 2–21; Jérôme Becker, *La vie en Afrique, ou, Trois ans dans l'Afrique centrale* (Paris, Bruxelles: J. Lebègue, 1887).

19 Mrima is the part of the East African Indian Ocean coast facing the isles of Zanzibar. The Omani traders operated from Zanzibar, via Bagamoyo, whereas most Mrima merchants in Central Africa were from Pangani and Tanga.

the caravan culture before me, they usually do not relate the culture of the caravan trade complex to the emerging urbanity in the region, which was part and parcel of this complex.[20] In most scholarly research on the caravan trade complex, towns along the caravan route are taken for granted or reduced to their role as a market, sometimes denied an urban character altogether, or at best, assessed as a dynamic factor influencing the caravan trade complex, but rarely investigated in their own right. In contrast, historians describing towns in the area do refer to the importance of the caravans but treat them as phenomena moving through town, having a tremendous impact on town life, but not as existentially merged into this life.[21] Or to put it another way, previous research does acknowledge how the caravan trade constituted the towns where it moved through, but nevertheless separates the caravans as mobile transportation infrastructure from the towns as set places. I suggest thinking towns and caravans together as part of a caravan trade complex of which both were part as one space in which urbanization on the move materialized.

3.2.2 A Global Perspective

The caravan trade was, of course, the driving force behind the complex. Its expansion is closely related to the supply-and-demand on the world market, particularly the demand for ivory, the demand for spices, which in turn led to an upsurge in plantation labour – and the slave trade –, and the supply of industrially produced textiles (and beads) used as trade goods or currency in the caravan trade. The fact that African consumers in turn influenced and even imposed textile fashions, as Jeremy Presthold demonstrates,[22] illustrates the two-sided character of the globalization process. Basically, globalization led to enlarged scales of operation as well as to the spread of consumer goods and the introduction and increase in the number of firearms,[23] which undermined political and moral or-

20 Page, "The Manyema Hordes"; Philip Gooding, "Slavery, 'respectability,' and being 'freeborn' on the shores of nineteenth-century Lake Tanganyika", *Slavery & Abolition* 40, no. 1 (2019): 147–167; Rockel, *Carriers of Culture*; Deutsch, *Emancipation without Abolition*; Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*.

21 Brown, "Ujiji"; Pallaver, *Un' Altra Zanzibar*; Karin Pallaver, "A triangle: Spatial processes of urbanization and political power in 19th-century Tabora, Tanzania", *AFRIQUES* 11 (2020): 1–32.

22 Presthold, *Domesticating the world*; also see Sheryl McCurdy, "Fashioning Sexuality: Desire, Manyema Ethnicity, and the Creation of the 'Kanga,' 'ca.' 1880–1900", *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 39, no. 3 (2006): 441–469.

23 See Giacomo Macola, *The Gun in Central Africa: A History of Technology and Politics* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2016); Page, "The Manyema Hordes".

ders.[24] One could also interpret the spread of the universal religions Islam and Christianity as compatible with the enlargement of scale and complementing cosmologies that no longer managed to encapsulate and give meaning to the abrupt and rapid changes that took place. In the process, some vested powers lost, some won. But throughout the region, masses were compelled to reorient.

No matter what the scenario was, the larger scale of operation as well as the disruption of order led to substantial dislocations of people. Some were captured and enslaved or negotiated into slavery as part of some truce, cooperation agreement, or submission pact.[25] Some made use of a shaky political order to escape inhibiting age hierarchies and followed the allure of opportunities for youngsters in the caravan complex.[26] Some were outright refugees running away from violence and devastation or left alone as orphans or outcasts.[27] Whatever their background, these dislocated people had in common their disconnection from the social, cultural, and political contexts which had been their respective living environments and frames of reference. They either voluntarily left them behind or were snatched away from them, or these environments no longer existed altogether. Obviously, some nuclei of people from the same background could and did try to stick together and keep social and ritual practices alive,[28] but the familiar conditions for belonging and social protection were no longer available in their direct living environment. Be it as captives from caravan traders or their allies, as people who lost their livelihood, their family, or their frame of reference, or as individuals or gangs who were lured away by new opportunities, thousands and thousands of people from the region were incorporated into the caravan trade complex. For all of them, this became their new frame of reference, their new order, in which they developed strategies for survival, success, or social status. I return to this point in the section on the *ngwana* ideal.

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24 Jelmer Vos and David Maxwell explain the undermining of political and moral orders for Kongo/Congo. Jelmer Vos, *Kongo in the age of empire, 1860–1913: The breakdown of a moral order* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2015); David Maxwell, "Remaking Boundaries of Belonging: Protestant Missionaries and African Christians in Katanga, Belgian Congo", *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 52, no. 1 (2019): 59–80.

25 See Chapter 2 for European sources paying attention to only this part of the story.

26 Page, "The Manyema Hordes"; for the area east of Lake Tanganyika, see R.G. Abrahams, *The political organization of Unyamwezi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967).

27 Wissmann reports about emptied villages, which is the outcome of capturing, fleeing and killing. Hermann von Wissmann, "On the Influence of Arab Traders in West Central Africa", *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* 10, no. 8 (1888): 525–531.

28 E.g. McCurdy, "Transforming Associations"; McCurdy, "Fashioning Sexuality".

In the nineteenth-century sources, obsessed as they were with the slave trade and abolition, this complex constellation of raiding, disorder, refuge, and opportunities has been lumped together under the heading of the "slave trade". Part of it indeed was related to slave labour and the use of humans as trade goods, but this focus misses important parts of the story. Atrocities and killings did take place on a massive scale, but those left dead after razzias are obviously – or cynically – not the agents of urbanization we are interested in here. Surviving humans – often women and presumably still malleable children – were indeed captured into slavery. Many had to work in the fields to provision the caravans and the commercial centres. Yet, a considerable number of young men and women also joined the caravans, transporting goods in the direction of or from the coast, either attracted by the perceived opportunities or fleeing from the havoc endured in their place of origin, or both at the same time. They had not necessarily been captured into slavery, but their social situation and challenges were not fundamentally different. In both scenarios, the people involved moved far away from their area of origin. Disruption as a consequence of the encroaching impact of globalization, here in the form of incorporation in the capitalist world-market via the caravan trade complex and the enlarged scale of action, has more explanatory potential than slavery.

Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to adopt some of the insights the historiography of slavery has given. One point related to the dislocation and disconnection mentioned above is the "social death" of people captured into slavery.[29] Drawing upon this idea, Jan-Georg Deutsch argues that in Unyamwezi, "the moment slaves remained in a particular locality, they sought and acquired new social ties, which they hoped would ensure them more security".[30] A second point is the phenomenon of runaway enslaved people or the founding of maroon communities, which Jonathon Glassman has studied near plantations on the Swahili coast.[31] In the region under scrutiny in this chapter, there were far fewer coastal traders than in Unyamwezi, let alone than on the Swahili coast. This made them more dependent on people from the interior, which led to more, or more-rapidly-achieved, autonomy or freedom. At the same time, given the disruptions in the area, the "social death" affected a much larger group than those physically captured into slavery.

29 Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (London: Harvard University Press, 1982). Also see Gooding, "Slavery, 'Respectability'".

30 Jan-Georg Deutsch, "Notes on the Rise of Slavery & Social Change in Unyamwezi c. 1860–1900" in *Slavery in the Great Lakes Region of East Africa*, (eds.) Henri Médard and Shane Doyle (London: James Currey, 2007), 91.

31 Jonathon Glassman, "The Bondsman's New Clothes: The Contradictory Consciousness of Slave Resistance on the Swahili Coast", *The Journal of African History* 32, no. 2 (1991): 277–312.

On top of that, while on the East African coast slavery was a much more variable category than the dominant image of chattel slavery as we know it from the Americas, further inland the distinction between slavery and non-slavery is even harder to make. Enslaved people's capacity to run away and the dependency on the caravan trade complex for people who were not enslaved, blurred this binary distinction and led to a much more gradual scale of gaining status, respectability, or prestige.[32] Therefore, despite the overwhelming attention on slavery, the slave trade, and accompanying atrocities in the sources, it is not very useful to adopt slavery as the reading grid for the nineteenth-century history of urbanization along the caravan trade routes. What is useful here are the "social death", "the moment [of remaining] in a particular locality" and the "new social ties" or founding of a community. The transformation from "social death" to "new social ties" is a liminal phase par excellence and is at the heart of the urbanization process that eventually led to an urban Ujiji.

Yet, the new order that came out of this transformation process was overrun by a newer new order, which again disturbed the strategies of people who, for whatever reason, had become part of the caravan trade complex. After the arrival of the coastal caravan trade in the mid-nineteenth century, the advent of colonial conquest by the late 1880s to early 1890s constituted another critical juncture leading to disruption and opportunities for other – and, in some instances, the same – people than those in the caravan trade complex. Both the caravan trade and colonization are instances of increased global connectedness, but they clashed tremendously in East Central Africa. A process of disruption, which was already underway before colonization, reached existential levels with colonial conquest. More relevant than the imposition of colonial rule, which was only partially and onerously achieved over several decades, was the disruption in the region. For three decades, the historical record mentions devastated and deserted villages; the only difference is that, depending on the perspective, it is ascribed to slave traders, colonial conquest, sleeping sickness or forced labour in rubber harvesting.[33] One important effect of colonization, however, was that it aborted the caravan trade complex; that is, it first aborted the political order of the complex and, only several decades later, also technologically or infrastructurally replaced

32 Gooding, "Slavery, 'Respectability'". Also see Stephen J. Rockel, "Slavery and Freedom in Nineteenth Century East Africa: The Case of Waungwana Caravan Porters", *African Studies* 68, no. 1 (2009): 87–109.

33 Northrup, *Beyond the Bend*; Maryinez Lyons, *The colonial disease: a social history of sleeping sickness in northern Zaire, 1900–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Daniël Vangroenweghe, *Rood rubber: Leopold II en zijn Kongo* (Turnhout: Pelckmans 2004 [1985]).

the caravans with railways and motorized road traffic.[34] The first point, though, is more relevant in this context: colonization did not undo the urbanization process within the caravan trade complex, but it put a stop to it and chased many by-then urbanized people out of the newly instituted Congo Free State. This led to a concentration or regrouping of urbanized people on the move in a few places, of which Ujiji, just across the border, was the most important in this regard.

3.2.3 A Regional Perspective

Besides the large-scale processes, it is important to also differentiate between dynamics in the region in order to understand how urbanization on the move took place. When assessing the caravan trade complex going through Ujiji, it is necessary to distinguish between the complex east of Lake Tanganyika and how operations west of the lake were organized. The caravan trade complex between the Indian Ocean and Lakes Tanganyika and Victoria has been well researched. We are not only informed about the commercial and logistic organization and about the infrastructural connection of Bagamoyo, Pangani, and Tanga with Ujiji via Tabora but also about the balance of power between Nyamwezi and Swahili-Arab control over caravans, about control and conflict over the route, and about daily life, labour, gender, and ritual in the caravans.[35]

But west of the lake, we are dealing with a different complex or, at least, an autonomous branch of the complex. As mentioned previously, when caravans reached Lake Tanganyika, Nyamwezi porters did not cross the lake; instead Jiji boatsmen took care of the lacustrine transport. In the previous chapter, when Tippu Tip entrusted Hebeya with the task of securing a shipment from Zanzibar to Ujiji on behalf of Livingstone, we learned that Jiji traders were also active in long-distance commerce themselves. As such, the distinction between the stretch from ocean to lake and the area around and beyond the lake had characterized the caravan trade complex from the onset. However, in the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s a genuine and autonomous kind of caravan trade complex developed in the area west of Lake Tanganyika. Tippu Tip was a crucial figure in this story, but the development had already started before he appeared on the scene.

Given the perspective of this book, it does not come as a surprise that I begin the story of an autonomous complex west of the lake in Ujiji. Part of the story also

34 See Greiner, *Human Porterage*, Ch. 6.

35 Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices & Ivory*; Rockel, *Carriers of Culture*; Deutsch, *Emancipation without Abolition*; McDow, *Buying Time*.

circumvented the lake rather than crossing it, but Ujiji was definitely a pivotal place for the projection of a leg of the caravan trade complex into Manyema, within which the process of urbanization on the move would develop. The first coastal traders to settle permanently in Ujiji came from Pangani on the Indian Ocean coast around 1845. We will learn more about them in the next subchapter and the next chapter, where the place Kigoma-Ujiji rather than the mobile space of urbanization are once again the frame of reference. Starting the interpretation of an urbanization process with permanent residence is, without doubt, highly conventional, but it will take a triple jump to go from our coastal traders in Ujiji to urbanity.

(1) Ujiji became a stepping stone towards an area abounding in elephants in the east of what would later become Congo. From mid-century onwards, a network of coastal traders established a logistical organization to collect ivory centred around Nyangwe, a town at the Lualaba River in Manyema. This system included, as mentioned before, the hunting of elephants, making trade deals with local leaders to deliver ivory, forcing people to do so, but also stockpiling trade goods, recruiting porters and guards for caravans, organizing rice plantation to provision caravans, and raiding and trading enslaved people to work on these plantations. When Livingstone wrote with contempt about "Ujijians", shocked as he was after witnessing a massacre in the market of Nyangwe,[36] he probably meant the entourage of these coastal traders linked to the Pangani faction in Ujiji. It is remarkable that Tippu Tip, a notorious ivory and slave trader from the coast himself, also scorned the coastal traders and their pursuits in Nyangwe.[37] It seems to indicate that there was faction rivalry at play amongst traders from the coast, most likely between Mrima traders from places like Pangani, Tanga, and, to a lesser extent, Bagamoyo, on the one hand, and coastal traders with an Omani genealogy operating via Zanzibar and Bagamoyo, on the other. Tippu Tip, who was of mixed-Omani-African descent, built his realm in Manyema using Kasongo, which is some 50 kilometres southeast of Nyangwe, as his powerbase.[38] That is, the coastal and the Omani commercial systems in Manyema operated side-by-side.

(2) I do not intend to reconstruct the history of the Manyema "Arabs" in this book, but the factional competition in Manyema had repercussions for Ujiji. In Gooding's reconstruction of the competition between Omani and Mrima in Ujiji, he

36 Adrian S. Wisnicki, "Livingstone in 1871" in *Livingstone Online*, (eds.) Adrian S. Wisnicki and Megan Ward (College Park: University of Maryland Libraries, 2017), http://livingstoneonline.org/uuid/node/ee070bc7-7f68-4e61-962d-038e1703231a (accessed 30 September 2024).
37 Gooding, "Lake Tanganyika," Chapter 2, especially 82.
38 Bontinck, *L'autobiographie*, 101.

concludes that the Omani prevailed by around 1880 just like they did in Manyema.[39] However, I do not concur that the coastal or Mrima traders lost. Under the leadership of Mohamad bin Khalfan al-Barwani, aka Rumaliza, the coastal faction was integrated in the Omani-led complex as junior partners, granting respect and recognition to the ageing Mrima leaders, who had come from Pangani in the 1840s. I argue that the real target of the Omani powerplay was the African polities around the northern half of Lake Tanganyika including the Jiji, with whom the Mrima faction had maintained good relations. Similar to Manyema, leaders of the caravan trade complex attempted to overrule local leaders in the region and to replace the political orders to gain access to ivory northwest of Lake Tanganyika. The Omani in Ujiji wanted to subdue the Jiji leadership rather than their Mrima competitors and partners. This process of proto-colonization was not entirely successful. For instance, Rumaliza never managed to subdue Burundi. Moreover, the process was aborted when European colonial conquest took over and the Arab-Swahili caravan trade complex was defeated in Manyema. Nevertheless, similar disruptive actions were initiated in the area around Ujiji and the northern half of Lake Tanganyika, about one decade after the disruptions in Manyema and surrounding areas in what later became Congo. The movement of this phenomenon was west-to-east and not east-to-west as might be expected if the caravan trade complex is conceived as something coming from the East African coast.

(3) Likewise, the cultural process of urbanization in the area under scrutiny came from the west and was driven by people from the region who joined the caravan trade complex. Regardless of whether they were attracted by expectations of success and standing, had been violently captured or sold as enslaved people, or were compelled to find a new livelihood after the disruption of political and moral orders, people in the caravan trade complex developed and appropriated an urbane caravan culture inspired by the Swahili features of the Mrima or Omani caravan leaders. Indeed, for the process of cultural urbanization the distinction between Mrima and Omani was of minor importance. Even if some may have been versed in Arabic, the lingua franca for both factions was Kiswahili; almost all of them were at least partly of African descent, they were all Muslim, they all had more or less the same clothing and dietary habits. Moreover, the nineteenth-century sources seldom made the distinction between the two groups, instead lumping them together as “Arabs”. In the next subchapter, I come back to the Swahili nature of the urbane culture that developed in Central Africa. At this point, suffice to note that for the appropriation of urbanity in the caravans, what-

39 Gooding, *On the Frontiers*, Chapter 4.

ever nuances might have existed between Mrima and Omani did not make a difference, because it was the "Congolese" people who were the driving force of the process of emulation, urbanization, and Swahilization.

3.2.4 *Ngwana* Ideal

The most important level of interpretation is the level of the urbanizing people themselves. Gooding substantiates how in East Central Africa, people who joined the caravans could move rather quickly from servitude to a free and respectable status.[40] The coastal caravan traders were too small in number, the people in the caravans had ample opportunities to run off, and the caravan trade complex relied too heavily on the work of its porters, providers, and protectors that it was virtually impossible to impose bondage in a sustainable way. Slavery was widespread but was a means to an end rather than a goal in itself. In the context of East Central Africa, the end was the caravan trade complex and, in particular, the ivory trade. Enslaved people captured and traded in the region were also mainly intended for use within the region and not to be trafficked and traded on the coast.[41] As a consequence, slavery was not a lasting status in the caravan trade complex around and west of Lake Tanganyika. Sooner or later, those who survived the hardships of the caravans became free men and women in search of respectability.[42] This respectability was found in a *ngwana* ideal derived, adapted, and appropriated from Swahili culture.

Thus, the caravan trade complex provided a micro-cosmos in which an emancipated, urbane *ngwana* identity was constructed. Originally, *ngwana* is a Swahili concept known from the Indian Ocean coast where it refers to a distinguished status of urbane character, a kind of coastal aristocracy based on long-standing residence and appropriate manners. However, in East Central Africa, the idea(l) of *ngwana* led its own life. For sure, in East Central Africa, too, *ngwana* status was a claim of distinction, but it obviously had little to do with long-standing residence. Rather than a sign of establishment, it functioned as a sign of social and physical mobility in the context of the East Central African caravan trade. The passage from social death to new social ties – the passing through liminality – entailed becoming *ngwana*. This local yet mobile *ngwana* identity, rather than any direct coastal Swahili reference, became the source for Swahili urbanity in East Central African urban centres including in Ujiji.

40 Gooding, "Slavery, 'respectability'".
41 Verney L. Cameron, *Across Africa*, Vol. II (London: Daldy, Isbister and Co., 1877), 28.
42 Gooding, "Slavery, 'respectability'".

Notwithstanding, this urbane *ngwana* culture deliberately emulated coastal Swahili features. Kiswahili as lingua franca, cotton clothing in kanzu fashion preferably made of merikani cloth from Massachusetts, a diet in which rice, mangoes, citrus, and other fruits became more central than usual in the Great Lakes region,[43] adherence to Islam,[44] and, in the case of urban settlement, the building of rectangular houses became markers of a Swahili urbanity in Central Africa. Evidently, these Swahili features have their origin on the Swahili coast, i.e. in roughly a millennium of Swahili urbanity on the East African Indian Ocean coast. Yet, that does not mean that the adoption – as well as adaptation and hybridization – of Swahiliness can be explained as a spread or diffusion from the coast to the interior. It was instead the crises in East Central Africa that drove dislocated people – first *waungwana* as far west as Manyema and later larger groups of people who were mobile along the central caravan route – in the region to actively choose and appropriate a locally available example. Thus, Swahiliness did not spread; instead people appropriated a Swahili "toolbox" to fulfil local needs caused by disruptions of social, political, economic, and moral orders as a consequence of transformations with a global dimension: the incorporation in the world-economy through caravan trade followed by colonial conquest. Urbanization within the caravan trade complex was a response to the effects of global transformations on the region, whereby not only a new urbane ideal but also a frame of reference on a larger, transregional scale provided an appealing and effective way to cope with the challenges of local disorder. Becoming Swahili, converting to Islam, and consuming imported commodities were all aspects of a life within a larger spatial scale of reference.

Let me depict a few trajectories. Unfortunately, there are no sources available to provide individual life histories – they do exist for people who took a Christian trajectory.[45] I can, however, reconstruct some typical trajectories that are likely to have taken place on a massive scale, given the functioning of the caravan trade complex. Even if I cannot identify individual life histories over a century ago, the way in which the caravan trade complex uprooted people from their living environments, on the one hand, and the services and occupations that were needed within the complex, on the other, make it obvious that innumerable people went

43 On the agricultural innovations within the western leg of the caravan trade complex, see Assan Kabemba, "Les Arabo-Swahili et les changements dans le domaine agricole: le cas du Maniema", *Civilisations* 37, 1 (1987), 191–229.

44 See Philip Gooding, "Islam in the Interior of Precolonial East Africa: Evidence from Lake Tanganyika," *The Journal of African History* 60, no. 2 (2019): 191–208.

45 Marcia Wright, *Strategies of slaves & women: life-stories from East/Central Africa* (London: James Currey, 1993).

through these trajectories, lived through these liminal phases, and account for the many thousands of people who inhabited the towns along the caravan trade routes by the turn of the century. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile not to lump all of these people together but to differentiate between different trajectories leading to urbanization. Where and how someone became part of this urbane culture, whether in the heartlands of the Manyema leg of the caravan trade complex or as fisher or farmer provisioning the caravan trade hub in Ujiji, would remain relevant for several decades.

The initial development of a *ngwana* ideal most likely occurred among locally recruited people who had a leading role in the mobile dimension of the caravan trade complex, i.e. the caravans themselves or, probably even more so, the patrols who collected ivory, who executed armed control over an area, and who were at the spearhead of capturing enslaved people. They were the "hordes of Tippu Tip," as Page called them. Two functions come to mind: the *nyampara* or stewards of the long-distance caravans and the armed guards or patrols imposing control in the areas under the domination of the caravan trade complex. Thus, *waungwana* could be seen as the armed force of ivory and slave trade in Central Africa, clearly trying to distinguish themselves from unfree people in the caravan trade complex and from locally embedded people. They did so by emulating their direct superiors, adopting a dress code, a diet, a language, and a religion which was both from elsewhere and evoking connections over long distance – hence also distancing from local surroundings.

However, we notice that towards the last quarter of the nineteenth century, European sources call almost everyone in the caravan trade complex *ngwana* and, after a few years in the complex, everybody seems to have adopted this lifestyle of distinction from a past self – which was at the same time a lifestyle of integration in a new living environment, hence a sign of liminality and transformation par excellence. Understanding the spread of the *ngwana* ideal helps us to get beyond the slave-slaver or free-unfree binary. Given the extreme imbalance between people from the coast and the workforce they relied on in Central Africa, the caravan trade complex could not keep huge masses in unfree relations. As a consequence, opportunities for social mobility were essential for the success of the complex. On the Indian Ocean coast, too, there was a social hierarchy between stages of slavery and liberty, and there were maroon communities outside of the plantations.[46] But more than a thousand kilometres to the west, moving up the social ladder went relatively fast and was widespread, at least for those who remained within the caravan trade complex.

46 Glassman, "The Bondman's New Clothes."

Hence, also those people who entered the complex as an enslaved person or as refugee and were not shipped away could acquire *ngwana* status and appropriate the accompanying lifestyle within a couple of years. West of the lake, most people who were enslaved remained in the region. Thus, not only people working in the caravans as such but also plantation workers and people employed as domestic slaves had the leverage to exert social mobility, or else to run away. The same is true for people who entered the caravan trade complex as farmers or fishers, contributing to the provisioning as formally free workers. The distinction between free and unfree was gradual and ambivalent. The person working as a domestic slave of a rich patron could be better off than a fisher desperately in search of productive fishing grounds or a poor peasant struggling to survive bad harvests and price fluctuations.[47] In this context, the visible and achievable status that people aspired to and could reach within a reasonable period of a few years' time was *ngwana*.

By the end of the century, whoever ended up in the caravan trade complex also acquired the accompanying culture, drawing on emulating Swahili urbanity. Some did not and dropped out, stayed behind, shifted to a Christian alternative or were "liberated from slavery" to the same effect, or managed to return to their area or origin. Options were manifold, but for the purposes of this book, those who became *ngwana*, those who urbanized on the move are the ones that matter for the urbanization of Ujiji.

3.3 The Making of Urban Ujiji

The eventual urbanization and urbanity of Ujiji went hand in hand with the caravan trade complex. When the first Europeans arrived in Ujiji, the process of urbanization was still embryonic or "proto-urban," to quote Gooding.[48] By the time of European colonization, however, one could already speak of a proper urban centre. The urbanization had taken place within the caravan trade complex and

47 See, for instance this observation by Edward C. Hore: "That gaily-dressed man with riches of cloth for exchange is a slave; and the poor woman who has brought her basket of meal into market to sell looks up to him in awe and envy as she walks past with her companion who carries her wares and is her slave. This party of naked savages just landing are half of them slaves, who will shortly be sold by the others; and a chance disturbance in the market, or some crisis in political affairs, and they themselves may become slaves too. At one point you may see a gang of poor creatures (newly captive) chained together in their misery; at another, a party of poorly-clad native porters carrying loads, and led by an amply-dressed and armed superior, who is, however, a slave, while they are free hired labourers" (Hore, *Tanganyika*, 73–74).

48 Gooding, "Lake Tanganyika", 224.

slowly sedimented in emergent towns along the caravan routes. These towns were part of the complex and provided services to it. The driving force was the caravan trade and the leading people were vagrant. The towns were permanently inhabited in order to facilitate the caravans, but residence patterns and the size of towns were unpredictable and changing depending on the coming and going of caravans. As town life was already modelled after the *ngwana* ideal and led by coastal Omani and Mrima leaders, there was already an urban culture in the town. However, the ultimate boost for the urbanization process involving both a decisive growth of the urban population and a stabilization of urban residence occurred when the caravan trade complex lost its clout in the final decade of the nineteenth century.

The western leg of the caravan trade complex fell apart when colonizers rather than caravan traders became the strongest military power in the region, crystalizing during the several wars of conquest, of which the fierce confrontation in 1892 to 1894 between the troops of the Congo Free State and their allies, on the one hand, and the alliance around the Arab-Swahili, on the other, was the most decisive for the region under scrutiny. Several died, some changed sides, and others moved away. The latter were central to the sudden growth and accelerated urbanization of Ujiji in the late-nineteenth century. Nyangwe and Kasongo lost importance beyond their immediate vicinities, whereas thousands of refugees from the collapsed caravan trade complex in East Congo crossed or circumvented Lake Tanganyika. Many of them settled in Ujiji, the first important settlement across the lake, bringing an already acquired urbane, *ngwana* culture with them. They did not introduce this cultural ideal to Ujiji, as the caravan trade complex had already left its imprint on town life before. But the arrival of vast numbers of Swahilized new inhabitants in Ujiji who were there to stay altered the town's appearance. The outcome of this process – let's say urban Ujiji around 1900 – was a town predominantly populated by people originating from across the lake, in what had become East Congo by then. Those issuing from the caravan trade complex had adopted an urban lifestyle already before arriving in Ujiji, whereas refugees fleeing the unabated violence in the Congo Free State did so in the immediate aftermath of settling there. Either way, the urban population of Ujiji were not Jiji people. Around 1880, Omani military-commercial leaders had prevailed over local leadership in the town of Ujiji and in some of the market hubs around the lake. By 1900 at the latest, also demographically Ujiji was no longer a Jiji place.

Having provided a narrative from globalization and caravan trade via Manyema and the *ngwana* ideal to a Swahili urbanity, the blackspot of my story so far is, of course, what happened in Ujiji itself. As most existing literature dealing with Ujiji has done precisely that, focusing on the town, I gave priority to what I have found lacking in the dominant narrative. Yet, the time has come to integrate the

view from the place in the remainder of this chapter. Obviously, other historians who have written from within have also paid attention to the caravan trade, to *waungwana*, to coastal culture and so forth, to the extent that these "external" influences manifested themselves on the spot. My point is that these influences are not external but the very heart of the urbanization process even if they occurred largely outside the actual town in the making.

Meanwhile, the locality of Ujiji in the second half of the nineteenth century also matters. I have already introduced the strategic advantages of its location at the margins of the Great Lakes region, close to the Uvinza saltpans, with comfortable access to Lake Tanganyika and a Jiji population skilled in navigation. Stacked on top of that came the caravan trade complex linking Central Africa with the Indian Ocean and the world market. The interplay between the regional lacustrine trade system and the long-distance caravan trade complex complemented with power relations between coastal traders and Jiji authorities in and around Ujiji are crucial to understand the development of the area. I will first introduce the foundational connections between coastal traders and Jiji leaders and then explain the confrontational growing apart of the long-distance caravan trade complex and the regional Jiji realm.

3.3.1 The Pangani Triumvirate

After some peripatetic expeditions by coastal traders in the previous years, the first coastal people to settle in the Lake Tanganyika region came from Pangani to Ujiji around 1845. Mwinyi Akida bin Tayari, Mwinyi Hassani and Mwinyi Heri bin Mwinyi Mkuu el-Ghaskani – sometimes referred to as the "Watu wa Mrima" or people from the coast – formed some kind of triumvirate in Ujiji town for the following 40 odd years.[49] Unlike the big caravan traders who established their businesses in East Central Africa over the following decades, these pioneers from the coast were the decisive political brokers in the town and the land of Ujiji.

In nineteenth-century accounts by European travellers, however, Mwinyi Akida and Mwinyi Hassani are often ignored, whereas these same accounts widely recognized Mwinyi Heri as the leader in Ujiji town. In the early 1870s, even the latter's position was questioned by the emerging caste of Omani Arab traders, but because the leader of the Arabs' opposition died in 1876, the leader-

49 Brown, "Ujiji", 56 and 127–128; TNA, Kigoma District Book, Vol. III: Tribal History and Legends: Mjiji Tribe, sheet 2.

ship of Mwinyi Heri was soon unrivalled again.[50] Yet, this ephemeral contestation of Mwinyi Heri's leadership, on the one hand, and the neglect of Mwinyi Akida's and Mwinyi Hassani's authority, on the other, in most contemporary accounts requires closer scrutiny.

According to Edward Coode Hore, it was not Mwinyi Heri but Mwinyi Akida "who enjoyed the respect of Jiji authorities and who was frequently called to their council meetings and political ceremonies".[51] This statement changes the perspective of most European accounts in two regards. First, Hore paid attention to the respect of the Jiji authorities rather than the recognition of leadership by the townspeople, in general, and the Arab traders, in particular. Second, as we have seen in Chapter 2, Hore was an atypical observer of Ujiji in comparison to other European visitors in the second half of the nineteenth century, not because he was a particularly good observer (except when it came to his passion for molluscs) but because before 1890, no other European spent more time in Ujiji than he did. Most Europeans travelled through the area, as many Arab traders had done before and continued to. Even if Hore seems to have been a headstrong nuisance,[52] his repeated and long stays in Ujiji between 1878 and 1888 allowed him to understand power relations that went unnoticed to short-term visitors. He understood that in the late 1870s, local power was not primarily or, at least, not only based on recognition by Arabs but still by good relations with Jiji authorities. Furthermore, he did not take the town of Ujiji but a slightly larger area around it as the crucial point of reference for power relations. As Brown put it, there was a "disjunction between internal politics [in town] and merchant-African relations".[53]

Mwinyi Heri was the uncontested leader in the town. For the Arabs, he was their liaison with the Jiji rulers. He was commercially successful all the way up to the ivory-market of Uvira on the northernmost tip of Lake Tanganyika and was recognized by the Sultan of Zanzibar as the first *liwali* (governor) of Ujiji, Uvira, and Uguha by 1880.[54] Mwinyi Akida, on the other hand, was clearly less successful in commercial and political terms but probably had better connections with the Jiji authorities, as Hore pointed out. The third member of the triumvirate, Mwinyi

50 Brown, "Ujiji", 132–136. Brown refers to Herny Morton Stanley and Verney Lovett Cameron. More references to Mwinyi Heri's background and recognition can be found in Bontinck, *L'autobiographie*, 254 n333.

51 Reference to the letter of Hore to Whitehouse, Ujiji, 9 February 1880 and 26 February 1880, Box No. 3, Folder 1/B, LMS, in: Brown, "Ujiji", 135.

52 For an assessment of the trouble that he tended to make, see Brown, "Ujiji", 143–144.

53 Brown, "Ujiji", 135.

54 Brown, "Ujiji", 59, 134 and 140.

Hassani, is said to have been a sage who was "well-versed in Koranic knowledge".[55] He often replaced Mwinyi Heri, when the latter was away on one of his many commercial expeditions. In short, Mwinyi Heri was more oriented towards the caravan traders, Mwinyi Akida towards the Jiji surroundings, and Mwinyi Hassani had religious authority and was probably seen as the primus inter pares within the triumvirate.

Both Mwinyi Akida and Mwinyi Hassani were rewarded for their military assistance to *mteko* (Ha official for the land) Hebeya – whom we have encountered in Chapter 2 – and *mwami* (king) Mugasa in their fight against Mugasa's brother Ruyama in the early 1860s. The struggle was first and foremost one of succession between two Jiji brothers after the death of the Jiji *mwami* Lusimbi. However, the escape of Ruyama to Burundi after his defeat may give some credence to a German colonial interpretation, suggesting that the battle was a defence against a Rundi assault.[56] More importantly, the fight took place against a background of conflict between the Jiji highlands, who supported Ruyama, and the commercial interest around the town of Ujiji, from which our Swahili triumvirate, *mteko* Hebeya, and, in the end, the prevailing *mwami* Mugasa profited in one way or another.[57] Mwinyi Akida became *mtwale* (local or sub-chief) of Bangwe and Kasia, while Mwinyi Hassani obtained Mkamba[58] near Bangwe.

Mwami, *mtwale* and *mteko* were three positions of authority amongst the Wajiji. Given that the Wajiji are a part of the larger Ha ethnic group, who in turn is closely related to the Warundi, we find these functions there as well. The *mwami*, often translated as "king", was the highest political authority, although his power was not unlimited. He unequivocally had the power to appoint a *mtwale* or *umutware* (plural *watwale* or *abatware*), who exercised the administrative authority on regional and local levels but had no control over the land. These chieftainships were sometimes inherited from father to son, but only with the approval of the *mwami* who could always dispose of his *abatware*. The *mteko* or *umuteko* (plural *wateko* or *abateko*), on the other hand, was a hereditary official responsible for

55 Brown, "Ujiji", 138n27.

56 TNA: G8/900: Anträge auf Überlassung von Kronland, Kronlandserklärungen, Verpachtung und Verkauf von Kronland, Bez. Udjidji. Bd. 2: 1906–1916.

57 TNA, Kigoma District Book, Vol. III: Tribal History and Legends: Mjiji Tribe, sheets 1–2. Especially, the 1929 "Tribal History – Mjiji Tribe" by C.H.B. Grant, District Officer of Kigoma District, and C.J. Bagenal, Senior Commissioner of Kigoma Province. For the offices held by Grant and Bagenal in 1929, see TNA, Kigoma Provincial Book: List of Officers in Charge of Kigoma Province.

58 Mkamba is the northeastern part of the land between Bangwe and Ruanza (Kigoma). Mkamba is sometimes used for the Bight of Nyassa in the Bay of Kigoma. (See "Map Kigoma Western Sheet" in TNA, Western Province [Regional Office Tabora] [63], T.2/41: Kigoma Township-General 1921–1950).

distributing the land and performing rituals to keep the land fertile and generous. The *wateko* were beyond the control of the *mwami*, which has to do with the fairly recent establishment of this political order. This political construct was based on a Rundi or Tutsi settlement after an invasion not much earlier than 1800 and on the typical tension between cattle and land as basis for wealth and power, which appears in all traditions of origin in the African Great Lakes region. This explains the double Jiji power structure, whereby the power of the *mwami* and his appointees had its origins outside of the land and was cattle-based – hence mobile –, whereas the land is taken care of by autochthonous – stemming from the land itself – officials.[59] Mwinyi Akida and Mwinyi Hassani were, thus, integrated into the Jiji officialdom, albeit in an allochthonous function that was not automatically hereditary.

Mwinyi Heri was also part of the gang but, at first sight, not rewarded to the same extent as his companions. This may hint at a more limited involvement in the fight or an implicit hierarchy between the three men. In this hierarchy, Mwinyi Heri would then stand beneath instead of above the other two. Notwithstanding, according to Cameron,[60] Mwinyi Heri married a daughter of the chief (*mwami*) of Ujiji – i.e. the land of the Jiji, not the town – in 1874, which would also underscore his close relations to Jiji authorities, albeit more than a decade later than Mwinyi Akida and Mwinyi Hassani. For the rest of his successful career until his death in 1885, Mwinyi Heri maintained close relations with Hebeya – the *mteko* of Ugoi in Ujiji town –, which may have been just as useful in helping him to build his leadership in Ujiji town as any chieftainship could have been.[61]

Mwinyi Heri resolutely built his stronghold and connections in the town of Ujiji, of which Ugoi and Kawele were important parts, and where the main market for the long-distance caravan trade was situated. Mwinyi Akida and Mwinyi Hassani had been appointed *watwale* around Bangwe, hence not in the town of Ujiji proper. This may help explain why Mwinyi Heri was recognized as the leader of the coastal traders in Ujiji, meant as the town, whereas the other two should be situated in a wider area. Yet, where they were *mtwale* and where they

59 Brown, "Ujiji", 22–34. Also see Stephen J. Rockel, "The Tutsi and the Nyamwezi: Cattle, Mobility, and the Transformation of Agro-Pastoralism in Nineteenth-Century Western Tanzania", *History in Africa* 46 (2019): 231–261.

60 Cameron, *Across Africa*, 174. Also see Karin Pallaver, "Muslim communities, Long-distance Trade and Wage Labour along the central caravan road, Tanzania, 19th century", *Storicamente*, 8, no. 20 (2012), https://storicamente.org/pallaver_tanzania (accessed 30 September 2024). Pallaver writes that marrying the daughter of the *mwami* of Bujiji implied acquiring the status of chief.

