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By Dr. Ita Syamtasiyah Ahyat & S. S., M. Hum

Universitas Indonesia

Abstract- There are various Malay communities in West Kalimantan, which can be divided into two broad categories: (1) Malay migrants from outside Kalimantan (West Kalimantan) or contemporary Malays and (2) local Malays or native Malays who are considered as indigenous Malays. Contemporary Malays are Malay people who came from various areas in Sumatra, Riau Islands, Malay peninsula, East Malaysia (Serawak and Sabah States), and Brunei Darussalam. Considered as the earliest settlers of the island, native Malays in West Kalimantan are strongly tied to the Dayak people. Such ties can be defined in terms of horizontal relationships based on kinship and vertical relationships through intermarriage and reproduction. In this perspective, the Malays and the Dayaknese can be considered as close relatives because the native Malays are originally members of Dayaktribe who converted to Islam and regarded themselves as Malays.

Malay people are well-known for their strong Islamic identity, as evident in the existence of numerous Malay cultural centers spread across the sultanates in West Kalimantan. The Malays and their culture are still thriving and flourishing amidst the challenges posed by the rapid growth of other cultures residing in their domains. Taking globalization as a prevalent context, it is interesting to examine how the Malays manage to maintain their culture vis-à-vis the dynamics of other people (such as the Dayak people, the Madura people, and other ethnic groups) and to investigate how Malay culture influences other societies and cultures.

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The Dynamics of Malay Culture in West Kalimantan in the 20th Century

Dr. Ita Syamtasiyah Ahyat α & S. S., M. Hum σ

Abstract- There are various Malay communities in West Kalimantan, which can be divided into two broad categories: (1) Malay migrants from outside Kalimantan (West Kalimantan) or contemporary Malays and (2) local Malays or native Malays who are considered as indigenous Malays. Contemporary Malays are Malay people who came from various areas in Sumatra, Riau Islands, Malay peninsula, East Malaysia (Serawak and Sabah States), and Brunei Darussalam. Considered as the earliest settlers of the island, native Malays in West Kalimantan are strongly tied to the Dayak people. Such ties can be defined in terms of horizontal relationships based on kinship and vertical relationships through intermarriage and reproduction. In this perspective, the Malays and the Dayaknese can be considered as close relatives because the native Malays are originally members of Dayak tribe who converted to Islam and regarded themselves as Malays.

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This paper aims to reconstruct the dynamics of Malay culture in West Kalimantan. This historiographical project is undertaken by applying historical method which consists of several main steps: searching for relevant sources, selecting the sources, interpreting the sources, and reconstructing events as relevant to the main topic. Bibliography consists of local sources, documents, and works of foreign scholars which are relevant to the topic.

I. Introduction

a) Background Information

The concept of dynamics originated from a branch of physics which investigates moving objects and forces which generate such movements. In social science, dynamics is defined as the continuous movement of the human society which results in changes in its members' pattern of living.[1] Besides that,

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this paper also applies the two Indonesian concepts of *budaya* and *kebudayaan* interchangeably.[2] The word *kebudayaan*, generally translated as 'culture' in English, is derived from the Sanskrit word *buddhayah*, the plural form of *buddhi* which means 'intelligence' or 'reason'. Hence, *ke-budaya-an* can be defined as 'things related to intelligence or reason'. However, there is another opinion which regards the word *budaya* as a development of an Indonesian compound word *budi daya*, which means 'the power of reason'.[3] This alternative explanation leads to the semantic distinction between *budaya* and *kebudayaan*, with *budaya* taking the role of the 'force of reason' in its triple manifestations of *cipta* (creative mind), rasa (sense of taste), and *karsa* (action). However, cultural anthropology does not acknowledge such distinction.[4] In addition to that, this paper also employs the term 'Malay' to refer to an ethnic group and language native to Sumatra, Malay peninsula, and various areas throughout Southeast Asia.[5]

It is generally agreed that a culture is strongly dependent on its supporting society, so it is also obvious that the Malay society in West Kalimantan owes its existence to the Malay people.[6] The Malays are considered as an example of civilized society with keen observance of local customs and traditions. Such attitude develops because the Malays consider their culture as part of the totality of their lives, while the culture itself is highly regarded as a manifestation of their creative minds as human beings. The results of such creativity will always be preserved as long as their inventors remain, and they will gradually grow in line with the dynamics of their supporting society. Therefore, as any other world cultures, the Malay culture in West Kalimantan can be examined in terms of seven universal elements of culture, which consist of (1) language, (2)

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[1] Tim, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 2005), pg. 265.

[2] Tim, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia,* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1990), pgs. 130—131.

[3] P. J. Zoetmulder, *Culture, Oost en West,* (Amsterdam: C. P. J. van der Peet, 1951), quoted by Koentjaraningrat in *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi,* (Jakarta: Aksara Baru, 1985), pg. 181.

[4] Koentjaraningrat, *Ibid.*, pg. 181

[5] Tim, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia,* (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 2005), pg. 729.

[6] "Society is a complex of human life in which they interact with each other according to a particular system of traditions and customs in a continuous manner and tied to a common sense identity." Koentjaraningrat, *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi.* (Jakarta: Aksara Baru, 1985), pgs.146—147.

knowledge system, (3) social organization, (4) life-supporting system and technology, (5) economic system, (6) religious system, and (7) arts.[7]

West Kalimantan is one of Indonesian provinces located in Kalimantan Island and has as its capital city Pontianak. Being located precisely at the equator line or the 0º latitude, this city is also nicknamed *Kota Khatulistiwa* or 'the Equator City'. This province is home for various ethnic groups such as the Malays and Dayaknese who are regarded as the earliest settlers of the island. In addition to those two ethnic groups, there are also new settlers such as the Buginese, Javanese, Madurese, Minangkabaus, Sundanese, Bataknese, Chinese,[8] and others (less than one percent in total). According to the 2000 census, the population in West Kalimantan Province was 4,073,430, which consisted of Dayak people (35%), Malay people (13%), Sambas people (12%), Chinese (9%), Javanese (9%), Kendayans (8%), and others.[9]

The timeframe for this research is limited to the 20th century, during which the Malay culture is most challenged by the influences of diverse other cultures, both the indigenous people of West Kalimantan and new migrants from various regions in Indonesia.

b) Research Questions

Malay people are well-known for their strong Islamic identity, as evident in the existence of numerous Malay cultural centers spread across the sultanates in West Kalimantan. The Malays and their culture are still thriving and flourishing amidst the challenges posed by the rapid growth of other cultures residing in their domains. This research is conducted to find out whether the Malays are able to preserve their culture vis-à-vis the dynamics of others, such as the Dayaknese, the Madurese, and people from other ethnic groups. It also examines the influences of Malay culture over other societies and cultures throughout the 20th century.

II. Methodology

In order to understand the dynamics and influences of the Malay culture in West Kalimantan, this research applies a methodology which is directed towards historiography. First, it involves a bibliographical study by examining and analyzing books, articles, and other works which are relevant to the research. Second, it utilizes local sources, documents, and works of foreign scholars which are related to the research topic. Third, all of the gathered data are further analyzed using the qualitative approach. These steps correspond with historical method which consists of source collection,

source selection, interpretation, and reconstruction of event. Its final aim is to reconstruct the dynamics and influences of the Malay culture in West Kalimantan.

III. The Foundation of the Malay Society

a) The Migration of Malay People to West Kalimantan

Migration is one of the three basic factors which influence population growth, besides natality and mortality. Regional reviews on migration patterns deserve specific attention because of several reasons: (1) the ever-expanding decentralization (which contributes to greater population density) and unequal distribution of people, (2) the increasing number of factors leading to migration, and (3) the growing trend towards decentralization of development. This phenomenon is greatly enforced by rapid advances in communication and transportation.[10]

The oldest evidence of human existence in Kalimantan Island is a *Homo sapiens* skull found in Ambang Barat Gua Besar, Niah, Serawak (East Malaysia). It has been generally accepted that the skull has an absolute age of more than 35,000 years, even though there are still controversies over its actual age. Niah remains a very important prehistoric site because it preserves the longest record of human occupation in Southeast Asia. Originating from the Upper Pleistocene period, the Niah Cave reveals much about the life and culture of Paleolithic humans who managed to develop certain tools to support their daily activities.[11]

Based on those facts, various researchers have examined the origins of the indigenous people of Kalimantan and the Malay settlers. Some historians such as Van Lijnden, Schwaner, Eari, and van Eerde believe that the indigenous people of Kalimantan actually descended from the Negritos (small Neger people with curly hair) who came from the Philippine archipelago and Sulu Islands. During prehistoric times, the Negritos came to and were wandering the Indonesian archipelago through the Philippines and Sulu before they eventually arrived at an uninhabited island (that is, Kalimantan) and established themselves as the indigenous people of Kalimantan or the Dayak people. Another opinion is offered by Logan, the writer of *Ethnology of Land Archipel*, who states that the indigenous people of Kalimantan are actually the Lao people who came from South Asia (that is, the Indian subcontinent) and Cambodia. Following them were the Annam people, the Hindus, and the Chinese who then settled together in the uninhabited island of Kalimantan. A third opinion comes from Jullus Kögel and du Couret who claim that the indigenous people of Kalimantan are the long-tailed Pari-Ot people. A Chinese historical record from early 7th century (Kao-Tsoe era of the T'ang

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[7] Koentjaraningrat, *Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi.* (Jakarta: Aksara Baru, 1985), pgs. 203—204.

[8] Profil Propinsi Republik Indonesia: *Kalimantan Barat.* Jakarta: PT Intermasa, 1992, pgs. 21—22.

[9] *Indonesia's Population: Ethnicity and Religion in a Changing Political Landscape,* (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2003).

[10] R. Munir, "Migrasi" in *Lembaga Demografi FEUI. Dasar-dasar Demografi,* edisi 2000. Lembaga Penerbit UI, Jakarta, pg. 115.

[11] *Sejarah Banjar,* pg. 8.

dynasty) suggested yet another opinion that the Dayaknese actually came from the Chinese.[12]

As an ethnic group, the Malay people are considered as a branch of the Austronesian race. This is a much broader definition compared to the usual conception of the Malays as the native people of Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam, and Singapore. The Malay people reside in a big portion of Malaysia, east coast of Sumatra, along the coastal areas of Kalimantan, southern Thailand, Mindanao Island, southern Myanmar, and many small islands which stretch along the Malacca Strait and Karimata Strait. In Indonesia, the Malays dominate the provinces of North Sumatra, Riau, Riau Islands, Jambi, South Sumatra, Bangka-Belitung, and West Kalimantan. Malays are also found in Sri Lanka, Cocos (Keeling) Islands, and South Africa (Cape Malay).