61 TNA, Kigoma District Book, Vol. III: Tribal History and Legends: Mjiji Tribe, sheet 2; Brown, "Ujiji", 130–131 and 136.

lived, did not necessarily coincide. Hore wrote about Mwinyi Akida – "this chief of Bangwe I delight to think of as my friend"[62] – that he visited him on "the little flat oval island Ruanza, on which are the houses of Muinyi Akida (an Waswahili or half-caste, or "coast" Arab)".[63] Where he lived – the island of Ruanza in Kigoma[64] – was not the same place as where he was local chief – the peninsula of Bangwe. I do not know where Mwinyi Hassani lived, but given that he often replaced Mwinyi Heri, when the latter was out of town, it is not unlikely that he lived in the town of Ujiji as well.

Regardless of their exact situation within the Kigoma-Ujiji area, the basis of the triumvirate's local power can clearly be tied to their supportive and decisive role surrounding the installation of *mwami* Mugasa as well as the contacts and confidence which obviously already existed at that time. It strengthened their own position, the Jiji factions around Hebeya who ventured into commercial activities himself, and the Jiji traditional power structure as well as mutual trust and loyalty between them.

However, with Mwinyi Akida and Mwinyi Heri passing away in 1882 and 1885 respectively, the power relations shifted. The strong man of Ujiji became the Omani Arab trader Mohamed bin Khalfan al-Barwani, better known as Rumaliza. When Rumaliza established a territorial division around the northern part of the lake by the late 1880s (see above), he took the ivory-rich northern tip for himself and gave stretches on the western bank of the lake to a certain Nassor bin Sef, but on top of that, the Burundian shoreline south of Uzige (the region around present-day Bujumbura) came under the control of Salim bin (son of) Mwinyi Heri and the shoreline directly adjacent to Ujiji was under the authority of Mwinyi Hassani, the last remaining member of the triumvirate.[65] The old coastal authorities in Ujiji, therefore, were not so much replaced but integrated in Rumaliza's new power structure. The good relations with the Jiji authorities, however, lost importance under the short-lived military and territorial rule by Rumaliza.

62 Hore, *Tanganyika*, 83.

63 Hore, *Tanganyika*, 82.

64 As mentioned before, this island has become a peninsula because of the lowering of the level of the lake.

65 Brown, "Ujiji", 168–169. It is not completely clear who Nassor bin Sef is. Jacques Marissal mentions a certain Nassor, but cannot confirm who he is (Jacques Marissal, "L'Islam et le Burundi à la fin du XIX-ème siècle", *Culture et société: revue de civilisation burundaise* 1 [1978]: 63). Following Bontinck's description of Nassor bin Khalfan al-Barwani, the brother of Rumaliza and nicknamed Bwana Soro, he could be one of the strong men in the new territorial order and is perhaps the same person as Nassor bin Sef (Bontinck, *L'autobiographie*, 266 n404).

3.3.2 Urbanization between Connection and Disconnection

Inspired by Richard Reid's focus on war in the making of precolonial Eastern Africa and Jonathon Glassman's analysis of rivalries on the coast leading up to the Abushiri revolt,[66] Gooding adds the importance of competition and conflict amongst the coastal leaders in Ujiji.[67] Mirroring what has been said about the power relations between Nyangwe and Kasongo in Manyema, Gooding reconstructs in detail how and why the shift in the balance of power in Ujiji from the Mrima faction to the Omani Arabs took place. By the time Mwinyi Heri died in 1885,[68] and the Omani around Rumaliza extended their power around the northern section of the lake, it looks as if the Ujiji "Arabs" were at the height of their power. Yet, it was also the time when, we read, "Ujiji had lost much of its importance" compared to Nyangwe and Kasongo by the late 1880s, and the market of Kigoma-Gungu in the Ujiji area had surpassed the one of Kawele-Ugoi in Ujiji-town.[69] The market of Kawele-Ugoi was controlled by the coastal traders in the actual town of Ujiji, whereas Kigoma-Gungu was more popular with the Jiji people from the wider region. The explanation for the paradox that Omani dominance and expansion coincided with lost importance and smaller scale is the missing link to single out the town of Ujiji as urban, and as standing apart from other parts of the area today known as Kigoma-Ujiji. The histories of Ujiji and of Kigoma became distinct histories and, contrary to what the placename would make one expect, Kigoma's history remained closer to Jiji history than Ujiji's.

The town of Ujiji did not decline in absolute terms, but its positionality within a thriving caravan trade complex was redefined. On the scale of the caravan trade complex, Ujiji had become an interface between the produce-procuring and power-yielding western leg of the complex and the transportation infrastructure eastward. The coastal traders had by then also organized their own navigation on the lake, introducing ever larger ships, based on the dhow shipbuilding technology from the Indian Ocean coast. Moreover, the coastal traders of Ujiji expanded the complex to the north, gaining control over the shores of the northern section of the lake and intruding into the area further to the north, yet failing to subdue

66 Richard Reid, *War in Pre-colonial Eastern Africa: The Patterns & Meanings of State-level Conflict in the Nineteenth Century* (London: The British Institute in Eastern Africa, 2007), 110–118; Glassman, *Feasts and Riots*.

67 Gooding, *On the Frontiers*, Chapter 4.

68 Brown, "Ujiji", 164–175.

69 Hermann von Wissmann, *My Second Journey through Equatorial Africa: From the Congo to the Zambesi in the years 1886 and 1887* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1891), 252; also see Gooding, "Lake Tanganyika", 243.

Burundi and Rwanda.[70] Like in Manyema, a dynamic of disruption, raids, and the recruitment and attraction of followings in the caravan trade complex as well as a process of appropriating *ngwana* culture took place in the newly occupied areas to the north.[71]

On the flipside of the observation that Nyangwe and Kasongo had become more important, lies the fact that Rumaliza, Mwinyi Heri, and their *waungwana* copied the success formula of Tippu Tip's rule to the area north of Ujiji. No longer having the largest market in the area must be juxtaposed with an increasing logistic and strategic role, whereby the immediate market functions and the market size might have no longer been the most telling criterion to assess the relative success of the town.

Parallel to the growth of Ujiji as a logistic interface and military-strategic regional centre, we should interpret the growth of the market at Kigoma-Gungu as an indication that the two commercial spheres – the regional lacustrine and the long-distance caravan trade – had become more autonomous from each other. In the middle of the century, when coastal traders had just arrived at Lake Tanganyika, the complementarity of the lacustrine and the caravan trade as well as of the porterage over land and the navigation on the lake had been in the interest of all parties involved: coastal, Nyamwezi, and Jiji traders. A quarter of a century later, the regional lacustrine and the long-distance caravan trade were increasingly disconnected, with the lacustrine trade, at best, still playing a serving role in provisioning caravans. As such, the rivalry between Mrima and Omani coastal leaders in Ujiji was primarily a sorting out of the playing field amongst them. The more decisive evolution was that the caravan trade complex and their *ngwana* rank and file had taken the upper hand over local polities, not in the least over the Jiji. Not so much the individual Mrima leaders, but the Mrima approach of maintaining good relations with the Jiji leadership and cooperating with Jiji navigators became obsolete. The coastal people were still outnumbered, but the *waungwana* were not. And, as they had guns and the Jiji did not – or at least not in comparable numbers –, the outcome of the struggle over control was quite predictable.[72]

Mutatis mutandis, the same is true for the struggle between the coastal rulers and the European colonial conquerors in the following decade, when asymmetries in armament and shifting alliances led to the destruction of the caravan trade complex in Central Africa. The ensuing collapse of the caravan trade com-

70 Emile Mworoha et al., *Histoire du Burundi: des origines à la fin du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Hatier, 1987).

71 Castryck, "Living Islam".

72 Page, "The Manyema Hordes"; Brown, "Ujiji".

plex west of the lake led to the fleeing of thousands of coastal people, *waungwana*, and refugees, which caused a further increase of the population of Ujiji. This resulted in the paradoxical situation that the town had never been more populated than when the political-commercial system which had given rise to the town fell apart.

By then, the micro-geography of settlement, trade patterns, and power relations in Kigoma-Ujiji had already ingrained the distinction between the town of Ujiji and the area around the Bay of Kigoma and the hills of Gungu. Neither the Jiji people nor the relatively small coastal contingent but the urbanized *waungwana* from Manyema and from around Lake Tanganyika became the nucleus of a Swahili urban community in Ujiji. The largest groups of urban residents were Wabwari and Wagoma who had come from across the lake as fishers and farmers, being attracted by fertile land and fertile fishing grounds, while also provisioning the emerging town and the caravans. Slightly smaller in number, but sill numerically and politically significant were the people from the Manyema heartlands of the western caravan trade complex.

The fact that *waungwana* had already acquired an urbane culture on the move and that they formed the growing core population of the town of Ujiji, largely disconnected from the Jiji surrounding, are the main reasons to consider Ujiji as urban by the 1880s at the latest. Here, I differ from Gooding, who claims that towns on the shores of Lake Tanganyika were only "proto-urban" and not yet urban, when colonization set in.[73] He acknowledges the role of "*ngwana* identity around Lake Tanganyika", the "emergence of a distinctly commercial culture", the connecting role of the markets of Kigoma (Kigoma-Gungu) and Ujiji (Kawele-Ugoi), and "cultural intermixing and overlapping". Yet, he states that the people living there cannot be considered "permanent or distinctly urban" and that they perpetuated "chiefly hierarchies and descent groups that governed rural areas". Therefore, the towns around Lake Tanganyika, including Kigoma-Ujiji, fall short of being urban and are described by Gooding as "proto-urban settlements".[74]

For Kigoma-Gungu and for the rest of the lacustrine region, I follow Gooding's argument. But for Ujiji, the urbanization process, the intermixing, its permanence, and above all the distinction from rural areas had already characterized the place before colonization, at the latest when the Omani faction overruled rural rulers around 1880 – and increasingly so during the first decades of the colonial period. An urban culture transmitted via the caravan trade complex en-

73 Gooding draws on my use of the term "proto-colonial" to coin the concept "proto-urban" as applicable to the dynamics in nineteenth-century Kigoma-Ujiji, as well as to other "proto-urban" towns on the shores of Lake Tanganyika. Gooding, "Lake Tanganyika", 224 n22.
74 Gooding, "Lake Tanganyika", 224–232.

abled a town life by a population disconnected from their respective (rural) areas of origin and more and more independent from the surrounding Jiji rural area. In Kigoma-Gungu, the hierarchies and descent groups that governed rural areas were indeed perpetuated. In contrast, Ujiji was overwhelmingly populated by people who were not of Jiji origin. At least until the end of the century, Ujiji was ruled by people of coastal origin and thereafter – bar colonial overrule – dominated by people emulating the *ngwana* ideal of the caravan trade complex and issuing from Manyema or from around Lake Tanganyika. Their agricultural and fishing occupations were in line with the town's economic demands, provided the staple foods of the Swahili culture introduced above, and were distinct from the farming and livestock agriculture in the mountainous areas around the town. Above all, they were part of a chain of urbanity stretching from Manyema to the Indian Ocean, which cannot be reduced to its local manifestation in Kigoma-Ujiji alone.

By the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a genuinely East Central African Swahili urbanity allowed for many thousands of migrants from around and across the lake to adopt and develop a group identity that fulfilled several needs against a background of radical transformation: It provided an alternative to a lost frame of reference and offered a new order after and out of the debris of by now defunct old orders. It was in tune with an intensified connectedness between Central Africa and the Indian Ocean world, it entailed an Islamic worldview that matched the enlarged scale of operation under the global condition, and, at the same time, it was locally entrenched in towns along the central caravan route, above all in urban Ujiji. Thus, Ujiji around 1900 can be understood as a portal of globalization with a high density of effective strategies to cope with globally induced transformations and as a liminal place, where thousands of people were living through these transformations in their individual lives. Parallel to these intense connections on different spatial scales, shifting from the most spatially specific to the most spatially diffuse,[75] the urban population and its leadership had disconnected, or at least drastically reduced their ties to their immediate Jiji surroundings.

75 After Cooper, "Conflict and Connection", 1539.

4 Separations and Connections: Colonizing Space

By the time Ujiji had turned into a fully fledged urban centre, where people from around and across Lake Tanganyika appropriated a translocal urban identity in response to profound transformations during the second half of the nineteenth century, the town began losing clout within the new context of German East Africa.[1] Ujiji's population grew larger than it had ever been, yet this was in itself a corollary of the collapse of the caravan trade complex that had given rise to the town in the first place. People coming from the western leg of the caravan trade complex, formerly enslaved people, and refugees from the war-ridden Congo Free State as well as people attracted by the job opportunities offered by the new colonial authorities joined a town population that hitherto consisted of people facilitating the caravan trade complex, be they coastal traders or people provisioning the town and the caravans through fishery and agriculture. Ujiji became, to some extent, the drain of the collapsing caravan trade complex west of Lake Tanganyika, while at the same time attracting people from around the lake who "followed the fish", who moved to the relatively fertile environment of Ujiji, or who came to work on one of the construction sites, which the German colonial administration initiated.[2] Characterized by the fallout from the collapsing caravan trade complex, on the one hand, and the appeal to people from around the lake, on the other, this ambivalence would underpin the town for decades.

Parallel to Ujiji's growth-in-decline, German colonial authorities shifted the centre of gravity of the Kigoma-Ujiji area from Ujiji to the Bay of Kigoma. Kigoma rose to prominence not only on the local scale of the urban area. It also became highly significant both on the regional scale of colonial rule in the western part of German East Africa, where Kigoma functioned as an island of colonial authority,[3] and on the global scale of long-distance trade between the Congo basin and the

1 Similar processes of urban identity building have been studied for the cases of the Swahili coast and the Manyema people across Tanzania. Fabian, *Making Identity*; Katharina Zöller, "Tracing the Past of an Urban Group: Manyema in Urban Tanzania", *Bayreuth African Studies Working* Papers 18 (2018): 18–39.

2 Hino, "Social Stratification", 55. Interview KU33, Mwanga, 9 July 2012 (the father of the interviewee was a carpenter for the German colonial administration in Kigoma-Ujiji).

3 For the insular ("Inseln von Herrschaft") or archipelagic ("an archipelago of enclaves") character of colonial presence, see Michael Pesek, *Koloniale Herrschaft in Deutsch-Ostafrika: Expeditionen, Militär und Verwaltung seit 1880* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2005); Bram Cleys and Bruno De Meulder, "Imagining a Christian Territory: Changing Spatial Strategies in the Missionary Outposts of Scheut (Kasai, Congo, 1891–1940)" in *Colonial Architecture and Urbanism in Africa: Intertwined and Contested Histories*, (ed.) Fassil Demissie (London: Routledge, 2012), 214 and 220.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111436623-004

Indian Ocean, where Kigoma constituted an infrastructural hub linking the central railway – under construction until 1914 – with navigation on the lake much like Ujiji had done between the caravans and the lake in former times.

This transformation did not occur overnight. In this chapter, I interpret how German colonization induced transformations in Kigoma-Ujiji on these different scales through the lens of separations and connections and of disruptions and continuities. The outline of this chapter on the German colonial period juggles with these different dimensions. I move between East Central African regional, territorial colonial, and local urban scales, while also shifting between colonial administration and urban population. First, I look at how German colonial authorities saw Kigoma-Ujiji in their wider scheme of colonial conquest, territorialization, and free trade in the Congo basin. The second subchapter presents the realignment of the urban area, including a spatial shift from Ujiji to Kigoma, during the German colonial period. During the time when the German colonial administration invested in infrastructures connecting Central Africa to the Indian Ocean via Kigoma, it also installed and managed separations between parts of the town, between parts of the colonial protectorate, and between colonial territories, thereby using Kigoma as regional headquarters. The third subchapter reconstructs changing power relations in the urban area during the decades of transformation from coastal (Arab-Swahili) to colonial (German) dominance, based on a dispute over property. In this reconstruction, the perspective of people living in Kigoma-Ujiji comes to the fore, as does the heuristic and hermeneutic challenge to interpret and combine sources across the divide of a regime change. The chapter shows that obvious disruptions in dealing with space, property, and power could never completely erase the continuities from precolonial to colonial times.

Whereas German – and later also Belgian and, to a lesser extent, British – colonizers initially saw Kigoma-Ujiji as a stepping stone towards trade from and to Congo and conquest or control of Burundi and Rwanda, there was, at the same time, little colonial interest in the place itself, in its own right, and in the people living there. For the townspeople, Kigoma-Ujiji was a place of transformation; for colonial administrations, it was a place for goods, troops, or people to move through.

4.1 A Hub for Colonial Conquest and Commerce

Although the beginning of the colonial period in German East Africa is sometimes associated with the handful of declarations of submission which Carl Peters collected in the name of the Society for German Colonization (*Gesellschaft für deutsche Kolonisation*) in 1884, with the General Act of the Berlin Congo Conference on 26 February 1885, or with the declaration by imperial charter (*Schutzbrief*) of

the German protectorate the next day, it should be noted that all of these historical references primarily concerned the areas close to the Indian Ocean coast. In the Far West of the imperial protectorate, it would take until 1896 before the first German military representative would establish a permanent German colonial presence on the shores of Lake Tanganyika, beginning in Ujiji. Considering the frequenting of the area by coastal caravans already for more than half a century, the numerous expeditions that had been passing through Ujiji since the 1850s, the settlements of Protestant (London Missionary Society) and Catholic (White Fathers) missionaries on the shores of Lake Tanganyika since the 1870s, and the establishment of stations by the Belgian King Leopold II's International African Association on both sides of the lake in the late 1870s and early 1880s, the German colonial appearance in the area seems remarkably late.

The German colonial explorer and administrator Hermann von Wissmann had visited Ujiji and the Lake Tanganyika region on his journeys through Africa in the 1880s, but back then his expeditions were not on behalf of the German Empire. The title of his first travel report, *Unter deutscher Flagge quer durch Afrika von West nach Ost: von 1880 bis 1883*, can barely conceal that the expedition took place under the aegis of the German branch of the Belgian King Leopold II's allegedly "International" African Association.[4] During his second journey, which took him to Ujiji in 1887, he was directly in the service of Leopold.[5] However, in January 1896, when he dispatched captain (*Hauptmann*) Hans von Ramsay to Ujiji in order to found a military station, Wissmann did so as governor of German East Africa. Ramsay was accompanied by Mr. Hoffmann, a representative of the German East Africa Company (*Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft*).[6] Both men arrived at Lake Tanganyika in May of that year. It thus makes sense to take this date as the beginning of the German colonization of Ujiji.

Two expeditions by Sigl in 1893 and by Leue in 1895 could also qualify as the local beginning of German colonization although these expedition did not yet lead to a permanent German presence in the town. Michael Pesek presents it as follows:

> [W]hen [. . .] the first expedition reached Ujiji in 1893, the German officer had sent delegations to inform the local population of their arrival. Near Ujiji, the expedition halted to wait for delegations of the town's elites and to negotiate with them. After the negotiations, the

4 Hermann von Wissmann, *Unter deutscher Flagge quer durch Afrika von West nach Ost: von 1880 bis 1883 ausgeführt von Paul Pogge und Hermann Wissmann* (Berlin: Walther & Apolant, 1890).

5 von Wissmann, *My Second Journey*.

6 Bundesarchiv, Berlin-Lichterfelde (BArch), R 1001 Reichskolonialamt, Band 219: Acten betreffend Bezirksamt Udjidji vom 13. Januar 1896 bis 20. Juli 1907, Bericht vom Kaiserlichen Gouverneur von Deutsch-Ostafrika von Wissmann an Reichskanzler, Dar es Salaam, 13.01.1896.

> expedition entered the town with a parade, military music and the flag in front of the troops. It was the beginning of colonial rule in Ujiji.[7]

However, as is always the case when interpreting the history of Ujiji, we should – from a territorial logic – not only look east but also across the lake. Colonial conquest in the Congo Free State had already brought enduring havoc in the first half of the 1890s, culminating in a fierce war against the coalition of coastal traders and *waungwana* in the East of the Congo Free State between 1892 and 1894. This war had a direct effect on Ujiji in the form of defeated Arab-Swahili and *waungwana* traders-turned-warriors, war refugees (which partly overlaps with but is not identical to the former), and the largely collapsed caravan trade complex in the region.

Figure 4: Encampment of Porters behind the Railway Infrastructure of Kigoma (1910s).[8]

7 Michael Pesek, "Colonial Conquest and the Struggle for the Presence of the Colonial State in German East Africa, 1885–1903" in *Inventing Collateral Damage: Civilian Casualties, War, and Empire*, (eds.) Stephen J. Rockel and Rick Halpern (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2010), 170. Also see *Deutsches Kolonialblatt* 1894: 10, Bericht Sigls vom 30.09.1893.

8 Bildarchiv der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft, Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main, Bildnummer 016–1287-14: Trägerlager Kigoma oberhalb des Bahnhofes.

This is not to say that caravans lost their importance as a long-distance infrastructure of transportation.[9] Even after the completion of the central railway, porterage was still required to carry loads to and from the railway stations (Figure 4). However, the whole commercial, political, and cultural system depicted in the previous chapter had lost paramountcy in tying East and Central Africa together. Thanks to the principle of free trade in the entire conventional Congo basin – i.e. the zone defined as free trade zone at the 1884 to 1885 Berlin Congo Conference –, trade from the Congo Free State to the Indian Ocean via the caravan route continued, but the coastal merchants no longer dominated this long-distance trade through the region. On the one hand, a growing share of trade goods from the Congo Free State were shipped west rather than east. On the other hand, the agents in charge of the eastbound trade became European-led and Indian-operated rather than Arab and Swahili – or Omani and Mrima. Ujiji was in decline also as hub in the caravan trade. But as mentioned before, given the arrival of people leaving the Congo Free State, the town's population was on the rise, reaching an estimated 10,000 to 15,000 inhabitants during the first decade of the twentieth century.[10] Taken together, Ujiji was already profoundly affected by the impacts of colonization before the first German colonial base was established there.

The assets that made Ujiji a strategic location endured: fertile soil, access to Lake Tanganyika, vicinity to the saltpans of Uvinza, access to the Kingdoms of the Great Lakes region, and a long-distance transportation infrastructure overland and on the lake. On top of that, Ujiji became a border town, as the lake had now become the colonial territorial division between German East Africa and the Congo Free State. Despite Ujiji's dropping positionality in the caravan trade complex and vis-à-vis Congo, the town remained a strategic regional hub. Ujiji and soon also Kigoma became a base for colonial conquest towards the Great Lakes region. Long-distance trade also remained important within the free trade zone of the conventional Congo basin and was about to receive an additional boost with the construction of the central railway connecting Dar es Salaam at the Indian Ocean with Kigoma at Lake Tanganyika. However, contrary to the nineteenth century, this long-distance trade was increasingly controlled, on the one hand, by Europeans and, on the other, by Indian traders who no longer stayed on the Indian Ocean coast as they had done in the time of the caravan trade complex but instead moved upcountry with their networks and capital, thus replacing the position of Arabs and Swahili.[11]

9 Greiner, *Human Porterage*, especially Chapters 3 and 4.

10 Brown, "Ujiji", 228–229.

11 Brown, "Ujiji", 240–246; Mc Dow, *Buying Time*.

This transition took almost two decades. At first, German colonizers built their military station or boma in Ujiji,[12] which was already well-connected and urbanized as we have seen in the previous chapter. By the end of the German period, on the eve of the First World War, the Bay of Kigoma had become the focal point of German presence in the area. The fluctuation between Ujiji and Kigoma as centres of gravity in the area would continue throughout the twentieth century. In order to understand the shifting constellation within the urban area, we need to tackle the interplay of local, regional, and global dynamics.

Whereas Ujiji had combined a central position in the regional trade, a provisioning function in the long-distance trade, and a short-lived pivotal role in the military-political control of the northern Lake Tanganyika region during the heydays of the caravan trade, it continued to serve three dimensions of centrality at the beginning of the colonial period as base for military conquest, as a commercial and transportation hub, and as regional centre for sleeping sickness control. None of these centralities are pure continuities, yet there are elements of continuity underpinning the operations centred on Ujiji and Kigoma: Germans followed in the footsteps of their Arab-Swahili predecessors; the remaining Arab-Swahili leaders, who had not been defeated in the colonial war of conquest in Congo, accommodated to the new strongmen; while the chiefs on different (paramount, military, and spiritual)[13] levels behaved as cooperatively as they had done with the Arab-Swahili before. The Germans appointed an Arab leader (Msabah bin Njem) in the town and Jiji leaders outside. Basically, the whole political order stayed in place, albeit with a new overlord. It was relatively easy to take over Ujiji, because it had already been proto-colonized before. However, below the political surface, there were commercial, military, and demographic crises on both sides of the lake, which decisively affected the town life in Ujiji.

A first – albeit relatively ephemeral – commercial disruption was provoked by Hoffmann, the above-mentioned agent of the German East Africa Company, who had arrived with Ramsay in 1896. Paying prices that might have seemed reasonable on the coast, he caused the prices to double within a year around the North of Lake Tanganyika, thus disrupting the regional market for ivory. He was also involved in smuggling activities with the Congo Free State and connected one of his trading expeditions with a Belgian military excursion, thereby harming

12 TNA, German Records (G), 7/13: Grundstücks- und Gebäude-Nachweisungen, Bd. 5: 1905–1908 – folio 97–98, Situationsplan der Militärstation sowie Grundriß der Boma Ujiji, 1907.

13 In the case of the Jiji authorities, the paramount chief was the *mwami*, the military or administrative chiefs were the *watwale*, appointed by the *mwami*, and the spiritual chiefs were the *wateko*, who administered the land and its fertility (see Subchapter 3.3.1.).

German interests.[14] He was sent away, and henceforth the German authorities favoured Arab-Swahili traders to retake their positions in the market. Yet, this incident lays bare one of the weaknesses of the Central African market: its profitability was based on the tremendous price gap between coast and interior, which kept the primarily Arab-Swahili-led caravan trade complex and the primarily Indian-led financial sector on the coast in business but could easily be subverted by more direct coastal interference in the interior. Within the next decade, Indian traders would appear in Ujiji, expanding their commercial networks from the Indian Ocean coast to Lake Tanganyika (and beyond), and thus pushing the Arab-Swahili intermediaries to shopkeeping and retail trade in the area.

Regional or lacustrine trade showed the strongest continuity and would continue to do so throughout the twentieth century. The only complication was the "Congolese" – i.e. by the Congo Free State – effort to prevent trade across the lake. The prime concern of the Congo Free State were export goods like ivory, hides, rubber, and, later, also copper; but their attempt to curtail trade to the east also affected the regional trade across the lake. Strictly speaking, the Congo Free State was bound by the General Act of the Berlin Congo Conference and therefore had to allow for free trade in the conventional Congo basin, which is roughly speaking the hydrographic Congo basin extended eastwards to the Indian Ocean. Through a system of concessions, they tried to contain who was entitled to trade where, thus providing a contentious legal basis to treat eastbound trade as contraband.[15] Germans were strongly in favour of continued trade between East Congo and the Indian Ocean as well as across and around the lake, which is unmistakably demonstrated by the investments in the construction of a railway from Dar es Salaam to Kigoma and in the building of the Götzen steamship, back then the largest freshwater ship in Africa. However, this trade was hindered by opposite politics on the Congolese side of the lake.

There were also military confrontations in the Congo Free State, which affected the town of Ujiji. The Congolese colonial army or *Force Publique* had been able to defeat the Arab-Swahili conglomerate in the east of the colony thanks not only to better armaments but also to Congolese allies and troops. However, Belgian officers betrayed their Congolese allies, as became clear in the summary execution of Ngongo Lutete and in the maltreatment of Congolese soldiers in the *Force Publique*.[16] The anti-Arab campaign lasted from 1892 to 1894. But in fact, the

14 Brown, "Ujiji", 252; Chrétien, "Le commerce du sel", 411.

15 Frans Buelens, *Congo 1885–1960: Een financieel-economische geschiedenis* (Berchem: EPO, 2007); Guy Vanthemsche, *Belgium and the Congo, 1885–1980* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

16 Verhaegen, *Rébellions au Congo*, Tôme II; De Boeck, *Baoni*.

colonial war of conquest would not end for at least another decade – although now dubbed rebellions or mutinies, instead. The three so-called Batetela rebellions (of 1895, 1897, and 1900) and the *wahuni* mutiny in the *Force Publique* of 1907 to 1908 are worth mentioning here. Taken together, several thousand *Force Publique* soldiers and their followers left Congo, fleeing to German East Africa, in particular to the northeastern shores of Lake Tanganyika. The German colonial authorities welcomed these trained soldiers with active war experience and several of them were integrated in the German East African colonial army or *Schutztruppe*.[17] Many of these refugees, including wives and children, settled in and around Ujiji.[18] It is unknown how many additional refugees joined the Batetela and *wahuni* soldiers or fled the violence that accompanied the so-called rebels' trek through Congo. But the population most probably grew during the first decade of the twentieth century.[19] The population did not just grow, but the proportion of inhabitants from across the lake versus those from the Jiji lands shifted towards a decisive "Congolese" preponderance in Kigoma-Ujiji.

This urban population growth occurred despite a severe sleeping sickness epidemic ravaging the region during the same decade. We know from the literature that epidemics have been physically, spatially, and rhetorically (ab)used to impose colonial rule and control over populations and their movement.[20] Notwithstanding, there is ample evidence that sleeping sickness indeed led to a reduction by close to half of the population along the northern shores of Lake Tanganyika.[21] To be clear, a reduction by half of the population does not mean that half of the population died. It also reflects that many moved away from the lake to the hills where the disease had less impact. Around the same period, the hills were heavily affected by the cattle plague, which undermined the political order as well as the resilience of the population,[22] but this is of minor direct relevance to our topic. It

17 Tanja Bührer, *Die kaiserliche Schutztruppe für Deutsch-Ostafrika: Koloniale Sicherheitspolitik und transkulturelle Kriegführung 1885 bis 1918* (München: Oldenbourg, 2011); Michelle R. Moyd, *Violent intermediaries: African soldiers, conquest, and everyday colonialism in German East Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2014).

18 TNA, Provincial Book: W. Ronayne, "Ujiji: The Wa-huni", 1923.

19 Brown, "Ujiji", 228–229.

20 Maryinez Lyons, "From 'Death Camps' to Cordon Sanitaire: The Development of Sleeping Sickness Policy in the Uele District of the Belgian Congo, 1903–1914", *The Journal of African History* 26, no. 1 (1985): 69–91; Manuela Bauche, *Medizin und Herrschaft: Malariabekämpfung in Kamerun, Ostafrika und Ostfriesland (1890– 1919)* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2017).

21 Christian Thibon, *Histoire démographique du Burundi* (Paris: Karthala, 2004), 32–45.

22 Helge Kjekshus, *Ecology control and economic development in East African history: The case of Tanganyika, 1850–1950* (London: James Currey, 1995).

does show, though, that throughout the region the period of colonization was a disruptive one in several regards.

German imperial medical and military services responded to the sleeping sickness by closing borders with Northern Rhodesia and the Congo Free State, by territorially dividing the lacustrine area into sleeping sickness zones with centres to concentrate the sick, and by militarily protecting these centres. Ujiji was one of three such centres along the northern Lake Tanganyika and it was the principal one as far as medical and military staff was concerned.[23] We know from research in Congo that the concentration of sick people in camps attracted relatives or servants taking care of the sick.[24] This implies that the roughly 200 sick people in the Ujiji camp may have attracted an equal or larger number of town dwellers in their wake, at least temporarily.

The fundamental change underpinning all centralities, continuities, and crises was the new territorial regime of the colonial order, which drew a border right next to Ujiji and introduced the principle of effective occupation. This principle forced the German – and the "Congolese"[25] – colonizer to be effectively and durably present in the entire colonial territory. This was de facto most urgent in the border areas, which could directly be contested by neighbouring colonial powers. Not surprisingly, one of the first expeditions that Ramsay undertook was to triangulate the border with the Congo Free State at the northern tip of Lake Tanganyika.[26] In line with the European territorial logic of colonization, but contrary to the strategies of Mwinyi Heri and Rumaliza in the 1880s, which occupied the northern shores of Lake Tanganyika but left Burundi at bay after failed attempts to intrude, German colonizers were expected to take hold of Burundi as well. The military post at Ujiji was the initial stepping stone towards conquering Burundi. Furthermore, German colonizers also used the strip along the lake, already under control of Arab-Swahili powerholders and their *waungwana* allies, which the German colonizers de facto took over. As had been the case in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Burundi proved difficult to subdue, and in the end, the Germans accepted a large degree of autonomy for Burundi – as well as

23 BArch, R86 Reichsgesundheitsamt, 1.3.10. Tropenhygiene, Band 2618: Bekämpfung der Schlafkrankheit in Deutsch-Ostafrika, Bd. 1. Jahre 1907–4. Januar 1909.

24 Lyons, "From 'Death Camps' to Cordon Sanitaire".

25 The adjective "Congolese" refers to the Belgian King Leopold II's Congo Free State until 1908 and to the Belgian Congo for the remainder of the colonial period, until 1960.

26 AAB, AE, 243–249: Règlement des frontières avec l'Allemagne, a. Frontières de la Ruzizi Kivu, 1896–1910.

for Rwanda and Bukoba, further north and northeast.[27] Together, being home to nearly half of the entire population of German East Africa,[28] these three areas became residences (*Residenturen*) instead of districts (*Bezirksämter*), indicating the recognition of the autonomy of local chiefs – assuming a paramountcy of the *mwami* – and the prohibition of European settlement in these relatively fertile and densely populated areas. Ujiji was the final station of German direct control in the northwest of German East Africa. Thus, not only the border with Congo but also the border between direct and indirect colonial occupation within German East Africa characterized Ujiji. The basecamp for the indirect occupation of the residence of Burundi, however, soon moved to Bujumbura, on the northeastern tip of Lake Tanganyika. For Rwanda, Kigali became the German resident's seat and Bukoba was overseen from the town with the same name. But Ujiji remained a town of transit, an interface between not just different territories but territories of a different nature.

The distinction I make between direct and indirect occupation, between districts and residences, should not be confused with the well-known colonial categories of direct and indirect rule. One of the continuities with the proto-colonial Arab-Swahili political order was the systematic application of indirect rule, i.e., leaving leadership in place and imposing colonial demands like taxation – in money, labour or kind – through this leadership. For the land of the Jiji, the paramount chief was the *mwami*; at the time of German occupation, *mwami* Lusimbi or Rusimbi II. Such a system of indirect rule was a means of governing after effective military or colonial conquest, contrary to the situation in the residences, where effective occupation could only be achieved after a settlement that recognized the autonomy of the local leader – in the case of Burundi the *mwami* Mwezi Gisabo and in Rwanda *mwami* Musinga. Although the Jiji, the Rundi, and the Ruanda leaders were all *mwami*, their position within the colonial order was different: the former being the recognized chief in a system of indirect rule, the latter two maintaining recognized autonomy with a German resident by his side. Nevertheless, the position of the Burundian and Rwandan *mwami*'s was already severely weakened by succession conflicts and by the impact of cattle and human epidemics on demography, economy, and the *mwami*'s power bases. German support saved their positions and, at the same time, secured the effective occupation

27 Eckhart G. Franz and Peter Geissler, *Das Deutsch-Ostafrika-Archiv: Inventar der Abteilung „German Records" im Nationalarchiv der Vereinigten Republik Tansania, Dar-es-Salaam* (Marburg: Archivschule Marburg, 1973), 17–18.

28 Franz and Geissler, *Das Deutsch-Ostafrika-Archiv*, 35–36.

of Burundi and Rwanda, but that is beyond the scope of this study about Kigoma-Ujiji.[29]

4.2 The Re-Alignment of Kigoma-Ujiji under German Rule

While the regional role of Kigoma-Ujiji in relation to military, commercial, and medical agendas in the region was settled in the course of the 20-odd years of German rule over the area, the spatial configuration of the Kigoma-Ujiji area itself changed as well. The political and commercial centre of gravity shifted from Ujiji town to the Bay of Kigoma. This could be read as a late consequence of the fact that in the 1880s, the market of Kigoma-Gungu became at least as important as the one of Ugoi-Kawele – i.e. Ujiji – hence the shift from Ujiji to Kigoma had already started in precolonial times.[30] However, as already argued, that had been a shift in markets not in urbanity. Ujiji remained the main – if not the only – urban centre and, as we have seen, the German colonizers built their local presence in Ujiji on collaborations with the urban protagonists. The parallel cooperation with so-called traditional leaders was equally important for the establishment of colonial rule but concerned rural areas, where the Germans themselves did not settle – at least not in this part of German East Africa. Given that most of the urban population had other ethnic backgrounds than the surrounding rural area, the distinction between urban protagonists and rural leaders reflected and entrenched a separation between town and countryside. The colonial administration in the area was located in the town, initially in Ujiji and later relocated to Kigoma.

In Ujiji, the German occupation forces established themselves at the margins of the existing urban centre, with direct access to the lake and to the main marketplace, directly adjacent to the mission station that had been established by the Catholic White Fathers in 1879. The *boma* or fortress, flanked by a lazaret and complemented with a postal service, was situated between the town of Ujiji and the newly established village for the soldiers (*askari*) of the German *Schutztruppe*, thereby envisaging a spatial separation between different groups of colonial subjects. The embedding of the German military headquarters is reminiscent of the panopticon principle and betrays a strategy of colonization that aims at control

29 Alison Des Forges, *Defeat Is the Only Bad News: Rwanda under Musinga, 1897–1931* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2014); Geert Castryck, "Mwami Musinga et la sauvegarde de la frontière de la Kagera entre le Rwanda et le Tanganyika: le tournant trans-impérial après la Première Guerre mondiale", *Revue d'Histoire Contemporaine de l'Afrique* 3 (October 2022): 129–143.
30 See chapter 3; Gooding, "Lake Tanganyika", 243.

but not at settlement.[31] Apart from the colonial – at that time primarily military and secondarily medical and administrative[32] – apparatus, a European or German presence in Ujiji was not part of the urban planning.

Very early on, the Bay of Kigoma was considered the place where European colonists and businesses could establish themselves undisturbed by the Muslim town of Ujiji. Moving the seat of the colonial administration from Ujiji to Kigoma, however, was not a shift inside an urban area or from one town to another. The picture in the next chapter (Figure 7) gives an impression of Kigoma a decade after the shift from Ujiji to Kigoma. Despite the operation of the port, the railway, and the colonial administration, which must have required a significant African workforce, we observe very little habitation. Kigoma in itself was not yet a town. It had a market and, by the end of the German colonial period, also a railway station and a lake port, but that was just the beginning of building an urban Kigoma along colonial principles. Three aspects of these colonial principles of town planning are worth mentioning here: infrastructure, racial segregation, and property.

The main reason for the German move from Ujiji to Kigoma was undoubtedly infrastructural: the decision to build a railway from the Indian Ocean to Lake Tanganyika, which implied a seaport and a lake port on both ends of the railway. The seaport at Dar es Salaam is not our main concern here,[33] but the lake port required a deeper steeper harbour than Ujiji could provide. As mentioned before, motor vessels with relatively deep drafts could not call at Ujiji. There was no place closer to Ujiji than the Bay of Kigoma where the Germans could plan a lake port.[34]

However, apart from the question of infrastructure, the mere fact of having a (new) European town set apart from the pre-existing African town is in line with what we know from the history of colonial urban planning. It was the rule of the game to have segregated cities in colonial contexts. The typical colonial urban layout consisted of a European part of the city separated by a neutral zone or buffer from an African or indigenous part of town. Medical, hygiene, security, and racist reasons were used interchangeably to buttress such segregationist spatial organi-

31 AAB, Gouverneur Général (GG), 3598: Traduction 1918 Rapport de la mission chargée du levé des différents ports du Lac Tanganika (document allemande 1914), avec plans.

32 For the intertwinement between colonial and medical, see Bauche, *Medizin und Herrschaft.*

33 For a perspective from the Indian Ocean coast, see Steven Fabian, "Curing the Cancer of the Colony: Bagamoyo, Dar es Salaam, and Socioeconomic Struggle in German East Africa", *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 40, no. 3 (2007): 441–469; Brennan et al., *Dar es Salaam*.

34 For an in-depth analysis of German colonial infrastructural politics in Africa, see Dirk van Laak, *Imperiale Infrastruktur: Deutsche Planungen für eine Erschließung Afrikas, 1880 bis 1960* (Paderborn: Schöning, 2004).

zation. In the East and Southern African contexts, there was usually a third part of town which could be interpreted as part of the buffer and was destined for Indians and Arabs.[35] They usually fulfilled commercial roles in town. As Nightingale and others have shown, this pattern of segregation was to a large degree a fiction. The segregated town could only function thanks to the failure of segregation and the porosity of allegedly concrete divides.[36] Nevertheless, it was the spatial organizing principle of town planning and has affected urban life and urban layout often until today.

Roughly speaking, two scenarios could occur: either there already was an urban centre and the colonial urban planners imposed segregation upon the pre-existing town, or a colonial city was founded and planned in an area where there was no town yet. In this regard, Kigoma-Ujiji is a hybrid. The town of Kigoma was planned where there was no town yet, but it was so close to a pre-existing town that it cannot be seen apart from Ujiji. This ambivalence would determine the entire twentieth-century history of Kigoma-Ujiji until the urban area completely grew together.

Although the nautical conditions in the Bay of Kigoma were a crucial element in the decision to move the colonial centre of gravity in the Lake Tanganyika region from Ujiji to Kigoma, this move also resembles the decision to relocate the capital of German East Africa from Bagamoyo to Dar es Salaam.[37] The role that rivalries and hostility both towards German East Africa and between different coastal factions played in towns like Bagamoyo and Pangani was not that important in Ujiji, if only because there were only a handful of each of these – German, Omani/Arab or coastal Mrima – groups present. The vast majority of the population stemmed from around Lake Tanganyika or the defunct Manyema-centred caravan trade complex. Nonetheless, the German move from Ujiji to Kigoma made the colonizer less dependent on "Swahili" (either from the coast or from Congo) support. However, in line with Nightingale's segregation argument, this move did not make the Germans independent from African labour as such and, very early on, the three-tier European-Indian-African spatial organization was to be reproduced in the smaller area of Kigoma proper.

35 Sometimes also so-called "second rate" or poor whites; see Sofie Boonen and Johan Lagae, "A City Constructed by 'des gens d'ailleurs': Urban Development and Migration Policies in Colonial Lubumbashi, 1910–1930", *Comparativ: Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und Vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 25, no. 4 (2015): 52–70.

36 Carl H. Nightingale, *Segregation: A global history of divided cities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012). For a recent analysis of the spatial making of Dar es Salaam under German colonial rule, see Patrick C. Hege, *Dividing Dar: Race, Space, and Colonial Construction in German Occupied Daressalam, 1850–1920* (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2025).

37 Fabian, "Curing the Cancer of the Colony".

With the creation of Kigoma as a town, we see a double separation: on the one hand, a separation between a colonial Kigoma and a Muslim Ujiji and, on the other, within Kigoma, a separation between a German administrative and residential area, a business zone for Indians, and a rail and port sector. African inhabitants of Kigoma or the indispensable workforce was moved to a new African neighbourhood, Mwanga, one kilometre away from the centre of Kigoma, with the Indian business zone in-between.[38]

The relatively short German period in Kigoma-Ujiji between 1896 and 1916 has left a material imprint on the town until today, having compartmentalized the urban area, infrastructurally connected Kigoma, and left three monumental constructions behind: the Hotel Kaiserhof, which has become the headquarters of the Kigoma region, the railway station, and the steamer Götzen. Meant as modern investments at the time, they are still functioning more than a century later and have been turned into colonial heritage at the same time.

What may seem quite neat on the drawing table was thoroughly convoluted with pre-existing power relations, property claims, alliances and connections, continuities and disruptions, and agents who would continue to play a role long after the Germans had abandoned the town in 1916.

4.3 "My Slave Sold all of Kigoma": The Transition to a Colonial Order

The transformations described in this chapter can be illustrated by reconstructing a concrete case of property rights in the port of Kigoma, which evokes the transition from proto-colonial to colonial, the relation between Jiji and Swahili and between coastal and Congolese, as well as the challenge to interpret colonial sources.[39] As is so often the case, much is found out only with hindsight. Earlier attempts to reconstruct a situation and the sources emanating from these efforts sometimes provide the historian with a glimpse of past events which was not even accessible to most contemporaries. After all, the fragmentary availability of information and underlying

38 This description is based on a bad-quality sketch found in AAB, Archives allemandes du Ruanda-Urundi (RU), 5169 (6664), 13(A): Construction d'un hôtel pour le chemin de fer et plans de construction à Kigoma. Cartes. Plans. 1913–1914.

39 A previous version of this subchapter has been published as Geert Castryck, "'My Slave Sold All of Kigoma': Power Relations, Property Rights and the Historian's Quest for Understanding" in *Sources and Methods for African History and Culture: Essays in Honour of Adam Jones*, (eds.) Geert Castryck, Silke Strickrodt and Katja Werthmann (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2016), 317–335.

interests were and still are part and parcel of human interaction. Hiding, lying, and telling partial truths can reveal as much as they conceal.[40]

Starting from one archival record,[41] I report the tenacious efforts by colonial officers to reconstruct a property claim in early twentieth century Kigoma and, from there, dig deeper into biographical backgrounds, shifting power relations, conflicting land tenure regimes, and a peculiar visual representation of space, which taken together give us a great insight into Kigoma-Ujiji in the transition from proto-colonial to colonial times.

4.3.1 Claiming Land in the Port of Kigoma

In 1903, during the German expropriation procedures preparing the construction of a new port in Kigoma, a blast from the past landed on the desks of the German colonial administration in Ujiji. In 1882, at the height of Ujiji’s power, Mwinyi Akida Tayari had died, upon which his son Gosilatembo came from the coast to Ujiji to take care of his inheritance and left again seven years later. The first document in the file is a letter from Gosilatembo, dated 27 July 1903, in which he refers to a land he inherited from his father 20 odd years before. He expresses that he had received a letter from Mwinyi Hamisi bin Mwinyi Hassani telling him that his land holdings in Kigoma had been sold without his consent. At the time, Gosilatembo lived in Pangani on the Indian Ocean coast and wrote the letter in Kiswahili to the German colonial authorities in Ujiji. He was assisted by the German lawyer and Swahili scholar Dr. Gustav Neuhaus,[42] who provided an authorized German translation of his letter. This letter opened a dispute which would last for several years and the conclusion of which was still not clear by the time the file was either closed or aborted in 1906. The letter reads as follows:

40 Luise White, “Telling More: Lies, Secrets, and History”, *History and Theory* 39, no. 4 (2000): 11–22.

41 TNA, G.8/352: Anträge auf Überlassung von Kronland, Kronlandserklärungen, Verpachtung und Verkauf von Kronland, Bez. Udjidji. Bd. 1: 1902–1906.

42 TNA, G.8/352: Anträge auf Überlassung von Kronland, Kronlandserklärungen, Verpachtung und Verkauf von Kronland, Bez. Udjidji. Bd. 1: 1902–1906; *Amtlicher Anzeiger für Deutsch-Ostafrika*, I. Jahrgang, No. 32, 8. November 1900. Neuhaus was a German Doctor of Law, who acted in the colonial service in German East Africa. From the position of probationary judge (*Gerichtsassessor*), he was transferred to Pangani as District Commissioner (*kommissarischer Bezirksamtmann*) in November 1900. He had been a lecturer in Swahili at the University of Berlin from 1895 until 1900 and has become renowned as an editor of Swahili manuscripts in Arabic script, particularly, of a Maulid-text (Birth of the Prophet). In other words, he was not only knowledgeable in legal affairs but also well-versed in the Swahili language and culture.

> In a letter I received yesterday from Muinyihamisi bin Muinyihassani there I see that my slave Kheri has sold all of Kigoma to the Imperial Station. Kigoma is an old slave settlement of my late father Muinyi Akida Tayari. In case Muinyihamissi's information is correct, I note that Kheri acted without my order. However, I, as my father's sole heir, consent to the sale on condition that a reasonable purchase price is remitted to me. If anyone else claims the aforementioned property, please refer them to me.[43]

Gosilatembo referred to the entire Kigoma ("ganz Kigoma") as his landed property inherited from his father (Mwinyi Akida Tayari) and claimed that it had been sold by his "slave" (Kheri/Heri) without his permission. He nevertheless was willing to sanction the transaction but demanded a just payment. From the letter also transpires that he had a functioning communication line with Mwinyi Hamisi bin Mwinyi Hassani.

Seven weeks later, on 14 September 1903, *Oberleutnant* (first lieutenant) Werner von Grawert, who was the station chief in Ujiji at the time,[44] wrote an internal report about Gosilatembo's claim. He stated that he had never heard of Gosilatembo, who must have left Ujiji at the time of Rumaliza.[45] He furthermore declared that only two small plots of land had been sold years ago and a 150 metres wide section of the harbour foreshore had been declared *Kronland* (crown land) by *Oberleutnant* von Müller a few months earlier.[46] He assumed that Gosilatembo was referring to this newly declared *Kronland*. Von Grawert meaningfully added that

43 German original: "Aus einem mir gestern zugegangenen Briefe des Muinyihamisi bin Muinyihassani dort ersehe ich, dass mein Sklave Kheri ganz Kigoma an die Kaiserliche Station verkauft hat. Kigoma ist eine alte Sklavenansiedlung meines verstorbenen Vaters Muinyi Akida Tayari. Für den Fall, dass die Angabe des Muinyihamissi richtig ist, bemerke ich, dass Kheri ohne meinen Auftrag gehandelt hat. Ich willige aber, als einziger Erbe meines Vaters, in den Verkauf ein, unter der Bedingung, dass mir ein angemessener Kaufpreis überwiesen wird. Sollte sonst jemand noch Ansprüche auf das vorbezeichnete Anwesen erheben, so bitte ich, ihn an mich zu verweisen".

44 From 1898 until 1902, von Grawert had already been military commander of Usumbura (today Bujumbura) responsible for the colonization of Burundi and Rwanda. By militarily supporting the Rwandan *mwami* against a pretender – not unlike what our coastal triumvirate had done in Ujiji a few decades earlier –, von Grawert played a decisive role in getting German feet on the ground in Rwanda. By then promoted to *Hauptmann*, he would take up a second term from 1904 till 1908. During his second term, as the administrative status of Ruanda and Urundi changed, he would become the first civil Resident of Urundi in German East Africa (Helmut Strizek, *Geschenkte Kolonien: Ruanda und Burundi unter deutscher Herrschaft* [Berlin: Christoph Links Verlag, 2006], 80–82 and 96).

45 This means the 1880s or early 1890s, when Mohamed bin Khalfan al-Barwani, aka Rumaliza, was the most powerful Arab leader in the Northern Lake Tanganyika region.

46 Like von Grawert, Müller also had antecedents in the region around Bujumbura. In November 1896, then still a sergeant, he became the second commander of the military post of Kajaga on the northern tip of Lake Tanganyika on the road between Uvira and Bujumbura, which would become the German military station a year later (Bernard Lugan, *Cette Afrique qui était allemande* [Paris: Jean Picollec, 1990], 116).

the land lay fallow, which was important because a *Kronland* declaration is a legally authorized declaration of state property applied to allegedly unowned land.[47]

Once the evaluation by von Grawert reached him, Gosilatembo wrote a second letter on 5 December 1903, again assisted by Dr. Neuhaus:

> My father, Akida Tayari, died in Ujiji in 1882. I left from here the same year and lived for 7 years on the Kigoma estate inherited from my father. There were about 50 mud-brick houses, 32 slaves and numerous mango trees on the property when I returned to Pangani in 1889. Since then I have not been back to Ujiji, but have exercised my right of ownership through my slave overseer Kheri. I have also been in written communication with him until very recently.
>
> I deny that the land in question is unowned and request that the following people living in Ujiji be examined as witnesses:
>
> 1. Munyihamissi bin Hassani
> 2. Salim bin Munyiheri,
> 3. Hasani bin Musa
> 4. Masud bin Hamed el Turky.
>
> I hereby submit a sketch I made of the piece of land I am claiming and ask for the Imperial Administration’s decision on the indemnification question.[48]

In his second letter, Gosilatembo thus provides further details about his antecedents and his property claim, thereby using references to mango trees, more or less durable buildings, uninterrupted communication and caretaking, as well as witnesses, which are of relevance in connection with the *Kronland* legislation and

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47 John Iliffe, *Tanganyika under German Rule, 1905–1912* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 127.

48 German original: “Mein Vater, Akida Tayari, ist im Jahre 1882 in Ujiji gestorben. Ich bin noch in demselben Jahre von hier dorthin aufgebrochen und habe 7 Jahre lang auf dem vom Vater ererbten Besitztum Kigoma gewohnt. Auf demselben befanden sich ca. 50 Lehmziegelhäuser, 32 Sklaven sowie zahlreiche Mangobäume, als ich im Jahre 1889 nach Pangani zurückkehrte. Seitdem bin ich nicht mehr in Ujiji gewesen, habe aber mein Besitzrecht durch meinen Sklavenaufseher Kheri ausgeübt. Mit diesem habe ich auch bis in die jüngste Zeit in schriftlichem Verkehr gestanden.

Ich bestreite die Herrenlosigkeit des in Rede stehenden Landes und bitte hierüber eventuell folgende in Ujiji ansässige Leute als Zeugen vernehmen zu wollen:
1. Munyihamissi bin Hassani
2. Salim bin Munyiheri,
3. Hasani bin Musa
4. Masud bin Hamed el Turky.

Ich überreiche hiermit eine von mir angefertigte Skizze des von mir beanspruchten Stücks Landes und bitte in der Entschädigungsfrage um die Entscheidung des Kaiserlichen Gouvernements”.

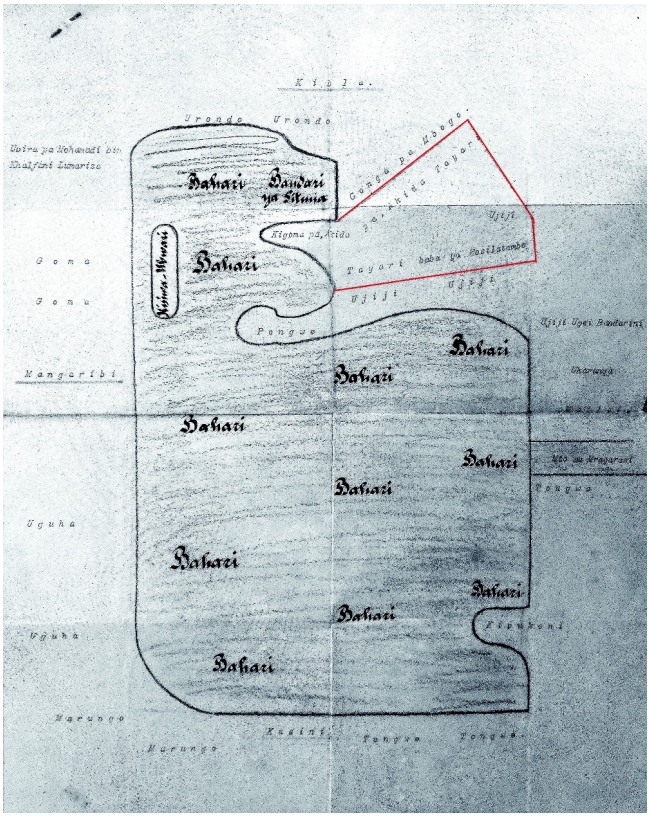

Figure 5: Sketch of Kigoma-Ujiji and Lake Tanganyika by "Gosilatembo", 1903.[49]

the government decision he explicitly requested. I will discuss the dispute, the legal implications, and the protagonists later, but I first introduce the attached map (*Skizze*), which Gosilatembo mentions in his last paragraph (Figure 5).

The hand-drawn sketch by Gosilatembo shows the landed property that he inherited from his father. Gosilatembo provided the Swahili orientations *Kibla* (the praying direction towards Mecca or the main orientation; here: North), *Matlai* (sunrise or East), *Kusini* (South), and *Mangaribi* (evening or West). Overall, the map depicts Lake Tanganyika, from Uvira and Burundi (Urundo) in the north to the Congolese Marungo region in the southwest. Uvira is designated as being the place of Mohamadi bin Khalfani Lumariza, i.e. Rumaliza. In the lake (coloured blue in the

49 TNA, G.8/352: Anträge auf Überlassung von Kronland, Kronlandserklärungen, Verpachtung und Verkauf von Kronland, Bez. Udjidji. Bd. 1: 1902–1906.

original sketch), the word *Bahari* (sea) indicates the water surface. The Luba, Uguha, and Goma regions are indicated on the west side of the map and the peninsula of Ubwari is shown as an island (Kissiwa Ubwari). Kigoma’s immediate neighbours to the South, the Tongwe, are stretched over more than 500 kilometres to the South of the lake. The Malagarasi (Mto wa Mragarazi) is the main river floating into Lake Tanganyika. *Kivukoni* means the landing bridge or the place of the ferry, probably referring to the place where the lake can most easily be crossed or where the lake is at its narrowest, i.e. between the Mahale Mountains and the “source” of the Lukuga near the town of Kalemie in the present-day Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Figure 6: Situation of place-names in the file on Gosilatembo’s land claim.

The largest part of the map deals with Kigoma-Ujiji (cf. Figure 6), and drastically enlarges the Kigoma-Gungu-Bangwe-Ujiji area. This zone covers circa one third of

the map, whereas the depicted area represents not more than 0.1 percent of the surface of the lake. Gosilatembo located Ukaranga, Ujiji, Ugoi, and the port of Ujiji (Bandarini), which were all part of the agglomeration of Ujiji. He also indicated Bangwe (Pongwe) – the district over which Mwinyi Akida was *mtwale* (local chief) – and Gungu (Gongo pa Mbogo) – the most important market under control of the Jiji in the region (in contrast to Ugoi, which was controlled by coastal traders). He marked the lands in Kigoma belonging to Akida Tayari (Kigoma pa Akida Tayari baba ya Hosilatembo) in red. By writing the word "Ujiji" in the red zone, he situated the estate at the Bay of Kigoma within Ujiji. The question remains what part of the Bay was meant.

It is clear from Gosilatembo's sketch that he claimed the peninsula of Ruanza. The small peninsula of Ruanza is drawn disproportionately large on this map, thereby illustrating its importance for the purpose of his sketch rather than its relative size. North of the peninsula he wrote "Bandara ya Sitima", which means steam port or port for steam ships, and this port was in the Bight of Kabondo, where the *Kronland* had been declared and where the future port would be developed. Apart from the fact that Mwinyi Akida and Gosilatembo had lived on the island/peninsula for many years,[50] the reconstruction of the land claims gives further indications that this land indeed belonged to Mwinyi Akida and later his heir.

4.3.2 Reconstructing African and German Land Claims

In the years following the 1903 correspondence, the preparations to construct the new port of Kigoma continued. The claims that Gosilatembo made from Pangani and Heri's operations on the spot were likely to interfere with the demarcation of the port. The German positions in this case were therefore also driven by the German self-interest in developing the port. In January 1906, the new station chief in Ujiji, *Hauptmann* Wilhelm Göring,[51] reached the conclusion that neither Gosilatembo nor Heri were entitled to the land, because in his understanding the Jiji

50 The reduced lake level, mentioned earlier, had turned the island of Ruanza into a peninsula. See Hore, *Tanganyika*, 113 and 147.

51 Wilhelm Göring was the commander of the military station of Ujiji, when the Gosilatembo case was closed in 1906. He, too, would become Resident of Urundi from 1910 until his (first) retirement in 1911. During the First World War, he would be remobilised and achieve the rank of major in 1915. He was the eldest son of Ernst Heinrich Göring, who became the first imperial commissioner/colonial governor of German Southwest Africa (today Namibia). His half-brother would give their family name a worldwide notoriety a couple of decades later (Wolfgang Reith, "Die Kommandobehörde der Kaiserlichen Schutztruppen in der Heimat", *Deutsches Soldatenjahrbuch* 48/49 [2000/2001]: 228–235 and 50 [2002]: 64–73).

mwami (king or paramount chief) Lusimbi disposed of all land. The same report, however, also mentions that Gosilatembo's father Mwinyi Akida received the land directly from Lusimbi's father *mwami* Mugasa out of gratitude for his armed support in a battle against the Warundi. It remains unclear how the two statements fit together: if the *mwami* disposed of all land and gave the land directly to Mwinyi Akida, then why was his son and heir not entitled to the land?

Nonetheless, Göring concluded that the land claimed by Gosilatembo was situated more to the west in Kigoma's bay of "Niakatoa",[52] which is outside of the *Kronland* and the projected port in Kigoma's bay of Kabondo and was apparently therefore never affected by the Kronland declaration. This judgement is clearly at odds with Gosilatembo's map. A paraphrasing of this reasoning could be as follows: his land is of no interest to us and it is not his land in the first place. Case closed, one would gather, but there were some loose ends, which were partly already noticed in 1906 and partly taken up again a couple of years later.

While dealing with this case, a land deed of February 1902 came to the surface, which turned out to be a falsification. *Mtwale* (local chief) Heri, who is the same person whom Gosilatembo called first his "slave" and then his "slave overseer", had sold a plot in the strategic bay of Kabondo to *Feldwebel* (sergeant) Hoffmann, the DOAG man mentioned before. The sketch of the plot, however, displayed the new road and the designated area for the landing for steamers, which did not yet exist in 1902. Hoffmann had died in Tabora in May 1905.[53] Göring concluded that the transaction was best undone and Heri was willing to refund the buyer or in this case his heirs. It remains unresolved who was responsible for which part of the swindle and if Heri was entitled to sell the land in the first place. Was this perhaps the transaction Gosilatembo referred to in the first place? And does it concern the same plot that was declared Kronland in 1903?

Six years later, on 22 May 1912, in the context of legally fixing the CASG's (*Centralafrikanische Seengesellschaft*) property title on the Kigoma peninsula, the imperial district officer (*Kaiserliche Bezirksamtmann*) in Ujiji reconstructed the

52 It could not conclusively be established where the bight of "Niakatoa" is. "Nya" being a prefix indicating a location in the Ha language, "Niakatoa" could refer to Katonga, which is nowadays a hamlet on the Bangwe peninsula. Although the present-day hamlet of Katonga lies to the East of the peninsula, Göring stated that the bight lies more to the West. There is a Niakatanga mountain north of the Bight of Kabondo, but there is no bight there. The bight of "Niakatoa" probably refers to the bight between the Bight of Nyassa and Bangwe. See map.

53 Contrary to the rest of this section, the information about the time and place of Hoffmann's death is mentioned in the second case (Kronlandsverhandlung N°2 des Militärbezirks Udjidji) of the record TNA, G.8/352: Anträge auf Überlassung von Kronland, Kronlandserklärungen, Verpachtung und Verkauf von Kronland, Bez. Udjidji. Bd. 1: 1902–1906.

land tenure situation.[54] The document picks up where the previous file had come to an end. This report contains an in-depth analysis of who was entitled to which plots of land in the designated area where the port of Kigoma was under construction. In particular, the land claims by the CASG seemed to be inconclusive and again based on a questionable sale by Heri. Assessing the property situation around the Bay of Kigoma, the District Officer reconstructed that Mwinyi Akida, who had settled in Kigoma at the time of *mwami* Mugasa's rule, had dispatched a troop with guns and ammunition to help Mugasa fend off a Rundi assault.[55] As a reward, so this 1912 report asserts, he explicitly (*ausdrücklich*) obtained the property rights over Bangwe and Kassio. Although he continued to live in Kigoma and virtually (*gewissermassen*) became *mtwale* (local or sub-chief) of Kigoma, he was not endowed with the land of Kigoma. After his death, his son Gosilatembo became the new *mtwale* of Kigoma. The function of *mtwale* was unquestioned, but the *mtwale* is not entitled to the land.

On top of that, there was confusion who exactly was entitled to act as *mtwale* of Kigoma. Given that Gosilatembo no longer lived in Kigoma and that Heri represented him, did that also make him *mtwale*? Heri had been captured in Congo together with his mother and was a bondsman or serf of Mwinyi Akida and Gosilatembo. When Gosilatembo "soon" returned to the coast,[56] he took Heri with him. After a while, he sent Heri back to take care of his estate. Gosilatembo initially wanted to travel back to Kigoma but, in the end, did not, probably either because of the dramatically altered political situation in East Central Africa or because of his own career on the coast. After he had granted Heri manumission, the latter behaved as *mtwale* of Kigoma, pretending to be independent from the *mwami* of Bujiji, and gathered a large cohort of Congolese around him.

It transpires from the 1912 file, that Heri had sold the Kigoma peninsula for 100 rupees to the CASG's founder and owner Otto Schloifer. Perhaps this was the transaction to which Gosilatembo reacted back in 1903. Anyhow, Heri asserted that *Hauptmann* Göring allowed the transaction and signed the receipt, although he could not present any written proof. He kept the money for himself, while he stated that he had informed Gosilatembo. The latter had purportedly told him that he should only transmit the money if the price was high but could keep it if it was only a small amount. Mwami Lusimbi, however, contested his right to sell

54 TNA, G.8/900: Anträge auf Überlassung von Kronland, Kronlandserklärungen, Verpachtung und Verkauf von Kronland, Bez. Udjidji. Bd. 2: 1906–1916.

55 Mugasa reigned from 1862 till 1880 according to Brown, "Ujiji", 23. Mwinyi Akida is introduced in Subchapter 3.3.1.

56 This report uses the word "bald" (soon), whereas Gosilatembo wrote that he stayed in Kigoma from 1882 till 1889.

the land but dropped the case in return for 15 rupees. The transaction had neither been approved nor registered by the government which made it threefold illegal: Heri was not entitled to sell Gosilatembo’s land, it was not his land, and the necessary government approval was missing. The remaining question is why Göring, who had discarded Gosilatembo’s claims in 1906 and had annulled Heri’s sale to Hoffmann, did nothing against this land deed, which de facto resulted in the colonial administration treating the Kigoma peninsula as the property of the CASG. Perhaps the ambiguous reputation of Hoffmann (see Subchapter 4.1.) or the fact that he was already dead when Göring annulled the sale are sufficient explanation already, but it is also worthwhile to have a closer look at Schloifer.

Otto Schloifer was the founder and managing director of the *Centralafrikanische Seengesellschaft*. In 1902, he gained the monopoly over the salt mines of Uvinza, which he rebaptized (New) Gottorp in honour of the Grand Duke of Holstein-Gottorp in Oldenburg, where he and his aristocratic wife had their roots. By then, he already had a colonial-military career behind him, including the participation in an expedition of the German *Antisklaverei-Komitee* in 1892 to 1893. By the time he left the *Schutztruppe* in 1901, he had reached the rank of *Oberleutnant*. He showed interest in all the typical colonial economic opportunities of the day ranging from porterage to telegraph construction and to mining and rubber, but in the end, only his salt business would actually materialize. Big names of German colonialism such as Hermann von Wissmann, (then) Major Ludwig von Estorff, and Graf Gustav Adolf von Götzen supported him, as did Wilhelm Göring. Göring personally assisted him to choose the site of his salt factory in 1902. When a government decision in 1905 that aimed at containing the movement of people from and to Burundi and Rwanda undermined the revenue of Schloifer’s business, Göring complained with the Governor. It is unclear if Göring had personal interests in Schloifer’s businesses, but he was definitely supportive of his undertakings. As a matter of fact, the CASG had not only (legally or illegally) acquired the plot in Kigoma but was one of the big buyers in and around Ujiji in general. Moreover, the impact of his salt business on widespread salt winning practices and his concomitant right to levy taxes severely disrupted local markets, mobility, and labour.[57]

As a solution for the questionable property claims which were, on the one hand, void but, on the other hand, granted in fact and administrative practices, the author of the report proposed to give the CASG a smaller plot on the peninsula facing south in exchange. This would allow the salt company to store and ship salt in the port of Kigoma, which was Schloifer’s main concern, after all. It

57 Chrétien, “Le commerce du sel”, 414; Brown, “Ujiji”, 234–235.

would at the same time allow the German authorities to construct their port infrastructure as envisaged.

When we piece together the investigations by German colonial officers in the decade between 1903 and 1912, not all questions are yet answered. Even if the land sales to Hoffmann and Schloifer were probably speculative, as the two Germans definitely knew where the port would come, there must have been a minimum of credibility to Heri's property claims to turn to him for the transactions or to get the deeds recognized – ironically in one instance by Göring himself. Mwinyi Hamisi bin Mwinyi Hassani must, too, have believed that the land was Gosilatembo's, because otherwise he would not have sent a letter to Pangani in the first place. He knew the area in detail, since he was the son of the *mtwale* of Mkamba – the district right next to Ruanza, the peninsula Gosilatembo claimed as his property.

The reconstruction raises several new questions about the roles of Heri and Göring, the power relations and power holders in Bujiji, the land of the Jiji, and entitlements to land under different political orders. In fact, four different orders are entangled in this case: the Jiji order of political office and landed property, the by-then defunct order of the caravan trade complex in which Mwinyi Akida had operated, the colonial order attempting to impose *Kronland* legislation and to construct port and transportation infrastructure, and the emergent local order of a "Congolese" urban population supporting the position of Heri. Sorting out the relations between these four angles is tantamount to grasping the transformation from the nineteenth century to the colonial period.

4.3.3 Land Tenure and Politics in Bujiji

The problem of assessing the property claims by Gosilatembo is twofold. On the one hand, the German administration tried to find out exactly where Mwinyi Akida's and, hence, Gosilatembo's property was situated. The sketch by the latter had the same purpose. On the other hand, different political orders and, hence, different property regimes overlapped when trying to reconstruct the legitimacy of land claims. This ambivalence affected not only an old exile rooted in the defeated caravan trade complex like Gosilatembo but, as we have seen, also the likes of Hoffmann and Schloifer.

The "traditional" Jiji political order was explained in the previous chapter. Even though Gosilatembo seems to have inherited the *mtwale* chieftainship of his father, being *mtwale* of a certain district did not result in an entitlement over the land. Even the *mwami* did not have the ultimate say over land. Hence, Göring's conclusion that only *mwami* Lusimbi was entitled to the land that Gosilatembo

considered his property was not in line with the precolonial, so-called “traditional”, land tenure regime in Ujiji.[58] The *Bezirksamtmann* in 1912 was aware of the prerogatives of the *mtwale* but nevertheless overestimated the presupposed absolute power of the *mwami*. He wrote:

> As an expression of his gratitude, Mgassa expressly gave him [Mwinyi Akida] the small landscapes of Bangwe and Kassio as property [!]. Muniakida stayed in Kigoma and became the Mtuale of Kigoma. However, there was no explicit gift of Kigoma; and according to the law of the land, the Mtuale is not the owner of the land, but the Sultan, under whom he stands.[59]

In fact, it was rather the other way around. Mwinyi Akida had been declared *mtwale* (chief) of Bangwe,[60] which did not make him proprietor of the land. We do not know whether he de facto – without formal designation – acted as *mtwale* of Kigoma, as well. But we know that his estate was in Kigoma. Hore visited him in 1878 in his dwellings on the island of Ruanza, in the Bay of Kigoma between the Bight of Kabondo and the Bight of Nyassa.[61] This happens to be the exact location where the port of Kigoma has been built at the beginning of the twentieth century. This still does not answer either the question if he actually owned that land nor whether this private ownership could be inherited. More than a century later, we will still not be able to provide a definite answer to these questions. However, I have demonstrated that the criteria used by the German administration to address this question were not in line with the “traditional” law (*Landesrecht*), which they pretended to respect. In fact, and not surprisingly, they primarily followed the German law.

The German land law in East Africa was based on a threefold principle: land possessed by chiefs or African communities stayed in their hands, land already in private ownership in 1896 stayed in private ownership, and all unowned (*herrenlos*) land was *Kronland* under the control of the government. The possibility of acquiring land was limited and under the control of the government. The government could

58 TNA G.8/352: Anträge auf Überlassung von Kronland, Kronlandserklärungen, Verpachtung und Verkauf von Kronland, Bez. Udjidji. Bd. 1: 1902–1906.

59 German original: “Zum Dank gab ihm [Mwinyi Akida] Mgassa ausdrücklich die kleinen Landschaften Bangwe und Kassio zu Eigentum [!]. Muniakida blieb in Kigoma wohnen und wurde gewissermassen Mtuale von Kigoma. Eine ausdrückliche Beschenkung mit Kigoma fand jedoch nicht statt; und der Mtuale ist nach dem Landesrecht nicht Eigentümer des Landes, sondern der Sultan, unter dem er steht” (TNA G.8/900: Anträge auf Überlassung von Kronland, Kronlandserklärungen, Verpachtung und Verkauf von Kronland, Bez. Udjidji. Bd. 2: 1906–1916).

60 Hore, *Tanganyika*, 83.

61 Hore, *Tanganyika*, 82.

also expropriate land in the public interest or in the interest of the natives.[62] The problem with these principles is the difficulty to prove possession prior to colonization and, hence, also the possibility to acquire land from self-proclaimed private owners or from chiefs, who either claimed landed property or were presumed to have the right to the land. This was what happened both when Germans assumed that all land derived from the *mwami* and when Hoffmann or Schloifer purchased land from Heri in the future port area. Sometimes, it was in the interest of (some) German officials to derive authenticity from land claims and, sometimes, to contest these claims. The claims by Heri and Gosilatembo are a clear example of this: Hoffmann's land deed was authenticated by Heri's property claim but was annulled after a couple of years; Gosilatembo's claim, which was probably the most solid one, was refuted; and Schloifer's purchase, also authenticated by Heri, persisted and was, at least to some extent, acknowledged by the administration.

When we have a closer look at Gosilatembo's case, von Grawert's remark that the land at the harbour foreshore, which was declared *Kronland* in 1903, laid fallow was in fact substantiating the unowned status of the land and hence the legal basis to declare it *Kronland*. In his answer of 5 December 1903 – assisted, to an unknown extent, by Dr. Neuhaus –, Gosilatembo included several points that must be read against the background of the German East African land legislation. He primarily contradicted the "*Herrenlosigkeit*" of his claimed private property by referring to buildings, mango trees, and enslaved people on the land, which should prove that the land was taken care of, as well as by indicating that he continued to follow up on his property through his custodian Heri until very recently. He called for an intervention by the government and suggested four witnesses to substantiate his claims. The second letter is composed much more as a statement preparing for a legal procedure than the first. We should remember that Gosilatembo did not oppose the sale or the expropriation as such but wanted a fair price either by selling his land to the government or by getting a cash compensation in case of an expropriation. The fact that he listed the number of huts and the presence of fruit trees reads like a preparation for a compensation claim, because these are the type of immobile goods eligible for payment of damages.[63] We do not know if he was in the end compensated in any way. But in all likelihood based on the traces of arguments found in the sources, his ownership was discarded on shaky grounds and this probably meant that his financial claims were rejected. After all, he came from an old regime that had lost its direct relevance in the context of Kigoma-Ujiji.

62 Iliffe, *Tanganyika*, 127.

63 Wilhelm Methner quoted in Iliffe, *Tanganyika*, 128.

4.3.4 Two Men, both called Heri?

It is useful to reconstruct the entanglement of different orders by more closely identifying the main characters of this story. The protagonist in this story is undoubtedly the formerly enslaved man and acting sub-chief Heri. The antagonist, who entered the scene first, is Gosilatembo, the son of Mwinyi Akida, who was a member of the Pangani triumvirate in the second half of the nineteenth century. I start with the latter.

Gosilatembo, son of Mwinyi Akida bin Tayari

We know comparatively little about Gosilatembo, which may have something to do with some particularities of archival sources. First of all, the above mentioned file G8/352 in the German Records of the Tanzania National Archives uses four different orthographies for his name: Gosilatembo, Hosilatembo, Gesilatembo, and Gasilatembo.[64] An interlinear remark added to the 1912 report by the *Bezirksamtmann* suggests that the name Gosilatembo could be read as "Ngozi ya Tembo", which means elephant skin or thick skin.[65] Thomas John Biginagwa refers to the nineteenth-century slave dealer "known locally as Gosi la Tembo" from Bweni near Pangani and translates the name as old male elephant.[66] Hence, the spelling of the name is unclear and it is likely that it is in fact a Swahili nickname. In other words, that Gosilatembo might have been known under yet another name. British colonial officials Grant and Bagenal stated that the son and heir of Mwinyi Akida was Mwinyi Heri. The Heri who stayed in and around Kigoma afterwards was "not a son but a freed slave of Mwinyiheri".[67] This could be a mix-up confusing the legacy of Mwinyi Akida Tayari with Mwinyi Heri bin Mwinyi Mkuu el-Ghaskani, the abovementioned coastal leader of Ujiji. But more likely, it means that Gosilatembo was officially named Heri (*Mwinyi* being a title of honour, comparable to Sir in English). Brown also stated that Mwinyi Akida's "son, Heri, was proclaimed his successor [as *mtwale*] by the Bujiji umwami".[68] In her interpretation, the contestation by Gosilatembo in 1903 was directed against this Heri, implicitly assuming that there was

64 TNA, G.8/352: Anträge auf Überlassung von Kronland, Kronlandserklärungen, Verpachtung und Verkauf von Kronland, Bez. Udjidji. Bd. 1: 1902–1906.