The Malays, who are adherents of Islam, came from Sumatra and the Malay peninsula and then permanently settled in Kalimantan Island; in this way, they pushed the Dayak people, as the island's earlier settlers, to move further inland.[13] According to Ahmad Jelani Halimi in his book *Sejarah dan Tamadun Bangsa Melayu*, the word Malay does not only refer to the Malay ethnic group, but it also covers a broader range of people, which are known collectively as the Malay race. The Malay race, in a more generic sense, covers all ethnic groups which belong to the Malayo-Polynesian race, especially those who live in Southeast Asia, such as the Buginese from Makassar, Javanese, Sundanese, Ambonese, Balinese, Bataknese, Lampungnese, Cambodians,[14] and the Malays themselves.[15]

On the other hand, the word *Malayu* (that is, Malay) came to be used as the name of a specific ethnic group and is mostly attached as a predicate to various commodities such as textiles and handicrafts. In terms of trade, there were three Malayan kingdoms which became the centers of maritime trade, which were Patani, Malaka, and Marangkabo (Minangkabau).[16] The Minangkabaus have been often identified as sea traders who eventually came to Sulawesi (or moved from Sumatra), but this stand is controversial since the people from Sumatran highlands who moved to other islands almost invariably assumed the role of merchants and are never known as seafarers. These Malays from

Minangkabau were actually merchants from the Melayu Kingdom which flourished in the 14th century. Having Muara Jambi as its capital city and main harbor, this kingdom had overtaken the prominent role of Sriwijaya Kingdom by 1082 and dominated many of the ancient kingdom's trade routes.[17] The mouth of Melayu's commercial route is on the east coast of Sumatra, thus establishing the kingdom's jurisdiction from the mouth (east) to the head (west) of the main river and along the highlands of West Sumatra, with their rich deposits of minerals and gold ore. It was the location in which King Adityawarman founded his new capital in 1347 C.E. Therefore, historically speaking, the name Marangkabo/Minangkabau does not only refer to the highland people, as it normally does now, but also to the whole citizens of the ancient Melayu Kingdom. In 1377 King Adityawarman was attacked by the great Majapahit Kingdom because he dared to directly send emissaries to the Chinese Emperor without consulting Majapahit as its titular overlord. It is also said that clove was one of the commodities offered to the Emperor, which strongly suggests a trade relationship between Melayu and the Moluccas, most likely via a trade route which passed through South Sulawesi.[18]

As a racial group, the Malays can be identified by certain physical characteristics, such as skin color, hair type and color, skull form, cheekbone, and others. This physical-anthropological perspective is used by UNESCO to define the Malays as a broad racial group inhabiting the whole region of Southeast Asia and parts of South Africa, which includes those who are not adherents of Islam. Another conception of Malay as a nation or a cultural nest is called *Melayu Inti* (Nuclear Malays); such conception has been adopted by the Malaysian Association which declares as part of national identity three compulsory characteristics that 'true' Malays must have: (1) speaking Malay as their main language, (2) adhering to Islamic teachings, and (3) observing Malay customs and traditions. As an ethnic group, the word Malay refers to the Malayan people who reside on the east coast of Sumatra, from Riau to Singapore and the State of Johor.[19]

b) The Origin of the Malays

One theory of the origin of the Malays[20] maintains that a large group of humans migrated eastwards from mainland Asia through the land of

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[12] Amir Hasan Kiaibondan, *Suluh Sejarah Kalimantan* (Banjarmasin: Fajar, 1953), pg. 4.

[13] Tjilik Riwut. *Kalimntan Memanggil.* (Djakarta: Endang, 1958), pg. 179.

[14] Concerning the Cambodian ethnic group, there is an opinion which maintains that they consist of not only the Khmer people, but also all of the Malayo-Polynesians in that area, especially those coming from the Funan Kingdom who became the founders of the Angkor Kingdom."

[15] Ahmad Jelani Halimi, *Sejarah dan Tamadun Bangsa Melayu.* (Kuala Lumpur: Utusan Publications & Distributors Sdn. Bhd., 2008), pg. xii.

[16] Christian Pelras. *Manusia Bugis*, (Jakarta: Nalar, 2006), pg. 83.

[17] Wolter, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, pgs. 45, 90—93.

[18] Christian Pelras, *Op. cit.*, pg. 83-84.

[19] Dr. Zainuddin Isman; this paper is prepared as a resource person's material for the seminar of local historiography in national perpective: Dayaknese and Malays in Kalimantan, held on 16 March 2011 in Pontianak, organized by the Directorate General of History and Archeology of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, pg. 13.

[20] Syarif I. Alqadrie, *Ethnicity, and Social Change in Dayaknese Society of West Kalimantan, Indonesia*. Ph.D Dissertation, Department of Sociology, College of Art and Science, University of Kentucky: Lexinton, Kentucky, 1990.

China. When they reached the vast plain of central China, they were divided into two groups. The first group followed the course of rivers flowing northwards from Yalu River and found their way to northern Asia before eventually heading further eastwards and crossing the Bering Strait to North America. This group is believed as the first humans ever setting foot on the American continent which are now collectively known as the American Indians.

The second large Asian group followed the course of rivers which flowed southwards and ended in the South China Sea. From here, they moved further southwards and eventually entered the Indonesian archipelago. Of course this migration was not conducted in only one single journey but rather in smaller and separated journeys broadly classified into two waves. The people who joined the first wave of the second group travelled straight to the archipelago, some of whom eventually arrived at Kalimantan Island around 5000—4000 B.C.E. These first migrants are called the Proto-Malays or Austronesians with Mongoloid traits.[21]They lived in various coastal areas, straits, rivers, streams, and lakes. Not all of these first-wave migrants went straight to or arrived at Kalimantan; instead, some temporarily stayed or concluded their journey at various places along the great path, such as Vietnam, Cambodia, Myanmar, Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Sumatra.

The second-wave migrants from Asia were of mixed origin between (a) those who went straight to Kalimantan from mainland Asia between 5000—4000 B.C.E. and (b) those who continued their journey to the final destination, i.e. Kalimantan, from their temporary settlement at the end of the first journey. This took place hundreds and thousands of years after the first wave mentioned earlier. These two mixed strains of the second wave migrants are collectively called the Deutero-Malays, who came to be known as part of the aboriginal population of Kalimantan.

According to the theory of human migration in Asia from Yunnan, Southern China, to Southeast Asia pointed out by Sarasins, several observers of the Kalimantan society categorize the Dayaknese as part of Proto-Malays and the Malays themselves as part of Deutero-Malays. The Proto-Malays migrated to Southeast Asia around 2500—1500 B.C.E. whilst still a megalithic culture, whereas the Deutero-Malays migrated around 1500—300 B.C.E. and had adopted bronze and iron culture, as evident from their living tools which contain both metals.[22]

Human migration to and from West Kalimantan proves to be always dynamic, especially if the phenomenon is viewed in relation to the history of West Kalimantan. As any other places throughout Indonesia, West Kalimantan has gone through a long history, which cannot be separated from the general history of the island as a whole. The history of Kalimantan is broadly divided into several eras, based on the most prominent historical event taking place in a particular era, which are (1) the prehistoric era, (2) the Indian influence era (Hindu and Buddhist civilizations), (3) the Islamic era (sultanates), (4) the VOC era, (5) the East-Indies government era, (6) the Japanese occupation era, (7) the National Awakening era, (8) the Revolution era, (9) the Independence era, (10) the National Development era, (11) and the Reform era.[23]Throughout those eras, a huge number of people have migrated to Kalimantan for numerous aspirations: to become permanent settlers or migrant residents, to form colonies, to visit Kalimantan on occasions, and to meet various other purposes.

IV. The Development and Influence of Malay Culture in West Kalimantan

The Malay people in Indonesia and throughout Southeast Asia are deeply affected by the Indian culture in terms of politics, economy, social, and culture. One of the most obvious Indian influences is in politics, which gave rise to great hegemonies in Sumatra (the Buddhist Kingdom of Sriwijaya) and Java (the Hindu Kingdom of Majapahit). According to D. G. E. Hall, before the arrival of Indian culture (in the forms of Hinduism and Buddhism) Indonesia had already developed numerous forms of oral traditions, folk stories, traditional myths, and local legends.[24]This fact suggests that the archipelagic (Indonesian and Southeast Asian) people had established their own distinct culture. C. A. Coedes maintains that, when Indonesia (Southeast Asia) encountered the Indian culture, the whole region had already developed its own characteristics in three aspects: material, social, and religious. The material aspect includes (1) rice farming or cultivation with irrigation system, (2) cattle farms, (3) metals tools usage in daily activities, and (4) expertise and skills in navigation. The social aspect includes (1) the prominence of females and matriarchy and (2) local organizations to support the irrigated farming society. The religious aspect includes (1) animism, (2) ancestral worship and the Earth God/Goddess, (3) sacred high places, (4) burial place inside earth jugs or vessels or

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[21] M. D. Laode, M. D. Laode, *Tiga Muka Etnis Cina—Indonesia: Fenomena di Kalimantan Barat: Perspektif Ketahanan Nasional.* (Yogyakarta: PT. Bayu Indra Grafika, 1997), pg. 8.

[22] This is according to Vlekke in *Nusantara: Sejarah Indonesia,* which is quoted by Dr. Zainuddin Isman in "Pengaruh dan Penyebaran Kebudayaan Melayu di Pulau Kalimantan," this paper is prepared as a resource person's material for the seminar of local historiography in

national perpective, held on 16 March 2011 in Pontianak, organized by the Directorate General of History and Archeology of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, pgs. 1—2.

[23] Amir Hasan Kiaibondan, *Suluh Sejarah Kalimantan* (Banjarmasin: Fajar, 1953), pgs. 68—78.

[24] D. G. E. Hall, *Sejarah Asia Tenggara.* (Surabaya: Usaha Nasional, 1988), pg. 11.

inside a dolmen, and (5) a mythological system which employs the dualism cosmology and involves natural oppositions: mountain versus ocean, winged creatures versus marine creatures, and highlanders versus lowlanders. In addition to those three aspects, languages also mixed with each other and produced a rich variety of cultures, especially those who settled in coastal areas and along river valleys. Different geographical distribution also created linguistic distinction between inland, highland, and coastal people and generated a complex system of language levels.[25]

In a similar vein, Krom also accepts the idea of a primordial local culture which had been established far before the arrival of Indian influences. Such hypothesis came as a result of his study of Javanese civilization, which had existed before the Indian influence era. In his study, he adds more items to the list of local cultures already proposed by C. A. Coedes, which are (1) *gamelan* orchestra, (2) *wayang* or shadow puppet performance, and (3) *batik* cloth. These three items were found across vast regions with different cultural patterns. No less important is the fact that the ancient Chinese apparently acknowledged the cultural unity of that region by referring to it as K'un-Lun, a term with ambiguous ethnic boundaries.[26] Ancient Chinese manuscripts generally adopts an over generalized phrase of 'K'un-Lun people' to refer to all pre-Indian maritime societies in Southeast Asia. These societies had been reported to have a strong maritime association (and certainly more powerful marine navigation techniques[27]), even before the Chinese of the Yellow River set their first naval voyage.