65 TNA, G.8/900: Anträge auf Überlassung von Kronland, Kronlandserklärungen, Verpachtung und Verkauf von Kronland, Bez. Udjidji. Bd. 2: 1906–1916.

66 Thomas J. Biginagwa, "Historical Archaeology of the 19th-Century Caravan Trade In North-Eastern Tanzania: A Zooarchaeological Perspective", PhD dissertation, University of York - Department of Archaeology, 2012, 108.

67 TNA, Kigoma District Book, Vol. III: Tribal History and Legends: Mjiji Tribe, sheet 2.

68 Brown, "Ujiji", 175.

only one Heri who was the son of Mwinyi Akida and had inherited his estate and his position of *mtwale*.[69] However, it could very well be that there were two men called Heri: the son Mwinyi Heri, aka Gosilatembo, and Heri the "slave", who managed to turn the name confusion to his advantage and got accepted by the Germans as *mtwale* over the area of Kigoma and Bangwe. Given that von Grawert had never heard of Gosilatembo, this scenario is not unlikely.

Secondly, archival sources containing information about individual people in the proto-colonial and early colonial period tend to be sparse, except around moments of crisis, conflict or litigation. Knowing that despite his key arbitrating role in-between Jiji authorities and Ujiji's Swahili-Arab townsfolk, even Mwinyi Akida bin Tayari is largely ignored in European accounts, it is not at all surprising that his son is even less present in the sources. When he does appear, it is indeed in the context of a legal action – in this case, about landed property. However, the typical scarcity of sources is not only place-bound (in or out of Ujiji town, for instance), person-bound (focusing on the alpha men), and case-bound (conflict or litigation) but also determined by time. On the one hand, there is the impact of the available time for observation, as we see in the case of Hore. On the other hand, there are certain times in history when a heightened level of attention leads to more detailed information.

In the case of Kigoma-Ujiji and of the Arab-Swahili traders in East Central Africa, in general, this heightened attention occurred when European colonizers violently clashed with their "Arab" rivals under the humanitarian guise of an anti-slavery campaign. We know in quite some detail who was involved in this war of conquest, on either side of the hostilities.[70] But by the time this war broke out, Mwinyi Akida was already dead, and by the time it reached its peak, Gosilatembo had already returned to the coast.

In the case of Pangani on the coast, the height of European – and in particular German – attention in the late-nineteenth century coincided with the so-called Abushiri uprising in 1888 to 1890. Abushiri bin Salim al-Harthi, who was of mixed Arab-African (Omani-Oromo) descent, initiated the uprising but was soon joined by many of the coastal communities engaged in the caravan trade and the plantation economy all along the coast between Lindi and Tanga. Here as well, the reconstruction of all actors involved has been carried out in a rather meticulous way both by officials at the time and subsequently by scholars.[71] But

69 Brown, "Ujiji", 175 n25.

70 See, for instance, Bennett, *Arab Versus European*.

71 See, for instance, Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*.

our Gosilatembo only arrived back in Pangani when the uprising had already been smashed.

Thus, for a variety of reasons, Gosilatembo is hard to get hold of. Nevertheless, we do know something about him. First of all, we know his father and the origin of his land holdings. Based on his own letters, we know that he lived on the coast for most of his life, he spent seven years in Kigoma-Ujiji between 1882 and 1889, and he was still in touch with the sons of his father's companions in 1903. In the same file, the German administration gave some background information including the fact that Gosilatembo had been appointed *jumbe* or local chief in Bweni, a district of Pangani in 1893.[72] Finally, we know from the research by Biginagwa and Paul J. Lane that there is a nineteenth-century building at Bweni popularly known as Gosi la Tembo's dwelling. "Oral traditions recorded in Pangani town repeatedly mention a notorious slave dealer known locally as Gosi la Tembo [old male elephant] who based his activities at Bweni, on the shore opposite Pangani town".[73] This is the region of origin of the coastal triumvirate: "Mwinyi Heri and Mwinyi Akida were born in Pangani, and Mwinyi Hassani lived originally in the nearby town of Mbweni".[74]

Heri: From Congolese slave to chief of Kigoma

Whereas Gosilatembo was a descendant of a local leader from lost times, who neither lived in Kigoma-Ujiji nor had any of the local power his father once had, Heri belonged to Kigoma-Ujiji's by now dominant population group, who had come from the lands west of the lake. Moreover, he was an early arrival with close ties to the coastal leaders of those days and he operated from Kigoma, not Ujiji. It is worthwhile to piece together what we know about him.

Many clues point in the direction that Heri was an imposter. However, it would be too easy to take this observation as a conclusion rather than as a starting point. It would not explain why he was entrusted with the custody of Gosilatembo's estate, how he managed to gather followers, how he could proceed with land transactions for many years, and why he continued to be recognized as *jumbe* (local chief) of Kigoma (later Mwanga) under three consecutive colonial

72 TNA, G.8/352: Anträge auf Überlassung von Kronland, Kronlandserklärungen, Verpachtung und Verkauf von Kronland, Bez. Udjidji. Bd. 1: 1902–1906.

73 Paul J. Lane, "Slavery and slave trading in eastern Africa: exploring the intersections of historical sources and archaeological evidence" in *Slavery in Africa: Archaeology and Memory: Proceedings of the British Academy*, (eds.) Paul J. Lane and Kevin C. MacDonald (London, Oxford University Press, 2011), 292. Reference in: Biginagwa, "Historical Archaeology", 108.

74 Brown, "Ujiji", 128 n2.

governments. For each of these deeds, there was always another party involved who must have believed in or benefited from the imposture.

Heri started to take care of Mwinyi Akida's and Gosilatembo's legacy, when the latter left for Pangani in 1889. He retired as *jumbe* of Mwanga, the African quarter of the town of Kigoma, half a century later in 1939. The British colonial sources call him Heri *bin* (son of) Akida and underscore that he served four governments, which would also include the Jiji authorities beside the German (until 1916), Belgian (1916–1921), and British (from 1921 onwards) colonial rulers.[75] Apparently, he de facto continued to hold the reins after his replacement in 1939 until his death two years later. Moreover, he was formally succeeded by his oldest son Hussain in 1939. After his death, Hussein was installed as *akida* (regional chief) in Mpanda, a town around 250 kilometres southeast of Kigoma, and the younger son Masudi succeeded his late father as *jumbe* of Mwanga. Both Hussein and Masudi were soon deposed because of incompetence, but at least at first the confidence in Heri was so high that his sons inherited his legitimacy as a leader.[76]

We have already reconstructed the initial misunderstanding of considering Heri as Mwinyi Akida's son. Most likely Mwinyi Akida's son, whom we know as Gosilatembo, was also called Heri. It is very likely that the Jiji authorities did not make a mistake when the Jiji *mwami* proclaimed Heri bin Akida as his father's successor in the function of *mtwale*. They probably meant Gosilatembo. However, when the manumitted Heri was entrusted with the custody of Gosilatembo's estate in Kigoma and hence acted as the de facto holder of Akida's legacy, one can quite easily understand that newly arriving German military administrators confused the real Heri bin Akida, whom they had never seen nor heard of, with another Heri who in all appearance acted as the heir of Mwinyi Akida. No matter how easy it is to understand the confusion, it is remarkable that the mix-up persisted. Documents were produced in 1903 (the letters by Gosilatembo), 1912 (the report by the *Bezirksamtmann*), and 1929 (the tribal history by Grant and Bagenal) indicating with disbelief that the acting *mtwale* Heri was in fact a formerly enslaved servant of Mwinyi Heri bin Mwinyi Akida aka Gosilatembo. Still, the colonial authorities continued to call this formerly enslaved person coming from what by then had become Congo, *mtwale* or *jumbe* Heri bin Akida.

On closer inspection, it is not surprising that Heri stayed *mtwale* despite his dubious land transactions and misleading genealogy. As a matter of fact, a lot had changed since Mwinyi Akida had died and Gosilatembo had left, and by the turn

75 TNA, 63.723: Luichi Federation: Kigoma District 1921–1945.

76 McHenry, "Reorganization," p. 69; TNA, Kigoma Regional Office (180), A2/3: African Administration & Affairs: Administration Ujiji & Mwanga & Mwandiga 1933–1954: Letter from District Commissioner Kigoma to Provincial Commissioner Western Province 11 May 1944.

of the century it was in everybody's interest to have Heri in the position of liaison officeholder between all relevant communities in and around town.

Heri was the formerly enslaved servant of a respected leader of the coastal merchant community and had over the years built good relations with the Jiji authorities. Even if he was not Mwinyi Akida's son, he had gained the confidence to be entrusted with the custody over the estate. We should not be misled by a too stereotypical understanding of the word "slave". As Hore already observed around 1880, there is no clear correlation between one's status as enslaved or free and their wealth and standing.[77] Moreover, as we have seen in the previous chapter, there existed a hierarchy and social mobility amongst the retinue of the caravans trade complex, whereby some enslaved people grew up as part of the household of their masters, could become economically successful, gain freedom and access to important political positions, and still remain obliged to the (former) master-turned-patron.[78] Given the responsibility and confidence entrusted upon Heri by Gosilatembo, he must have been an enslaved person of high standing and many talents. We know that Heri had been captured in Congo together with his mother.[79] It is not unlikely that he had already become part of Mwinyi Akida's household as a child. He allegedly sold chickens and eggs to Livingstone as an eight- or nine-year-old when the missionary doctor was in Ujiji around 1868/69.[80] As such, despite being an enslaved person rather than a son, he was deeply rooted in the place and embodied continuity with decades of relations and mutual trust between the coastal pioneers and the Jiji authorities.

On top of that, it also matters that he was of Congolese origin. At the height of the caravan trade complex in East Central Africa in the 1870s and 1880s, Ujiji had seen the arrival of people from Manyema as well as from around the northern part of Lake Tanganyika. When the caravan trade complex collapsed after the military defeat in the 1890s, even more immigrants or refugees from across the lake arrived in Ujiji town and region.[81] Although there was a huge diversity

77 Hore, *Tanganyika*, 73–74.

78 Nimtz, *Islam and Politics*; Glassman, "The Bondsman's New Clothes"; Gooding, "Slavery, 'Respectability'".

79 TNA, G.8/900: Anträge auf Überlassung von Kronland, Kronlandserklärungen, Verpachtung und Verkauf von Kronland, Bez. Udjidji. Bd. 2: 1906–1916.

80 J. Rooke Johnston, "Bits & Pieces, or Seven years in the Western Province of Tanganyika Territory 1933–1940", 23, in Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies at Oxford University (BLCAS), MSS. Afr. s. 1935 (1): John Rooke Johnston: Reminiscences of Colonial Service: Tanganyika, 1921–1948.

81 Brown, "Ujiji", 34–37, 98–104 and 226–233.

among these many "Congolese" who had – taken together – little in common except a post factum colonial state formation when they had already left, the "Congolese" factor had a strong impact on the demographic and power relations in Ujiji and Kigoma. The statement that Heri managed to gather a large cohort of Congolese around him[82] should be understood against this background. Hence, Heri embodied not only continuity but also the dramatic political and demographic change of the final decade of the nineteenth century.

It was, obviously, in the interest of the Jiji authorities and the colonial governments to espouse continuity and give room to change at the same time. I am tempted to believe, however, that Heri's inventiveness in serving private interests – including his own – also helped to keep him acceptable as a local authority. His accommodating attitude to arrange deals with German military entrepreneurs like Schloifer and Hoffmann may have been disclosed as fraud in some of the records. However, in the first place, it had given an air of authenticity to their land acquisitions, which at least in the case of the well-connected Schloifer had been administratively sanctioned by colonial officers like Göring.

Under German, Belgian, and British rulers, the town of Kigoma was gradually developed as the European part of town. Sleeping sickness campaigns were used as a motivation to regroup the population. The quarter Mwanga became the African village of Kigoma and Heri became its first headman. He stayed in that position until the age of approximately 80. By the late 1930s, he began to lose some of his astuteness, as becomes clear in an observation by John Rooke Johnston, who was District Officer in Kigoma between 1934 and 1940. Acting as an assessor in a court case, *jumbe* Heri apparently became drowsy and fell asleep and when he woke up he theatrically accused the witness.[83] This kind of behaviour may have been one of the reasons why he was eventually replaced in 1939.

However, by then, he had already lived a memorable life. In the end, Rooke Johnston has perhaps written the most telling portrayal of the man both hitting the nail on the head and consequently maintaining the mystery that hung around him. After having helped to put out a fire in Mwanga village at the end of the dry season in 1935, Rooke Johnston writes: "During the fire the headman's house was caught and, while burning, out of it came young crocodiles, iguanas, leopards and other curious animals. The headman was Jumbe Kheri, a Manyema, obviously a wizard and a very old man".[84]

82 TNA, G.8/900: Anträge auf Überlassung von Kronland, Kronlandserklärungen, Verpachtung und Verkauf von Kronland, Bez. Udjidji. Bd. 2: 1906–1916.

83 Rooke Johnston, "Bits & Pieces" (BLCAS, MSS. Afr. s. 1935 (1)), 23.

84 Rooke Johnston, "Bits & Pieces" (BLCAS, MSS. Afr. s. 1935 (1)), 23.

This very old Manyema wizard embodied the transformations from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries, from the first stages of urbanization to colonization and to the eve of the Second World War. His life trajectory, moreover, evokes the connections with the caravan trade complex from coast to Congo, with Jiji authorities, with the spatial reorganization of the urban area, and with the port of Kigoma, which lays at the heart of the next chapter.

5 Inland Indian Ocean Port: Extraterritoriality and Pragmatism

> Blackadder: Baldrick, have you no idea what irony is?
> Baldrick: Yeah! It's like goldy and bronzy, only it's made of iron.
> (*Black Adder the Third*, Amy and Amiability)

Irony and history go together well, as we can see in the case of the *Eisenbahn* (literally iron road) constructed by the German colonial government to connect Dar es Salaam with Kigoma on Lake Tanganyika and hence with East Congo.[1] The railway reached Kigoma on 1 February 1914. On Tuesday, 30 June 1914, the line was handed over from the construction company to the railway company.[2] On the previous Sunday, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne had been shot in Sarajevo. The subsequent whims of history would inhibit the Germans from using their brand-new railway for what it was meant for: transporting riches from Congo to the Indian Ocean.[3]

The First World War was soon exported to the European colonies in Africa. Troops under Belgian command from the Belgian Congo, which had become a Belgian colony less than six years before the war started, invaded German East Africa in 1916. The town of Kigoma fell into Belgian hands on 28 July the same year. The place had become the infrastructural pivot for traffic to and from East Central Africa, like Ujiji had been before. Yet, this does not mean that the global commercial and strategic importance of the region remained the same. Long-distance trade activities had seen ups and downs in the nineteenth century. The same holds true for the period under scrutiny in this chapter. A new boom in the economic and commercial domain was short-lived but undeniable for almost a decade from the mid-1920s until the Great Depression. By then, the town of Kigoma was no longer under Belgian control, but its port still was.

In 1921 the Belgians handed over the area under military occupation – including the town of Kigoma – to the British, but they were granted privileges and a concession in Kigoma's port. It was part of the deal to have the Belgians evacuate the territory

1 A previous version of this chapter has been published as Geert Castryck, "The Belgian Base at Kigoma's Railhead (1920s–1930s): Territorial Ambivalence in an Inland Indian Ocean Port," *Comparativ: Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und Vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 25, 4 (2015): 70–86.
2 BLCAS, MSS. Afr. s. 900 (1): History of Central Railway by C. Gillman.
3 Jean-Pierre Chrétien, "Le « désenclavement » de la région des Grands Lacs dans les projets économiques allemands au début du XXe siècle" in *Histoire sociale de l'Afrique de l'Est (XIXe-XXe siècle): actes du colloque de Bujumbura (17–24 octobre 1989)*, (eds.) Département d'histoire de l'Université du Burundi (Paris: Karthala, 1991), 342–343.

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that they had occupied during the war. Including also a Belgian port in Dar es Salaam on the Indian Ocean coast and a privileged use of the central railway, this deal gave the Belgian Congo and the new Belgian mandate territories of Ruanda-Urundi an all-Belgian outlet to the Indian Ocean. Legally, this Anglo-Belgian agreement is quite straightforward, granting the Belgians some privileges and concessions on the Tanganyika Territory, which had become a British mandate territory in the aftermath of the war. However, the implementation on the ground opened a window of opportunities for all parties involved. This led to a short-lived boom of the Kigoma-Dar es Salaam connection in the late 1920s and early 1930s. One could expect Kigoma to be the minor one of the two ports, funnelling goods to and from the proper Indian Ocean port at Dar es Salaam; but in fact, it was the other way around: Kigoma was the place where the formalities, transactions, logistics, shipping, and handling were primarily taken care of, hence, the actual command centre of the Belgian bases (also referred to as Belbases).

In this chapter, the focus is on the heydays of Kigoma's role as an inland Indian Ocean port in the 1920s and early 1930s (Figure 7). This success was made possible by both stretching and not insisting much on the legal rights of the Belgians in the port of Kigoma. This de facto meant that, on the one hand, all port activities took place in the Belgian-run port, and, on the other, the Belgians did not make use of prerogatives which would have required a distinction between Belgian and British port activities. Thus, not only could the agreement as such be seen as an exception to a territorial order in the narrow sense, but also locally, within the port of Kigoma, the spatial organization and the operation of the port was kept ambivalent.

This chapter focuses in particular on the institutional and informal construction of the lake port of Kigoma as a Belgian Indian Ocean port on British territory. The story starts with the Belgian occupation during and immediately after the First World War, followed by privileged presence guaranteed by a British-Belgian treaty, and reaches a decisive turning point in the early 1930s. Primarily highlighting the interwar period, I reveal how territorial ambiguity and improvised pragmatism defied the lines of sovereignty and territoriality in the colonial period both on the local and the international levels.

5.1 The First World War: Settling European Scores (1914–1921)

During the First World War, troops under Belgian command conquered parts of German East Africa as far east as Morogoro, less than 200 kilometres from the Indian Ocean coast. However, only in the westernmost part of the colony including Kigoma and its port did they install an occupation government, leaving the

Figure 7: Port of Kigoma, with railway station (probably 1922).[4]

rest of the territory to the British.[5] By the end of the war, however, it became clear that the Belgians would not be allowed to maintain their control in the area. As a matter of fact, the northwestern part of the former German East Africa had never been Belgium's priority. The Belgians had hoped to use these territories as diplomatic currency in order to obtain land close to the mouth of the Congo or to loosen the free trade obligations placed on the Belgian Congo.[6] In the end, however, the Paris Peace Conference would result in Belgium getting the mandate over Rwanda and Burundi, as well as a perpetual lease of port sites in Dar es Salaam and Kigoma for a single Belgian franc per year, allowing Belgian transit to and from the Belgian Congo, Rwanda, and Burundi free of dues, fees, deposits or

4 NA-UK, CO.1069/153: TANZANIA / TANGANYIKA 1. Government House, Dar es Salaam, photographs 1922, together with panoramas of Kigoma 1914/17 and a view of Dar es Salaam Harbour, 1938. No date is given in this archival file, but the picture was taken on 16 October 1922 (See BLCAS, MSS. Afr. t. 43, Panoramic views of Kigoma, taken on Monday 16 October 1922 by Alfred Dalton).

5 Hew Strachan, *The First World War in Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

6 AAB, AE/II, 3289 (1854): Accords Milner-Orts.

guarantees of any description. In one way or another, the port of Kigoma would stay under Belgian management for almost 80 years, despite the British rule and Tanzanian independence.[7]

The extraterritorial Belgian privileges in the Tanganyika Territory, the British mandate territory about to be founded by the newly established League of Nations, were the result of an often-neglected chapter of the 1919 Paris peace negotiations, which dealt with the parts of German East Africa that the Belgian-led troops had conquered and still occupied at the time. The Belgian-Congolese troops had already given up Tabora but still occupied the western part of the former German East Africa from Karema in the south to the Ugandan border in the north, including 250 kilometres of the railway, and kept their access to Lake Victoria. Against this background, the Belgian and British delegates Pierre Orts and Lord Alfred Milner started their negotiations. They both had a strictly territorial agenda. The outcome of their negotiations also fitted nicely within the legal framework of imperial territoriality. The British got the whole of Lake Victoria and almost all of Lake Tanganyika's eastern shore including the railhead at Kigoma. Belgium got the mandate over Rwanda and Burundi, two semi-autonomous districts in the northwest of the former colony.[8] Territorially, the Belgians got just over five percent of German East Africa's total surface, but demographically this represented over forty percent of the population.[9] Up until this point, Orts and Milner practised business as usual, carving up the colonial cake amongst European colonizers, thereby respecting the power relations between them.

The devil, however, is in the detail. The compromise that Orts and Milner struck about Kigoma and Belgian access to the Indian Ocean met both the territorial strategic desires of the British and the economic strategic desires of the Belgians. Roughly speaking, the Belgians relinquished the land but could do what they wanted on what became the British territory. This led to a port of Kigoma – as well as a section of the port of Dar es Salaam – that was nominally British but

7 Guido Fallentheyn, "Belbases in Tanzania", http://belbases.fallentheyn.be/ (accessed 30 September 2024).

8 O. Lauwers, "Hommage à Pierre Orts (3 novembre 1872–12 juin 1958)", *Koninklijke Academie voor Koloniale Wetenschappen – Mededelingen der Zittingen (Nieuwe Reeks)* IV, no. 4 (1958): 913–916; W. Ganshof van der Meersch, "Orts (Pierre-Charles-Auguste-Raphaël)" in *Biographie Belge d'Outre-Mer* (Bruxelles: Académie royale des sciences d'outre-mer: 1973), vol. VII-A, 367–368; Bonaventure Bandira, "Les négociations belgo-britanniques au sujet des concessions belges à Dar-es-Salaam et Kigoma" in *Histoire sociale de l'Afrique de l'Est (XIXe-XXe siècle): actes du colloque de Bujumbura (17–24 octobre 1989)*, (eds.) Département d'histoire de l'Université du Burundi (Paris: Karthala, 1991), 364–367.

9 Chrétien, "Le « désenclavement » ", 352.

Belgian in its operations. The outcome was an extraterritorial Belgian Indian Ocean port more than 1,000 kilometres from that ocean.[10]

The Orts-Milner Agreement was an agreement of principle signed on 30 May 1919 and accepted by the Paris Peace Conference. Its most important part was undoubtedly the Belgian mandate over Ruanda-Urundi, which became part of the 1923 mandate agreements of the League of Nations. Here, of course, I am more interested in the deal on Belgian traffic through East Africa, including concessions in Kigoma and Dar es Salaam. This part of the agreement was turned into the Convention between Great Britain and Belgium with a View to Facilitate Belgian Traffic through the Territories of East Africa on 15 March 1921.[11] The convention consists of a preamble and 12 articles.[12] In the preamble, the parties declare that the convention, which gives effect to the agreement of principle mentioned above, is an outcome of the joint efforts in Africa during the First World War and meant to give access to the sea to portions of the Belgian Congo as well as to the mandate territories of Ruanda-Urundi.

The central article of the convention was Article 2, which specified the underlying principle of freedom of transit to and from the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi across East Africa. Additionally, it stated that there should be no distinction with how British persons, mail, goods, ships, railway carriages, and trucks were to be treated. Traffic to and from the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi was exempt from all customs duty or other similar duties, except for a charge of 25 cents per parcel. However, if the transit passed through the Belgian concession ports of Kigoma and Dar es Salaam, even this fee was not due.

Article 5 stipulated the perpetual lease of suitable sites in the ports of Kigoma and Dar es Salaam for an annual rent of one Belgian franc. Apart from compliance with British law and order, the Belgians were free to do as they considered suitable within the limits of these sites and held the right to entrust the workings of the sites to concessionaires for durations of up to twenty-five years (Article 6).

Article 9 freed the Belgian sites from any interference from the British customs authorities for goods in transit to or from the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-

10 William Roger Louis, *Ends of British Imperialism: The Scramble for Empire, Suez, and Decolonization – Collected Essays* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), 218–221. That the Belgians could do what they wanted within the concession was stated by Milner during the negotiations (AAB, AE/II, 2948 [717]: Lettre du Ministre des Colonies au Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, 19 novembre 1930).

11 For the negotiations to turn the agreement of principle into a binding convention, see Bandira, “Les négociations belgo-britanniques”.

12 For the English version of the convention, see NA-UK, CO.691/121/8: Belgian leased sites at Dar es Salaam and Kigoma, 1932.

Urundi. Moreover, Belgian-sealed trucks or wagons on the Kigoma–Dar es Salaam railway were also exempt from all British customs formalities (Article 10). This meant that the Belgians could act independently from British interference as far as transit to and from Belgian colonial territories through the concession sites and via the central railway was concerned. The British merely had the right to be present at all times.

The convention was signed in London on 15 March 1921. One week later, the Belgians ended their occupation, which lasted for five years, and handed the District of Kigoma over to the governor of Tanganyika.[13] Upon return from Kigoma, the governor-general of the Belgian Congo wrote to the minister of colonies: "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).[14] What he omitted to state, though, was that the Belgian interest in Kigoma was limited only to the port and railway.

5.2 Territorial Ambivalence in the Golden Decade of the Belgian Base

Pierre Ryckmans, who would become the most influential governor-general and chief ideologist of Belgian colonialism in the decades to come,[15] stayed in Kigoma in 1918. Congolese troops returned from the military operation of Mahenge with meningitis, leading to a forced quarantine during which Ryckmans kept himself busy with investigations into the history of the region under German occupation. His focus was on Burundi not Kigoma.[16] Kigoma was a suitable place from where to look into areas of interest but did not attract much attention itself. Similarly, it would become a pivotal place through which areas of interest would be connected but it was not seen as a place of interest for its own sake. Or put differently, its interest lay in its capacity to connect and dispatch and it was precisely this attribute that became or remained Belgian. Although it did not lead to genuine Belgian interest in the local affairs and populations of Kigoma, the crucial function in linking East Congo with the Indian Ocean via the lake and the railway was soon recognized by this advocate of Belgian colonialism. In a letter to the

13 AAB, AE/II, 3288 (1850): Évacuation et remise des territoires aux Anglais.

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

15 See: Pierre Ryckmans, *Dominer pour servir* (Brussels: Albert Dewit, 1931).

16 Pierre Ryckmans, *Une page d'histoire colonial: L'occupation allemande dans l'Urundi* (Bruxelles: Institut royal colonial belge, 1953), 3.

minister of colonies in the summer of 1921, Ryckmans – by then resident and acting royal commissioner in Ruanda-Urundi and in this capacity, responsible for the administration of the Belgian bases in Kigoma and Dar es Salaam – made a strong plea to make maximum use of the Belgian connection to the Indian Ocean via Kigoma, Dar es Salaam, and the central railway.[17] He considered Kigoma and Dar es Salaam to be the most "Belgian" connection between Belgium and the Belgian Congo, second only to Matadi ("la plus belge de toutes sauf Matadi").[18]

Against the background of the intended private concession over the Belgian bases in Kigoma and Dar es Salaam to be given to the *Agence commercial belge de l'Est Africain* (ABEA), Ryckmans pleaded for a Belgian representation by accredited diplomats and customs officials in both towns.[19] The risk of blurring the distinction between official Belgian representation and private commercial interests would lead to several confrontations with the British authorities as well as some private companies a decade later. Although never explicitly confirmed, it is likely that this was why the Belgians hesitated for an entire decade before they finally formalized the running of the Belbases. No sooner than 1930 were the Belbases given by concession to the ABEA, although de facto the ABEA in Dar es Salaam and the *Compagnie des Chemins de Fer du Congo supérieur aux Grands Lacs africains* (CFL) in Kigoma were already running the sites since the beginning of the 1920s. Paradoxically, the decade of improvisation would also turn out to be the golden decade.

Ryckmans' letter to the minister of colonies was a visionary one, to which the minister responded mainly positively. It also was a letter of a colonial official who was sympathetic to the Belgian extraterritorial privileges in Kigoma and willing to make use of them as a tool of global – or trans-imperial, trans-regional, and trans-national – connectedness. However, Ryckmans was not the sole Belgian voice expressing his opinion about the Belgian extraterritorial rights; several other Belgian voices were highly sceptical – not to mention the British, who would increasingly object to what they had agreed to.

In the 1924 annual report on customs in Kigoma, Georges Delaunoit, the head of the Belgian customs in Kigoma at the time, considered it to be a blatant mistake to concentrate Belgian customs in the port of Kigoma, which he understood as nothing more than a lease that every private party could also acquire, albeit most likely at a higher price than one Belgian franc per year. Moreover, in his opinion,

17 The management of the Belgian bases in Kigoma and Dar es Salaam had been given to the administration of Ruanda-Urundi and not the Belgian Congo (AAB, AE/II, 2948 [713]: Lettre du Résident de l'Urundi au Ministre des Colonies, 29 août 1921).

18 TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1933, 17.

19 AAB, AE/II, 2948 (713): Lettre du Résident de l'Urundi au Ministre des Colonies, 29 août 1921.

the Belgian government faced substantial additional costs in their own bases, which were not applicable in ports like Beira, Port Elizabeth, or Cape Town.[20] Inadvertently, what he expressed was in line with the British interpretation, which, as we will see later, would actually prove to be wrong by the time the British openly proclaimed it. Nevertheless, at that time, it was relevant that the head of the Belgian customs on Lake Tanganyika criticized the privileges for which he was locally in charge.

In general, the Belgians struggled with their unusual privileges. If Delaunoit was right in his judgement that the Belgian leased sites were something that any private company could also get, then it would be clear and easy to decide what to do with these sites: have them run as and possibly also by a private company. However, the extraterritorial nature of the bases did not only mean that the Belgian ports of Kigoma and Dar es Salaam were outside of Belgian territory. It also meant at least that British sovereignty was limited in these zones.[21] The Belgians could virtually do whatever they wanted within their premises, as Lord Milner had already exclaimed during the 1919 negotiations.[22] This may sound like an appealing situation for the Belgians, but in fact it was not. The extraterritorial semi-sovereignty was as much unfamiliar terrain for them as it would have been for anyone else during the high days of national and imperial territoriality. Clearly, there were some commercial advantages in unlocking landlocked Ruanda-Urundi as well as East Congo via Lake Tanganyika, Kigoma, the central railway, and Dar es Salaam. With the infrastructure of 1920, this route took two months in contrast to six months, when opting for the western trajectory through Congo and via Boma or Matadi, as well as three fewer transloading operations.[23] Accordingly, the coordination and administration of Belgium's East African trade were concentrated in Kigoma. In 1924, for instance, 4.4 million Belgian francs in customs revenues were generated in Kigoma compared to 1.6 million Belgian francs in the second most important customs station on the lake, Albertville. Moreover, all traffic that was cleared in Albertville or Uvira still had to go through the Belbase in Kigoma.[24]

20 AAB, AE/II, 2890 (200): Douanes Kigoma – Rapport Annuel 1924; AAB, AE/II, 2948 (712), Annexe à la lettre du Commissaire Royal N° 1442/A/6 du 18 mai 1925, Avis et considérations.

21 Article 6 of the Anglo-Belgian Convention of 15 March 1921.

22 NA-UK, CO.691/115/8: Lettre du Ministre des Affaires Étrangères (belge) à l'ambassadeur britannique, 31 décembre 1930.

23 AAB, RA/R-U, 0b (31): Tanganyika Territory, Annual Report 1919–1920, p. 13; Chrétien, "Le « désenclavement »", 342–343.

24 AAB, AE/II, 2890 (200): Douanes Kigoma – Rapport Annuel 1924.

Taking a closer look at the port activities during the 1920s, the exported goods shipped through the Belgian concession consisted primarily of palm oil, hides, rice, and other local foodstuffs.[25] However, the annual report of Belgian customs at Kigoma in 1924 indicates that the export from Congo and Ruanda-Urundi of local foodstuffs as well as cow hides was in decline because of the cattle plague and anti-famine measures. On the other hand, cottons were the most desired import. Printed cotton like kitenge and kanga were in vogue in the urban or so-called European centres, whereas Japanese-made merikani and Indian chadder were in demand in the interior.[26] In the course of the 1920s, the product range diversified and increasingly included raw cotton shipped from the port of Uvira in the Kivu, coffee from the ports of Nyanza-Lac and Rumonge in Ruanda-Urundi, and especially copper from Katanga shipped by lake from Albertville to Kigoma.[27] With the arrival of the railway, the trade in dagaa (dried small fish) would also extend its range and dagaa became an important long-distance trade good from Kigoma.[28] However, this local produce was not part of the transit trade through the Belgian bases and did not appear in the Belgian customs statistics. The fact that not all trade in Kigoma was transit trade would lead to problems in the exploitation of the Belgian port, to which I return later. This combination of regional and global trade had already been a feature of the market in the Kigoma-Ujiji area in the nineteenth century (see Chapter 3). Although the goods involved had – partly – changed, the twentieth-century port of Kigoma was also – or still – characterized by a stable stream of trade in local produce, accompanied by booming and eventually declining or collapsing long-distance trade passing through the strategically situated port.

Concerning copper, the figures give an idea of the significance of this trade through Kigoma. According to the statistics from Tanganyika Railways, 29,997 tonnes of copper were shipped from Congo through Kigoma in 1928 to 1929. After a dip in 1929 to 1930 (18,538 tonnes), the copper traffic reached a peak in 1930 to 1931 with 30,844 tonnes.[29] For a comparison, we can check the Belgian customs' figures: all goods combined, a total of 32,200 tonnes was shipped through the Bel-

25 AAB, AE/II, 2948 (713): Lettre du Résident de l'Urundi au Ministre des Colonies, 29 août1921. Salt was another important export product from the Kigoma region and was loaded on the train directly at the salt pan of Uvinza. Hence, it did not pass through Kigoma and its Belgian base. See TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1931, 13.

26 AAB, AE/II, 2890 (200): Douanes Kigoma – Rapport Annuel 1924.

27 TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1927, 16.

28 BLCAS, MSS. Afr. s. 503: John Rooke Johnston, Kigoma District Handing Over Report, 1940, 96.

29 BLCAS, MSS. Afr. s. 900 (1): Clement Gillman, "Important Events in the History of the Railways".

gian base of Kigoma to Congo and Ruanda-Urundi in 1929, whereas 26,672 tonnes of export came from Ruanda-Urundi. Exports from Congo, including copper, were not registered in Kigoma, since these were declared in Albertville or Uvira.[30] However, it is clear from these figures that the amount of exported copper corresponded to roughly all imports to Congo and Ruanda-Urundi combined or to all exports from Ruanda-Urundi. Another telling figure was the earnings from traffic to and from Congo, which represented 55 percent of the total earnings of the entire central railway.[31]

The predominant copper-producing enterprise in the Belgian Congo, the Union Minière du Haut Katanga (UMHK) was founded in 1906, boomed in the 1920s, and reached a total production of 139,000 tonnes of copper in 1930.[32] Read in combination with the figures from Tanganyika Railways for 1930, this means that the Congolese copper export via the Kigoma connection was close to a quarter of the total production of the UMHK. Kigoma's future looked bright and was inextricably linked with the copper industry in Katanga. The fact that by the end of the 1920s, the political control over the Belgian base at Kigoma was moved from the administration of Ruanda-Urundi to the Province of Katanga is a further indication of the growing importance of copper to the port of Kigoma.[33] Kigoma had evolved from a regional trade centre around Lake Tanganyika into a small gateway in the global copper trade.

In order to accommodate this booming trade, the Belgians made considerable investments in their port and supporting infrastructure. The site leased in 1921 had a lake frontage of 250 metres and was 60 to 70 metres deep, roughly the size of two football fields.[34] By the end of the decade, Kigoma was on the rise and this

30 AAB, AE/II, 2948 (717): Rapport par le Contrôleur Principal des douanes à Kigoma 1930, 30 janvier 1931.

31 BLCAS, MSS. Afr. s. 900 (1), Clement Gillman, "Important Events in the History of the Railways".

32 Jan-Frederik Abbeloos, "Belgium's Expansionist History between 1870 and 1930: Imperialism and the Globalisation of Belgian Business" in *Europe and its Empires*, (eds.) Mary N. Harris and Csaba Lévai (Pisa: Ed. PLUS, 2008), 118; Bogumil Jewsiewicki, "Belgian Africa" (translated by Yvonne Brett and Andrew Roberts), in *The Cambridge History of Africa*, (eds.) J.D. Fage and Roland Anthony Oliver (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), vol. 7, 482. For a deeper insight into the town of Lubumbashi in this period, see Sofie Boonen, "Une ville construite par des « gens d'ailleurs »: Développement urbain et « gouvernementalité » coloniale à Élisabethville (RDC)", PhD dissertation, Universiteit Gent, 2019.

33 AAB, AE/II, 2948 (717): Rapport par le Contrôleur Principal des douanes à Kigoma 1930, 30 janvier 1931; AAB, Direction de l'énergie, des travaux publics et des communications (FRED), 1180: Lettre de l'inspecteur des douanes au Gouverneur du Katanga, 30 janvier 1931.

34 NA-UK, CO.691/100/14: Request by Belgian Government for extension of concession of trade sites at Kigoma.

was reflected in further Belgian investments in a new wharfage system, quays, a two-storey building comprising offices and warehouses, and five steam cranes and a 25-tonne derrick between 1928 and 1930.[35] On top of these, the Belgians built a wireless telegraph station, opened a Belgian bank, a vice-consulate, and a central customs authority for Ruanda-Urundi and East Congo in Kigoma during the 1920s. As early as 1928, which is only seven and a half years after the Belgian bases were established, they had already requested an extension of their Kigoma site primarily for safety reasons and more specifically to be able to store explosives and combustible goods. The British realized that it was in their interests from the point of view of railway traffic that the Belgians expand their use of the Kigoma-Dar es Salaam connection, however, they were reluctant to give them more or even the best parts of the harbour.[36] On the ground, however, pragmatism reigned and the British de facto operated their comparably small businesses through the Belgian site.

The depiction so far could give the false impression that the British were merely passive bystanders. In fact, they supported and became involved in the Belgian port activities through investments and entrepreneurship of their own. The fleet on the lake was primarily British, and the new slipway that was constructed in 1929 maintained all ships, including the Belgian ones.[37] At the same time, the British-run railways were undoubtedly the crucial link in the entire connection from Congo to the Indian Ocean and back.

In addition to Belgians and British, it is important to stress the role of other international trade actors. Arab, Indian, and Swahili traders had already played a significant role in pre- and early-colonial times and were still numerous at the time of Belgian conquest in 1916.[38] By 1930, Indian traders, most of whom were from Gujarat or the region around Bombay, numbered up to 250 men; about half of them had their families with them. There were around 100 Arab traders in Kigoma in 1930, most of them Omani and about one-third of them with families. About 20 Greek people were also present in Kigoma in the late 1920s.[39] Indian and Arab traders primarily took care of the intricate connections with the surrounding region and its markets and remained important for the commerce

35 TNA, Kigoma Provincial Book; Fallentheyn, "Belbases in Tanzania".

36 NA-UK, CO.691/100/14: Request by Belgian Government for extension of concession of trade sites at Kigoma; TNA, Tang. Sec., 12912: Vol. I, Belgian Concessions at Kigoma (1927–1936).

37 TNA, Kigoma Provincial Book.

38 AAB, RA/R-U, 0b (24): Rapport sur la situation économique du district d'Udjidji [1918].

39 TNA, Kigoma Provincial Book.

around Lake Tanganyika until long after the decline of the Belgian base set in in the early 1930s.[40]

5.3 Formalized Convention, Privatized Concession

At the height of the Belbases' success, the concession over the sites was given to the ABEA. A management agreement was signed on 11 December 1929; the contract was approved by the Belgian and the British government and took effect on 31 January 1931.[41] At that time, however, nobody knew that the times of plenty were drawing to a close. Although the British welcomed the clarity of the new situation and the improved management expected from ABEA in comparison to the CFL,[42] the de facto privatization and formalization of the exploitation of the Belbases caused disputes about customs procedures, delays in clearing and handling shipments, unequal competition between private companies, and the demarcation of the Belgian premises in Kigoma.

The pragmatic or cooperative attitude of the 1920s was substituted for strict formalism in line with the letter of the 1921 convention. Only now did the British start to discover how much the convention actually entailed, while also firmly discarding what was at odds with it. The British complaints resonated with the sceptical positions that some Belgians had proclaimed since the early 1920s. In the end, the height of Belgian operations in Kigoma would also be a decisive turning point leading to a piecemeal Belgian withdrawal from Kigoma during the first half of the 1930s. By the end of 1931, the copper traffic through Kigoma drastically decreased from over 30,000 tonnes the previous year to 16,343 tonnes.[43] The Great Depression was not the only reason. It was also because newer, cheaper, and faster – in short, better – connections linking mineral-rich Katanga with the Atlantic ports in the Belgian Congo and Portuguese Angola became available at about this time.[44] Kigoma's Indian merchants, whose businesses had branches along the lake in Bujumbura and Rumonge, suffered a chain of bankruptcies in

40 Geert Castryck, "Spheres of Life and Scales of Action among Gujarati and Omani Merchants in the African Great Lakes Region, 1920s–1930s", *Itinerario* 47, no. 1 (2023): 59–75.

41 AAB, FRED, 1180: Organisation douanière Ruanda Urundi, 13 janvier 1931; AAB, AE/II, 2948 (717), Concessions belges à Dar es Salaam et à Kigoma; NA-UK, CO.691/109/10, Concessions to Belgian Government at Kigoma and Dar es Salaam, 1930; TNA, Tang. Sec., 19652: Traffic through Belgian leased sites at Dar es Salaam and Kigoma, vol. I.

42 NA-UK, CO.691/109/10: Concessions to Belgian Government at Kigoma and Dar es Salaam, 1930.

43 AAB, FRED, 1181 (9): Renseignements statistiques. Documentation, 1931.

44 Piet Clement, "Het bezoek van Koning Albert I aan Belgisch Congo, 1928: Tussen propaganda en realiteit", *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Nieuwste Geschiedenis* 37, nos. 1–2 (2007): 178–183.

the first half of the 1930s,[45] while local trade around the lake also suffered heavily due to a combination of economic crisis, locusts, and drought.[46] Taking place simultaneously, the effects of an already raging global economic crisis were further exacerbated by the partial Belgian retreat from Kigoma. As had been the case in the second half of the nineteenth century in Ujiji,[47] the boom in long-distance trade in interwar Kigoma was short-lived. Kigoma fell back on its role as regional trade centre for the people living around the lake and the Belgian bases became the transit sites that the British and some Belgians had wished them to be from the very beginning.

This decline is remarkably evident in the Belgian, British, and Tanganyikan archives. Whereas a wealth of files on the Belgian bases is available for the 1920s and early 1930s, the source base all but vanishes by the mid-1930s. The Belgians in Kigoma left hardly any traces in the archives between 1935 and 1950, apart from some necessary revisions of old policy measures or contracts that had to be adapted to new uncertain circumstances,[48] a handful of references to tensions regarding the war effort in the early 1940s,[49] and the occasional Belgian representative in the Kigoma Township Authority.[50] Except for the obvious continuation of the local administration of the urban area, Kigoma as such also virtually disappeared from the archives, which indicates that the town was no longer considered as of special interest by administrators in London, Brussels, or even Dar es Salaam. This situation lasted until the 1950s, when some activity around the port of Kigoma could once again be discerned, but Kigoma would never again reach the promising dynamics of 1930.[51] The turning point for Kigoma was 1930 to 1931. In the following pages, we take a look at the changes and disputes that occurred during this time.

At the beginning of 1930, the Belgians requested the British government's formal approval in order to give the port sites in Kigoma and Dar es Salaam by concession to the ABEA. This coincided with, on the one hand, some British grudging when they understood that the Belgians could and did use their base in Kigoma as the de facto port of entry into Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, and, on the

45 Castryck, "Spheres of Life".

46 TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1931, p. 14; TNA, Kigoma Regional Office (523), M5/23: Food Shortage – Kigoma, Letter from District Commissioner Kigoma to Provincial Commissioner Tabora and Kigoma Provinces, 9 February 1932.

47 Brown, "Ujiji"; Gooding, *On the Frontiers*, especially 89–91. Also see Chapter 3.

48 TNA, 63.L.2/354: Kigoma Township Plots, Vol. II: 1937–1958; Fallentheyn, "Belbases in Tanzania".

49 TNA, Tang. Sec., 12912: Vol II: Belgian Concessions at Kigoma (1941); AAB, AE/II, 3289 (1857–1858): Accords Milner-Orts.

50 TNA, Tang. Sec., 19408: Kigoma Township Authority, vol. II: 1941–1953.

51 TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District 1950, 5; 1953, 5; 1955, 6 and 9.

other, the Belgian announcement that they were considering further expanding the customs activities at Kigoma, thereby turning the Belgian base into the de jure port of entry. Given an already existing British dissatisfaction, this only worsened the situation.[52] Practical, legal, and economic arguments came together in a discussion that would last until 1932, but by then, the economic and commercial situation on local and global scales had become a profoundly different one.

Belgians had already been discussing the use – or uselessness – of their bases since the early 1920s. By the end of the decade, at a time when the port of Kigoma grew spectacularly, some British also started reflecting on the best ways to organize traffic and the limited space at the port of Kigoma. A couple of months before the Belgians gave their bases by concession to the ABEA, the general manager of Tanganyika Railways, Colonel Geoffrey A. P. Maxwell, had listed the problems and opportunities in Kigoma, albeit seen from his particular point of view. The port of Kigoma had become a bottleneck and was too small to absorb the rapidly increasing flows of goods. In his view, the most convenient solution was for the Belgians to use their base as a transit port only, in other words, to ship everything as quickly as possible across the lake or in the opposite direction to the coast – on his trains. In his opinion, the main cause of the delays in the Kigoma port was the inefficient, if not incompetent, operation of the port by the commercial company CFL in combination with allegedly time-consuming Belgian customs formalities, which made Kigoma a port of entry into Congo and Ruanda-Urundi instead of a mere transit site. He was convinced that using of the port as a transit site had always been the intended and still the only appropriate practice for the Belgian port sites. Therefore, he called for the use of Kigoma's Belbase as a transit site only, for an efficient management under – the Belgian – government control, and for a better physical organization of the harbour with fences around the Belgian site.[53]

Undoubtedly, his envisaged reorganization would have served the needs and interests of the railway company. However, he overlooked the economic and commercial interests involved in the transhipment and clearing activities taking place in Kigoma. Much more than threatening the port and rail activity, the formalities in Kigoma constituted the economic backbone of Kigoma's commercial sector. The primarily British, in these imperial times including Indian, enterprises

52 AAB, AE/II, 2948 (717): Concessions belges à Dar es Salaam et Kigoma; AAB, FRED, 1180: Lettre du Gouverneur Général du Congo belge au Ministre des Colonies, 27 février 1931 (with three annexes); NA-UK, CO.691/109/10: Concessions to Belgian Government at Kigoma and Dar es Salaam, 1930; NA-UK, CO.691/115/8: Letter from the Belgian Chief Comptroller of customs at Kigoma to the Head of customs of Tanganyika Territory at Dar es Salaam, 27 December 1929.

53 NA-UK, CO.691/109/10: Letter from the General Manager of Tanganyika Railways to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Dar es Salaam, 24 October 1929.

of Kigoma depended heavily on the activities relating to handling, clearing, and forwarding in the Belgian port. It was in the British interest that more than only taking goods from train to ship and from ship to train happened in Kigoma. This shared interest between Belgian and British companies and authorities also explains why nobody until that point had felt the need to fence off the Belgian port.

Ironically, the Belgians seemed to have overlooked the same issue, albeit from another angle. The economic opportunities would drastically decrease not only if the port were to become a mere transit site but also if the whole site were to come under the monopoly of a single private company. The management was expected to be more efficient through the ABEA concession, but at the same time the direct government control was reduced and distrust amongst commercial competitors complicated the handling and clearing activities of all companies other than ABEA. The Belgians had underestimated how the ABEA concession would create a monopoly situation at the expense of other firms in Kigoma.

Two records in the colonial archives of the Belgian customs and foreign affairs together with two notes in the British archives of the Colonial Office give an insightful analysis of the conflict between Belgians and British that arose at the time the Belgians expressed their intention to give the Belbases by concession to ABEA and to concentrate their customs for entry into East Congo and Ruanda-Urundi in Kigoma.[54] In a letter from the British Embassy in Brussels to the Belgian minister of foreign affairs, the British Foreign Office accuses the Belgians of contravening the Anglo-Belgian Convention of 15 March 1921.[55] According to the British, the Belgians were not entitled to levy customs duties on British soil. Since Kigoma was situated in British territory and entirely surrounded either by British territory or British waters, performing Belgian customs formalities in the port of Kigoma was allegedly in breach of territorial sovereignty. Moreover, in their reading, Article 2 of the convention expressly forbid all “customs duty or other similar duties” as well as “any delays or unnecessary restrictions” for goods in transit across East Africa. The exemption of customs duties was, moreover, reiterated specifically for the port of Kigoma in Article 9 of the convention. The Belgian government disagreed and argued that the Orts-Milner Agreement was nothing more and nothing less than a limitation of British sovereignty in the Belgian-

54 AAB, AE/II, 2948 (717): Concessions belges à Dar es Salaam et Kigoma; AAB, FRED, 1180: Divers Kigoma, 1929–1958; NA-UK, CO.691/109/10: Note by Brigade-General Hammond to Under-Secretary of State Colonial Office, 31 March 1930; NA-UK, CO.691/115/8: Note by Under-Secretary of State Colonial Office, 2 May 1931.

55 AAB, AE/II, 2948 (717): Letter from the British Ambassador to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, 18 August 1930. Same letter in: NA-UK, CO.691/109/10: Concessions to Belgian Government at Kigoma and Dar es Salaam, 1930.

leased sites in Kigoma and Dar es Salaam. The convention limited the British not the Belgian right to levy duties on goods in transit to and from Congo and Ruanda-Urundi.[56]

Interestingly, the weaknesses of each side's own positions were discussed openly in the confidential correspondence on both sides but not communicated to the other. Despite the initial strong accusation, the British soon understood that the Belgians were probably right. Rather than admitting this, they tried to reach the desired outcome based on practical and economic considerations instead of legal and political ones. The Belgians were quite confident that they were right but also aware that the weakness in their position derived from the fact that the convention strictly speaking only applied to goods in transit through and not from or to East Africa. They had no solution for regional trade around the lake or goods otherwise coming from or going to the British territories in East Africa. As long as Belgians and British, convinced of their shared interests, had conducted business in a pragmatic way throughout the 1920s, this distinction was not made and complications were thereby avoided for all parties involved. Once the formalist legal card was played, the situations changed completely. Clarity was detrimental to the successful operation of the inland Indian Ocean port at Kigoma.

Apart from the Belgian and British authorities, the private firms constituted the third party operating in and around Kigoma. For a number of reasons, they did not like the Belgian idea of concentrating customs in Kigoma and they opposed the ABEA concession. They knew that there was nothing legally wrong with this concession per se. Nevertheless, they considered the combination with the envisaged obligatory customs formalities, which would have to take place within the ABEA-run Belbase, indeed questionable. For more than two years, the British authorities continued to receive private complaints. They distrusted the semi-official status of their competitor, whom they could not avoid when trading through or handling in the Belgian bases. That the ABEA had secured the monopoly on certain activities in the port was one thing, but that for the sake of customs formalities, other agents would have to disclose their invoices and hence their business secrets was inadmissible. What is more, when the effects of the Great Depression struck ever harder and made all business activities difficult, the private companies requested the same tariffs and exemptions as the traffic through the Belgian sites in order to circumvent them in a still profitable way. The British authorities were not willing to grant them services that would cost money to the

56 AAB, AE/II, 2948 (717): Lettre du Ministre des Colonies au Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, 19 novembre 1930; NA-UK, CO.691/109/10: Letter from Under-Secretary of State Foreign Office to Under-Secretary of State Colonial Office, 18 June 1930; NA-UK, CO.691/115/8: Concessions to Belgian Government at Kigoma and Dar es Salaam, 1931.

government. Nevertheless, the whole situation did lead to the perceived necessity of more clearly distinguishing between and demarcating the Belgian and the British parts of the port, hence undoing the territorial ambiguity on the ground.[57]

Yet, if customs procedures had to take place in the ABEA-run Belbase as was envisaged by the Belgian authorities anyway, not much would be gained with a British "open" port. The catch-22 situation in Kigoma was the simultaneous decision to give the port by concession to ABEA and to concentrate customs in the port. The Belgians had hoped to save costs by concentrating all customs formalities for trade with East Congo and Ruanda-Urundi via Lake Tanganyika in one place. In the 1920s, a hybrid situation had existed, necessitating customs stations in the lake ports of Albertville, Uvira, and Kigoma, while leaving ambiguities in Bujumbura, Nyanza-Lac, Rumonge, and Baraka. Until 1923, everything had taken place in a legal vacuum. From then onwards, imports into Congo could be cleared in Kigoma, but this was not compulsory. Traders could freely decide whether they opted for Kigoma, Albertville or Uvira – in other words, between clearing before or after crossing the lake. For exports from Congo, Kigoma was not authorized as a customs station.

One year later, the same regulation also applied for Ruanda-Urundi, although there was de facto no operational customs office on the lake in Urundi that could have served as an alternative for Kigoma. In 1927, a new ordinance by the governor of Ruanda-Urundi stated that all customs clearing to and from Ruanda-Urundi via Lake Tanganyika must take place in Kigoma. This situation was both expensive and complicated. By the late 1920s, the Belgian customs authorities were investigating the centralization of their dealings for traffic via Lake Tanganyika in one place. That place could only be Kigoma's Belbase, because it was the only location where one could reasonably expect all goods to and from East Congo and Ruanda-Urundi to pass through. Yet, not all were in favour of this solution. Firstly, it would make the existing installation in Albertville obsolete, secondly, the port of Kigoma was deemed too small – an argument also expressed by the British –, and thirdly, a growing number of Belgian expats living and working in Kigoma would benefit to the British. Moreover, on the one hand, trade to and from British East Africa was excluded from the Belbase privileges. On the other hand, the Belgians were not allowed to operate outside of the Belbases. Therefore, to impose all customs formalities in Kigoma would require lenience from the British, who were no longer willing to grant it.

57 NA-UK, CO.691/121/8: Belgian leased sites at Dar es Salaam and Kigoma, 1932; NA-UK, CO.691/127/6, Belgian leased sites at Dar es Salaam and Kigoma, 1933.

In the end, although the Belgians had international law on their side, customs have never concentrated in Kigoma. On the contrary, on 25 August 1931, the Belgians declared that the customs station in Kigoma would be closed completely in 1932.[58] The Banque du Congo Belge in Kigoma closed on 30 September 1934,[59] the wireless telegraph station was dismantled, and by early 1933, only four Belgians still resided in Kigoma. Meanwhile, the Belgian base was still there and handling most of the traffic going through Kigoma. But apart from that, the Belgian presence in town decreased rapidly and drastically and seemed to have been reduced to the annual laying of a wreath on the Belgian cenotaph on Armistice Day.[60] The next time the archival sources make mention of the Belgian base in Kigoma was in 1937 when the Belgian authorities put their warehouses at the disposal of the Tanganyika Railways Administration.[61] The days in which the Belgians lacked space in their concessions were far gone. The remaining – primarily Indian – businesspeople in town renegotiated their ground tax obligations, indicating that the economic opportunities in Kigoma no longer allowed them to pay what had seemed reasonable in the late 1920s. The provincial commissioner of the Western Province agreed that there were no grounds to levy ground rents in Kigoma, which were twice as high as, for instance, in Mwanza at Lake Victoria, and stated that "[i]t is quite obvious that the former prosperity as a railhead will never return to Kigoma".[62]

Yet again, irony and history go together well. As soon as the extraterritorial half-sovereignty was formally acknowledged, it no longer worked. Although the Belgians had an extraordinary array of extraterritorial rights at their disposal throughout the 1920s, all parties involved in the port of Kigoma improvised pragmatically without bothering too much about the full extent of the Belgian legal prerogatives. A mishmash of customs regulations coexisted, port and railway premises were not clearly demarcated, and an informal openness allowed everyone everywhere to do all that was needed to make the port run smoothly. This mode of operation had turned the Indian Ocean port of Kigoma into a functioning Belgian enclave that was still perceived as British by the British. When the Belgians tried to formalize customs regulations and the utilization of the port, the extraordinary scope of their extraterritorial rights was disclosed in principle but

58 AAB, AE/II, 2948 (717): Note – Dédouanement des marchandises à Kigoma: Rétroactes de la question; Ordonnance 25 août 1931, N°64/DOU.

59 TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1934, 20.

60 BLCAS, MSS. Afr. s. 503: John Rooke Johnston, Kigoma District – Handing Over Report, 1940.

61 NA-UK, CO.691/154/6: Tanganyika Railways use of Belgian leased sites at Dar es Salaam and Kigoma, 1937.

62 TNA, 63.L.2/354: Minutes by the Governor, 22 March 1937.

instantly closed in practice. There was one legal loophole – the exclusion of trade to and from East Africa from the Belgian extraterritorial rights – but in the end, the economic and practical objections turned out to be the most decisive.

Despite the ultimate failure, I claim that the Belgian base in Kigoma during this episode can be characterized as a portal of globalization, "where institutions and practices for dealing with global connectedness have been developed".[63] The territorial ambiguity during the 1920s had been one not only of Belgian extraterritorial presence in Kigoma but also of pragmatism in the operation of the port itself. The Belgian site had not been fenced off, which actually extended the territorial ambiguity into the entire port. The territorial ambivalence was effective as long as it was also allowed in the operation of the port itself, and there lies the – although only short-lived – innovativeness in dealing with and thereby facilitating global interaction.

5.4 Coda

After the relatively brief phase of ambivalence and success, the Belbases continued to operate under the 1921 agreement as modest port facilities under concession to the Belgian company ABEA, later renamed AMI (*Agence Maritime Internationale*). The "goldy" phase would never return, but irony would strike again after the independence of Tanganyika/Tanzania, Burundi, Congo, and Rwanda. As legal heirs to the Anglo-Belgian agreement, these four states became parties to the agreement, which under international law continued to exist. As they never reached an agreement on how to deal with these peculiar international port privileges, the AMI concession continued until 31 December 1995, which means that a formal Belgian presence in Kigoma – albeit under the guise of a concession to a private company – lasted 80 odd years, considerably longer than Belgium's colonial history and twice as long as the British rule over Kigoma-Ujiji.

63 Middell and Naumann, "Global history", 162–163.

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".

7 East-West, North-South: Between National, Regional, and International

The post-independence period in Kigoma-Ujiji could be described as a protracted liminal phase, with global transformations being imposed upon the town again and again, confronting the place and its people with uncertain outcomes. Until recently, the town seemed squeezed between two parallel forces. On the one hand, national political programmes positioning Tanzania vis-à-vis an ideologically and economically East-West-defined world had a direct bearing on Kigoma region and town, including an accelerated urbanization in the form of rural-urban migration. On the other hand, protracted warfare in neighbouring East Congo and Burundi – partly affected by violent conflict in Rwanda, as well – placed an additional burden on the region and town of Kigoma. War refugees as well as international organizations coming in their wake produced a permanent stress as well as an incessant demographic growth and increase of international presence in Kigoma for about half a century.

Schematically, one could argue that the political economies of the caravan trade complex and of colonization in combination with urbanization on the move which gave rise to the urban area towards the end of the nineteenth century look similar to what happened since 1960: global economic and ideological pressure, protracted violence, urbanization, as well as the role of "international organizations", in the guise back then of missionary orders and geographic associations. Yet, whereas urbanization had been a coping strategy in the nineteenth century and arguably still was for many thousands of people moving to and through Kigoma-Ujiji a century later, the urbanites already living in town – the town itself, so to speak, which did not yet exist until the last quarter of the nineteenth century – now had to face the problems posed by political impositions coming from national as well as international levels and by rapid urbanization coming from the surrounding region as well as from across the national borders. While Kigoma-Ujiji remained a liminal town, where hundreds of thousands of people moved to and through in search for a way out of distress, the town as such was burdened with transformations coming from all cardinal directions.

In this chapter, I first reconstruct the impact of national politics on Kigoma-Ujiji against the backdrop of global evolutions in the half century after 1960. Thereafter, I explain how refugees and – governmental and non-governmental – international organizations that are committed to the relief of these refugees altered the town of Kigoma-Ujiji in the same period. Finally, I sketch how an interplay between international concerns and local appropriation occurred also in

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other domains. Here, I focus in particular on the opportunities and drawbacks of the heritagization of Kigoma's history, linking up with the global or external perceptions of Kigoma-Ujiji introduced in Chapter 2. The subsequent chapter, then, provides a view from the inside in the form of a longue-durée and spatial reading of how one and a half century of history is made sense of in the present, thus offering an alternative narrative of how people in Kigoma-Ujiji deal with the challenges of the present that are presented in the current chapter.

7.1 Global Ideologies and National Politics

After Tanganyika gained independence in 1961, the TANU rank and file soon no longer reflected the profile of the TANU militants of "Manyema" origin – by then understood as stemming from the caravan trade complex and from around the lake alike – who had been active in Kigoma-Ujiji in the 1950s (see Chapter 6). The Muslim core from around Lake Tanganyika, which had controlled TANU branches in Kigoma-Ujiji and even delivered the first African mayor of Dar es Salaam, Shaykh Amri Abedi, was now overshadowed on the national level by a Western-educated, predominantly Christian apparatus that was more confined to the national territory than TANU in Kigoma-Ujiji had ever been.[1] For sure, the role of Western-educated elites and colonial servants had already been important for TANU before independence,[2] and, granted, TANU tried to strike a balance between Christian and Muslim functionaries.[3] Yet, this was to a large extent also a mainland-coastal balance, while within the territory of Tanganyika, Kigoma-Ujiji was – spatially – as far removed from the coast as can be. When the federation of Tanganyika and Zanzibar was instituted as Tanzania in 1964 or when TANU merged with the Zanzibari Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) to form Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) in 1977, the weight of Muslims within the one-party state or the awareness of the connection between the coast and the mainland, which had been cru-

1 Iliffe, *A Modern History*, 551–552 and 570. Also see Mohamed Said, *The Life and Times of Abdulwahid Sykes (1924–1968): The Untold Story of the Muslim Struggle Against British Colonialism in Tanganyika* (London: Minverva, 1998); Abdin N. Chande, "Muslims and modern education in Tanzania", *Journal of the Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs* 14, nos. 1–2 (1993): 1–16. On Shaykh Amri Abedi, see McHenry, "Tanzania: The Struggle for Development", 81–82.

2 Andreas Eckert, *Herrschen und Verwalten: Afrikanische Bürokraten, staatliche Ordnung und Politik in Tanzania, 1920– 1970* (München: Oldenbourg, 2014), 80–93 and 167–216.

3 Roman Loimeier, "Perceptions of Marginalization: Muslims in Contemporary Tanzania" in *Islam and Muslim Politics in Africa*, (eds.) Benjamin F. Soares and René Otayek (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 137–156.

cial for the ASP in Zanzibar could have risen.[4] But none of this fundamentally influenced the position of the faraway town of Kigoma-Ujiji. Here, the peak of Ujiji's power in the decolonization and incipient nationalization movement was reached around 1960. The transnational urban Muslim core of TANU was soon overshadowed by an ethnic-territorial and rural force symbolized by the Jiji *mwami* George Batega Rusimbi winning the parliamentary seat for Kigoma in 1965.[5] Meanwhile, the party, and Nyerere in particular, remained proponents of Pan-Africanism; but this was carried out instead on the international level, whereas domestic politics prioritized territorial nation-building and national development.

It was not so much the fact that many of the TANU cells were led by Muslims per se but the fact that they were strongly connected across territorial boundaries around the lake as well as to the coast that had characterized their operation in the years leading up to independence. These translocal border-crossing networks, which were strongly developed in Kigoma-Ujiji and reminiscent of the web that had been covered by the caravan trade complex in the nineteenth century, lost political clout within post-independence Tanganyika/Tanzania – although they would reappear in another form when war refugees crossed the border in the decades to come.

Although – as we have seen in the previous chapter – the township of Kigoma-Ujiji was created in 1963 and thus for the first time had a single local administration for the whole urban area, the logic of nation-building and national development implied that the town was approached as an integral part of the wider region of Kigoma, not unlike under British Native Administration. Moreover, these national policy lines did not prioritize urban development either.

7.1.1 African Socialism

When President Julius K. Nyerere pronounced his Arusha Declaration in 1967 in which he announced the implementation of a policy of African Socialism (*Ujamaa*), his primary target was rural areas.[6] While the international context was determined by the Cold War and by largely accomplished decolonization – at least in the

4 Michael F. Lofchie, *Zanzibar: Background to Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965); Abdul Sheriff, "Race and Class in the Politics of Zanzibar", *Africa Spectrum* 36, no. 3 (2001): 301–318; Glasmann, *War of Words*.

5 McHenry, "Tanzania: the Struggle for Development", 82.

6 For a thorough analysis of TANU giving priority to rural development and being hostile to urban growth, see James R. Brennan, "Blood Enemies: Exploitation and Urban Citizenship in the Nationalist Political Thought of Tanzania, 1958–75", *The Journal of African History* 47, no. 3 (2006): 389–413.

narrow sense of flag independence – Nyerere opted for a non-aligned course, developing a leftist programme independent from the Soviet bloc. Development (*maendeleo*), self-reliance (*kujitegemea*), and brotherhood (*ujamaa*) were the core tenets of Nyerere's African Socialism, understood as a modern communalism in direct continuity with precolonial African ways of life.[7] African Socialism, thus, was not an ideology imported or appropriated from Europe but explained as a genuine African communalism apt to modernization. Moreover, the Tanzanian brand of African Socialism – coined *Ujamaa* – was discursively promoted as genuinely Tanzanian, hence as a nation-building device.[8] The narrative of the precolonial authenticity made it seem natural to pick rural development as the starting point for a modernizing African Socialism. Moreover, Tanzania was at the time demographically still a primarily rural country, which further underpinned the rural priority in Nyerere's African Socialism. Paradoxically, this focus on rural development would spur rapid urbanization and thus also affect Kigoma-Ujiji.

Under the ideal of *Ujamaa*, Tanzania embarked on a villagization project that was meant to modernize agriculture and to provide modern infrastructure and facilities for rural areas. Concentrating habitations in rural areas was a precondition for provisioning healthcare, education, electricity, water etc. on a sufficiently large scale. The expectation was that such large villages would help to establish collective agriculture.[9] After an experimental phase, during which villagization was voluntary, the government decided to enforce villagization in 1973. Operation Kigoma was one of the first and largest instances of forced villagization.[10] The rural region of Kigoma was relatively densely populated and economically disadvantaged since colonial times. Labour migration out of the Kigoma Region to sisal plantations on the coast had been a way to exploit this economic and demo-

7 Eric Burton, "Review Article: Sovereignty, Socialism and Development in Postcolonial Tanzania", *Stichproben: Wiener Zeitschrift für kritische Afrikastudien* 31, no. 16 (2016): 109–126; Burton, *In Diensten des Afrikanischen Sozialismus*, 61.

8 Emma Hunter, "Revisiting Ujamaa: Political Legitimacy and the Construction of Community in Post-Colonial Tanzania", *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 2, no. 3, (2008): 471–485.

9 Helge Kjekshus, "The Tanzanian Villagization Policy: Implementational Lessons and Ecological Dimensions", *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 11, no. 2 (1977): 269–282; James Scott, "Chapter 7. Compulsory Villagization in Tanzania: Aesthetics and Miniaturization" in James Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 223–261.

10 Kjell J. Havnevik, *Tanzania: The Limits of Development from Above* (Uppsala: Nordic Africa Institute, 1993), 206; Priya Lal, *African Socialism in Postcolonial Tanzania* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 73; McHenry, "Concentrations and Ujamaa Villages", 54–59.

graphic pressure on the region under British rule.[11] Nyerere, on the contrary, wanted to promote development in the region itself.

Unfortunately, the villagization programme failed miserably. Distances to the fields, peasants prioritizing privately owned plots of land, the unwillingness of farmers to abide by obligations in which they, borne of their experience with the environment, did not believe, a reluctance to move away from permanent crops such as banana trees, the violence used by official and paramilitary forces to enforce people to move to the *Ujamaa* villages, and perhaps also to some extent the arrival of hundreds of thousands of refugees from Burundi after the genocidal confrontations in 1971 to 1972, to which I return in the next subchapter, provide a range of reasons why Operation Kigoma failed. On top of that, infrastructure and facilities were not provided as promised.[12] I will not dig deeper into the rural villagization programme as such but instead turn to its fallout for urban Kigoma-Ujiji.

The *Ujamaa* policy affected the town in three ways. First of all, urban development was not high on the agenda and hence not promoted for decades. Secondly, the promotion of agricultural development did have a direct impact on Kigoma-Ujiji all the same, in the often-neglected domain of urban agriculture. As we have seen in previous chapters, the Luiche valley near Kigoma-Ujiji was a particularly fertile area and this was one of the fundamental reasons why a town developed there in the first place. This fertile area was a preferential focus for the villagization project, if only because economic success was relatively easy to achieve. Some fishing villages within the urban area were included in the villagization as well; both Bangwe and Kibirizi became *Ujamaa* development villages.[13]

Agricultural and fishery development in Kigoma-Ujiji had precursors in colonial times, with a Ha workforce in the Luiche delta, with "following the fish" being a prime motivation for moving to Kigoma-Ujiji since time immemorial,[14] and with the establishment of fishing cooperatives towards the end of the colonial

11 Sago, "A Labour Reservoir"; Jack Wayne, "Colonialism and underdevelopment in Kigoma region, Tanzania: a social structural view", *Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue canadienne de sociologie* 12, no. 3 (1975): 316–332.

12 McHenry, "Concentrations and Ujamaa Villages", 54–59; N. Ernest Maganya, "Kigoma: From a Labour Reserve to a Cash Crop Growing Area, a Case Study of the Process of Internalization of Capitalist Relations in Peasant Societies", BA dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam – Department of Sociology, March 1977, 40–50; Edward T.K. Kadiri, "The Co-operative Movement in Tanzania: its Economic and Social Implications for Kigoma Region", University of Dar es Salaam – Faculty of Law, Third year university examinations, March 1974, 128.

13 Ishengoma, "The Impact of Capital Penetration", 72.

14 Makowe, "Urban history: the case for Ujiji", University of Dar es Salaam – Department of History (supervised by G.T. Mishambi), March 1980, 7.

period. However, Operation Kigoma attempted to interfere in the asymmetric relations between owners of agricultural plots and fishing equipment, on the one hand, and those who did the work on the land and the lake, on the other. Complaints about the exploitation of Ha labourers on land owned by people from Ujiji had already surfaced in colonial times.[15] Attention to capital-labour relations in the fishing industry became the object of research at the time of the *Ujamaa* politics. Although the fishing cooperatives, whereby Africans in the fishing sector self-organized vis-à-vis European and Indian economic and commercial dominance, had been seen as an emancipating movement during colonial times, criticism arose during *Ujamaa* times.[16] When it comes to *dagaa* fishing – the most important fishing sector in the area –, what was needed was a combination of two or three boats, lamps to attract the *dagaa* to the surface, a fishing net, a helmsman, and paddlers. Moreover, the *dagaa* had to be sundried and, in the end, marketed. In the actual operation, though,

> [t]he owners of the boats do not actually do the fishing. The fishermen come mostly from the rural areas as casual labour. They [. . .] have no dealing in the drying and hand processing of the fish. Another group of exploiters in the dagaa business are the drying-ground owners who employ assistants to do the dagaa drying. After drying the boat owner comes in to the picture again. He is the one who sells the fish to the market. At this juncture he therefore commands importance in the whole business and actually buys membership in the cooperative society. But it is doubtful whether this man is really interested in the cooperative movement.[17]

The revenue primarily went to the owners of the equipment and the drying grounds. According to one scheme based on Bangwe and Kibirizi *Ujamaa* villages, the owners gained 60 percent of the revenue and the workforce 40 percent.[18] Boats mostly belonged to fishermen from Ujiji, whereas the labour force either lived in Bangwe and Kibirizi and came as seasonal labour from the Ha lands or were recruited amongst the Burundian refugees, above all from the Mpanda refugee camp.[19] We will learn more about these refugees in the next sub-chapter, but this depicting of labour relations in the fishing industry already makes clear how

15 TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District 1955, 27 (here mentioned in the context of Ha labourers no longer accepting this exploitation).

16 McHenry, "Tanzania: The Struggle for Development"; Kadiri, "The Co-operative Movement in Tanzania", 101–137.

17 University of Dar es Salaam – Bureau of Resource Assessment and Land Use Planning, "Research Report No 38 – Economic Report of Kigoma Region", October 1971, 17.

18 Ishengoma, "The Impact of Capital Penetration", 52.

19 Ishengoma, "The Impact of Capital Penetration", 72. Also see Interview KU18, Mwanga, 22 June 2012.

agricultural politics and refugees from neighbouring countries are not only outside influences on the urban area but deeply entangled with urban dynamics.

Thirdly, and for Kigoma-Ujiji perhaps most importantly, the failure of the villagization programme in the Kigoma region boosted rural-urban migration,[20] leading both to demographic growth and to a shift in the composition of the urban population towards a significantly larger share of Ha people, the dominant ethnic group in the Kigoma region to which also the Jiji belong.

Additionally, the widespread perception in the town was that government officials in Kigoma were predominantly imported from other parts of the country, comparable with the Christian-educated rank and file overshadowing the urbane Swahili network within TANU mentioned above. The two evolutions combined – Ha rural-urban migration and officials from other parts of the country – led to a relative loss of precedence for the original urban population of Kigoma-Ujiji, originating either from around Lake Tanganyika or from Manyema.[21] I return to this issue in the next chapter. What matters now is the feeling of neglect and sidelining shared by urbanites, above all in Ujiji.[22] This did not get better when privatization took the place of African Socialism in the neoliberal age after *baba ya taifa* (the father of the nation) Nyerere passed the presidency on to Ali Hassan Mwinyi in 1985.

7.1.2 The Neoliberal Age

Across the African continent, the 1980s were characterized by an international neoliberal blast forcing African states to "structurally adjust" in order to have access to the financial markets. After the failure of the villagization programme, partly because of a lack of means to deliver what was envisaged (partly also because of misconceptions in the programme itself),[23] Tanzania was forced to further reduce government spending. A lot has been said about the World Bank's Structural Adjustment Programmes and their devastating impact on African

20 For the experience of a growing agglomeration because of refugees, see Interview KU20, Ujiji, 22 June 2012.

21 For the dominant position of functionaries from elsewhere and the marginal position of Ha people in Ujiji in the 1960s, see Hino, "Social Stratification", 51–74, especially 65.

22 McHenry, "Tanzania: The Struggle", 22–23; Interview KU9, Ujiji, 15 September 2011; Interview KU19, Ujiji, 22 June 2012; Interview KU20, Ujiji, 22 June 2012; Interview KU22, Kigoma, 23 June 2012; Interview KU28, Katonga, 28 June 2012.