With regard to the Malays, Bernard Nathofer studied the ancient Malay language in Kalimantan. After examining various lexical shifts and observing the high diversity of Malay languages in the western part of Borneo Island (now Kalimantan), he concluded that Western Borneo is the original place from which ancient Malay languages are spread to Bangka Island, Sumatra Island, Malayan peninsula, Formosa Island (Taiwan), Batavia (Betawi), and all over the Malay world (Nathofer 1996). Nathofer's theory is supported by James T. Collins (1995) who further claims that, prior to the first migration of the Proto- and Deutero-Malays, there had been people in Kalimantan Island who spoke ancient Malay languages.[28]

Most of the Dayak people who have embraced Islam no longer consider themselves as Dayaknese; instead, they prefer to be called Malays[29], Pontianaks,

Banjarese, Kutainese, and so on. Meanwhile, the Dayaknese who refused being converted to Islam moved further inwards by following the course of rivers, most of whom found residence in Central Kalimantan, in areas such as Kayu Tangi, Amuntai, Margasari, Watang Amandit, Labuan Amas, and Watang Balangan, while some others were forced to enter the forests. Most of Moslem Dayaknese live in South Kalimantan and parts of Kotawaringin, Kutai, Pontianak, and other cities.[30]

According to a West Kalimantan folk tale, the primordial people first founded their settlements near the sea or near the Kapuas River, but new immigrants then overcame them and, due to various factors, the indigenous people were then forced to move upstream. This migration gave rise to the phrase *Orang Dayak* which means the 'Upstream People' in their own language. The word Dayak was initially coined to distinguish themselves from the 'outsiders', who characteristically associated themselves with their own places of origin: the Malay people, the Bugis people, the Java people, the Madura people, the Chinese people, and so on. These new settlers in turn called the indigenous people *Daya or Dayak,* thus increasing the term's popularity. When the Europeans came, they used the term in their manuscripts, resulting in phrases such as *Dayak tribe* or *Dayak languages*. Likewise, the Dayak people call all new settlers as *Orang Laut* (Sea People).[31]

The second largest ethnic group in Kalimantan after the Dayaknese is the Malays, who generally live separately from the Dayaknese due to differences in religion, social customs, and general way of life. The Malay ethnic group is basically comprised of those who came from the Malayan peninsula and established settlements in coastal areas and near great rivers previously inhabited by the indigenous Dayaknese.

The arrival of foreign people from the Malayan peninsula inevitably forced indigenous people to gradually move to the interior. Then the new ethnic groups, including the Malays, established themselves as permanent settlers of regions left by the Dayaknese. Adherents of Islam, they are determined to live by their own customs, culture, and religion carried from their native land, with no desire to adopt native ways of life. They even moved futher to build several small settlements on the heads of great rivers. The indigenous people now gradually became absorbed in the new ways of life brought by the new settlers; some of them even converted to Islam, a process which is termed *masok melayu* (entering the Malay) or *turun melayu*

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[25] *Ibid.*, pg. 9.

[26] *Ibid.*, pgs. 9—10.

[27] Denys Lombard, *Nusa Jawa: Silang Budaya, Kajian Sejarah Terpadu, Bagian II: Batas-batas Pembaratan*, (Jakarta: PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 1996), pg. 14.

[28] *Ibid*

[29] Generally speaking, Malays are people who embrace Islam and live in West, South, Central, and East Kalimantan Provinces; Tjilik Riwut,

Kalimantan Memanggil, (Djakarta: Penerbit dan Percetakan Endang, 1958), pg. 222.

[30] Tjilik Riwut, *Kalimantan Memanggil,* (Djakarta: Penerbit dan Percetakan Endang, 1958), pg. 222.

[31] J. U. Lontan. *Sejarah Hukum Adat dan Adat Istiadat Kalimantan Barat.* (Jakarta: Pemda Tingkat I Kalimantan Barat, 1975), pg. 48.

(down to the Malay). When asked about their ancestry, they would generally dissociate themselves from the Dayaknese and declare themselves as 'True Malays' instead. This shift is partly attributed to an assumption that becoming Malay is identical to social advancement. Salato in his book *Hornbill and Dragon* reports that almost 90% of Malay people in Kalimantan are actually Dayak converts.[32]

The new settlers, especially the Malays, are not only concentrated in one place, but rather in almost all coastal regions around Kalimantan. They appear to be great in number, but their population are actually less than that of the Dayaknese. There are several ways to distinguish between the Dayaknese and the Malays, one of which is by observing their ways of clothing. Malay females tend to wear *sarong* and *kebaya* shirt and live in raised large family houses. In some places, especially on riversides, the Malays usually live in floating houses called *rumah lanting*. The Malays generally live in coastal or urban areas such as Sambas, Mempawah, Pontianak, Ngabang, and Sanggau. Their houses usually reveal that *they work as fishermen or merchants.*

It is important to note that the arrival of the Malays also initiated the infusion of Islam into Kalimantan, which was marked by the establishment of Islamic kingdoms (sultanates) throughout Kalimantan such as the Kingdoms of Banjarmasin, Kotawaringin, Pontianak, Kutai, and so on. The sultans invariably accumulate wealth from trades, in addition to other businesses. Evidence of Moslem kingdoms in Kalimantan can be found in numerous forms of heritage, such as palaces, mosques, and sultans' burial places which are still preserved until this present time.

In addition to the Malays, there are also the Buginese and the Makassarese who settle on the East and West coasts of Kalimantan and the Javanese who have migrated there ever since the Majapahit era. The Chinese soon established their communities in the western part of Kalimantan. It is also interesting to note that some of the Malays living on Kalimantan coasts are actually the descendants of Hindu-Javanese migrants from Majapahit, while the 'true' Malays are those who came from Riau and the Malayan peninsula in a much later period.[33]

The arrival of Dutch and British people has also contributed to a gradual but significant shift in the roles of Malay sultanates in Kalimantan, such as Sambas, Mempawah, Landak, Pontianak, Kubu, Sukadana, Simpang, Matan, Tayan, Meliau, Sanggau, Sekadau, Sintang, Silat, Selimbau, and Bunut. Several of those

Malay kingdoms became centers of Islamic preaching and encouraged the growth of Malay culture within their respective regions. The Dutch, in addition to deploying the 'divide et impera' tactic to break those states, also sent their high officials from Batavia to demand the Malay kings in West Borneo to sign a political treaty entitled "Overlordship Acknowledgment Contract" or *Contract tot erkenning van heerschappi* as written on its original manuscript. The political treaty required the Malay kings throughout West Kalimantan to adjust their kingdoms' government and administration systems to those dictated by the Governor General of East Indies in Batavia. The treaty also included obligations to raise the Dutch Royal Standard atop all palaces and to accept Dutch colonial government's high officials as advisors to the Malay kings in governmental affairs. Political bond with the Dutch colonial government was then augmented by the *Korte verklaaring* treaty, in which the Dutch government recognized the existence of any Malay kingdom only after the king had signed a preliminary treaty declaring his dominion as part of the administrative region of the Dutch colonial government centered in Batavia.

In terms of culture, the Malay people in West Kalimantan can be divided into two large communities: coastal community and inland community. The Malay coastal community consists of Sambas, Mempawah, Landak, Pontianak, Sukadana, and Matan/Ketapang Malays; whereas the Malay inland community consists of Sanggau, Sekadau, Sintang, Melawi, and Kapuas Hulu/Ulu Kapuas Malays. Various Malay communities in Kalimantan can be distinguished by various characteristics: local dialects, oral folk tales, customs, marriage ceremony, healing ceremony, shamanism practices, forms of address, names of spirits, and traditional government and leadership system.

Some studies examining the development of Malay culture in West Kalimantan tend to make no distinction between cultural shifts which occur in the coastal community and those which occur in the inland community. Such overgeneralization clearly does not do justice to the complexity of cultural transformations taking place among Malay people in both communities. Those living in coastal areas are more open to contacts with the outside world and to accept modern influences and technological advances than those living in the hinterland, who lead a relatively less sophisticated life. Consequently, cultural transformations in the inland community occur more slowly than those occuring in the coastal areas.

Careful observation of Malay culture in West Kalimantan shows that, despite the incorporation of many aspects of modern culture into Malay life, some ancient cultural elements which do not conflict with newer cultural elements are still preserved, resulting in unique acculturation. It is also interesting to note that, even though the Malay communities in West Kalimantan

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[32] Drs. Musni Umberan, M.S.Ed., dkk., *Sejarah Kebudayaan Kalimantan* (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1994), pg. 36.
[33] Tjilik Riwut, *Kalimantan Memanggil,* (Djakarta: Penerbit dan Percetakan Endang, 1958), pg. 179.

have adopted Islamic teachings as their basic cultural identity since 15th century, evidence suggests that some mixture between the Malay culture proper and some ancient elements of Hinduism and animism is still prevalent.

V. Conclusion

There are various Malay people living in West Kalimantan, who can be divided into two broad categories: (1) new Malay settlers from outside Kalimantan (West Kalimantan) or contemporary Malays and (2) native Malays or true Malays or indigenous Malays, as they are more commonly called. Contemporary Malays are those who came from Malay regions in Sumatra, Riau Islands, Malay peninsula, East Malaysia (Serawak and Sabah), and Brunei Darussalam. The native Malays in Kalimantan (West Kalimantan), who are part of the earliest settlers of the island, are closely tied to the Dayaknese. Such ties are mostly defined as horizontal relationships based on kinship and vertical relationships through intermarriage and reproduction. In this perspective, the Malays and the Dayaknese can be considered as close relatives because the native Malays are simply members of Dayak tribe who converted to Islam.

Following their establishment in the 16th through the 17th centuries, Malay sultanates in West Kalimantan quickly became centers of Islamic preaching, which helped establish an image of Malay people as an Islamic society. Throughout the 20th century, the Malays and their culture are thriving and growing amidst the influences of other cultures surrounding them. Faced with this new development, the Malays are relatively open to absorbing new cultural elements, while maintaining ancient customs which do not run counter to the newer ones, resulting in acculturation. Even though Islamic elements have become an inseparable part of the Malay culture, evidence suggests that some mixture between the Malay culture proper and some ancient elements of Hinduism and animism is still prevalent.