23 Scott, "Compulsory Villagization in Tanzania", 223–261.

states, societies, and economies.[24] In Tanzania, an already insufficient level of government spending was further decreased, and the most promising public companies were swiftly privatized or at least liberalized. With regard to the TAZARA railway connecting Dar es Salaam with the Zambian Copperbelt, which itself was the product of "Third World" socialist cooperation between China, Tanzania, and Zambia during the period of African Socialism, Jamie Monson has explained how liberalization policies drastically reduced access to the rail infrastructure for people living along – and living off – the TAZARA.[25] Meanwhile, the significantly older and less resource-relevant central railway connecting Dar es Salaam with Kigoma was neglected for several decades to the verge of decay. As late as 2007, the central railway was "finally" taken over by the Indian government enterprise RITES, only to be renationalized again a couple of years later because of lacking maintenance and structural dilapidation.[26] Investments in navigation infrastructure also date back to the African Socialism period, with, for instance, a Danish funded overhaul of the Liemba and the completion of a Finnish built ferry, both in the 1970s.[27] All in all, Tanzania's second president Ali Hassan Mwinyi, in fact, reversed Nyerere's African Socialism, although the national discourse of *Ujamaa*, *maendeleo* and *kujitegemea* was maintained. Given that more or less the same happened across the continent, perhaps Mwinyi did not really have another option. Notwithstanding, after a failed development programme followed a development concept that was destined to fail.

For urban Kigoma-Ujiji, this meant a perpetuation of the afflux of rural-urban migrants, a continuation of the absence of urban investments, and the steady decline in transportation services. This was the time when Sheryl McCurdy did her fieldwork in Kigoma-Ujiji. She captures the atmosphere of crisis in her dissertation and explains how the urban populace coped with the situation of neglect and deprivation. She was especially interested in health and medical facilities, with a special focus on female concerns relating to fertility.[28] Regardless of this highly interesting focus, the general context of crisis and neglect permeated all spheres of life. Mutual aid based on long-lasting experience combined with the

24 There is a wealth of critical literature about the ideological misconceptions of the World Bank's Structural Adjustment Programmes dating back to the first half of the 1990s. The systematic analysis of neoliberalism by James Ferguson is probably one of the best analyses of the intrinsic misconceptions; James Ferguson, *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

25 Jamie Monson, "Defending the people's Railway in the Era of Liberalization: TAZARA in Southern Tanzania", *Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute* 76, no. 1 (2006): 113–130.

26 Interview, KU21, Kigoma, 23 June 2012.

27 Interview, KU36, Kigoma, 20 July 2012.

28 McCurdy, "Transforming Associations".

mobilization of spiritual support had to compensate for the lack of sufficient medical facilities in a town the size of Kigoma-Ujiji, estimated at 100,000 inhabitants at the time.[29]

When I was in Kigoma-Ujiji, 20 odd years after McCurdy's fieldwork, medical care was still limited and the trip to the Muhimbili National Hospital in Dar es Salaam was often needed, a trip for which the transportation infrastructure was vital. With dysfunctional railway operations after decades of disinvestment and mismanagements, bus traffic over bumpy roads became the preferential and most affordable means of transportation. Chinese and French construction firms had only just begun building new road infrastructure.

7.1.3 Multi-Party Elections in a One-Party State?

At the beginning of this chapter, I have hinted at the unfulfilled possibility that the merging of Tanganyika and Zanzibar into Tanzania in 1964 or of TANU and ASP into CCM in 1977 could have led to an awareness for the relevance of people originating from further west on the mainland, a phenomenon that was accounted for by ASP on the isles of Zanzibar and thoroughly determined Kigoma-Ujiji, as well. It did not happen in the 1960s or 1970s. But once the global thrust towards "democratization" – formalized as multi-party elections – was also implemented in Tanzania in the early 1990s, it soon became clear that Kigoma-Ujiji and Zanzibar indeed had a lot in common. In both constituencies, CCM repeatedly lost elections. Kigoma-Ujiji turned out to be perhaps electorally closer to Zanzibar than any other constituency in the country, despite being physically the furthest removed.

The 1994 by-elections after the death of the CCM Member of Parliament for urban Kigoma led to a thriller already before the first multi-party elections in Tanzania in 1995. The election results as such seemed quite straightforward: the CCM candidate Azim Suleman Premji obtained 9,453 votes against 5,325 for the opposition candidate Dr. Aman Walid Kabourou (CHADEMA). However, the latter successfully challenged Premji's victory in court based on the unfair support Premji had received from government. The serving president had used government transport to support the candidate and Radio Tanzania had reported in a biased

29 McCurdy did her fieldwork in 1992 to 1993. Kigoma-Ujiji had a population of 84,704 at the time of the 1988 national census (see introduction).

way.[30] The 1995 general elections were imminent when the court ruling was confirmed by the Court of Appeal, which made new by-elections superfluous. During the general elections, however, the opposition candidate Kabourou won with a narrow margin of 49.7 to 48.9 percent against incumbent MP Premji.[31] This election result, too, was brought to court and annulled because of Kabourou's use of derogatory vocabulary against people of Indian descent, Premji being an Indian car dealer in Kigoma.[32] Notwithstanding, Kabourou won the general elections for the constituency of urban Kigoma in 2000 on a CHADEMA ticket. Five years later, however, he was sidelined by CHADEMA and joined CCM soon afterwards, which still caused contempt amongst interviewees in Kigoma-Ujiji several years later.[33]

By the time Kabourou died in 2018, this pattern had somehow repeated itself, with Zitto Zuberi Kabwe winning the new constituency of Kigoma North – urban Kigoma-Ujiji now consisting of two constituencies after the sustained growth of the population – for CHADEMA in 2010, yet being thrown out of the party on corruption allegations five years later.[34] Contrary to Kabourou, however, Kabwe managed to maintain his seat in parliament in 2015 as the sole representative of the new party ACT-Wazalendo (Alliance for Change and Transparency – *Chama cha Wazalendo*). After the 2020 elections, he remained a member of parliament, seeing his party grow to five seats in total. Overall, urban Kigoma has almost uninterruptedly voted opposition candidates to parliament, since the multi-party system was introduced in 1992. Even intrigues within opposition parties and changing party allegiances have not altered the trend of opposition victories in

30 "Elections that put Kabourou on Tanzania's political map", *The Citizen*, 11 March 2018, https://www.thecitizen.co.tz/tanzania/news/elections-that-put-kabourou-on-tanzania-s-political-map-2626108 (accessed 30 September 2024); Edwin Mtei, *From Goatherd to Governor: The Autobiography of Edwin Mtei* (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 2008), 200.

31 Reeves, Pamela, and Keith Klein, *Republic in transition: 1995 elections in Tanzania and Zanzibar – IFES Observation Report* (Washington: International Foundation for Election Systems, 1995), https://www.eisa.org/storage/2023/05/eom-report-1995-observation-report-zanzibar-ifes-eisa.pdf, 236 (accessed 30 September 2024).

32 See "Elections that put Kabourou on Tanzania's political map". Premji's father had been a representative of the Ismaili community in the Kigoma Township Authority in the 1950s. TNA, Tang. Sec. 19408: Kigoma Township Authority, vol. II: 1941–1953. For a broader analysis of tensions between African and Indian populations in Tanzania, primarily focusing on Dar es Salaam, see James R. Brennan, *Taifa: Making nation and race in urban Tanzania* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012).

33 Interview, KU28, Katonga, 28 June 2012.

34 For more information on the sacking of Zitto Kabwe from CHADEMA, https://mtega.wordpress.com/2013/11/24/collected-articles-on-sacking-of-zitto-kabwe-from-chadema-positions/ (accessed 30 September 2024).

parliamentary elections – in a town that was a TANU stronghold during the decolonization period.

This may seem trivial but given the long history of Kigoma-Ujiji sketched so far, it is not. A global transformation or more precisely a national transformation of the political system in response to global changes and international pressure after the end of the Cold War was yet again shaped idiosyncratically and translocally in the case of Kigoma-Ujiji. The questions to be answered are what distinguishes Kigoma-Ujiji from those 50 odd other constituencies that went to opposition parties in 1995, on the one hand, and what makes this distinction translocal rather than merely local, on the other. Therefore, I go beyond the election results as such and have a closer look at the 1995 presidential elections by juxtaposing this with the dynamics apparent in Kigoma-Ujiji simultaneously.

In 1995, during the first multi-party elections since Tanzania was instituted in 1964, 46 direct and nine additional mandates for the Tanzanian parliament went to opposition candidates against 186 plus 28 for CCM. More than half of these opposition seats, however, went to candidates from the isles of Zanzibar, where the Civic United Front (CUF) gained 24 direct and four additional seats. Meanwhile, a quarter of a century later, CUF has lost clout in Zanzibar while on the mainland CHADEMA gradually established itself as the main opposition party. In 1995, however, we witness a combined success of both parties in the urban constituency of Kigoma-Ujiji: the CHADEMA candidate Kabourou won the seat in parliament and the CUF candidate for the presidency obtained a higher share of the votes than in any other constituency on the mainland, even more than any constituency on the primary Zanzibari isle of Unguja. Only on the secondary Zanzibari isle of Pemba did the CUF candidate register better results than in urban Kigoma. In the end, president Mkapa (CCM) obtained the highest number of votes in Kigoma-Ujiji (15,352). But the 16,038 combined votes of three opposition candidates surpassed Mkapa's, 10,188 of which went to Ibrahim Haruna Lipumba, the CUF candidate.[35] Why did this CUF candidate appeal to the citizens of urban Kigoma?

That Professor Lipumba, an economist trained at the universities of Dar es Salaam and Stanford, could be seen as a challenge to the aforementioned Christian-educated take-over of TANU is perhaps meaningful, but there is no reason to believe that this explains his electoral success in Kigoma-Ujiji.[36] However, as a Muslim born in the region of Tabora and leading the Zanzibari CUF party, he embodied the thread running across Tanzania from Indian Ocean islands into the interior – or the other way around – that reflects connectedness rather than terri-

35 Reeves and Klein, *Republic in transition*, 180.

36 Dr. Aman Walid Kabourou and Zitto Zuberi Kabwe also studied abroad.

toriality, the networks from the caravan trade complex rather than colonial and national state building.[37]

The widespread but concealed dissent against CCM politics and policy lines, which are blamed for having neglected the interests of Kigoma-Ujiji since independence, also shows outside of election periods.[38] Not only the words but also the setting of some interviews underscore how the hold of the CCM on town and country was appreciated. One interview took place in a relatively empty living room decorated with CCM posters and campaign materials. Nevertheless, after I had gone through the checklist of my semi-structured interview and asked my usual open closing question if there is anything important to add that had not been addressed so far, the informant – not devoid of a sarcastic tone – started to rant against politicians, the government, and CCM in particular. This put the CCM pictures on the wall in a different perspective. Trying to understand this apparent contradiction, I was told, off the record, that the posters indicated the acknowledgement of CCM's almightiness: people refrain from criticizing CCM in public, but CCM colours are not necessarily a sign of support.

This disconnect between public and hidden transcripts,[39] which hint at dissent and distrust within the urban populace, also surfaced in the religious domain. The early 1990s were a period of religious tension, just as the late 1970s had been after the failure of the villagization programme. Juxtaposing these two periods is useful to grasp the dynamics in the urban area.

In the late 1970s, the crisis had coincided with rural-urban migration, which incidentally raised the share of Christian population in the town as well as with factionalism within the Muslim community of Ujiji. Ujiji had been a hotbed of Qadiriyya Sufism since the 1920s at the latest,[40] and double roles had existed for government officials who were Qadiriyya leaders at the same time – e.g. Shaykh Muhamedi Nassoro who was also vice-governor in the late 1960s.[41] However, in the late 1970s, the Muslim community of Ujiji fell apart along lines of religious interpretation. While BAKWATA – the National Muslim Council of Tanzania – had

37 I have tried in vain to get in touch with him since 2021. I have not been able to reconstruct his family background.

38 Interviews in Kigoma-Ujiji, September 2011 and June to July 2012. Several interviewees gave their assessments of CCM off the record, but I prefer not to disclose the identity of those who spoke on the record either. Although Tanzania is a democracy and a multi-party state by now, the hold of the CCM is still so omnipresent that I do not want to take the risk of causing trouble for the people who were so kind to respond to my questions.

39 See James Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

40 Abel, *Les Musulmans noirs*; Nimtz, *Islam and Politics*, 58–60 and 88. Also see Chapter 6.

41 Interview KU2, Ujiji, 10 September 2011.

been founded on the national level in order to bring the interests of different Islamic denomination together, adherence to BAKWATA in Ujiji became a dividing line between those who stuck to the Central-African tradition within Qadiriyya to perform *zikri*, to play drums, and to include women, and those who followed the coastal influences more in tune with modern developments in the Islamic world at large.

In the first place, a divide sharpened within Qadiriyya between people who defended the ritual tradition for which Ujiji had become the point of reference for Muslims all over East Central Africa, and a more orthodox understanding and practice of Islam that was promulgated in the wider Islamic world and reached Ujiji from the coast. Felicitas Becker, focusing on Islamic funerary practices in Tanzania, framed the divide as one between the propitiation of the ancestors and of God, which can be connected to long-term interactions between Muslim and indigenous religious notions.[42] Shaykh Nassoro stood for the coastal Qadiriyya orientation and instituted *ijazah* to several followers while he was vice-governor of Kigoma.[43] He insisted on separating men and women and to stopping the playing of the drums. Shaykh Abdul Muhsin Kitumba, who had represented the Uwaysiyya branch of the Qadiriyya *tariqa* since around 1930 (see Chapter 6), joined this Qadiriyya reorientation.[44] Long-standing dynasties of Qadiriyya scholarship in Ujiji, above all three generations of leadership by the Kiumbe family, opposed the reforms, leading to a split in 1978. Those who stuck to the long-standing traditions called themselves *Istiqama* – the straight or proper route, steadfastness or uprightness – thereby continuing female participation and the practice of *zikri*. They refused to join BAKWATA. Each faction argued that they were practicing the "right" Islam, but beneath the surface, the authority of Islamic leaders within Ujiji and the positionality of Ujiji for Muslims in the whole of East Central Africa were at stake. One of my informants stated that it was all about money,[45] but it has not been possible to trace the financial interests involved. There is no doubt, though, that power and influence at the very least played an important role.

Parallel to this inner-Qadiriyya split, Ansar al-Sunna, an even more orthodox, Saudi and Salafist influenced form of Islam, was introduced from Zanzibar around 1980. They propagate a "pure" Islam and refute both Qadiriyya and Istiqama. Their leader in Kigoma, Shaykh Kazema, is a local from the town and was

42 Felicitas Becker, "Islamic Reform and Historical Change in the Care of the Dead: Conflicts over Funerary Practice Among Tanzanian Muslims", *Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute* 79, no. 3 (2009): 416–434.

43 Interview KU2, Ujiji, 10 September 2011.

44 Interview KU3, Ujiji, 12 September 2011.

45 Interview KU1, Ujiji, 8 September 2011.

educated by Shaykh Kiumbe.[46] Taken together, these Islamic divides and reorientations reflect both divisions within the community and questions of priority: does the East-Central-African or the Islamic connection prevail, or put differently, the cohesion of the community, including women and ancestors, or the overarching connection to the worldwide Islamic community or Ummah and to Allah?

In the early 1990s, we again notice a coincidence between political dissension and religious division, this time both within and between Muslim and Christian communities. Contrary to the realignment in the late 1970s, in the early 1990s the divisions amongst Muslims became hostile, putting a stop to intermarriages – as had been the case around 1930, another time of crisis.[47] In an increasingly mixed town, where the Christian share of the population was growing, confrontations between Christians and Muslims also increased, including fierce prejudices against Muslims, accusing them of sorcery for instance.[48] One way to channel these confrontations were publicly organized theological debates or *Muhadharahs* between Christian and Muslim leaders, that took place in Kigoma-Ujiji from the mid-1990s.[49] Parallel to that, the mainline churches within the Christian community lost ground to pentecostalist churches, as can be observed across Africa, leading to tensions and prejudices amongst Christians as well.[50]

However, in dozens of interviews and conversations, nobody confirmed a link between religious and electoral dissent in Kigoma-Ujiji. Therefore, I will also not jump to conclusions in this regard as I am not able to substantiate a causation. I can only state the coincidence in a still ongoing process. There are, however, translocal or global parallels in each of these instances. The Muslim dynamics reflect phenomena that can be observed across East Africa and the Islamic World.[51] The Christian

46 Interview KU3, Ujiji, 12 September 2011; Interview KU12, Ujiji, 19 September 2011. Also see Roman Loimeier, "Zanzibar's geography of evil: the moral discourse of the Anṣār al-sunna in contemporary Zanzibar", *Journal for Islamic Studies* 31, no. 1 (2011): 4–28.

47 Interview KU3, Ujiji, 12 September 2011.

48 Informal conversation KU23, Kigoma, 23 June 2012; Informal conversation KU30, Ujiji & Mwanga, 4 July 2012.

49 Interview KU18, Mwanga, 22 June 2012; Interview KU19, Ujiji, 22 June 2012.

50 Informal conversation KU23, Kigoma, 23 June 2012. For an analysis of the appeal of pentecostalist churches, see Hansjörg Dilger, "Healing the Wounds of Modernity: Salvation, Community and Care in a Neo-Pentecostal Church in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania", *Journal of Religion in Africa* 37, no. 1 (2007): 59–83.

51 See Roman Loimeier, *Islamic Reform in Twentieth-Century Africa* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016) and Felicitas Becker, "Introduction: 'Performing citizenship and enacting exclusion on Africa's Indian Ocean littoral", *The Journal of African History* 55, no. 2 (2014): 161–171.

developments also reflect dynamics that occur across Africa.[52] These parallels cannot be reduced to some kind of global determinism. But we can discern translocal dynamics, where the local and the global are connected and local problems are tackled drawing on dynamics on other scales.

Overall, we observe that Kigoma-Ujiji underwent global transformations and resultant local problems from the time of African Socialism to the neoliberal age and the multi-party system, but transformations were also idiosyncratically and translocally appropriated, displaying an electoral profile that is unique to the Tanzanian mainland and, paradoxically, combines a remote position on the map with connectedness across and beyond the national territory. Likewise, we observe convoluted entanglements between local or regional concerns and global influences in the religious sphere.

7.2 Regional Refugees and International Interference

Parallel to the narrative from African Socialism over neoliberal obsessions to a multiparty system, Kigoma-Ujiji was also confronted with several critical periods in which hundreds of thousands of refugees arrived from neighbouring Congo/Zaire and Burundi.[53] At the same time, Kigoma was used as a strategic site from where warfare was coordinated and launched by foreign actors and as a location for international organizations to arrange refugee relief operations. All of these forces came from outside Kigoma and even outside Tanzania, but seriously affected the town – and the region – of Kigoma, which was simultaneously trying to cope with the globally incited national policies discussed before.

In this subchapter, I first briefly introduce the different phases of refugees arriving in Kigoma and then highlight a few relevant international impacts on Kigoma relating to the successive refugee crises.

52 See, for instance, Birgit Meyer, "'Pentecost' in the World" in *Going to Pentecost: An Experimental Approach to Studies of Pentecostalism*, (eds.) Annelin Eriksen, Ruy Llera Blanes and Michelle MacCarthy (New York: Berghahn Books, 2019), 209–215.

53 From the 1970s until the 2010s, close to one million Burundian refugees fled to Tanzania, mainly to the Kigoma Region. This number includes double or triple counting, as some people fled after each outbreak of violence (1972, 1993 and 2015). However, urban refugees are not reliably accounted for as they – usually – avoided registration. Stephanie Schwartz, "Home, Again: Refugee Return and Post-Conflict Violence in Burundi", *International Security* 44, no. 2 (2019): 123.

7.2.1 Refugees from Congo and Burundi

The first "wave" of refugees arrived almost instantly after Tanganyika had gained independence in 1961. In neighbouring Congo, which was declared independent a year and a half ahead of Tanganyika, decolonization turned violent within days of the formal declaration of independence.[54] The first stages primarily concerned confrontations between the legitimate government and neo-colonial forces in resource-rich areas. But after the elected head of the government, Patrice Lumumba, had been butchered by a conglomerate of Katanga, Belgian, and US-American agents backed by a UN that would soon lose its secretary-general in a suspicious plane crash near the Congolese-Northern Rhodesian border, the battle over national legitimacy versus international recognition shifted to the east of the country.[55] The so-called Simba rebellion, which was only a rebellion if one recognizes the preceding coup d'état as legitimate, led to a massive movement of refugees, on the one hand, and to the shipping in of warring agents, on the other.

From the beginning, the refugee phenomenon was an international affair involving not only the border-crossing movements between Congo and Tanganyika/Tanzania but also the international community represented by the United Nations and its subsidiaries. Moreover, the global hero of anti-imperialist resistance Ernesto Che Guevara joined – and was disillusioned by – the Simba rebellion, in which Laurent-Désiré Kabila, who would succeed Mobutu Sese Seko as head of state more than 30 years later, was one of the leaders. Quite a few threads in global, regional, and international history are condensed in this war in East Congo. Just like a century before, access to that zone came from the east – though increasingly also from the air – more precisely via Kigoma. At the same time, refugees moved in the opposite direction, also heading for Kigoma. It is not so easy to gather information about these Congolese refugees of the 1960s, because in oral history the distinction between different "waves" of refugees is hard to grasp and the archival documents in the first years after independence are rather shallow, paying attention primarily to provisioning, repatriation from Congo to countries of origin, and repatriation to Congo, hence not to the ones staying on.[56] Nevertheless, it is clear that there was a serious impact on the region and town of Kigoma. Some of the refugees were absorbed by local communities, especially

54 Ludo De Witte, *The Assassination of Lumumba* (London: Verso, 2002); Verhaegen, *Rébellions au Congo*; Crawford Young, *Politics in the Congo, Decolonization and Independence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).

55 Verhaegen, *Rébellions au Congo*. I am also eagerly awaiting the ongoing research by Gillian Mathys on the topic.

56 TNA, 523.A.30/1: Aliens – Refugees, 1966–1971.

when they came from the same areas west of the lake where the urban population also originated from.[57]

At the beginning of the 1970s, at the time when Nyerere implemented his *Ujamaa* policy, a new phase of massive arrivals of refugees took place in the wake of genocidal violence in Burundi. Since the abhorrent Rwandan genocide in 1994, it is often overshadowed that genocidal violence was probably more extreme in Burundi than in Rwanda before 1994.[58] In 1971 to 1972, educated Hutu were targeted by the Burundian UPRONA government, which had turned into an ethnic Tutsi party soon after the independence of Burundi in 1962 and, probably at least as important, the assassination of Prince Louis Rwagasore in 1961.[59] We know more about these refugees than about the Congolese ones a decade before, thanks to research by Liisa Malkki on Burundian Hutu refugees in Tanzania in the mid-1980s.[60] She was interested in the perspective of the refugees – not my perspective on Kigoma-Ujiji –, yet her analysis distinguished between refugees in camps and in town and this, at least indirectly, tells us something about the town as well. Whereas most refugees were transferred to the camps, where Malkki analysed their Hutu radicalization, a significant number settled in Kigoma-Ujiji, where they tried to integrate in the urban population as unnoticed as possible. The relative anonymity of town life, the closeness of Rundi to Ha culture, and the longstanding character of Kigoma-Ujiji as a liminal town, where the transformation of new arrivals into urbanites was a common practice since time immemorial, facilitated the absorption of numerous Burundian refugees.

One of my informants – I do not know whether his residence status has been regularized and I wish to respect his anonymity – told me that he stayed in the refugee camp of Mpanda for a while, until he moved to Kigoma-Ujiji as a fisher and took control of his life again. He also lamented that later refugees had been actively obstructed from doing the same, although he would have wanted to help his fellow-Burundians in starting a new life in the town.[61]

The spontaneous and low-profile integration of Burundians into Kigoma-Ujiji, which had been relatively successful in the 1970s, was obstructed two decades

57 Hino, "Neighborhood Group", 18; McHenry, "Tanzania: the Struggle for Development", 71.

58 René Lemarchand, *Burundi: Ethnic Conflict and Genocide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Jean-Pierre Chrétien and Jean-François Dupaquier, *Burundi 1972, au bord des genocides* (Paris: Karthala, 2007).

59 Ludo De Witte, *Moord in Burundi: België en de liquidatie van premier Louis Rwagasore* (Antwerpen: EPO, 2021).

60 Malkki, *Purity and exile*, 153–196. For a complementary analysis of Burundian refugees in Dar es Salaam, see Marc Sommers, *Fear in Bongoland: Burundi Refugees in Urban Tanzania* (New York: Berghahn, 2001).

61 Interview KU18, Mwanga, 22 June 2012.

later when a new refugee crisis followed the eruption of the Burundian Civil War in 1993. Like the Congo wars in the 1960s, the Burundian Civil War was also partly coordinated and supplied via Kigoma, from where the late(r) president Nkurunziza and his *Forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie* (FDD) operated.[62] The Tanzanian government in cooperation with the UNHCR attempted to channel all incoming refugees to camps in the Kigoma region. They thus wanted to prevent the free wandering of refugees, for instance, to Kigoma-Ujiji.[63] The underlying idea was that it would make it easier to repatriate later. UNHCR officials even deny – or ignore – that people who were not in the camps and hence not registered are refugees to begin with.[64] It is a formalistic approach that enables their operations in direct cooperation with Tanzanian ministries, but it also means that refugees who "did it their way" are neither accounted for nor looked after by the UNHCR or the Tanzanian government. Nevertheless, the attempt to channel all refugees to camps has, obviously, never been foolproof and some Burundian refugees did rove around in the region or moved to Kigoma-Ujiji. However, they were fewer in number than had been the case in the 1970s.

The few Burundian refugees of the 1990s whom I could interview accentuate that their deliberate decision to move to Kigoma-Ujiji straight away without registering along the way was their ticket to town, sometimes with the aid of relatives who were already there. It does imply, however, that their residence status remains precarious.[65]

The same policy would be applied to refugees from Congo after war broke out there as well in 1996. Because of the restrictive refugee politics, refugees actually settling in town were fewer than during earlier crises. Yet, the massive arrival in the region led to scarcity and rising prices as well as to – perceived – insecurity in the Kigoma region, which, in turn, triggered more rural-urban migration again. In the next chapter, this cocktail of refugees, rural-urban migration, and the pressure on town are addressed from the perspective of the town's core population and its history.

62 Interview KU39, Kigoma, 24 July 2012.

63 Malkki, *Purity and Exile*; Sommers, *Fear in Bongoland.* Also see: Ragna Frans, "Burundian Refugees Becoming Tanzanian Citizens: Conceptualisations and Constructions of Identity and Home", MA dissertation, Universiteit Gent, 2012.

64 Interview KU41, Kigoma, 26 July 2012.

65 Interview KU18, Mwanga, 22 June 2012; Interview KU24, Kigoma, 25 June 2012; Interview KU39, Kigoma, 24 July 2012.

7.2.2 International Organizations in the Wake of Refugees

The successive refugee crises and the stronger hold that the Tanzanian government tried to have on these refugees also led to an increased presence of both governmental and non-governmental international organizations in Kigoma-Ujiji. In 1992, the UNHCR opened a sub-office, the next hierarchical level after the main office in the national capital, on the shores of Lake Tanganyika, in the part of town where colonial officials had lived before, tellingly called Stanley Road.[66] In the wake of the refugee relief needs, numerous humanitarian NGOs flocked together in and around refugee camps in the Kigoma region. Although the locus of operation was outside of the town, Kigoma-Ujiji was the access to the region, the logistic hub, the place where NGO and IO workers, their Toyotas, and the provisions for refugees in the camps moved through.

A couple of upmarket hotels opened in Kigoma, which initially made their living from IO officials much more than from tourism. Air traffic also expanded in the wake of the refugee crisis and its international dimension. The airport facilities expanded and improved for the sake of international officials and humanitarian workers who were drawn to the refugee relief complex around Kigoma, where hundreds of thousands of Burundian and Congolese refugees fled from wars that lasted well over a decade. It was the first significant investment in transportation infrastructure since the central railway and the ferry Götzen/Liemba in 1914. Rather than marginality, a centrality in crises seems to have characterized this town from the mid-nineteenth until the early-twenty-first centuries.

Crisis situations are not limited to spectacular events that draw international attention but also apply to individual people facing acute problems in their daily lives. The small crises that become significant because there are so many of them were Sheryl McCurdy's focus, when she explained how ordinary women in Ujiji and Mwanga coped with fertility problems and health issues more generally in the late 1980s.

Likewise, the story of the Brothers of Charity in Kigoma is worth telling in this regard. A Catholic religious institute founded in 1807 in one of my hometowns, Ghent, they are specialized in the fields of education and mental health – and, besides, under harsh criticism for scores of sexual abuse cases and a highly problematic way of responding to this scandal. The Brothers of Charity have a particularly active branch in Kigoma, with a training school and a lodging house,

66 Interview KU41, Kigoma, 26 July 2012; UNHCR Inspection and Evaluation Service, "Evaluation of UNHCR's Repatriation Operation to Mozambique EVAL/02/96", 1 February 1996, https://www.unhcr.org/ie/publications/evaluation-unhcrs-repatriation-operation-mozambique (accessed 30 September 2024), section 198.

focusing on services for mentally impaired people. But what is striking and makes their story relevant for the global urban history of Kigoma-Ujiji is how they ended up there. The Belgian religious institute has a long tradition of activity in the former Belgian colonial territories of Congo, Rwanda, and Burundi but not in Tanzania. In the wake of the Rwandan genocide, however, Brothers of Charity became refugees themselves, fleeing to Zaire, where they were compelled to flee again when the country was invaded from Rwanda in 1996. In the end, all roads led to Kigoma, where a group of Brothers of Charity arrived as refugees like so many others and stayed on. But they continued their former activities and established a Kigoma branch, which is now led by a Tanzanian brother. This, as well, is an illustration of global entanglement and international presence, including the fact that the Tanzanian brothers travel to Ghent and Rome for education.[67]

7.3 International Impositions and Local Appropriation

So far, I have framed this chapter in an ideological East-West narrative during the Cold War, regional incursions from Tanzania's western neighbours, and relentless state interventions and impositions coming to Kigoma from the nation-state east of them. Furthermore, the political reforms since the 1990s as well as the international response to successive refugee crises also have a global North-South dimension to it. Taken together, the people in Kigoma-Ujiji and the surrounding region had to endure a succession of transformations induced from all cardinal directions and from larger spatial scales, be they regional, national, international or global. It almost seemed as if Kigoma-Ujiji was stuck in never-ending waves of transformations. Yet, there are signs that half a century after independence, Kigoma-Ujiji once again became a site where transformations are appropriated and where globalization is shaped.

Throughout this period, Kigoma-Ujiji had remained a liminal town, where hundreds of thousands of people had gone through the uncertainty of so many individual transformations as refugees, as rural-urban migrants, or – not yet-mentioned – as people using Kigoma-Ujiji as a springboard to somewhere else. Indeed, not only did people move to Kigoma-Ujiji but also away from the town hoping for better chances in Dar es Salaam or abroad. Amongst my informants who have the longest pedigree in town, reaching back to the urbanization on the move explained in Chapter 3, a remarkably high share of their children moved out of Kigoma-Ujiji in the post-independence years. Based on my interviews, I can

67 Interview KU16, Kigoma, 21 June 2012.

give an indicative impression of the movement out of town, not least by the core urban population dating back to the late nineteenth century:

> A *dagaa* fisher and trader born in Ujiji in 1941, whose great-grandfather came from Congo to Ujiji before the birth of his grandfather (hence probably in the 1880s as a rough estimate), has thirteen children "half" of whom lives in Dar es Salaam while the other "half" is in Kigoma-Ujiji.[68]

> A crane operator in the port of Kigoma born in Ujiji in 1924, whose father came to Ujiji from Congo as a child and was around 50 years of age when my informant was born (hence probably arrived around 1880 as a rough estimate), has six children who are still alive, two of them living in Kigoma-Ujiji, one in Morogoro, one in Mwanza, one in Dar es Salaam, and one in South Africa.[69]

> A musician and administrator born in Ujiji in 1934, whose grandfather moved from Congo to Bangwe before the First World War, has six children, who all live in Tanzania but none in Kigoma-Ujiji.[70]

> A port worker born in Ujiji in 1930, whose father was born in Ujiji and had his first child in 1913 (hence must probably have been born there around 1890), has 11 children living across the country, but none of them in Kigoma-Ujiji.[71]

> A fisher born in Ujiji in 1931, whose father was also a fisher born in Ujiji under the German rule, has three children who all live in Dar es Salaam.[72]

This pattern also applies to more recent arrivals:

> A tailor born in the Jiji lands between Kigoma-Ujiji and the Burundian border, who moved to the town in 1969, has seven children. Only one of them lives in Kigoma-Ujiji, five in other parts of Tanzania, and one in Canada.[73]

I can also refer back to the opening of this book. When the *bongo flava* hit "Leka Dutigite" ("Let's be proud of ourselves" in Kiha) was aired across East Africa back in 2012, this was a symbolic return of people having left the town (and region) or descending from such people, who were now promoting Kigoma on a larger scale – and stage. The fact that opposition politician Zitto Kabwe had taken the initiative for Leka Dutigite, which was not only a song with videoclip but also a music festival in Ujiji in July 2012, draws the link with the idiosyncratic electoral

68 Interview KU2, Ujiji, 10 September 2011.
69 Interview KU7, Ujiji, 14 September 2011.
70 Interview KU7, Ujiji, 14 September 2011.
71 Interview KU9, Ujiji, 15 September 2011.
72 Interview KU11, Ujiji, 19 September 2011.
73 Interview KU13, Mwanga, 23 September 2011.

trajectory of urban Kigoma. Besides, it was not only Kabwe but also the CCM members of parliament from the Kigoma region who were on stage together with the *bongo flava* artists from the coast – or from Kigoma, depending on how one decides to define them.

This local employment of forces that had left Kigoma-Ujiji, for the promotion of Kigoma on national and regional scales may be the last step so far in the town's long global history as a space of transformation where challenges coming from elsewhere are taken up as opportunities, thus claiming ownership of how globalization is shaped translocally – i.e. locally in relation to and making use of connections on different scales. These forces stemming from Kigoma-Ujiji can, as is the case in this example, be people, but also imaginations and representations of Kigoma-Ujiji are forces that work back on the place.

In the remainder of this chapter, I focus on heritagized local history or localized universal heritage, in which tensions and hopes coincide. Given that Kigoma-Ujiji has caught attention in other parts of the world repeatedly since the mid-nineteenth century (see Chapter 2), there is enough "imperial debris" available that can be turned into heritage.[74] The caravan trade complex – in a context of heritage usually presented as slave trade[75] –, the infrastructure built under the German colonial rule, and the origin of mankind in the African Rift Valley are three huge heritage themes condensed in Kigoma-Ujiji. The interest in these themes, however, primarily comes from outside. I have to qualify this: obviously, people living in and around Kigoma-Ujiji are sincerely interested in the infrastructure connecting the town across the lake and to the Indian Ocean, to give but one example, but their interest is primarily in transportation infrastructure and not necessarily in infrastructure as heritage. However, fascination with the slave route, the Liemba ferry, the central railway, and the chimpanzees – human's closest relative – in Gombe National Park are part of world heritage, which turns all of this into an economic asset for Kigoma-Ujiji as well.[76] The impetus for conserving heritage and promoting tourism comes from outside but is seen as an economic opportunity by people in Kigoma-Ujiji.

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74 For the concept of "imperial debris", referring to processes of "ruination" perpetuating or reviving the colonial stranglehold on the material environment – as well as on bodies and minds – into the present, see Ann L. Stoler (ed.), *Imperial Debris: On Ruins and Ruination* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013).

75 For a critical analysis of the reduction of the caravan trade history to slave trade in the context of heritage politics, see Jan Lindström, *Muted Memories: Heritage-Making, Bagamoyo, and the East African Caravan Trade* (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2019).

76 See, for instance, informal conversation KU31, Ujiji, 4 July 2012; Interview KU36, Kigoma, 20 July 2012.

I highlight three examples already touched upon before (chimpanzees, the Liemba, and slave trade), each involving international as well as local actors. Exactly that – the internationalization of Kigoma-Ujiji and the way in which some local actors play into these international opportunities – is what the three examples have in common.

In the beginning, there was Jane Goodall. First archival traces of her anthropological – motivated by an interest in the origins of mankind and evolution – research in Gombe near Kigoma in 1965, on the occasion of an article in National Geographic, already hint at the "potential opening of this Game Reserve for tourism".[77] By now, Gombe Stream National Park has indeed developed into a tourist attraction, accessible via Kigoma. But parallel to that, the Jane Goodall Institute and her Roots & Shoots organization have become promotors of environmental protection, education, and development.[78] Both organizations are decidedly international with activities in more than 100 countries around the world, but Kigoma is where it all started and the link with Gombe remains paramount. The global concern for biodiversity and the protection of endangered species is complemented with the local care for compensating people living close to the National Park for the prohibition of foraging in the park and with education towards environmental awareness.[79] Tellingly, the first mention of Gombe in the colonial archives already addressed the tension between establishing the "Gombe Stream Reserve" and the pressure this put on local fishers who depended on wood from the forest for *dagaa* fishing.[80]

The Jane Goodall Institute and Roots & Shoots are not only active in the rural area surrounding Gombe National Park, but in Kigoma town as well, in the same street where the UNHCR sub-office was located. These institutes are local and global at the same time: global concerns having come to the area, experience emanating from the area, a global organization shooting from, returning to, and remaining rooted in the area. It would be interesting to research the reception and the workings of both organizations in relation to the *Ujamaa* villagization project in the area in the 1970s but given that this clearly is outside the urban area, it is

77 TNA, 523.A.3/11: Members of National Executive Seat – Kigoma, 1964–1965: Note M.A. Hassan, Administrative Secretary Kigoma Region, to the Principal Secretary, Ministry of Information and Tourism, 17 March 1965.

78 Interview KU40, Kigoma, 25 July 2012. Also see: https://janegoodall.org/ and https://rootsandshoots.global/ (accessed 30 September 2024).

79 Interview KU40, Kigoma, 25 July 2012.

80 TNA, Kigoma District Book, Vol. III, August 1942–October 1944. The fishers needed the wood for the fires with which they attract the *dagaa* fishes to the surface.

beyond the scope of this book. The tourism connection and the coordination, however, run through Kigoma.

Another example of international fascination hitting local needs and interests is the Liemba. The German-built steamer from 1914, then called Götzen, is still indispensable for navigation on Lake Tanganyika, for people living around the lake, as well as for the UNHCR repatriating Burundian and Congolese refugees. For them, the Liemba is not heritage but vital infrastructure. I refer back to Chapter 2 for an explanation of how conflicting as well as complementary interests are at play when international – above all German – associations approach the vessel as heritage to be conserved and visited. Local actors make use of this international interest, trying to broker a compromise between reliable navigation on the lake (possibly provided by a new ship), conserving the Liemba, and making a business out of its utilization.[81]

A third example of how international and local interests collide or coalesce can be found in UNESCO's slave trail as world heritage. The nineteenth-century slave-trade discourses were at least partly used to legitimize colonization and now the traces of the trade and the abolitionist campaigns are reified as heritage. As a result, they have become a resource for tourism.[82] The mango-lined avenue in Ujiji – and in Bagamoyo, for that matter – is explained as the road for enslaved people to be shipped to the coast, whereby an uninterrupted line of mango trees over more than 1,000 kilometres allegedly casted shadow over the caravans of enslaved people. I do not want to downplay the widespread practice of enslavement and of trafficking enslaved people (see Chapter 2 and 3), but it is not historically correct to reduce the caravan trade complex to the slave trade alone,[83] and even less to make the ecologically impossible statement that mango trees stretched from Lake Tanganyika to the Indian Ocean. An open space called the old slave market, and the Livingstone Museum complete the scenery for a story of shock and indignation for international tourists in Ujiji, not unlike what is told in Zanzibar, Bagamoyo or Tabora.

Ujiji is an iconic place in this regard, reproducing the nineteenth-century narratives presented in Chapter 2. I visited the Livingstone Museum twice with less than a year between the two visits. In September 2011, a new building was under construction, but the museum still was an awkward room filled with impressions surrounding Stanley's finding of Livingstone in 1871 (Figure 9). A graft of the mango tree under which they met was standing in front of the museum, accom-

81 Interview KU36, Kigoma, 20 July 2012. Also see section 2.2.

82 Informal conversation KU31, Ujiji, 4 July 2012.

83 Lindström, *Muted Memories*.

Figure 9: Impression of the Livingstone Museum, Ujiji, September 2011.[84]

panied by a stone monument. Both the monument and the grafted tree could be considered "imperial debris", preserved and perpetuated since the colonial period into the present.[85] In front of the monument and the mango tree, an aged guide rambled a touching story by heart and from the heart.

Less than a year later, the museum had moved to the new building. Displays presented the history of the area, showcasing tools, information about the soil, political structure, and a master narrative reducing the caravan trade complex to a slave trade operated by villains intruding into the area. And lest one forget, there was also (still) a display of Stanley finding Livingstone. It is a UNESCO sponsored museum, giving additional clout to a one-sided reading of the caravan trade complex, which can be directly traced back to colonialist propaganda since the 1870s. Yet, at the same time, it also is a UNESCO sponsored initiative targeting tourists from the Global North craving to be shocked by displays of cruelty, from which they can vehemently distance themselves in indignation. Local people were hoping to see flocks of tourist arrive walking the only asphalted street in Ujiji – apart from the main road connecting to Kigoma and the airport.

These three examples have three aspects in common: they all start from a heritage concern coming from outside, they all provide economic opportunities

84 Photo taken by Geert Castryck, Ujiji, September 2011.

85 Stoler, *Imperial Debris*. For the colonial origin of both tree and monument, see NA-UK, CO.691/200/4: Arrangements for the rebuilding of the David Livingstone War [sic] Memorial at Ujiji, 1945–1948; Coke, "The Livingstone Memorial".

(or compensation) which mobilize local entrepreneurs, and they also plug into the internationalization and the logistics that came in the wake of the refugee crises. Hotels, airport, international presence and perhaps exposure triggered by successive crises were more decisive in enabling those international heritage projects than the local elements that were turned into heritage over the past decade or two. To some extent, the staff of international refugee relief organizations, devoid of leisure for quite some time, were probably the first target group to visit Gombe Stream National Park or the Livingstone Museum, or to take a leisure trip on the Liemba. I admit having done all three of these activities myself. Through the heritagization projects, one could say that international forces are fossilizing Kigoma-Ujiji or contributing to "ruination".[86] But at the same time, local actors try to make a living out of these opportunities yet again appropriating a transformation initially coming from elsewhere.

86 Stoler, *Imperial Debris*.

8 Bordering the Lake: Transcending Spatial Orders

The previous chapter took us through the local-international nexus of the post-independence period, trying to make sense of some loose ends in the present and linking them with the imaginations and representations of Kigoma-Ujiji analysed in Chapter 2.[1] In this chapter, I work the other way around, starting from an observation in the present and making sense of it through a spatial analysis the takes us back to the beginning of Kigoma-Ujiji's history in the second half of the nineteenth century. As such, this chapter can be seen as a conclusion to Chapters 3 to 7 and as a preliminary conclusion of the book as a whole.

When I was in Kigoma in June 2012, almost every public TV set screened the parliamentary debates during the daytime and European Championship football in the evening. It so happened that sometime towards the end of the month, the people around me were all cheering at the TV. Admittedly, this had occurred a couple of times, usually when a favourite team scored a goal. But this time was different. It was during a parliamentary intervention by the member of parliament (MP) for Kigoma North, Zitto Kabwe Zuberi. Then still member of the main opposition party CHADEMA, he addressed the Prime Minister about an instance of police violence. After the massive influx of refugees from war-ridden Burundi and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) in the 1990s and early 2000s, the Tanzanian Immigration Office was carrying out repatriations, evictions, and rounding-up operations by the early 2010s. In a particularly violent raid by the Immigration Police against presumably illegal Congolese residents in the Kigoma region, rumour had it that a woman's arm was broken, and a pregnant woman was beaten, suffering a miscarriage as a consequence. The Congolese were dumped at the Consulate of the DRC in Kigoma in order to be repatriated.[2] Throughout my stay in Kigoma, the rounding up of Congolese continued, although I did not hear of extreme violence anymore after this instance to which the MP reacted. What he said in the Parliament of Tanzania and to what the people around me shouted in approval was: why is it that the people of Kigoma always have to prove again and again that they are Tanzanian? He referred to the period of Kigoma's special status under Belgian occupation (1916–1921) by stating: "We

1 A previous version of this chapter has been published as Geert Castryck, "Bordering the Lake: Transcending Spatial Orders in Kigoma-Ujiji", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 52, no. 1 (2019): 109–132.

2 Interview KU34, Kigoma, 10 July 2012.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111436623-008

are the people of Kigoma, first, already before we became Tanganyikans, before we became Tanzanians".[3]

Something remarkable is going on here: the locals in Kigoma, including their MP, have taken sides with the presumably illegal foreigners and the presumably impartial state officials have chased them away. Put another way, on the local scale people coming from across Lake Tanganyika are not considered unwelcome foreigners but, on the larger national scale, they are. Moreover, the MP for Kigoma identifies with them and obviously so do the people watching the TV: why do "we", the people of Kigoma, have to prove again and again that "we" are Tanzanians? Expelling illegal Congolese is implicitly felt as an assault on their own Tanzanian belonging and, in turn, this feeling seems to be a shared feature of their Kigoma-ness. A lot of what we have analysed so far comes together in this episode. In this chapter, I wrap up a century and a half of global urban history by framing Kigoma-Ujiji in a succession of spatial orders, which reflect global dynamics and concomitant translocal transformations in and around the town.

Debates about citizenship and belonging or about autochthony and exclusion are not uncommon in Africa (and beyond).[4] In several parts of East and Central Africa, the issue is particularly contentious and, over the past decades, has repeatedly erupted into violence. Both in Rwanda and Burundi, autochthony discourses that turn natives into strangers have had disastrous consequences.[5] The expulsion of Asians in the 1970s by Uganda's former President Idi Amin was just the internationally noticed surface of interethnic and interregional conflicts that are still relevant today.[6] Kenya and Zanzibar have seen episodes of electoral violence related

3 Bunge la Tanzania, Majadiliano ya Bunge, Mkutano wa nane, Kikao cha Kumi, Tarehe 26 Juni, 2012, 68–69. Special thanks to Yakoub Nsabimana for verifying my translation.

4 Peter Geschiere, *The perils of belonging: Autochthony, citizenship, and exclusion in Africa and Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Morten Bøås and Kevin Dunn, *Politics of origin in Africa: Autochthony, citizenship and conflict* (London: Zed Books, 2013); Laurent Fourchard and Aurelia Segatti, "Introduction of xenophobia and citizenship: the everyday politics of exclusion and inclusion in Africa", *Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute* 85, no. 1 (2015): 2–12; Emma Hunter, *Political Thought and the Public Sphere in Tanzania* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), Emma Hunter (ed.), *Citizenship, belonging, and political community in Africa: Dialogues between past and present* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2016).

5 See, for instance, Malkki, *Purity and exile*; Mahmood Mamdani, *When victims become killers: Colonialism, nativism, and the genocide in Rwanda* (Princeton: Princeton University Press (2001). Also see Aidan Russell, "Punctuated Places: Narrating Space in Burundi", *International Journal of African Historical Studies Studies* 52, no. 1 (2019): 133–158.

6 See, for instance, Rune Hjalmar Espeland, "Autochthony, Rumor Dynamics, and Communal Violence in Western Uganda", *Social Analysis* 55, no. 3 (2011): 18–34.

to issues of identity and belonging both in recent and in distant pasts.[7] Above all, the Democratic Republic of the Congo has seen decades of protracted violence over – amongst other reasons – autochthony, entitlements to land, and residence.[8] In this regional context, mainland Tanzania is usually considered a haven of (ethnic) peace. Occasional exclusionary incidents target immigrants rather than carving out dividing lines within Tanzanian national society.[9] At least, that is how Tanzanians like to see themselves. However, when taking a closer look at dynamics of exclusion and identification in Kigoma, the distinction between being a local and being a stranger does not appear as clear-cut as the Tanzanian self-perception would like it to be.

In recent years, Kigoma-Ujiji has been characterized as a "Congolese" town on several occasions. Ranging from a rather banal description of Kigoma's soundscape in the *Rough Guide to Tanzania*,[10] to a public declaration by a minister of home affairs about Ha autochthony,[11] or to the abovementioned intervention in parliament, or to statements in daily communications, the allegedly "Congolese" nature of Kigoma-Ujiji is frequently expressed – at times combined with a classification as a Burundian town or a town of foreigners. Considering the history of the place and its people, this should not come as a surprise. Everybody in urban Kigoma – if their family has already lived in the town for more than a generation – seems to have at least one grandparent of either Congolese or Burundian origin. If not one of their own grandparents, then most likely their wives' or their

7 See, for instance, Sarah Jenkins, "Ethnicity, violence, and the immigrant-guest metaphor in Kenya", *African Affairs* 111, no. 445 (2012): 576–596; Jeremy Prestholdt, "Politics of the Soil: Separatism, Autochthony, and Decolonization at the Kenyan Coast", *The Journal of African History* 55, no. 2 (2014): 249–270; Keren Weitzberg, *We do not have borders: Greater Somalia and the predicaments of belonging in Kenya* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2017); Glassman, *War of Words*.

8 See, for instance, Judith Verweijen, "From Autochthony to Violence? Discursive and Coercive Social Practices of the Mai-Mai in Fizi, Eastern DR Congo", *African Studies Review* 58, no. 2 (2015): 157–180; Furaha Umutoni Alida, "'Where do we belong?' Identity and autochthony discourse among Rwandophone Congolese", *African Identities* 15, no. 1 (2017): 41–61; Gillian Mathys, "Bringing History Back in: Past, Present, and Conflict in Rwanda and the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo", *The Journal of African History* 58, no. 3 (2017): 465–487.

9 See, for instance, Sommers, *Fear in Bongoland*; Jill Rosenthal, "From 'Migrants' to 'Refugees': Identity, Aid, and Decolonization in Ngara District, Tanzania", *The Journal of African History* 56, no. 2 (2015): 261–279.

10 Jens Finke and Henri Stedman, *The Rough Guide to Tanzania* (London: Rough Guides, 2010), 438 and 444.

11 In 2003, Omar Ramadhan Mapuri, Tanzanian minister of home affairs from 2000 to 2005, allegedly backed Ha claims of autochthony in Kigoma, thereby giving credit to claims that the original urban population are not "real" Tanzanians. Interview KU7, Ujiji, 14 September 2011; Interview KU18, Mwanga, 22 June 2012; Interview KU20, Ujiji, 22 June 2012.

husbands' genealogy is linked to the DRC or Burundi. The recent arrival of Congolese and Burundian war refugees is stacked upon a long history of migrations from across and around the lake.

At this point, it may be unsettling that I am blurring the labels "Congolese", "Burundian", and even "foreigner". However, in the remainder of this text, I will de- and re-construct these and other categories and, in so doing, demonstrate that in order to reach a historical understanding, it is necessary not to take a simple distinction between contemporary territorial categories for granted. Of course, it does, to some extent, make a difference if an inhabitant of Kigoma-Ujiji descends from present-day Burundi or the DRC. People of Burundian descent, for instance, more easily relate to Ha claims of autochthony in the Kigoma region, asserting that Ha are in fact Rundi who were artificially cut off from Burundian heartlands in colonial times.[12] Yet, the same could be said of Watanganyika being closer to Jiji surroundings than Manyema almost a century ago, and this distinction has been overcome within the community as we saw in Chapter 6. The changing spatial-historical meanings of "Congolese" have been far more decisive for the urban make-up of Kigoma-Ujiji than treacherously simple distinctions between areas of origin or present-day nation-states in the region. What matters more than the historically contingent distinctions between "Congolese" and "Burundian" or between Manyema and Tanganyika before is the fact that anybody in the town not having some Congolese or Burundian connection is, almost by definition, a recent newcomer usually from another part of Tanzania. Who is the foreigner and who is the local, or the citizen, or the newcomer, plays out in counter-intuitive ways.

In this chapter, I reconstruct the border-crossing and lake-bordering connections that characterize the urban area of Kigoma-Ujiji. What can be lumped together as "Congolese" in contemporary parlance can be traced back to different historical and spatial constellations of which Kigoma-Ujiji has been part over the past two centuries. Paradoxically, despite these different historical trajectories, we can observe converging identifications by allegedly "Congolese" people in Kigoma-Ujiji. I consider the different meanings of "Congolese" in Kigoma-Ujiji as reflections of different historical periods with concomitant spatial constellations that have defined the area in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The spatial order – that is, the dominant constellation of spatial forms and connections that underpins the way in which people conceive of space in a given period in history[13] – changed over time, but different subgroups of the urban population can

12 Interview KU24, Kigoma, 25 June 2012; Interview KU32, Mwanga, 9 July 2012.

13 The dominant view of spatially perceiving the world in terms of territorial nation-states that unequivocally cover the surface of the earth is an example of a spatial order.

still be distinguished according to the spatial order at the time of their settlement in Kigoma-Ujiji.[14] Nevertheless, despite changing spatial/political orders, there has also been a lot of continuity and path dependency in the region. It is precisely this mix of rupture and continuity that helps to explain why people with seemingly very different historical backgrounds end up identifying with each other in the urban area of Kigoma-Ujiji today.

As we know by now, the two name-giving parts of Kigoma-Ujiji along with several wards lying around and between them grew together as a consequence of urban expansion. Kigoma-Ujiji borders Lake Tanganyika, which in turn marks the state border between Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, and Zambia. The lake has always been there, the states and their borders have not.

8.1 Spatial Orders and a Multiple Borderland

Divergent views on the "Congolese" or "foreign" character of Kigoma-Ujiji reflect different understandings – or lack thereof – of the town's history. "Congolese" is a historically contingent category and was, in long phases of the town's history, not even available as a category in the first place – at least not in the area under scrutiny. The people insinuated by the currently often-heard "Congolese" identification have had several denominations over the years: *waungwana*, Manyema, Tanganyika, Arabu-Congo, Swahili, *wahuni*, Congomani or *wakimbizi* (i.e. refugees) are, or have been, in use in Kigoma-Ujiji (and beyond) to refer to somehow resettled people, more often than not, with roots in what is today the DRC. Each of these terms have had different meanings through time and space, at times referring to people who are explicitly not from Congo, or including certain subgroups in some places, while excluding them elsewhere. *Waungwana* or Swahili, for instance, originally referred to group identities on the East African Indian Ocean coast, before *waungwana* became an identifier for East-Central-African auxiliaries in the caravan trade complex and Swahili for Kiswahili-speaking urbanites in East Central Africa.[15] In the Lake Tanganyika region, Manyema would

14 In order to avoid possible misunderstandings, the spatial analysis is not so much about changes or shifts in the physical space but in socially constructed space (the meaning of space, how spaces relate to each other, in which spatial-political order spaces have their place, etc.).

15 Page, "The Manyema Hordes", 71–77; S. Bimangu and Tshishiku Tshibangu, "Contribution à l'histoire de l'implantation de l'Islam au Zaire", *Paideuma* 24 (1978): 228–230; Randall L. Pouwels, *Horn and Crescent: Cultural change and traditional Islam on the East African coast, 800–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 3, 72 and 129; Gooding, "Slavery, 'respectability'".

refer to people from across the mountain range west of Lake Tanganyika, hence excluding the people from around the lake, whereas further east the term would include the latter group as well.[16] The fact that this expanded meaning travelled back west as early as the 1960s (see Chapter 6) leads to confusing situations when people call themselves or somebody else Manyema. What is true for the term Manyema applies *mutatis mutandis* for the term "Congolese".

Labelling the diverse people who at different times and for different reasons left Congo – or places that would later be known as Congo – "Congolese" reflects the dominant spatial order of today, that is, the one based on a state territory which is assumed to be all-encompassing and is anachronistically projected back in time. Calling Kigoma-Ujiji "Congolese" lumps together different historical spatial orders and, in so doing, produces or at least amplifies a perception of both border-crossing and distinction that does not live up to the complex lived experiences of connection and disconnection across Lake Tanganyika, which can be retrieved in archives and life histories.[17] This "Congolese" rhetoric about Kigoma-Ujiji provides an entry point to understand the historical multiplicity of spatial orders. Above all, it draws the attention to the role of borders or frontiers in each of these orders, and to Kigoma-Ujiji as part of the borderland in the midst of these spatial orders.

Rather than looking at abstract spatial orders as such, I highlight how people act, understand themselves, and are understood in relation to spatial orders and perimeters. As spatial orders shift, so does the identification of people. When Brown speaks about Swahili, she means people from the East African Indian Ocean coast.[18] In Hino's texts, the Swahili of Ujiji consist, for the most part, of people with roots in the present-day DRC.[19] McCurdy, in turn, speaks of a Manyema diaspora and, in fact, means the same people Hino calls Swahili. In Brown's description of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, *waungwana* and Congolese mutineers come closest to McCurdy's Manyema and Hino's Swahili. I claim that the differing denominations for the same people are reflections of different perspectives and changing spatial orders.

Kigoma-Ujiji and its inhabitants do not fit conventional territorial boxes. Different spatial constellations or frames of reference that have the town sometimes

16 McCurdy, "Transforming Associations", 16–19; Laura Fair, *Pastimes and politics: culture, community, and identity in post-abolition urban Zanzibar, 1890– 1945* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2001), 34. Also see Zöller, "Crossing Multiple Borders".

17 For more information about these lived experiences of connection and disconnection, see Zöller, "Crossing Multiple Borders".

18 Brown, "Ujiji", 53–58 and 97–104.

19 Hino, "Social Stratification", 54–56.

at its heart and sometimes at its margins succeeded or coincided in Kigoma-Ujiji. Firstly, in Igor Kopytoff's understanding of the "internal African frontier" as an area at the outskirts of a concentrically conceived sphere of influence of a "metropole" (i.e. a strong political entity), the area under scrutiny can be seen as an internal African frontier, albeit situated between several surrounding entities. Kopytoff was primarily interested in the formations of societies and the spatial-political dynamics within "metropoles". The frontier marked the outer limit of his concerns. However, as the internal African frontier is not under the effective control of any of the surrounding "metropoles", it can act as a zone of interaction between them. In times before and during the incorporation of East Central Africa into the world economy, Ujiji's commercially attractive lakefront situation amidst surrounding "metropoles" can be interpreted as such an internal African frontier.[20]

Secondly, focusing on the second half of the nineteenth century, Brown introduces the idea of Ujiji as an urban frontier.[21] Although Brown mentions it only in a chapter title and does not really elaborate further, it seems fruitful to make sense of urbanization as a – cultural or urbane – frontier colliding with rural surroundings rather than a self-contained urban process.[22] The idea of an urban frontier draws attention to entanglements instead of division and highlights the spaces of connection where urbanization takes place, as we have seen in the late nineteenth-century caravan trade complex (see Chapter 3).

Thirdly, in the process of spreading global capitalism, and despite a long history of East African caravan trade before that, the vanguard of ivory and slave trade that was dispatched from the Indian Ocean coast from the mid-nineteenth century onwards swept over Ujiji and at the same time used the town as a fulcrum in the caravan system. Hence, Ujiji was both affected by the moving frontier of Swahili or African-Arab proto-colonization and by a relay function that recalls the internal African frontier, which I have identified as a zone of interaction.

Fourthly, in the 1880s and in connection with Ujiji's position on an Arab-Swahili, global, or proto-colonial frontier, the local leaders of the caravan trade

20 Igor Kopytoff, "Frontiers and Frontier Societies" in *Encyclopedia of Africa South of the Sahara*, vol. 2, (ed.) John Middleton (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1997), 170. See also Igor Kopytoff, "The internal African frontier: The making of African political culture" in *The African frontier: The reproduction of traditional African societies*, (ed.) Igor Kopytoff (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 3–84.

21 Brown, "Ujiji", 87.

22 Philip Gooding, who in turn refers to Barnes and Kopytoff, also applies the term "urban frontier" to Ujiji, although in his understanding the urban, lake, and commercial frontiers coincide and are not separated from the rural environment. Gooding, "Lake Tanganyika", 223–233.

complex territorialized the lakeshore areas around the northern half of the lake into areas of military and administrative control, with Ujiji as its power centre (see Chapter 3).[23] In this case, Ujiji was at the heart of a regional spatial-political order, rather than at its fringes.

Here, the gradual distinction between "frontier" and "border" becomes relevant. This distinction is a result of the advent of territorialization in the area. A border is a fixed limit of a bounded political space or territory, with an essentially similar territorial space on both sides of the border, whereas a frontier is a more fluid outer limit and a contact zone with a space of a different nature – a space of crystallization between zones rather than a line of separation.[24] As borderlands studies have shown, this fluidity and contact also exist around borders.[25] The borderlands approach thus allows identifying and analysing dynamics that are very similar to frontiers, which means that empirically frontiers and borderlands are to a large extent a continuum.[26] Yet, conceptually and spatially, there is an important difference: the borderland is understood in relation to a territorial border,[27] whereas the frontier does not presuppose territory. To complicate matters even further, the frontier can be part of an incipient or ongoing territorialization process, which makes the distinction between the zone around the frontier and the borderland a gradual one. How space is conceived and understood and how spaces relate to each other – in other words, the spatial order or the constellation of spatial forms and connections – change over time. However, even if the histori-

23 Brown, "Ujiji", 38–86 and 163–169; Jacques Marissal, "Le Commerce zanzibarite dans l'Afrique des Grands lacs au XIXe siècle", *Revue française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer* 65, no. 239 (1978): 217 and 233; Castryck, "Moslims in Usumbura", 62–64.

24 See Martin Legassick, "The Frontier tradition in South African historiography" in *Economy and society in pre-industrial South Africa*, (eds.) Shula Marks and Anthony Atmore (London: Longman, 1980). For a broader analysis of frontiers in the nineteenth century, see Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt: Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (München: Beck, 2009), 465–564 (see especially pages 472–473 for the relation between frontiers and territory).

25 O. Adejuyigbe, "Identity and Characteristics of Borderlands in Africa" in *Borderlands in Africa: a multidisciplinary and comparative focus on Nigeria and West Africa*, (eds.) A.I. Asiwaju and P.O. Adeniyi (Lagos: University of Lagos Press, 1989), 27–36; Paul Nugent and A. I. Asiwaju (eds.), *African boundaries: Barriers, conduits, and opportunities* (London: Pinter, 1996); David Coplan, "Introduction: From empiricism to theory in African border studies", *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 25, no. 2 (2010): 1–5.

26 Richard J. Reid, *Frontiers of violence in North-East Africa: Genealogies of conflict since c. 1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 20–23; James McDougall, "Frontiers, Borderlands, and Saharan/World History" in *Saharan frontiers: Space and mobility in Northwest Africa*, (eds.) James McDougall and Judith Scheele (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), 73–91.

27 Reid extends the use of borderlands to zones around economic and environmental boundaries – which I would call frontiers.

cal outcome is a territorial spatial order, we must be careful not to project back in time a territorial (b)order that did not yet exist. As territory does not suddenly emerge, the process of territorialization, which may remain incomplete for a very long time, deserves at least as much historical attention as an eventual or ideal-type territorial order. The Arab-Swahili proto-colonization was a hybrid in this regard, combining territorialization of the zone around the northern half of Lake Tanganyika, still being part of the frontier of caravan trade, and facing the limits of its power vis-à-vis both the Rundi "metropole" and the encroaching European colonizers.[28]

Thus, in the wake of this proto-colonial territorialization process, the region faced a fifth redefinition of the reigning spatial order in less than half a century, when European colonizers drew a territorial border through the lake. This introduced colonial territories as new spatial forms in the region, changing the meaning of spaces and how they relate to each other. The colonial border complicated the connection between Kigoma-Ujiji and the western side of the lake. The previously mentioned Arab-Swahili frontier was cut off or thrown back, leading to a significant movement of population, which drastically increased the presence in Kigoma-Ujiji of "Congolese" taking refuge behind the new colonial border.[29] As such, Ujiji's and – increasingly – Kigoma's regional role was both hindered and facilitated by the border. Moreover, under German colonial rule, the colonizers used the town as a stepping stone from where to "pacify" and watch over Burundi and Rwanda. With the British takeover in 1921, which brought the five-year Belgian military occupation to an end, this remaining administrative relay function vis-à-vis Burundi and Rwanda disappeared and by the end of the decade, Kigoma also lost its status as a provincial capital in the Tanganyika Territory. Kigoma-Ujiji seems to have ended up on the outer limits of British East Africa, devoid of political or administrative centrality and condemned to oblivion – at least, when adopting the then dominant perspective of colonial rule. In institutional terms, the sole remaining link across the lake was the Belgian trade privilege in the port of Kigoma, discussed in Chapter 5.[30] However, the dwindling of institutional connectivity across the lake obviously does not preclude other border-crossing connections, be they commercial, cultural, religious, or in the form of physical mobil-

28 Mworoha, *Histoire du Burundi*, 229–247.

29 Brown, "Ujiji", 226–233. See also: AAB, RA/R-U 0a(1): D.O.A. + occupation belge, Extrait du guide militaire allemand concernant le district d'Udjiji 1911; TNA, Kigoma District Book, vol. III, 4–5.

30 Castryck, "The Belgian Base", 70–86.

ity, which characterize Kigoma-Ujiji as a hybrid of centre and periphery in the region.

This continues to be the case up to this day, under a sixth spatial order: the post-independence territorial order, which did not alter the colonial borders as such but the political identifications, relations, and decision-making processes – in short, the constellation of spatial forms and connections – at work in the region.

The three identified frontiers – internal African, urban, and commercial – together with the successive proto-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial territorialities set the scene for a reading of Kigoma-Ujiji as a multiple borderland. Defining Kigoma-Ujiji as such does not mean that it is determined by the state border, but rather, that people in the town engage with the implications, expectations, and opportunities that the border, as part of a territorial spatial order, introduce into the minds and lives of people who have lived with and across different spatial orders over time.[31]

8.2 The African Lake Frontier

In pre-colonial times, the land of the Wajiji was a fertile ground for exchange between areas with complementary specializations. In a literal sense, the arable soil as well as the fishing grounds in the lake were fertile. In a metaphoric sense, the markets where the urban area of Kigoma-Ujiji would soon emerge were also fertile as spaces of exchange between zones around the lake, providing different kinds of coveted goods including palm oil, canoes, hoes, foodstuffs, enslaved people, and ivory. The saltpans of Uvinza were particularly strategic: the site where Ujiji would develop was the closest or most accessible meeting point for Uvinza salt, on the one hand, and goods from around the lake, on the other.[32] Wajiji with entrepreneurial and commercial skills made use of this strategic position between salt, palm trees, and lake and land routes. The pivotal position of Ujiji on the lake frontier, in turn, made it an attractive place for caravan traders and explorers throughout most of the nineteenth century. “Frontier” here is understood as a meeting place in the Kopytoffian sense of the internal African frontier. It is rather a space of crystallization between zones than a line of separation. The frontier is, therefore, closer to a borderland than to a boundary.

31 Also see James Anderson and Liam O’Dowd, “Borders, Border Region and Territoriality: Contradictory Meanings, Changing Significance”, *Regional Studies* 33, no. 7 (1999): 593–604.
32 Chrétien, “Le Commerce du sel”, 401–422.

The traffic between Ujiji and what would later become known as Congo was, in the first place, Jiji-led. Wajiji were successful navigators and traders on the lake, which turned Ujiji into an important centre sending out and attracting people around the lake. Driven by statements like "following the fish" and "a place where one does not starve", people from the northern end of the lake – in the first place, Wabwari and Wagoma from across the lake – formed the first current of "Congolese" moving to Ujiji as fishers and farmers. This movement started before the appearance of other frontiers, borders, and spatial orders, which will be discussed later, but it continued well into these later periods. Still today, newcomers refer to the fertile grounds and the fact that one has something to eat as justification to choose Kigoma-Ujiji as a destination for migration.[33]

The concentration of people around the markets and fertile soil of Ujiji should not be seen as new arrivals from around the lake and from the east settling in a pre-existing town. Instead, these newcomers were the actual drivers of the urbanization process. The original Jiji population played a decisive role in trade and navigation, but the centres of political and ritual power remained outside of the town and most of the Jiji leadership kept clear of the urbanization process.[34] At the same time, there was no contradiction between introducing an urban lifestyle and recognizing Jiji overlordship in the region for the new urbanites from around the lake. However, to label these initial urbanites "Congolese" – alongside coastal and Arab settlers – would be an anachronism. Notwithstanding, these fishers and farmers from around the lake constitute one core group of what would later be lumped together into Kigoma-Ujiji's alleged "Congolese" character. Until that would happen, however, several decades of distinction, confrontation, and new spatial orders had to pass.

8.3 The Frontier of the Caravan Trade Complex

The urbanization of Ujiji was reinforced by another frontier that swept over and took root in Ujiji from the 1830s until the 1890s. Traders from the Swahili coast, including both Mrima or coastal people and Omani Arabs, ventured into the African interior in search for ivory. Overtaking, supplanting, or competing with the intermediary role Wanyamwezi had played, coastal traders organized caravans increasingly parallel to, in collaboration with or in competition with Nyamwezi

33 Hino, "Social Stratification", 55; Brown, "Ujiji", 36–42; Interview KU26, Ujiji, 26 June 2012; Interview KU33, Mwanga, 9 July 2012; Interview KU35, Ujiji, 10 July 2012.
34 Brown, "Ujiji", 210; TNA, Kigoma District Book, vol. III.

and Jiji ones.[35] Although slave trading gradually became the most emphatically recounted aspect, the search for ivory in exchange for textile and beads, which was intertwined with the regional trade described above, was for a long time the backbone of the caravan trade. This resulted in a cosmopolitan conglomerate of fortune seekers and unfortunates of all kinds being dragged into or attracted by the opportunities and fates produced by the caravan trade.

The lake frontier and the frontier of the caravan trade complex, which incorporated the area in the world economy, became enmeshed in Ujiji. The town developed into a vibrant space where a concentration of connections coming from and going to the east and the west took place. This added to the urbanization of Ujiji, although the nature of this global caravan trade frontier is fundamentally different from the previously discussed lake frontier. Whereas the latter is a more or less fixed meeting ground between specialized zones around the – by definition, fixed – lake, the frontier of the caravan trade complex was a moving one spreading from East Africa to its "Far West" over several decades. Over time, during the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the centre of gravity of the caravan trade complex moved westward to places like Kasongo and Nyangwe in the Manyema region, pushed by a growing demand for ivory on the world market and for enslaved people for the incipient plantation economy on the Indian Ocean coast.[36] After being at the heart of this system in the middle of the century, Ujiji was gradually reduced to a logistics and provisioning site for long-distance trade. On top of that, because of the dominance of the long-distance caravan trade, the lake-centred regional trade had increasingly been pushed out of the town to markets in the immediate vicinity. Two spatial orders coincided, and the internal African lake frontier and the global caravan trade frontier complemented each other. Ujiji's productive farming, fishery, and trade rendered the area capable of provisioning caravans while, at the same time, the economic opportunities offered by the caravan trade, both directly and indirectly, further contributed to the attractiveness of the place to people from around the lake.[37]

Despite the westward movement of the capitalist frontier and the ensuing gradual loss of Ujiji's centrality, the arrival of people from across the lake continued unabated. Due to the said complementarities of regional and long-distance trade, it is not always easy to distinguish between "Congolese" arriving as part of the caravan trade complex and the people from around the lake "following the fish". Likewise, it is not always easy to distinguish between free and unfree or

35 Sheriff, *Slaves, Spices & Ivory*; Rockel, *Carriers of Culture*.

36 On the plantation economy on the coast and the role of slavery therein, see Glassman, "The Bondsman's New Clothes"; Glassman, *Feasts and Riot*.

37 Brown, "Ujiji", 96–104; Rockel, *Carriers of Culture*.

between coastal Waswahili and Arabs. We can easily differentiate separate groups and their backgrounds, but it is more difficult to attribute specific people to those groups because in reality these categories both overlap and change. Being from across the mountains and labelled Manyema or being from around the lake and labelled Tanganyika in the early twentieth century does not preclude that both groups had *waungwana*, enslaved people, fishers, and farmers in their ranks and were seen as one and the same further east. It looks like a harbinger of today's ambivalences of belonging.

What matters is, on the one hand, that different types of frontiers referring to different spatial orders constituted different motivations for migration from across and around the lake and, consequently, different groups of what would later be called "Congolese". On the other hand, the differences of origin were gradually overcome, leading to an urban life where diverse "Congolese" backgrounds were not only remembered and reproduced but also experienced and integrated in a shared urban identity.[38]

8.4 The Urban Frontier and Proto-colonial Territorialization

Despite indicating several sources of "Congolese" settlers in urban Kigoma-Ujiji, another question is why they were not eclipsed by an overwhelming majority of urban settlers from the immediate vicinity called Wajiji in the past or Waha today. For all we know, at least the Jiji leadership continued to favour a rural livelihood.[39] In return, coastal (i.e. from the Indian Ocean coast), Tanganyika (i.e. from around the lake), and Manyema town leaders continued to recognize the Jiji overlordship. Townspeople's recognition of Jiji authority was described by European travellers in the nineteenth century and was still evident well into the twentieth, as can be seen in the presence of town leaders at the installation of the Jiji "king" or *mwami* in 1935.[40] Nevertheless, within the town of Ujiji, the townspeople claimed urban autonomy, as we have seen in chapter 6. Well into the twentieth century, if Wajiji or Waha ended up in the town, they were absorbed by a town life dominated by people from further afield. They would naturally be integrated by the Watanganyika, who originated from around the lake. Wabwari and Wagoma from the western side of the lake were the largest subgroups in Ujiji but

38 McCurdy, "Transforming Associations".

39 Brown, "Ujiji", 3–34 and 210.

40 Cameron, *Across Africa*, 244; TNA, 63.723: Letter from the Provincial Commissioner Western Province to the Chief Secretary to the Government Tanganyika Territory, 14 September 1935, Luichi Federation: Kigoma District, 1921–1945.

also Horohoro, Bembe, or Rundi, or other people from the eastern shores belonged to the Watanganyika. A backward projection of distinctions based on (post-)colonial states between a "Congolese", a "Tanzanian" or a "Burundian" side is therefore pointless, since the national categories only came into being when the urbanization process was already well underway. A much more relevant distinction and interaction existed between urban and rural.

The preferred rural livelihood by Wajiji does not mean that there were no traders or – as we have seen – boatmen among them. Philip Gooding managed to trace Jiji trade and navigation back to marketplaces in and near the town of Ujiji. He highlights the Jiji contribution to the commercial success of Ujiji in the nineteenth century, as we have seen in Chapter 3. However, neither he nor I consider trade or a market to be urban per se. The Jiji commercial culture predated and enabled the urbanization of Ujiji, but the urbanization itself (i.e. the permanent settlement in the town and especially the development of an urban(e) culture) was driven by people in the caravan trade complex who needed new social ties after being uprooted by the political disorder ensuing the westward movement of the caravan trade frontier. It is within this caravan trade complex that people emulated Swahili urbane forms, and they had already started doing so before settling permanently in emerging towns.

Gooding makes a useful distinction between Kawele-Ugoi and Kigoma-Gungu as two important commercial centres in the area today comprising Kigoma-Ujiji.[41] It was Ujiji (or Kawele-Ugoi) that formed the heart of urbanization in the second half of the nineteenth century. Ujiji had a stronger imprint by the caravan trade complex, whereas more Jiji traders did business in Kigoma-Gungu, adjacent to Kigoma Bay seven kilometres northwest of Ujiji.[42] Gooding demonstrates that Jiji traders moved to other market centres in order to escape their maltreatment in Kawele and Ugoi.[43] I underscore his observation that by 1880 at the latest, for a variety of political, economic, and environmental reasons, the marketplaces near the Kigoma Bay were on the rise and that Jiji traders played a decisive role in this shift. Yet, this also means that Jiji trading activities were taken or kept out of the town of Ujiji and the town itself was dominated by an "immigrant" population that were the founders of the town. In Ujiji, an urban culture developed, with residents originating from all along the caravan route between the Indian Ocean and East Congo. In the vicinity of Ujiji, the markets of Kigoma, Gungu as well as Bangwe were important market centres, and, when taken together, were equally if not more important

41 Gooding, "Lake Tanganyika", 235–248.
42 Gooding, "Lake Tanganyika", 243–246.
43 Gooding, *On the Frontiers*, 89.

markets as the Ujiji ones. But until around 1880, they were not (yet) characterized by a similar degree of urbanization as Ujiji. Moreover, Ujiji fulfilled logistic and military-strategic roles within the caravan trade complex beyond the pure function of a marketplace. Nonetheless, the urban frontier was also a moving frontier. What began with the shifting of market activity from the town of Ujiji to Kigoma Bay evolved into a gradual urbanization around Kigoma, as well.[44] Interestingly, this partial move away from Ujiji and towards the Bay of Kigoma predated the German and British relocation of infrastructure and administration from Ujiji to Kigoma by at least four decades.