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APPENDIX

Some Photographs Representing Sultanates in West Kalimantan

1. West Kalimantan Province (source: www.wisatamelayu.com)

2. A Traditional Malay House in West Kalimantan (source: www.wisatamelayu.com)

3. A Traditional Malay House in West Kalimantan (source: www.wisatamelayu.com)

4. The Qadariah Palace, Pontianak (source: www.wisatamelayu.com)

5. The Al-Mukarramah Palace, Sintang (source: www.wisatamelayu.com)

Malay Ketapang traditional house, formerly the royal palace of the Sultanate of Matan (formerly called the Kingdom of Tanjung Pura)

6. The Amantubillah Palace, Mempawah (source: www.wisatamelayu.com)

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Rethinking the Imagined Community: Changing Religious Identity of Tribes in Chotanagpur during the First Half of Twentieth Century

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Introduction- This paper intends to study how the religious community is determined by the geographical expression and by the political boundary. In colonial Indian census, there was a category of tribal religion which disappeared after political freedom of India. All non- Muslim and non Christian tribals were assumed as a Hindu in post colonial census. The assimilation of the faith of minority by the religious majority through the imagined political boundary or so called the national movement is part of my research endeavour. I will try to figure out how the political boundary became a determining force in reconstructing a religious community or how the faith of tribals was replaced by Hinduism. In this paper I will focus on two tribes of Chotanagpur i.e. Munda and Oraon. How the faith of tribal in general and the religion of Mundas and the Oraons in particular got changed through the concept of Indianisation will be the key point of discussion in this paper. It would be interesting to know how far the dominant majoritarian politics of Hinduism incorporated and assimilated the tribal faith into Hinduism through the 'imagined native religion' which perhaps was none other than Hinduism.

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Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

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I. INTRODUCTION

This paper intends to study how the religious community is determined by the geographical expression and by the political boundary. In colonial Indian census, there was a category of tribal religion which disappeared after political freedom of India. All non- Muslim and non Christian tribals were assumed as a Hindu in post colonial census. The assimilation of the faith of minority by the religious majority through the imagined political boundary or so called the national movement is part of my research endeavour. I will try to figure out how the political boundary became a determining force in reconstructing a religious community or how the faith of tribals was replaced by Hinduism. In this paper I will focus on two tribes of Chotanagpur i.e. Munda and Oraon. How the faith of tribal in general and the religion of Mundas and the Oraons in particular got changed through the concept of Indianisation will be the key point of discussion in this paper. It would be interesting to know how far the dominant majoritarian politics of Hinduism incorporated and assimilated the tribal faith into Hinduism through the 'imagined native religion' which perhaps was none other than Hinduism.

According to Romila Thapar, "religious identity tends to iron out diversity and insists on conformity, for it is only through a uniform acceptance of the religion that it can best be used for political ends. The attempt is always to draw in as many people as possible since numbers enhance the power of the communal group and are crucial in a mechanical view of democracy."[1] In the early nineteenth century, it was still not uncommon for references to be made to "Hindu Christians or "Hindu Muslims" as distinct from those who were not native born or culturally indigenous to the Indian subcontinent.[2] Hindu came to be the concept used by people who have tried to give greater unity to the extreme cultural diversities which are native to the continent. Such efforts, even when they have involved only one way of looking at different kinds of cultural phenomena in India, have almost invariably been part of some institutional, ideological, or political agenda. As instruments for drawing all of India together, the program behind each effort has sometimes been overt and explicit; at other times, covert and hidden; or even, albeit rarely, simultaneously conscious and unconscious.[3]

Chotanagpur had witnessed the activity of many Hindu organizations like Hindu Mahasabha, Arya Samaj, Shradhanand Trust, Sharadhanand Dalitodhar Mission, Arya Pratinidhi Sabha and Bihar Navyuvak Society.[4] The Arya Samaj was established at Ranchi in 1894 primarily with a view of propagating Vedic Philosophy as propounded by Dayananda Saraswati. It arranged lectures and discourses through its preachers in some areas of Chotanagpur and people of other faiths were admitted into the Arya Samaj fold through *shuddhi* (purification). This purification ritual is resorted to by upper-caste Hindus affected by 'polluting' contact. But the Arya Samaj used it to reconvert-that is, they reinstated their "ex-Hindus" who had become Christians, Muslims, or Sikhs.[5]

As institutional efforts to defend the old order or to reform it, many of these organizations became radically and self consciously "Hindu." Defensive, exclusivist, fundamentalistic, militant, or revivalist, their purpose was to "purify" the "sacred soil" from pollution and to do so by means of radical "reconversion" (*shuddhi*). Attitudes toward and ethnic or religious community not deemed to be properly Hindu, meaning not legitimately native to *Bharat Mata* became increasingly and intolerant, if not violent.[6] Babu Jagat Narayan Lal, wrote in the newspaper 'Indian Nation'.

The fact that Christian Missions have concentrated practically the greatest part of their immense resources and energy upon them should waken the Hindus community to a sense of its duty, and the fact that they have already trained and prepared a formidable army of native preachers for the

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[1] Thapar, Romila (1998) *Imagined Religious Community?* (New Delhi) 3-4
[2] Frykenberg, R. E.(2009) *Constructions of Hinduism* (New Delhi), 5

[3] Ibid, 5-6
[4] Sahay, K.N. (1981) 'The Hindu Impact on Tribal', in P. Dash Sharma, (ed) *The Passing Scene in Chotanagpur* (Ranchi) 59
[5] Jaffrelot,Christophe (2007) *Hindu Nationalism,* (Delhi) 233
[6] Frykenberg,R.E. (2009) 24

purpose makes it imperative that public-spirited Hindus and rich and large-hearted Hindus donors who love their religion and culture as deeply as their country should turn their attention to this great and urgent problem. The Hindu Sabha and Hindu Mission have been doing something. The All India Swami Shradhanand Memorial Trust, with its meager resources yielding hardly more than an income of a few hundred rupees per month has been persuaded to turn its attention to this question and it is some consolation to note that it has taken it up. But, what can its limited resources avail in face of the whirlwind campaign of Christianity.

The fact that in the district of Ranchi alone, nearly three lakhs of Oraons and Mundas have been converted into Christianity, that in one thana thirty-one thousand out of thirty-seven thousand Oraons have become Christians and in another fifteen thousand out of seventeen thousand have turned Christians and that the conditions of several other thanas of the district is also similar, should be enough to open the eyes of the Hindus. I hope the Hindu community and Hindu institutions of every denomination will wake up before it is too late to save the situation. [7]

Labelling themselves Hindu, they saw themselves as defenders of Hinduism. These Hindu movements, in varying degrees, blended together nativist elements which are peculiar to many if not all, radical conversion movements and they did this with a particular kind of nationalistic fervour.[8]Hindu identity was defined by those who were part of this national consciousness and drew on their own idealized image of themselves resulting in an upper-caste, *brahmana*-dominated identity.[9]

In the Ninth Bihar Provincial Hindu Conference, Thebla Oraon moved the following resolution:

1. This conference is painfully conscious of the alarming progress of the proselytising activities of the Christian Missions in Chotanagpur, carried on and intensified with the aid of elaborate and well financed schemes offering inducements to the unwary aboriginal Hindus and records its empathetic opinion that a stage has been reached when all Hindu bodies regardless of their creed and complexion should collaborate and pool all their resources to counteract this move and stop this progressive decline of the Hindu population by every possible means at their disposal.

2. This conference directs the working committee of the Bihar Provincial Hindu Sabha to take the matter immediately in hand and also solicit the help and guidance of the All India Hindu Mahasabha on this issue. This conference directs the working committee to constitute a local sub-committee consisting of suitable persons to keep a close watch on the situation and advise the working committee in this matter.

3. This conference declares that all tribes inhabiting Chotanagpur be classified for administrative purpose under a common name 'Adibasi' who are and have always been Hindus.

4. This conference empathetically asserts that all special rights, privileges, protective laws and ameliorative measures calculated to benefit such tribes should be available exclusively to those who remain in the ancestral Hindu fold and retain their traditions. This conference further declares that these special privileges should not be available to those who have forsaken their ancestral faith.[10]

So, the term Hinduism is not only religious but political also. The fact that there is no clear marker between what is religious and what is political (that is, nation) has been kept deliberating vague. This confusion has become wonderfully convenient in serving the many kinds of interests and purposes of chauvinisms which have arisen in the twentieth century. As a case of synecdoche, such obfuscation, sometimes crude and sometimes insidious and subtle, has been made to serve an imperialistic ideal giving a common name to everything that exists within ritual and sacred boundaries of "the Motherland" or "the Nation."[11] Anti-conversion sentiments received a major stimulus from Savarkar's very far-reaching and influential definition of 'Hindu' in 1923 which uniquely combined 'Pitribhumi' and 'Punyabhumi' (i.e. fatherland with holy-land). Through a very effective appropriation of nationalism by Hindu majoritarianism, the indigenous origin of religious beliefs, practices, or institutions was made the supreme criterion for nationalism. It became easy to brand Muslims and Christians as alien and unpatriotic by definition, a charge particularly effective against Christians in the colonial era due to their religious affinity with the British rulers.[12]

Hindu nationalism and the conversion issue are intimately related. In his essay, *Hindutva*, Vinayak Damodar Savarka, defines a Hindu as a person who is Indian by ethnicity, national allegiance, and religious affiliation.[13] This ideology crystallized largely in reaction to the proselytizing activities of Christian missionaries. Socio-religious reform movements such as Brahmo Samaj and revivalist Hindu Movements like the Arya Samaj were partly formed to cope with frequent aggressive religious propaganda. The latter initiated a Hindu conversion technique which was in fact borrowed from the Christian missionaries but shaped along the lines of a traditional ritual, called *Suddhi*.[14]

[7] A Path of Caste Hindu Deplored, *Indian Nation News Paper*, Ranchi, 8-7-1935.
[8] Frykenberg,R.E. (2009) 24
[9]Thapar,Romila (1998) 26

[10] Patna State Archives, Ninth Bihar Provincial Conference Report, Ranchi, 15th April 1940
[11] Thapar,Romila (1998) 26
[12] Sarkar,Sumit (2002) *Beyond Nationalist Frame* (Delhi) 235
[13] Long,Jeffery .D. (2007) *A Vision for Hinduism* (London) 174
[14] Jaffrelot, Christophe (2007) 233