The urban frontier became the springboard for an Arab-Swahili proto-colonial process of territorialization, understood as a process of defining bounded political spaces.[45] The demarcation of territory, with borders between identically conceived territorial spaces, rather than having frontiers as meeting places between differently conceived spaces, began around 1880. In the years prior, Mwinyi Heri, one of the local leaders of coastal origin in Ujiji, had become the most powerful person along the northeastern shores of the lake. He increased control over rural areas by using urban outposts along the lake as stepping stones. Ujiji was the command centre of this realm. After his death in 1885, Mohamed bin Khalfan al-Barwani, better known as Rumaliza (i.e. "the Terminator"), became the new strongman in the region. Following the example of Hamed bin Mohamed al-Murjebi, aka Tippu Tip, who had organized the Manyema region into zones of influence, Rumaliza expanded the system of urban subsidiary posts around the northern end of Lake Tanganyika and, by the end of the 1880s, initiated a process of territorialization, trying to achieve political control through the demarcation of zones. He took over control of the ivory-rich zone to the north and northwest of the lake. Marking continuity with the previous strongmen, Mwinyi Heri's son Salim was also in charge of one of the territories, while the area around Ujiji came under the authority of Mwinyi Hassani, another age-old coastal leader in the town.[46]

Facilitated by firearms and ammunition, Rumaliza's territorialization meant that established political powers in the region were no longer in the position to concede enclaves of foreign activity on the internal African frontier, as had been the case before. Instead, forces linked to the urban and caravan trade frontiers mentioned above introduced a new spatial order, which – not without conflict – was imposed upon and interacted with pre-existing political structures. This

44 Gooding, "Lake Tanganyika", 243–246.

45 Maier, "Transformation of Territoriality", 32–55.

46 Brown, "Ujiji", 168–169; Bontinck, *L'autobiographie*, 266 n404; Castryck, "My Slave", 325.

short-lived territorialization around the northern end of the lake was overrun by European colonial conquerors, who did essentially the same: superimposing a territorial spatial order on top of the spatial-political organization in the region. Short-lived as the Arab-Swahili proto-colonial territorialization had been, the "arabisés" – as the Belgian colonial archives and literature called it – urban centres along the lake became the sites where newcomers could join a process of Swahili urbanization, initiated within the caravan trade complex. This Swahili and Islamic urbanization process, both mobile and localized, are the underpinning of urban Muslim communities in the area until today.[47]

What becomes clear from this proto-colonial example is the entanglement of territorialities, that is to say, of different modes of political rule through bounding space. When one looks at Mwinyi Heri's urban outposts and Rumaliza's incipient territorialization, it becomes clear that borders – contrary to frontiers – do not separate territorial logics but are instead part of one and the same territorial logic, merely separating territories of the same kind.

8.5 Colonial Territorialization and State Borders

The demarcation of the spheres of influence of the Belgian King Leopold II and of the German Empire right through Lake Tanganyika during the Scramble for Africa for the first time turned the lake into a border instead of a frontier. This was, however, only one layer of the dynamics at play. Connection across the lake continued, accentuating the dynamics as a multiple borderland simultaneously characterized by the frontiers and borders of different spatial orders. The colonial border did, however, make a significant difference. The decisive factor was Belgian hostility against Arabs, *arabisés* or Muslims in general much more than the border per se. The border marked the outer limit of the space of animosity.[48]

The change in political context and territorialization brought a movement of people in its wake, which in turn had an impact on the borderland character of Kigoma-Ujiji. Having witnessed the ravages of the slave and ivory trade on the caravan trade frontier, the phenomenon of refugees was not particularly new

47 I discuss the Islamization process in one of these towns (Bujumbura), elsewhere: Castryck, "Living Islam". Also see Emile Mworoha who speaks of a veritable new ethnicity along the lake shores ("une véritable nouvelle ethnie s'implanta peu à peu dans l'Imbo"). Mworoha, *Histoire du Burundi*, 240.

48 Castryck, "Moslims in Usumbura", 99–101. Also see Maarten Couttenier, "The Museum as Rift Zone – The Construction and Representation of 'East' and 'Central' Africa in the (Belgian) Congo Museum/Royal Museum for Central Africa", *History in Africa* 46 (2019): 327–358.

when European conquest encroached upon East Central Africa. What was new, though, was the role of the border as the demarcation line between danger and safety. Zooming in on the eve and the early years of colonization, we can distinguish between (1) people seeking safety from violence in Congo and finding refuge in the promising fertile area east of the lake, (2) Arab-Swahili and *waungwana* warriors retreating eastwards after defeat in the colonial war of conquest, and (3) Congolese *wahuni* mutineers after the Batetela uprisings and following insurrections in Leopold's Congo Free State.[49] This led to a demographic growth in Ujiji, making it one of the largest urban settlements in East Africa but not leading to the recovery of the prominence and prosperity the town had known when it was one of the centres of a now-defunct caravan trade complex.[50] Some Arabs, Waswahili, and *waungwana* continued their retreat all the way down to the Indian Ocean, although the relatively large group of *waungwana* very often joined their companions in Ujiji or other towns along the caravan routes, which they had been travelling for some time already.[51] The *wahuni* mutineers for their part were welcomed by the German colonial authorities as reinforcements for their *Schutztruppe* (colonial army).[52]

Having fled from deep into Congo, the diverse group of refugees and warriors formed the core of what would become known as the Manyema or the Arabiani Association in Kigoma-Ujiji. Until the 1930s, there was a fierce rivalry between these "Congolese" and the farmers, fishermen, and merchants from around the lake, who were known as Watanganyika. Moving closer to the coast and to the present, however, the term Manyema includes rather than excludes the Watanganyika.[53] Also in Kigoma-Ujiji, the distinction between the two groups is as much based on the spatial order of arrival (on the Arab-Swahili caravan trade frontier or on the African internal lake frontier) as it is on the actual area of origin (from around the lake versus the region of Manyema).

In the first decades of the twentieth century, the distinction between Manyema and Tanganyika determined town life in Ujiji. Originally coming from across the mountains in what had by then become the Congo Free State, the

49 Brown, "Ujiji", 227–233.

50 In 1930, the population of Ujiji was estimated at 8,500 inhabitants, whereas Tabora had about 8,000 inhabitants at the time. TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1930 and 1948; TNA, Tang. Sec., 25822: Population of the Territory, 1933–1939, Native Affairs General. Also see Brown, "Ujiji", 233.

51 Rockel, *Carriers of Culture*.

52 For a social history of the African troops in the German Schutztruppe, see Moyd, *Violent intermediaries*.

53 Zöller, "Crossing Multiple Borders"; Interview KU11, Ujiji, 19 September 2011.

Manyema had their roots primarily in the caravan trade complex and combined the whole spectrum of Arab-Swahili merchants, *waungwana*, caravan porters, (formerly) enslaved people, and migrating farmers in its wake. The group of refugees of similar composition who left Congo after their defeat during the colonial wars of conquest and the concomitant moving back of the Arab-Swahili caravan trade frontier to the east side of the lake are also considered part of the Manyema. Despite the context of decline, the influx of refugees led to a considerable growth of the Manyema and the population of Ujiji in general. Parallel to that, people from around the northern end of the lake, who had for some time already been flocking together in Ujiji around the fertile spot on the African lake frontier, also increased in number for the same reasons. These so-called Watanganyika were also involved in the caravan trade, although mainly as farmers and fishermen.

Being grafted onto the African internal lake and the caravan trade frontiers, they were confronted with yet another spatial order, namely the order of colonial territorialization and its preference for – and construction of – "tribal" political entities. The Watanganyika could relate to the Jiji or Ha ethnic order. Belonging to a shared overarching community of lake people, Watanganyika were closer to the traditional powers, which were in turn acknowledged by German and British colonial authorities. Manyema, on the other hand, were connected to the bygone success story of Arab-Swahili caravan trade, which was renamed the scandalous slave trade. They stood further apart from the Wajiji or Waha and their integration in the colonial system was more articulated on the level of the colony at large than on the local level of town politics.

The distinction between the two groups was decisive in Ujiji for decades. Local associational politics were organized along these lines, reflected in a Manyema/Arabiani and a Tanganyika association. Rivalry along these lines on markets and *beni ngoma* "dance" competitions escalated into conflict. The lethal 1932 affray between Manyema/Arabiani and Watanganyika has already received prominent attention (see Chapter 6). What I do want to stress, however, is the fact that up to half a century after their own or their parents' arrival, those who had come to Ujiji on the internal African lake frontier stood pitched against those who had come in the aftermath of the Arab-Swahili trade frontier – and vice versa. Remarkably, not more than a decade after the fierce street fighting of 1932, this distinction had become irrelevant.[54]

54 TNA, Tang. Sec. 20744: Affray between Tanganyika and Arab factions at Ujiji 1932–1935; TNA, Tang. Sec. 20797: Ujiji Township Authority, 1944–1954; BLCAS, MSS. Afr. s. 503: John Rooke Johnston, Tanganyika: a.o. Reports Kigoma, 1938–40; McCurdy, "The 1932 'War'", 10–31; Ranger, *Dance and Society*, p.101–104.

Two things are of importance: firstly, the introduction of a new spatial order led to new demarcations, to accompanying groups of people, and to matching categories of "Congolese" in Kigoma-Ujiji. Secondly, urban dynamics in Ujiji – and elsewhere along the urban frontier –, after some decades, led to the gradual merging of previously distinct and even rival groups. Out of this merging grew a core group of the urban population, which Hino calls Swahili, McCurdy calls Manyema, and current political discourses refer to as "Congolese" – even if some of them never lived at the Swahili coast, some have no link with Manyema proper, and others do not have ancestral roots on the Congolese side of the lake.

8.5.1 Spatial Categories of Belonging

The ambivalence of the categories was reflected in the responses of interviewees who were asked the ethnic affiliation (*kabila*) in 2011 and 2012. Some respondents referred to group identities like Bwari or Horohoro, whereas others identified as Manyema (at least in two cases despite being Mtanganyika in the 1930s meaning of the group identities) or simply as Mtanzania.[55] This diversity of expressed affiliations illustrates that older distinctions are still remembered but have been absorbed into multiple identities. People with "Congolese" roots are omnipresent in Kigoma-Ujiji and, for more than a century, have formed the backbone of the urban population, although in their self-understanding, whether one identifies with a denominator from across the lake or from the Kigoma-Ujiji side of the lake is not the most relevant distinction. Put differently, it depends on the context which spatial category of belonging is deemed relevant, but it no longer plays a fundamental role of distinction within urban life. Identifying as Manyema means adopting an "ethnic" category included in the British colonial classification of tribes in the Tanganyika Territory or in Julius Nyerere's renowned list of 120 Tanzanian ethnic groups, hence claiming to be legitimately Tanzanian. Tellingly, the region that was at the heart of the Arab-Swahili spatial order in Central Africa on the eve of colonization is used by people from that region, by the British, and by Tanzanian authorities as an invented "ethnic" *pars pro toto* for people who have moved east of Lake Tanganyika within that historical spatial order. On the other hand, Wabwari and Wagoma, which are in fact the largest groups in the urban population of Kigoma-Ujiji, are not listed as ethnic groups of Tanzania – and are

55 Interview KU11, Ujiji, 19 September 2011; Interview KU13, Mwanga, 23 September 2011; Interview KU32, Mwanga, 9 July 2012.

therefore considered to be Manyema as well.[56] Striking a balance between cherishing ethnic origins and insisting on genuine Tanzanian-ness is now more important than bygone distinctions between different groups of "Congolese" descent in town.

Remarkably, the preponderant "Congolese" background of Kigoma-Ujiji's age-old population goes hand in hand with rather limited contact across the state border. Apart from the occasional musician or football player who played one or two concerts or games in the Congolese lakeside towns of Albertville/Kalemie or Uvira (or in Burundian and Rwandan towns for that matter), many "Congolese" respondents have never been in Congo nor maintained contact with relatives in the DRC.[57] I do not want to downplay the importance of border-crossing connections for specific professional categories like merchants and religious teachers or students,[58] but over the years or the generations, many people of "Congolese" descent seem to have lost direct contact with relatives in Congo. Mobility to and from Burundi was more prevailing.[59] Nevertheless, in several regards, the Congo connection has remained tangible in the town itself.

The Congo factor obviously plays a decisive role because of the continued arrival of people from across the lake. Yet, most people living in the town for more than a generation still identify with the *kabila* (ethnic affiliation) of their parents and grandparents, even more than a century after they had crossed the then not-yet-existing border. At least until the 1930s, as we have seen before, this identification also had local relevance in the daily life and the administration of Ujiji. By the mid-twentieth century, this distinction had lost its relevance for town politics – but not for associational life, for instance[60] – and the organization of town life had evolved towards a shared urbanity that took the town itself as well as its challenges as points of reference. By the time the political decolonization movement took off, Ujiji, with its core population of "Congolese" origin, became one of the hotbeds of Tanganyikan African nationalism, which at least implies that the internal divisions had been overcome as fundamental urban ordering principles.

56 TNA, 180.A2/24: African Administration, Classification of Tribes, 1948.

57 Interview KU2, Ujiji, 10 September 2011; Interview KU3, Ujiji, 12 September 2011; Interview KU7, Ujiji, 14 September 2011; Interview KU10, Ujiji, 17 September 2011.

58 See Nimtz, *Islam and politics*; Abel, *Les Musulmans noirs*. Interview KU12, Ujiji, 19 September 2011; Interview KU18, Mwanga, 22 June 2012; Interview KU24, Kigoma, 25 June 2012; Interview KU32, Mwanga, 9 July 2012.

59 Interview KU11, Ujiji, 19 September 2011; Interview KU22, Kigoma, 23 June 2012; Interview KU25, Ujiji, 26 June 2012.

60 See McCurdy, "Transforming Associations", 252–259 and 312–324; Interview 7, Ujiji, 14 September 2011; Informal conversation KU8, Ujiji, 14 September 2011.

The Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) – the political party that would lead Tanganyika to independence in 1961 and, despite the adoption of a new name in the 1970s, is still in power today – indeed had particularly active branches in Ujiji, as we have seen in Chapter 6.[61] Intuitively, having a particularly active TANU branch at the fringes of the incipient national territory seems perfectly in line with schoolbook expectations of territorial homogeneity. When taking a closer look, however, there is more to say about this TANU activity. If we zoom in on the decolonizing TANU activity in the Kigoma district of the 1950s, we notice that it is not the Ha majority population of the area who is the driving force, but the multi-ethnic Muslim community of Ujiji. Ujiji's ethnic mix consisted of around seventy different ethnic origins, and the majority of the urban population had its origins across the lake.[62] People with origins outside of the Tanganyikan territory led an important centre of Tanganyikan decolonization politics and saw no reason to doubt their Tanganyika-African national identity. Their spatial frame of reference was not limited to the reigning territorial order but built on and combined successive spatial orders that had shaped the position of Kigoma-Ujiji in relation to both the Tanganyika territory and the lake carrying the same name. It should be noted that the spatial order after decolonization was not yet fixed or known at the time.

In the context of decolonization, I have already pointed out that historians have often taken the colonial and later nation state as a given and within that taken-for-granted frame of reference, everything that is not national can only be smaller than national, hence local (see Chapter 6). I claim that such a framing tends to ignore the transnational or non-national dynamics that were equally at play. Even within Tanganyikan borders, it has been noted that the urban network of Swahili-speaking – as a mother tongue, that is – Muslims of "Congolese" or "Manyema" origin, was of considerable importance for TANU and the decolonization movement.[63] In Kigoma-Ujiji, these Swahili-speaking Muslims were more often than not of "Congolese" origin. Although they indeed addressed local concerns within Ujiji, one cannot reduce this network to something local. It is clearly translocal, connecting localities, moving across the country, crossing borders – i.e. across space – but also stretching entangled spatial orders that have had their bearing across time.

61 Although TANU/CCM have ruled Tanzania uninterruptedly since independence, Kigoma has in fact been a stronghold of opposition parties ever since the introduction of multi-party elections in 1995.

62 TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1928.

63 Iliffe, *A Modern History*, 529–530, 550–552 and 570–571; McHenry, "Tanzania: The Struggle for Development", 81–82.

This connectivity – whether Swahili, Manyema, or Congolese – has carried not only political ideas of decolonization but also Swahili socio-cultural features like *beni ngoma*, *taarab*, *lelemana*, or football; religious ideas like Qadiriyya Sufism or Islamic reform; and sometimes even all of this at the same time. We can read about this in studies by Terence Ranger, Margaret Strobel, Laura Fair, Sheryl McCurdy, August Nimtz, Kelly Askew, and others.[64] But most of these analyses stop at the border, if not of the Tanganyika Territory or Tanzania, then at least of British East Africa.[65] On the other side of the national, colonial, and to some extent linguistic border (although Swahili continues across the border, English and French do not) – on the Belgian colonial or the Congolese and Burundian national side of the border –, this connection has been almost completely ignored, when it comes to the late-colonial and early-postcolonial period. Entanglements across East and Central Africa have received ample attention when it comes to the nineteenth century but disappear from the literature for later periods.[66] It seems as if the outcome of history, where the border-crossing connectedness was indeed increasingly hampered and intrinsically translocal dynamics therefore seemed only local, is presupposed in historical narratives about times when this outcome was still uncertain. Thus, forces and spaces that do not fit the eventual outcome, are blended out.

8.5.2 Giving Meaning

Despite political and academic neglect of connectedness across Lake Tanganyika, certain more symbolic "Congo" connections continued well into postcolonial times. In the realm of Islamic and primarily Qadiriyya Sufi religion, the border-crossing connections were and remained vital. Despite fierce Belgian colonial hostility against what they considered as subversive action, they have not been able to prohibit Muslim missionary mobility altogether. Ujiji was at the heart of this religious exchange. The multiple frontier function had turned the place into a site of Islamic learning and divulgence vis-à-vis Congo and the Lake Tanganyika re-

64 Ranger, *Dance and Society*; Margaret Strobel, *Muslim women in Mombasa, 1890–1975* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979); Fair, *Pastimes and politics*; McCurdy, "The 1932 'War'"; Nimtz, *Islam and Politics*; Kelly Askew, *Performing the nation: Swahili music and cultural politics in Tanzania* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

65 On the East African-Central African division, see Castryck et al., "Bridging Histories".

66 Castryck et al., "Bridging Histories".

gion. In an age-old nexus with trade, the mobility of Islamic scholars and students was difficult but nevertheless possible between Ujiji and East Congo.[67]

Notwithstanding the inhibitive hostility, several respondents stated that border-crossing travelling was easier in colonial times than it was afterwards. I cannot say if this easy travelling included the 1930s smuggling of a miniaturized lion in a pot of beeswax from East Congo to Kigoma-Ujiji, where the lion then terrified the area until the beeswax had been paid for, as described in the reminiscences of the former District Commissioner John Rooke Johnston,[68] or the travelling across the lake under magic protection against wild animals as described by Shaykh Mulekwa Omari Bakari.[69] My role is not to judge these stories but rather to observe that stories of magic very often link up with the world across the waters. Although at odds with core tenets of orthodox Islam, different phenomena as magic, spirits, and witchcraft, or the belief therein are very strong in Ujiji and among its core "Congolese" Muslim population in particular. Depending on people's own belief, fear or scepticism regarding these phenomena, they call it strong spiritual power, strong belief, evil, the work of the devil, ignorance, superstition, etc. But among diverging spheres of the population from Indian Catholic nurses, to Congolese Pentecostals and a Burundian scientist or Muslim scholars in Kigoma-Ujiji, there seems to be a consensus that magic, spirits or witchcraft play a significant role in Ujiji.[70] Even as far as Bagamoyo or Dar es Salaam on the Indian Ocean coast, I occasionally heard people speak of the strong spiritual powers in Ujiji and that people would travel to Ujiji for spiritual support. McCurdy conducted in-depth research about healing rituals and spirit possession among the Manyema diaspora in Ujiji, indicating that spiritual attempts to attenuate tensions and differences take reference to different groups of actors but above all to the ritual or spiritual powers in the "Congolese" regions of origin of the Ujiji people involved.[71] Put another way, despite the limited direct connections with Congo, the Congo connection is ritually mobilized, adding another layer to the borderland character of Kigoma-Ujiji.

67 See Nimtz, *Islam and Politics*; Abel, *Les Musulmans noirs*; Zöller, "Crossing Multiple Borders".

68 BLCAS, MSS. Afr. s. 1935 (1 & 2): John Rooke Johnston, Reminiscences of Colonial Service: Tanganyika, 1921–1948.

69 Interview KU35, Ujiji, 10 July 2012.

70 Informal conversation KU23, Kigoma, 23 June 2012; Informal conversation KU30, Ujiji & Mwanga, 4 July 2012; Interview KU35, Ujiji, 10 July 2012; McCurdy, "Transforming Associations"; Makowe, "Urban history", 20.

71 McCurdy, "Transforming Associations".

8.6 A Post-Colonial National Border

With decolonization, state borders became national borders overnight. The national identification is no less artificial or real than the different categories of "Congolese", Manyema, *waungwana*, Swahili, Tanganyika, and so forth discussed so far. However, the national did become the primary marker of the new spatial order, which explains the tendency to both use the label "Congolese" and perceive these "Congolese" as foreigners in Tanzania. This double inclination was reinforced by the actual arrival of newcomers across the borders that were established – or reconfirmed and realigned – by the new national spatial order. In the immediate aftermath of decolonization and right up to the present century, refugees from the eastern Congolese battlefields introduced both a new and a not-so-new group of "Congolese" into Kigoma-Ujiji. The same is true for the Burundian refugees from the 1970s onwards.[72] Identifying refugees and foreigners according to national criteria is a new phenomenon in the region after independence, but the fact of people fleeing violence is nothing new as such. Nor is the fact that war leaders like Laurent Kabila, Che Guevara or Pierre Nkurunziza have operated from Kigoma so different from what Rumaliza did in the 1880s and 1890s. The only relevant difference is the nature of the border as part of a territorial national spatial order.

As we have seen in Chapter 7, how the Tanzanian authorities dealt with war refugees from the DRC (from 1971 until 1997, Zaire) – or from Burundi for that matter – changed over time. Whereas in the refugee waves of the 1960s and 1970s, many refugees managed to "disappear" in the urban maze or even connect with relatives who had crossed a previous border or frontier, the refugees of the 1990s and 2000s were more systematically channelled to refugee camps of the by then effective spatial order of the nation-state and the interstate system.[73] This does not preclude that inhabitants of Kigoma-Ujiji, who in the current spatial order unequivocally identify as Tanzanian, sympathize with the next wave of newcomers from across the lake. These refugees are in the end no less new in the town than most Waha, who arrived in the town mostly in the decades after independence and nevertheless claim autochthony in Kigoma. We have to understand the claims in favour of or against the "Congolese" character of urban Kigoma-Ujiji, with which we opened this chapter, against this background of autochthony debates. Based on a territorial logic, which is a corollary of the colonial and later

72 TNA, 523.A.30/1: Aliens – Refugees, 1966–1971; Interview KU15, Kigoma, 21 June 2012; Interview KU18, Mwanga, 22 June 2012; Interview KU39, Kigoma, 24 July 2012.

73 Malkki, *Purity and Exile*, 44–47; Interview KU18, Mwanga, 22 June 2012; Interview KU28, Katonga, 28 June 2012; Interview KU41, Kigoma, 26 July 2012.

national spatial order, Waha see themselves as the native population in the whole Kigoma region, that is to say, also in the town of Kigoma-Ujiji. Based on the same logic, "Congolese" are foreigners on the national territory of Tanzania. Such reasoning may be in line with an absolute reading of the current spatial order but is at odds with both history and social reality.

To explain the mobility of people around and across Lake Tanganyika, we have already demonstrated that different spatial orders, frontiers, and borders were at play. The father of the nation, Julius Nyerere, was a strong proponent of an inclusive, meta-ethnic concept of citizenship in Tanganyika/Tanzania, which implies the inclusion of all residents at the time of independence regardless of ethnic background. This principle is actively remembered by several respondents.[74] However, this does not apply as such to refugees or immigrants who arrived later. The tricky question is how far one goes back in time or how to make the dividing line of independence operational. The Vice-Consul of the DRC in Kigoma confirmed that the consulate sometimes has to evict people who have been living in Tanzania for decades but cannot show papers to prove it.[75] It is a thin line between being Tanzanian of pre-national "Congolese" origin and being considered Congolese, foreigner, and expellable.

I have opened this chapter with a parliamentary intervention criticizing the perception that residents of Kigoma are not *ipso facto* recognized as citizens of Tanzania. The perceived neglect of Kigoma for decades was also stressed. The feeling of neglect by successive British colonial and Tanzanian national governments is widespread in Kigoma-Ujiji. Colonial District officers complained about Kigoma being neglected by the central government already in the 1940s,[76] members of parliament for the Kigoma region expressed their frustration as early as the 1960s,[77] and this feeling was still raised during interviews and in the parliament in the 2010s. To substantiate this perceived neglect, reference is made not only to meagre investment but also to the fact that functionaries are sent in from elsewhere. This "elsewhere" is not abroad but other parts of Tanzania, which are in the end more foreign to Kigoma-Ujiji than the neighbours from around the lake. The mobility of people is nothing new, but the spatial order in which the mobility takes place is. Different layers of borderland life are glossed over as "Congolese", justifying both the identification of Kigoma-Ujiji as a "Congolese" town since time immemorial and the eviction of Congolese – and Burundian –

74 Interview KU20, Ujiji, 22 June 2012; Interview KU28, Katonga, 28 June 2012.

75 Interview KU15 and KU34, Kigoma, 21 June 2012 and 10 July 2012.

76 TNA, District Officer's Reports: Kigoma District, 1946, 2 and 1950, 13.

77 Adam Chobaliko Bwenda, quoted in McHenry, "Tanzania: The Struggle for Development", 22–23.

refugees of war as unwelcome foreigners. In the end, the native "Congolese" urbanites take sides with the "Congolese"/Congolese foreigners rather than with the rural "autochthons", thereby underscoring that their lived urban and multiple borderlands have proven as robust as national territorial identification.

8.7 Wrapping Up

This brings us back to the song with which we have opened this book. The MP who had raised his concerns about how supposedly Congolese refugees in Kigoma had been treated by the Immigration Office is the same one who organized the music festival in Ujiji on 17 July 2012. We have already seen that the song "Leka Dutigite" ("let us be proud of ourselves") and the accompanying video read like an anthology of what Kigoma has to offer: the lake, the monumental ferry boat Liemba, the railway station symbolizing the connection between Congo and the Indian Ocean, the fishing industry, coffee and palm oil, an indirect reference to slavery, kitenge cloth, famous soccer players, Kigoma's people in general, and the music itself . . . all figure in either the images or the lyrics.[78] In one way or another, all these elements are linked to Kigoma's borderland history and its close relation with the lake and across the lake. At the same time, the Tanzanian flag waves prominently in the video clip and the whole venture stressed the Kigoma-roots of famous Tanzanians, hence also the genuine Tanzanian-ness of Kigoma.

There is no contradiction. On topic, musical influences have moved from east to west and back throughout the period under scrutiny. *Beni ngoma* brass band music and dance have coastal origins and have become hugely influential amongst the Wamanyema and Watanganyika "Congolese" in Kigoma-Ujiji.[79] Congolese rumba music spread across the lake in late colonial and early post-colonial times and has an audience right up to the Indian Ocean coast. In the 1950s and 1960s, musicians from Kigoma toured around the lake and up to the coast together with Congolese band leaders or guitar players. They translated Congolese lyrics into "coastal" Kiswahili and into the political context of Tanganyika/Tanzania.[80] The "Leka Dutigite" musicians fit into a much longer tradition and in the borderland dynamics of Kigoma-Ujiji. Repeatedly and for over a century, Kigoma-Ujiji's population has adopted people and absorbed influences up to the point of fully integrating them despite initial differences. This ability is a decisive feature

78 "Official Video-Leka Dutigite Video-Kigoma All Stars", posted on YouTube by Zitto Kabwe on 31 July 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SmxmqPwysqE/ (accessed 30 September 2024).
79 McCurdy, "The 1932 'War'".
80 Interview KU7 and KU27, Ujiji, 14 September 2011 and 27 June 2012.

of the town itself. It does not make Kigoma-Ujiji Congolese or Burundian. Without any reservation, the town is Tanzanian within the currently reigning spatial order. But above all, Kigoma-Ujiji is a multiple borderland that both survived and combined successive spatial orders in its own idiosyncratic make-up.

For almost two centuries, if not longer, the place has evolved as a multiple frontier and borderland, each matching a different spatial order. The frontier character of Lake Tanganyika was overlaid by the westward moving frontier of the caravan trade, which was in turn overrun by European colonization and the drawing of territorial borders. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Kigoma-Ujiji also experienced massive immigration from around and across lake. As such, the town has been shaped to a considerable extent by people stemming from lands, which, in the course of history, in the territorial eras of colonial and national spatial orders, have become known as part of Congo – yet, Kigoma-Ujiji has never been a Congolese town. The succession of spatial orders in the area provides the historical frame to piece these different elements together, to distinguish between successive groups of urban settlers, as well as to understand their sense of a common destiny under the dominant territorial/national spatial order of today.

No doubt, such a spatial reading of histories of belonging and exclusion and of autochthony and identification against nationalist and state-centred master narratives can also be applied to other cases in the region or the continent at large. At first sight, contrary to many similar instances elsewhere, Kigoma-Ujiji and its allegedly "Congolese" character seem a comparatively peaceful case. However, historically, this seemingly peaceful case ties into the nineteenth-century slave trade, the Belgian King Leopold II's colonial excesses, the Batetela uprising, *wahuni* mutineers and accompanying refugees in the 1890s and the early twentieth century, as well as the East African battlefields of the First World War – not to mention the war refugees of the past 60 years. Much depends on how we frame historical phenomena. There is no lack of violence and conflict in this story: the question is only within which spatial order we can evoke or eclipse it.

Conclusion

The location where Burton and Speke disagreed on the Source of the Nile during an expedition of the Royal Geographical Society in the 1850s, where Stanley found Livingstone on behalf of the *New York Herald* in the 1870s, which African-Arab caravan traders used as a stepping stone for their commercial and increasingly political endeavours in East Central Africa throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, which people from across Lake Tanganyika turned into a Swahili urban centre towards the turn of the centuries, which German colonizers chose as the terminus of the Central Railroad and the home port for the largest freshwater ship in Africa before the First World War, and over which Belgian and British officials quarrelled during the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, was at the heart of East Central African history for about three quarters of a century.

For the following three quarters of a century, complaints in colonial reports, Tanzanian parliamentary interventions, oral testimony, and the scarcity of literature about the town's history after the 1920s give the impression that the town had been lost in oblivion. However, during this seeming oblivion, colonial, national, regional, and global challenges were met with resilience and creative problem solving. The prominent role of the people of Kigoma-Ujiji during the decolonization process has been recognized in Tanzanian national narratives, even though this recognition ignores that what these people did was at odds with national-territorial views. Their translocal responses – combining local rootedness with long-distance connectedness – countered territorializing policies on different scales. The construction and imposition of a Jiji or Ha ethnic area, colonial "tribalization" policies, Tanzanian nation-building and nationalization, and the territorial definition of belonging and alienness disregarded the town but were also discarded by its people. Taking the urban history of Kigoma-Ujiji serious counterbalances master narratives that privilege territorial, national or colonial state perspectives.

In this book, I bridge the two seemingly distinct periods in the history of Kigoma-Ujiji in two ways. Firstly, I take the perception of prominence and of oblivion serious. In Chapter 2, I reconstruct the imaginations and representations of Kigoma-Ujiji from the mid-nineteenth century – when the town was already talked about, but did not yet exist – until the present. In each of the subsequent chapters, aspects of Kigoma-Ujiji's perceived past prominence are picked up and, at the end of Chapter 7, this narrative culminates in an analysis of how the "imperial debris" of a century and a half of imaginations and representations is taken

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up in the town today and turned into an opportunity to overcome current crises. Age-old and partly biased perceptions are thus appropriated locally and employed to shape the transformations that are going on today. Outside perceptions rebounding on that place, provide a first narrative thread woven through this global urban history of Kigoma-Ujiji.

Secondly, and primarily, I interpret Kigoma-Ujiji as a space of transformation, where overwhelming global changes that put people in the region under existential pressure, are appropriated again and again, thus shaping how global processes unfold locally. From this vantage point, Chapters 3 to 7 provide a chronological journey through the history of Kigoma-Ujiji, analysing six moments of global transformation. Chapter 8 is a conclusion to this chronological journey, looking back from the present while using a spatial analytical framework.

The local shaping of global transformations, however, is not a straightforward process. It often takes a long time and, meanwhile, the outcome remains uncertain. The tension between highly uncertain protracted processes and recurrently shaping global transformations in local terms has been resolved by combining the analytical categories "liminal town" and "portal of globalization". The history of Kigoma-Ujiji is characterized by peripheral traits, a gradual marginalization, and pressure on the positionality of the town, but also by resilience, originality, and creativity at moments of transformation. This is where "liminal town" and "portal of globalization" are brought together. Both concepts refer to spaces of transformation, but "liminal town" underscores the uncertainty and precariousness while "portal of globalization" highlights centrality and a high concentration of global transformations. The concepts gain more explanatory strength by combining them: Applying the analytical category "portal of globalization" should not narrow our sight to moments when globalization is successfully shaped, but should also account for complications, intermittent interruptions, protracted transformations, periods of stagnation, and the uncertainty of the outcome while a transformation is ongoing, i.e. to the liminality of the transformation. The other way around, the liminal town is not only characterized by protracted uncertain transformations, but also by the resilience to keep going and the confidence that liminality is a phase that, sooner or later, will usher in a new state. Rather than claiming that liminal towns are portals of globalization – and vice versa – I demonstrate that the intersection between both concepts helps us better understand how globalizations work in specific times and spaces.

Before having read this book, it may have sounded awkward to consider Kigoma-Ujiji as a space where globalizations are shaped. To use a visual metaphor: only with a fisheye lens would Kigoma-Ujiji appear on a hypothetical global picture focalized on the centre – wherever that may be. Even then, the fisheye lens would produce a visual distortion scaling down the edges and expanding what is

near the focal point. This is a metaphor for how the world and globalizations are indeed usually gazed at: if not bluntly ignoring, then at least scaling down the edges and distorting the entire picture. Refocusing on the edge of the global picture, I show that globalizations do not just happen to the people of Kigoma-Ujiji but are also actively made there.

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Semi-structured interview KU2, Ujiji, 10 September 2011 (born Ujiji 1941)
Semi-structured interview KU3, Ujiji, 12 September 2011 (born Kigoma 1957)
Semi-structured interview KU4, Ujiji, 12 September 2011 (same as KU2)
Semi-structured interview KU5, Mwanga, 13 September 2011 (born Ujiji 1947)
Semi-structured interview KU6, Ujiji, 13 September 2011 (born Kagongo, Kigoma Region, 1953)
Group interview KU7, Ujiji, 14 September 2011 (born Ujiji 1924, Ujiji 1934, and Ujiji 1934)
Informal conversation KU8, Ujiji, 14 September 2011 (coffee circle)
Semi-structured double interview KU9, Ujiji, 15 September 2011 (born Ujiji 1930 and Ujiji 1944)
Semi-structured interview KU10, Ujiji, 17 September 2011 (born Ujiji 1924)
Semi-structured interview KU11, Ujiji, 19 September 2011 (born Ujiji 1931)
Semi-structured interview KU12, Ujiji, 19 September 2011 (born Ujiji 1930)
Semi-structured interview KU13, Mwanga, 23 September 2011 (born Kagunga 1948)
Informal conversation KU14, Kibirizi, 20 June 2012 (Congolese boatsman)
Semi-structured interview KU15, Kigoma, 21 June 2012 (vice-consul DRC)
Semi-structured interview KU16, Kigoma, 21 June 2012 (Brothers of Charity)
Informal conversation KU17, Kigoma, 21 June 2012 (born Kasai, DRC [circa 1970])
Semi-structured interview KU18, Mwanga, 22 June 2012 (born Nyanza-Lac, Burundi, 1959)
Semi-structured interview KU19, Ujiji, 22 June 2012 (same as KU10)
Semi-structured double interview KU20, Ujiji, 22 June 2012 (same as KU9)
Semi-structured interview KU21, Kigoma, 23 June 2012 (local manager Tanzania Railways Corporation)
Semi-structured interview KU22, Kigoma, 23 June 2012 (born Mbeya [circa 1965])
Informal conversation KU23, Kigoma, 23 June 2012 (employee vice-consulate DRC)
Semi-structured interview KU24, Kigoma, 25 June 2012 (born Bujumbura, Burundi, 1937)
Semi-structured interview KU25, Ujiji, 26 June 2012 (born Ujiji 1933)
Semi-structured double interview KU26, Ujiji, 26 June 2012 (born Ujiji 1948 and Ujiji 1958)
Semi-structured interview KU27, Ujiji, 27 June 2012 (born Ujiji 1934, part of group KU7)
Semi-structured interview KU28, Katonga, 28 June 2012 (born Mwakizega, Kigoma Region, 1944)
Informal conversation KU29, Kigoma, 3 July 2012 (Yemenite merchant)
Informal conversation KU30, Ujiji & Mwanga, 4 July 2012 (sisters Congregation of Mount Carmel)
Informal conversation KU31, Ujiji, 4 July 2012 (guide Livingstone Museum)
Semi-structured interview KU32, Mwanga, 9 July 2012 (born Ujiji 1938)
Semi-structured interview KU33, Mwanga, 9 July 2012 (born Mwandiga, Kigoma Region, 1932)
Semi-structured interview KU34, Kigoma, 10 July 2012 (same as KU15)
Semi-structured interview KU35, Ujiji, 10 July 2012 (same as KU12)
Semi-structured interview KU36, Kigoma, 20 July 2012 (Friends of Liemba Foundation)
Informal conversation KU37, Kigoma, 20 July 2012 (same as KU17)
Semi-structured interview KU38, Kigoma, 23 July 2012 (Senior Officer at Municipality of Kigoma-Ujiji)

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Index

The words Kigoma, Ujiji, Lake Tanganyika and Congo/Congolese appear too often in this book and are therefore not included in the index.

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