It cannot be denied that Hindu organisations made a determined and focused attempt to 'Hinduise' the tribals. Surprisingly, the activities of the Hindu missionaries among the tribals had by and large been ignored by all scholars. In fact some of them like S.L.Doshi have totally denied the proselytizing activities of the Hindus. Perhaps he was convinced by Gandhi according to whom, "Hinduism is the most tolerant religion because it is non-proselytizing."[15]In a way Gandhi was supporting the concept that "Hindu is always born and not made"[16]and it has nothing to do with missionary activities. A question then emerges that if a Hindu is always born and not made, and if Hinduism is not a proselytizing religion, then why was Arya Samaj established? What was the need of *suddhi* movement? Not only this, there are a number of movements proudly bearing the word 'Mission' in their titles. For example, Ramkrshna Mission, Chinmaya Mission, Divine Light Mission, and so forth. One of the publications of Chinmaya Mission about Shankracharya bears the title: *Shankara the Missionary*.[17]Furthermore, Sumit Sarkar has posed a very pertinent question that if Hinduism is not a proselytizing religion, then where did all the Buddhists of ancient India go?[18]Sarkar argues that from the late 19th century onward, expansion of Hinduism directed towards the tribals became more organized through *Shuddhi* and *paravartan*.[19]Some Hindu ideologues like Gokul Chand Narang supported the Gandhi's understanding of Hindu missionary and proselytizing activities and said that Hinduism grew up without a rival. He argues that when it was flourishing, there was no other religion in existence. According to him, this fact and the general trend of Hindu doctrines account for the absence of a zeal for conversion and a regular system, propaganda or mission for proselytization.[20]Hence, Narang questions the very existence of other religions such as, Buddhism, Jainism and for that matter all tribal faith.

The idea of a single and ancient religion gradually spread and solidified, becoming dominant and pervasive. Thus, it created a perpetuated two accompanying myths. Both of these myths were expedient, if not essential, to the continued political integration of India in colonial rule and both are no less expedient for the same political ends today. The very first one was the belief that Hinduism is a benign, "inclusivistic," and singular religion, epitomizing all that is eclectic, syncretistic, and tolerant in human behavior, doctrine, and ritual; and the second was the belief that Hinduism is a religion of majority and it represents the vast majority of India. Both the constructions had served to incorporate all indigenous population of India as being an integral part of Hinduism.[21]For the construction of Hindu Nationalism the *Sacred Books of the East* from has also served as a textual foundation. This, particular Hinduism, constructed by Company's Orientalist pundits had inspired nationalist leaders from Gandhi to Nehru.[22]

The conversion of tribals into Islam and Christianity attracted the attention of Hindu organizations. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar, one of the propounders of cultural nationalism and the leader of the Hindu Mahasabha, directed all his efforts to bring tribals into the Hindu fold. Savarkar wrote "Every person is a Hindu who regards and owns this Bharat Bhumi, this land from the Indus to the seas, as his fatherland as well as Holyland, e.i. the land of the origin of his religion. Consequently the so called aboriginal and hill tribes also are Hindus because India is their Fatherland as well as their Holyland of whatever form of worship they follow."[23] His enthusiasm towards the conversion movement helped in spreading of *shuddhi* movement in various tribal areas. The Shuddhi movement was not just a reconversion movement but also a movement against the Muslims and Christians.[24]Theoretically the critique of *shuddhi* movement is not only on the basis of conversion of the followers of different faiths into Hinduism, but also the fact that the movement was based on the false assumption that the tribal populations that lived within the political boundary of India were Hindu before their conversion to Islam and Christianity. It ignores the existence of the tribals' own faiths. Through this they tried to redefine the history and the faith of tribals, and further imposed their own faith on the tribal community. Here, the dominance of the politically powerful communities over the less powerful ones is apparent. This thinking had clearly opened the space for the coercion of the tribal population. The motive of *suddhi* movement was to engage Hindus in missionary work for conversion.

An analysis of some of the primary sources sheds light on their methods and motives of these missionaries. There is evidence that they were not only using propaganda but also force for converting tribals to Hinduism. N. Baksi, Deputy Commissioner of Palamau wrote a letter to the Chief Secretary of Bihar and Orissa where he named Chandrika Prasad and Dharam Vir Vidyalankar for using force to convert aboriginals to Hinduism.

"On the 22nd of May, Balu Oraon lodged a First Information Report at Police Station Balumath alleging that Chandrika Prasad, a Hindu Mahasabha worker and others had

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[15] Pattanaik, D.D. (1998) *Hindu Nationalism in India* (Delhi) 10.

[16] Mathew,C.V. (1999) *The Saffron Mission* (Delhi) 4.

[17] Ibid,18.

[18] Sarkar, Sumit (2002) 221

[19] Ibid

[20] Narang,Sir Gokul Chand(1966) *Glorious Hinduism* (New Delhi) 92

[21] Frykenberg,R.E.(2009) 17

[22] Ibid, 18

[23] Savarkar,V.D. (2002) Hindu Rashtra Darshan cited in Koenraad Elst, *Who is Hindu* (Delhi) 168

[24] Smith,D. (2003) *Hinduism and Modernity*, (Oxford) 187

forcibly cut his Tiki and converted him into Hinduism. Charge sheet under section 341 I.P.C. against Chandrika Prasad and two others has been submitted and case is pending in the court of the Sub Divisional Officer, Latehar. No action has been taken against Chandrika Prasad to prevent him from carrying on his missionary work, and he is in fact still carrying it on". [25]

The First Information Report lodged in Balmuth Police Station was not an isolated case but there is more evidence which shows that Hindu Missionaries were using force to convert tribals. In a different case, the secretary of the Shradanand Trust, Pandit Dharmbir Vidyalankar along with the same Chandrika Prasad Singh, the prominent leader of Hindu Mahasabha of undivided Bihar, were named in a FIR for using force to convert tribals into Hinduism.

"On the 22nd of June a First Information Report was lodged against Pandit Dharmbir Vidyalankar, secretary of the Shradanand Trust, and against Babu Chandrika, at Chandwa police station by one Budhu Oraon on the ground that they had forcibly converted him to Hinduism. No action has been taken to preclude Pandit Dharmbir or Babu Chandrika Prasad from carrying on their missionary work". [26]

In both the cases there were no arrests or any action against the culprits suggesting the organized political power of Hindu missionaries. This forcible conversion was not a sudden reaction against Christianity but part of hatred campaigns which were carried out by the national and local level Hindu leaders over the time. V.D. Savarkar tried to fuel the 'Hindu sentiments' against Christianity and Islam. He said, "The Hindu catholicity of outlook and the accompanying tolerance has been a great asset, but now-a-days it is also showing the need for revision, especially in the face of hostile and pseudo-secularist forces who tried to exploit this virtue as a weakness. Time has come to make an effort to take back those who belong to this soil into Hindu fold." [27] These provocative thoughts of Savarkar had a disastrous consequence on the followers of other faiths. Forcible conversion started in many tribal areas and Chotanagpur was also not untouched by this practice.

Coercion was one of the methods of conversion adopted by the Hindu missionaries, which is unfortunately neglected by the historians in the case of Mundas and Oraons in the region prior to 1947. Apart from the evidence of coercion such as above, there is also evidence of the nature of propaganda work that was being carried on. A play in Hindi titled, "*Hindu Ho Jaoonga*" (I Will Become a Hindu), was published in

Gaya in 1929 by Chandrika Prasad Verma. The play has three primary characters. Etta Oraon had a son called Shukra Oraon. Shukra became a Christian twenty years ago and was renamed Yohan. Yohan wanted to become a Hindu again. The padre (a Westerner) received this information and came over to try to dissuade him from doing so. The other side of the argument that Shukra was essentially a Hindu and should formally become one was maintained by the author himself. [28]

Padre: Yohan! You are an understanding man. Why do you want to leave Christianity?

Yohan: I am an understanding man that is why I am leaving Christianity. Twenty years have passed, yet I am not yet a true Christian. I do not see any novelty in Christianity. Sir! You have failed in your arguments with those who read the Hindu scriptures. I believe that Christianity is not a proper religion.

Padre: How have I not made a true Christian of You?

Yohan: If you had, then by now I would have had white as yours is. A pure Christian is white. If the skin is not white, then how can I be a pure Christian? Jesus Christ was white. A pure Christian should be white.

Padre: It is the will of God whether one is black or white.

Yohan: If it is the will of God to be black or white, then it must be his will that I am black. Lord Vishunu, Lord Rama and Lord Krishna are all dark. I am black, therefore I will be a pure Hindu. Oh! I have 'made a bad mistake. Being a koel (a black bird). How much honour a black koel Gets! The white egret which eats fish is always cursed as a murderer. Twenty years have passed, yet no white Christian has ever offered a daughter in marriage, nor is my houses like their bungalows. I have no motor car nor do I have money like they do. I call myself accursed that I have left the religion of my ancestors for this religion that does not give me anything. I am ashamed to call myself Yohan and to call my father Etta Oraon.

Padre: yes, we have been discussing the issue of the marriage of the daughters and sisters of the black padres.

Yohan: No black Christian will give his daughter to a padre. You should first give your daughters to black Christians. You cannot be clever about this. As you have given your teachings so must you give your daughters?

Padre: See, Yohan! You are not capable of managing the daughters of the padres.

Yohan: Why not?

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[25] Patna State Archives, Home Department, Political Branch, File No. 233, 28th August 1935, 7

[26] Patna State Archives, Home Department, Political Branch, File No. 233, 28th August 1935, 7

[27] Pattanaik, D. D. (1998) xiv-xv

[28] Ghosh, Abhik (2006) *The World of the Oraon* (Delhi) 230

Padre: The daughters of a padre are used to bungalows, cars, English wine, good clothes, furniture, etc., because they are daughters of wealthy men.

Yohan: Why are they wealthy? Why am I not wealthy? This is why I say that you have not made me a pure Christian, otherwise I would have been rich. You have made me a Christian and left me in this country. You should take Christians to Europe. If I have left the religion of this country, I should not remain here shamelessly. You, too, should not eat and drink from this country and yet separate the people of this country from their own brothers.

Padre: What is, then, your decision?

Yohan: When the color of the skin does not change; when there is to be no marriage with the daughters of the padre; when I cannot be rich and intelligent as you are; when I have to live in this country, then it is useless for me to remain a Christian. Clearly, I should become a Hindu.

Padre: Hindu religion is not true; Christianity is the true religion.

Yohan: I believe that Hindu religion is pure because it is vouched for by the Earth, the Sun and the Moon.

Padre: How's that?

Yohan: Has anyone ever gone to the Sun or the Moon to ask whether there will be an eclipse? No one has told us either. Yet astrology, which is a part of Hindu religion, says the truth about eclipses. The sunrise and sunset timings are also predicted. This is proof of the truth of Hindu religion. Can you present one proof of the truth of Christianity?

Padre: (quiet after this logical argument, To Yohan) Come to the bungalow, later. (Climbs into car and goes off, saddened.)

Yohan: (To me) Sir! Please purify me and turn me into a Hindu. [29]

As we have seen earlier, the idea of fatherland is raised here again. Identity is tied to one's land, and cannot be transcended by an abstract conversion of religion. Yohan, in the play, believes that Christians should be in Europe as Hindus should be in India, and that if he is a Christian, he should be transported to, and have an equal share in the bounties of the West. He thinks he has been compromised through this conversion to Christianity and he must take on the dominant religion of the land. This dialogue between these two characters clearly establishes the inseparable connection between land and faith, and reasserts Savarkar's idea.

Chandrika Prasad, publisher of this document and the third character of this conversation, is clearly using all kinds of propaganda to justify his argument. He not only used economic and social status of tribals after conversion but also the colour of their skin. This is an evidence of how the self-perception of the tribals about their identity and their insecurities were being manipulated. It is interesting to note that in the entire play, the focus is not on what Hinduism can offer to the tribals but on what Christianity cannot offer to them. Hence, both the motives of conversion as well as methods appear to be driven by an anti-Christian feeling rather than being guided by some altruistic moral need to better the lives of the tribals through Hinduism.

Gandhi had taken almost the same line as Chandrika Prasad but in a more subtle way. In Young India he said, "There was a time when I was wavering between Hinduism and Christianity. When I recovered my balance of mind, I felt that to me salvation was possible only through the Hindu religion and my faith in Hinduism grew deeper and more enlightened." [30] In asserting that "salvation was possible only through Hindu religion" he very cleverly imposed the superiority of Hinduism over Christianity. This was nothing but propaganda against Christianity. Being a great politician, Gandhi was propagating Hinduism in little different way of Chandrika Prasad. Chandrika Prasad had not said anything about what Hinduism can give to the tribals and his main focus was what Christianity cannot offer. Gandhi, however, lured his reader with the candy of salvation, which was according to him only possible through Hinduism. Despite the fact that the shuddhi movement was carried out by the Arya Samaj and consequently riots had taken place in many areas, Gandhi had shown his love for the Samaj and on many occasions appreciated the great role played by the Arya Samaj. [31] The antiquity of Hinduism had also become one of the propaganda points to show its superiority over other religions. According to Gandhi, "....the Hindu has an age-old civilization. His civilization has passed through the experiences that the two recent ones (Muslims and Christians) are still passing through." [32] We don't know about what experience Gandhi is talking about. Perhaps here he is trying to say that people should adopt Hinduism because it is more matured in the sense of its antiquity than the other two religions, and through experiences through the passage of a long period of time Hinduism is more evolved than Christianity and Islam.

Anti-Christian campaign was carried out by many Hindu organizations. They spread insecurity and therefore there was great agency in the matter of uniting 'Hindu sentiments' to counter Christianity.

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[29] Ghosh,Abhik (2006) 233-234

[30] Young India, 21st April 1927 cited in D.D.Pattanaik, *Hindu Nationalism in India,* Delhi, 1998, 6.
[31] Pattanaik,D.D. (1998) 7
[32] Ibid, 11.

In a confidential letter to Merriman, Commissioner, Chotanagpur Division, the writer of the epistle says,

"It appears from the reports received that Jagat Narayan Lal and the Hindu Mahasabha are attempting to work up an anti-Christian and anti-missionary campaign in Palamau. It appears that he has also recently visited Khunti where he stayed at Sharadhanand Ashram".[33] In his reply Merriman said,

"The most important matter for report is Jagat Narayan's campaign for conversion of Christians. I refer to your D.O. no. 2519-C, of the 5th July 1935.

During the past fortnight Jagat Narayan has visited Ranchi district accompanied by Pandit Dharambir Vidyalankar, Secretary of the All India Shradhanand Trust and Chandradeo Narayan, Secretary of the Bihar Navyuvak Society. There were meetings and speeches at Lohardaga on the 27th June and at Ranchi on the 30th June. On the 30th the party also visited Khunti. Lohardaga and Khunti are the two places in the district where the Sharadhanand Trust has got schools. Jagat Narayan lamented Hindu sectarianism and urged Hindus to try to convert aboriginals instead of allowing them to become Christians. The party again visited Lohardaga on 1st July 1935 and the opening of at least 20 primary schools for aboriginals was discussed".[34]

These facts give clear indications of the development of a campaign started in Palamau through Chandrika Prasad for the conversion of aboriginals. Perhaps it was the threat of Christianity which compelled Hindu missionaries to open schools for the aboriginals.

"Chandrika Prasad is reported to have been active in his campaign during the past fortnight but Baksi, Deputy Commissioner of Palamau thinks that there is a movement among the supporters of the Hindu Mahasabha to remove him from his preaching campaign. He claims 450 converts up to date. One Pandit Ramgobind Prasad, who is native of the Patna district and has been working in the Shradhanand Trust Ashram at Lohardaga for some 18th months, has been deputed to the newly opened branch of the Shradhanand Trust at Chandwa and is vigorously preaching in Chandwa and Balumath Police Station. He has good knowledge of Oraon and enlivens his meetings with a Harmonium. He is obviously a more suitable man from the Mahasabha point of view than Chandrika Prasad".[35]

Certain facts can be deduced from the above report. Firstly, it is clear that various Hindu organisations like the Hindu Mahasabha and the Shradhanand Trust were cooperating in the use of manpower and resources for their mission in contrast to Christianity where different groups had been working more or less independently and sometimes even against each other.

Hence, we can see that they were trying to make an organised and united effort to woo the tribals. The use of music and of people conversant with tribal languages in preaching also shows that the Hindu missionary effort was not as half-hearted and unorganised as it has been portrayed by most of the scholars. It is also clear that besides force, they were using subtle ploys like music, plays and the use of their own language to attract the tribals. However, as far as the rendering of charitable service to the tribals is concerned, the two schools run by the Shradhanand trust mentioned in the above extract are the only activities of this kind for which evidence is available in the primary and secondary sources consulted for this research.

The prime motive and also the urgency felt by missionaries to spread Hindu influence among the tribals are also clear from the following extract. It is the statement of Babu Jagat Narayan Lal, published in the newspaper 'Indian Nation'.

Chotanagpur is already known as the stronghold of the Christian Missionaries. But the condition, which now prevails here, is simply appalling. The march of 5,400 converted Oraon and Munda Christians on the silver jubilee day of in the town of Ranchi alone was a sight which it will be difficult for the Hindus of the town to efface from their memory. Thana after than a and sub-division after sub-division in the districts of Chotanagpur are succumbing to the onslaughts of the Christian Missionaries who have trained and deputed hundreds and thousands of converted Christian preachers from amongst the Oraon, Munda and Santhals themselves through silent, sympathetic and continuous work of nearly 50 years, backed by immense resources to absorb as rapidly as possible, the remaining Hindus of their fraternity, several lakhs of them have been already converted, and the pace at which these conversions are now proceeding is alarming indeed.

While attention of the Hindus have been drawn to the problem of the 6 crores of untouchables, thanks to the noble efforts of lofty souls like Mahatma Gandhi, the late Swami Shradhanand, Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Malviya and of institutions like the Hindu Mahasabha, the Arya Samaj, the Harijan Sevak Sangha and others, the attentions of the Hindus yet remains to be drawn to the problem of redeeming and elevating crores of those hardy and tribal Hindus who live in the hills and the forests of our country and are designated variously as Kol, Bheels, Mundas, Oraons and others and misnamed aboriginals, instead of Hindus in the various districts and provinces and who, although neglected so long by their co-religionists, have continued to love and practice the Hindu religion and its various rites and ceremonies in their own way. [36]

The above extract clearly showed the level of insecurity that had been aroused amongst the Hindu

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[33] Patna State Archives, Home Department, Political Branch, File No.194, 5th July 1935, 3
[34] Patna State Archives, Home Department, Political Branch, File No.194, 12th July 1935, 8
[35] Patna State Archives, Home Department, Political Branch, File No.194, 12th August 1935, 16

organisations due to the rapid spread of Christianity among the tribals of Chotanagpur. Here, we can see an assumption by the Hindu organisations that the hitherto neglected tribals were actually Hindus. Although terms like 'redeeming' and 'elevating' have been used, the means by which this task could be achieved had not been thought as being worthy of mention. The focus was more on dissuading the tribals from becoming Christian rather than trying to improve their quality of life through Hinduism. Akshoy Kumar Dutta, Brahmo editor of *Tattvabodhini Patrika* and possessing a considerable rationalist reputation asserted, "Even the women within the household have started turn Christian! Will we not wake up even after this terrible development"? [37]Hostile attitude towards Christianity and Christian preaching emerged amongst the orthodox segment of Hindus. In the work of Hindu Missionaries an aggressive spirit of resistance to Christianity was evident.[38]

The Ninth Bihar Provincial Hindu Conference was organised at Ranchi on 14th April 1940. The proceedings of the conference commenced with the singing of the *Vande matram* song. In his [1]presidential speech Shyama Prasad Mukherji said that, "Problem in our province arises in connection with the future of 'Adivasis' which must be solved in a spirit of full justice and sympathy." From the same platform the Maharaja of Panchkot, Kalyani Prasad Singh Dev addressed the conference and said that the Hindu Sabha would try its level best to keep the aboriginals in the Hindu fold. *"Hindu mara nahi hai. Iska chetra sankirn nahi hai, jo koi jis kisi Bhartiye dharm me vishwas rakhta hai, wahi Hindu hai. Wo hi hamare apne hain. Chotanagpur ke Adivasi humare hi jaise Hindu hain. Hum apne dosh se unhe alag nahi hone denge. Ab humari aankhen khul chuki hain."*[39] (The Hindu man has not died. His range is not parochial. Whosoever believes in whatsoever faith in this land, is a Hindu. They are all ours. The aboriginals of Chotanagpur are Hindus like us. We will not let them be separated from us because of our own faults. Our eyes have opened, and we are awakened now.)[40] Golwalkar expressed almost the same view time to time from different platforms. Golwalkar proposed that for the integration of tribals, one and the same formula applies: "They can be given *Yajnopavita* (the sacred thread given during Vedic initiation). They should be given equal rights and footings in the matter of religious rights, in temple worship, in the study of Vedas, and in general, in all our social and religious affairs. This is the only right

solution for all the problems of casteism found nowadays in our Hindu society".[41] The ghost of Christianity over the minds of both the leaders (Kalyani Prasad Singh Dev and M.S. Golwalkar) is very much obvious. Just to prevent the conversion of tribals into Christianity, they were ready to give social status to tribals within Hindu fold. They were assuming that all the indigenous people are basically Hindu and they should be within the Hindu religious system. Their writing depict the miserable plight of the tribals were not the cause of worry, but what really worried them was the conversion of tribals into Christianity. Perhaps their line of thought was that owing to the hierarchy in Hindu religious system where the tribals had virtually no position, they are being attracted to Christianity. This necessitated these offers of equal status, which they thought would be a carrot for the socially inferior tribals who had been so for ages. Devendranath Tagore, Brahmo Samaj leader also tried to awaken the Hindu society through social reforms and welfare measures in order to avoid the 'danger of the invasion of Christianity.' He discussed with his friends the ways and means of protecting Hindus and their tradition, and started a school for 'Hindu welfare'. He encouraged the Hindus to take initiative in social reform and participate in public activities.[42]So, we see that the motive behind the social reforms was not really guided by the philanthropic intension and for uplifting the low caste Hindus and tribals, but that it was the 'danger of Christianity' which compelled them to do so.

In the Ninth Bihar Provincial Hindu Conference, Swami Satyanand moved the following resolution:

"This conference declares that the Hindu sanghatan and the Sudhi movement is a vital necessity for the strengthening and consolidating of the Hindus in Bihar".

While explaining the meaning of the resolution he stated that,

"A religion which did not perform Suddhi was bound to die sooner or later. Let all the Hindus of whatever part they might be considered as brethren. It was their negligence that so many aboriginal Hindus had been converted into Christianity. If they would go to the Assam and the interior of Ranchi districts they would see that these places appeared to have belonged to Christian religion. Attempts should be made to reconvert all those who have so far been converted to Christian religion".[43]

After that Thebla Oraon then moved the following resolution:

1. This conference condemns the practice prevailing in Christian Missionaries schools of compelling non-

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[36] A Path of Caste Hindu Deplored, *Indian Nation News Paper*, Ranchi, 8-7-1935.

[37] Ajit Kumar Chakrabarti, Maharishi Debendranath Tagore, cited in Sumit Sarkar,(2002) 228

[38] Mathew,C.V. (1999) 55.

[39] Patna State Archives, Ninth Bihar Provincial Conference Report, Ranchi, 14th April 1940.

[40] This is my translation which captures the essence of the speech.

[41] M.S.Golwalkar:Bunch of Thoughts, cited in Koenraad Elst (2002) *Who is Hindu?* (Delhi) 205.

[42] Sundarajan,K.R. S.S.Raghavachar, (1969) *Hinduism* (Patiala) 90

Christian students to receive Christian religious instructions and draws the attention of the Government and district board to take step to stop compulsion and to refuse and withdraw the grants from such schools as do not comply with their directions in this behalf.

2. This conference records its satisfaction at the awakening that had taken place among the Hindu Adibasi who forms the bulk of the aboriginal population of Chotanagpur and Santhal parganas offers its warm congratulation to the workers devoted to this noble cause".[44]

Sjt. Hareshwar Datta, Secretary, District Hindu Sabha, Chapra moved a resolution stating that "this conference resolves that the non-Christian aborigines, Adibasis be recorded under head 'Hindu', in the next census." [45]If we look at some of the earlier sources we will see that this particular demand was not new. Mr. Hallett mentioned this nine years before the conference.

A fortnightly confidential report from Commissioner's Office, Ranchi to Mr. Hallett informs, "Vigorous propaganda at the back of which is the Hindu Mission, Calcutta, is going on to induce the aboriginals to record themselves as Hindu during the census"[46]

Thus, it is obvious that the chief thrust of the movement was not 'Hinduisation' through propagation of Hindu ideals and beliefs among the tribals, hence bringing about a qualitative change in their lives and more importantly their identity but, 'Hinduisation' by keeping them away from Christianity. In fact, they explicitly declared that all unconverted Christians were actually Hindus. As far as the Christian tribals were concerned, the focus was to be on the Shuddhi ceremony, again a mere perfunctory ritual that again would not have caused any real change in their identity or perception about life. In fact the growing emphasis on recording all non converted tribals as Hindus, clearly shows that the motives of the Hindu organisations was not so much concerned about the way of life and perceptions of the tribals or their self perception of their identity as much as it was concerned with officially recording them as Hindus and not Christians. Hence, it can be concluded that, the fact that these organisations in spite of their organised efforts, had limited impact on the identity of the tribals and had more to do with their own limited motives. In the 1950's, promotion of highly sanskritised Hindi and cow-protection to fight against Christian missions was made into an early plank of Jan Sangh activity as Hindutva forces sought to regain the ground lost after the murder of Gandhi.[47]Till the recent anti-Christian campaign, the VHP (Vishwa Hindu Parishad) may have been associated in the public mind primarily with Ramjanmbhumi and the onslaught on Muslims, culminating in the destruction of the Babri Masjid. But at the time of its foundation, its main thrust had been directed primarily against Christian proselytization in the tribal areas especially in Chotanagpur and Madhya Pradesh.[48]

According to Andre Beteille, "in today's India, tribes which answered to the anthropologist's conception of the ideal type are rarely to be found." [49]The process of inclusion embraced the life of tribal population. As such, it allowed for the inclusion of India's inhabitants, whatever their form of worship, however monotheistic or polytheistic. At the least, this action included as "Hindu" those who fell outside the pale of purity, hundreds of millions who could never be allowed to defile or pollute the sanctity of proper dwelling places. These fiats became devices for incorporating all tribal population. [50]This Hinduism is not only proselytizing in its aims but chauvinistic, exclusivist, fundamental and even imperialistic, in its demands. It aims, in its most extreme form, to represent all the native people of India.[51]"In Gramsci's terms the class, which wishes to become hegemonic, has to nationalize itself and the new 'nationalist' Hinduism comes from the middle class."[52]The motive of the Hindu missionary activities seems to have been the urgency to quell the wave of tribal conversion to Christianity rather than any genuine ideal to better their lives and bring a qualitative change through Hinduism. However, the evidence of primary sources shows that in their methods they were quite organised and united, contrary to the views of most scholars. Their primary concern however was 'Hinduisation' through the formulation of the Shuddhi ceremony and later the mere recording of tribals as Hindus in the census. Hence, the impact of these two processes of Hinduisation also seems to have been concomitant with their motives. The most important impact that the Hindu missionary organisations seem to have had on the tribal identity was perhaps their inclusion in the census as Hindus on a limited scale before 1947. After 1947, however, their demands seem to have been fulfilled in the recording of the non Christian tribals as Hindus.

[43] Patna State Archives, Ninth Bihar Provincial Conference Report, Ranchi, 15th April 1940.

[44] Patna State Archives, Ninth Bihar Provincial Conference Report, Ranchi, 15th April 1940

[45] Ibid, 3

[46] Patna State Archives, Home Department, Political Branch, File No. K.W.20, 12th January 1931, 3

[47] Sarkar, Sumit (2002) 238.

[48] Ibid, 239.

[49] Beteille, Andre (1977) "The definition in India, of Tribe'' in Romesh Thapar, (ed) *Tribe, Caste and Religion,* (Delhi)14

[50] Frykenberg,R.E. (2009) 17

[51] Ibid, 25

[52] Thapar, Romila (1998) 28

Waqf as a Model for Production and Conservation of Architectural Heritage

By Khalfan Amour Khalfan

Abstract- This paper seeks to link conservation of historic buildings with a tradition of Islamic waqf.Its aim is to inspire useful conservation lessons from this tradition for possible use in modern day practice. The paper investigates traditional waqf practice in the World Heritage Stone Town of Zanzibar to discover how it managed to preserve substantial stock of its historic buildings throughout the times. The results of this paper show that although waqf wasoriginally intended for socio-economic welfare of poor and disadvantaged, it is inherently coded with simple but effective heritage conservation philosophies. The philosophies pre-date the world conservation movements and can be adopted to enrich the present concepts.

Keywords: architectural conservation, heritage, islamic waqf, zanzibar stone town.

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WAQFASA MODELFORPRODUCTIONANDCONSERVATIONOFARCHITECTURALHERITAGE

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

Waqf as a Model for Production and Conservation of Architectural Heritage

Khalfan Amour Khalfan

Abstract- This paper seeks to link conservation of historic buildings with a tradition of Islamic *waqf*. Its aim is to inspire useful conservation lessons from this tradition for possible use in modern day practice. The paper investigates traditional *waqf* practice in the World Heritage Stone Town of Zanzibar to discover how it managed to preserve substantial stock of its historic buildings throughout the times. The results of this paper show that although *waqf* was originally intended for socio-economic welfare of poor and disadvantaged, it is inherently coded with simple but effective heritage conservation philosophies. The philosophies pre-date the world conservation movements and can be adopted to enrich the present concepts.

Keywords: architectural conservation, heritage, islamic waqf, zanzibar stone town.

I. Research Aim

This research aims primarily at linking conservation of built heritage with the traditional practice of Islamic *waqf*. It first establishes the relationship between *waqf* principles and production of architectural heritage. Thereafter, gives an overview of the *waqf* practice in the heritage Stone Town of Zanzibar (STZ) and draws insight into the conservation worthiness of *waqf* traditions. The research presents seemingly effective alternative means of achieving conservation of buildings and heritage sites. As a result, it draws attention to the academic community that traditional systems are valuable sources of inspiration for modern systems.

II. Introduction

Traditional systems have little chance of survival in the contemporary times. Conversely, *waqf*, an Islamic endowment, has endured 14 centuries of economic, political, and social temptations and has emerged potential for conservation of architectural heritage. In the UNESCO inscribed Stone Town of Zanzibar (STZ) (see map in Fig. 2), *waqf* holds about 20% of the town's building heritage. Originally, *waqf* system was established to feed the poor and disadvantaged members of society. Later on, *waqf* went beyond feeding the poor to supporting their wider demands for construction of public facilities and financing their upkeep. One example of the impressive results of *waqf* is the iconic Al-Azhar University in Egypt. It is said to have been built out of *waqf* funds[*1]. And in Iran, *waqf* funds form an indispensable part of the preservation of Kashan city (Jokilehto, 1999).

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In spite of this performance and centuries of operation in Muslim dominated countries, its conservation merit has gone almost unnoticed by scholars. The present study has barely come across an exposition of the subject except that of Assi (2008) [*2]. Conservation link to this tradition is yet to be documented. The aforesaid results and the existing gap indicate the need to explore useful conservation concepts from the tradition of Islamic *waqf*. Therefore, the intention of this research is to probe into the *waqf* traditions through the STZ case and analyze aspects that have for long helped to conserve significant number of buildings in the town. The research on the traditions of Islamic *waqf* was inspired by the UN-Habitat Agenda[*3] that advocates exploration and use of knowledge from traditional systems.

III. Methodology and Meaning of Terms

In order to fulfill the research aim stated above, the following questions were put forward:

i. What are the general rules that govern waqf system?
ii. How is waqf practice in the historic STZ contributed to building conservation?
iii. What conservation lessons can be drawn from the waqf tradition?

Data analyzed in this paper was gathered from two main sources; *Waqf* and Trust Commission (WTC) and Zanzibar National Archives (ZNA). The archives contain information on waqf administration during the British colonial period (1890 – 1963) while the WTC houses in data mostly from the third quarter of the 20th c. Limited information exists prior to the British era. Hence, information before the British era was obtained from historical, archaeological, and other studies in addition to maps and information from travelers and explores.

Some 32 archival files were examined from ZNA. Selection of the files was guided by the archives' documents' index. ZNA organizes information in alphabetical classes and sub-classes according to their themes. *Waqf* files belong to 'HD' class. Efforts were made to broadly cover all classes in the 'HD' series and a narrow down search on sub-classes was undertaken based on the relevance of the information to the research. The analysis was made on qualitative and quantitative data from *waqf* deeds, rent records and books of accounts, *waqf* decrees, *waqf* registers, jurists'

rulings and court cases, correspondences, individual *waqf* records as well as minutes of the then *Waqf* Commission. A strategic selection was made to include general administrative files featuring the British Protectorate daily correspondences from the 'AB' class in order to supplement the information from the 'HD' classes. The research also ventured into confidential files of the protectorate to unveil classified *waqf* information. Most of the archival information is in English except when Arabs were involved, in which case English translation was often provided. Similar data was collected from the present WTC to get the trends in *waqf* development in the remaining period of the 20th c. and beyond. Information contained in the records was then supplemented by an observation survey through the STZ to capture pictorial data to help clarify several unfolding issues. Background information regarding history of *waqf* and its practice was obtained from past studies and staffs of WTC.

For the sake of comprehending the topic, the terms below are given to provide English phonetic equivalent of words from Arabic origin and the meanings associated with them.

- *Waqf:* (sometimes pronounced '*wakf*') is a term used to explain an Islamic charity system. In Zanzibar, the term is sometimes used to refer to both the property dedicated as charity under this tradition and the commission that administers properties dedicated as *waqf*, i.e. the WTC.
- *Awqaf:* is the plural form of *waqf* when referring to properties.
- *Waqif:* a person who dedicates his/her property as waqf (the founder of a *waqf*).
- *Mutawalli:* a person selected by *waqif* to manage a *waqf* property.

IV. Waqf in Context

a) Background history

Waqf can be explained as an endowment carried out voluntarily by individuals who dedicate their property as everlasting charity. In Islamic law, *waqf* means to give a property a new legal status that has religious associations. Endowing *awqaf* is said to be an original Islamic tradition (Hennigan, 2004) dating back to 1,400 years ago. Muslim jurists refer *waqf* origin to different traditions of their Prophet. One of these traditions*[4] (Box 1) is imperative for understanding of this paper. It sets out terms and conditions for a *waqf*.

The tradition in Box 1 reveals *waqf* as a practice which is interwoven with social, economic and religious life of the people. It is a platform on which the rich share their wealth with the poor. The sharing between "have" and "have-not" may be among the reasons that made *waqf* survive and grow into one of the most important institutions in Muslim communities. Throughout the

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Box 1 Prophetic tradition depicting *waqf* conditions

It is narrated in *Sahih* Muslim that Umar, one of the future Caliph of Islam, sought advice from the Prophet on how to use a valuable land he acquired. The Prophet advised him to "… keep the corpus intact and give its produce as '*sadaqa*'…" Keeping the corpus intact mean it should not be disposed of in any way including selling, inheritance or gifting. The word '*sadaqa*' is an Arabic term signifying offerings the poor, the disadvantaged, and the needy members of society in order to achieve piety to God. It is further narrated that, "There is no sin for one, who administers it if he eats something from in a reasonable manner…", meaning the

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times, *waqf* evolves in response to internal and external factors. Many of the external factors attempt to modify its traditions in order to modernize the *waqf*. But, it has survived the attempts and continues to be practiced according to its rudiments. The presence of several Islamic sects*[5] with differing philosophies has been instrumental to its internal evolution and guidance on dealing with external threats.

Awqaf may be generally classified as either private or public. The public *waqf* is an endowment intended for the greater society, especially the poor and disadvantaged. On the other hand, private *waqf* (also called family *waqf*) is a dedication to benefit family's progeny. However, some private *waqif* (dedicators) do allocate portions of their *waqf* income to serve the public. And in some cases entire dedication ends up benefiting the public after serving the private purpose.

b) Waqf system

The traditional *waqf* comprises of a mutawalli who is appointed by *waqif* as administrator of the said *waqf*. Mutawalli is responsible to oversee the *waqf* according to stipulations set out in a *waqf* deed by the *waqif* (see sample in Box 2) to ensure the property is maintained.

Waqf deed is the most important document in *waqf* administration. The deed contains description of the property, *waqf* beneficiaries, their share of income and the manner in which the *waqf* should be administered. A sample of 129 old and recent deeds was investigated from ZNA and WTC. Interestingly, despite the fact that the deeds were traditional and individually written they all demonstrated strictness in terms of content and wording. Strictness was particularly observed in laying down the details. *Waqf* strict stipulations are certainly the basis for reserving its

properties. The shortest worded deed contains the optimum explicit declaration for a sound *waqf*. The sample deed in Box 2 shows the *waqif* even detailed the boundary of their shamba*[6] using cardinal references of the neighboring land in that age of the absence of surveying and mapping services in Zanzibar. All these could be viewed as attempts by the *waqif* to leave no room for misinterpretation that would eventually lead to the extinction of the *waqf* property.

V. Waqf in Stone Town of Zanzibar

The beginning of *waqf* practice in the STZ is probably from the 12th c. An archeological study established that people of African origin started to live in the present location of the town around the 12th c., at which time Islam was already in practice in Zanzibar

archipelago. By the 17th c. Arab Muslims temporarily inhabited the area (Juma, 1990). The 17th c. saw a relatively active role of *waqf* considering the presence of the oldest known mosque from the century (Fig. 1) that even pre-dates the oldest structures in the town.

The *waqf* practice in STZ is perhaps the most synergistic in the world of *awqaf*. Nowhere else *awqaf* seem to be endowed and its traditions shaped by different nationalities and various cultural sects than in the STZ. Ibadhi, Shia and Sunni sects of Islam all had hands in the evolution of *waqf* here. Additionally, Indian *waqf* laws were used as precedents in some *awqaf* court cases during the British era (ZNA, HD 10/37) representing an intercontinental influence in the administration of STZ *waqf*. The

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Box 2 Sample of a typical waqf deed from ZNA (*source: Deed No. 304 of 18th January, 1937*)

… (Name) dedicates as *waqf* his *shamba* (land) at … which is bounded on the North by…, on the South by…, on the West by…, and on the East by… The shamba contains … (number) trees including the house built of … (structural material) and covered with … (roofing material) sheets. The shamba together with their boundaries, rights and whatever is connected therewith are an accomplished wakf in favor of his … (beneficiaries' name) and their children and grand children and their posterities, one generation after another and that the first generation is entitled to enjoy the wakf before the second one and so forth …, it is for the benefit of poor, the children of his paternal uncles and aunts … should be continued in all the generations and on their death it is for the benefit of poor Moslem of … tribe … who have to enjoy the income of the wakf and also to live therein after making provision of the upkeep of the property so that it should remain in good condition until on the resurrection day. The dedicator has appointed himself as a trustee during his life time and after him, his executors … until the wakf revert to poor Moslems of …tribe when the General Trustee should be a trustee. The executors are entitled to 10% out of the income of the wakf during their life time being their remuneration. It is a valid wakf and lawful and which is neither to be sold, mortgaged, gifted nor inherited until God inherits the Earth … Dated this day of … Name and signature of waqif … Witnessed by …

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waqf had considerably impacted *awqaf* development in the neighboring East African territories of Mombasa (Kenya) and Tanganyika (now Tanzania). While *waqf* jurists in Mombasa used to refer to its cases, Tanganyika actually drafted a *waqf* memorandum based on that of Zanzibar (ZNA, HD 10/37). In short, STZ *waqf* was shaped by different external influences and in turn influenced several others.

Early *awqaf* in the town were mosques. Historic study affirms endowing mosques started circa the 17th c. and was certainly strengthened with the settlement in the 19th century. Of the 51 mosques now found in the town, 2 were of the 17th century, 42 were constructed in the 19th century, and the remaining built in the 20th c. (Sheriff, 1999). Thus, with the exception of few mosques

Figure 1 : Unique minaret of a 17th century Bamnara mosque at Malindi, the oldest in the STZ

which are over 100 years, majority of the have survived a century long.

Sheriff (1999) describes mosque endowments to have proliferated in every quarter of the town and was motivated by an Islamic tradition that "… a person who builds a mosque, God will build him a home in paradise". This should have triggered several individuals to endow mosques that today are celebrated as world heritage. Considering the position of mosques in Islam and their age in the town, it would be wise for this study on conservation in *waqf* to use mosques as its point of departure.

There should definitely be means of maintaining these mosques. One of the sources of maintenance to these early endowments is probably funds from the endowers*[7]. Majority endowers were wealthy merchants of the 19th c., some were also land owners. This suggests adequate funds were available to look after the mosques. Land (*shamba*) was also endowed as *waqf* (Fig. 2) and was probably one of the means of finance for the maintenance of some mosques especially in the first half of the 19th century when relatively few lucrative stone buildings*[8] covered less than half of the town's area. Land situated on the other side of the STZ (Ng'ambo) was almost *waqf* of these merchants who had their mansion in stone town. As the town developed, buildings themselves were made *waqf* to

support family progeny and mosque upkeep. And as Fig. 2 shows the *waqf* land also expanded.

Waqf in the STZ passed through the influence of Omani Arab Sultanate, the British hegemony, and later a post-colonial government. The Sultanate was favorable to *waqf* practice but the British influence was rather turbulent and disturbing when it was attempting to remodel its traditions (Oberauer, 2008). On the other hand, the post-colonial government was messed-up with mismanagement of the *a waqf*. However, *waqf* largely managed to resist many of these influences and eventually preserved its rudiments.
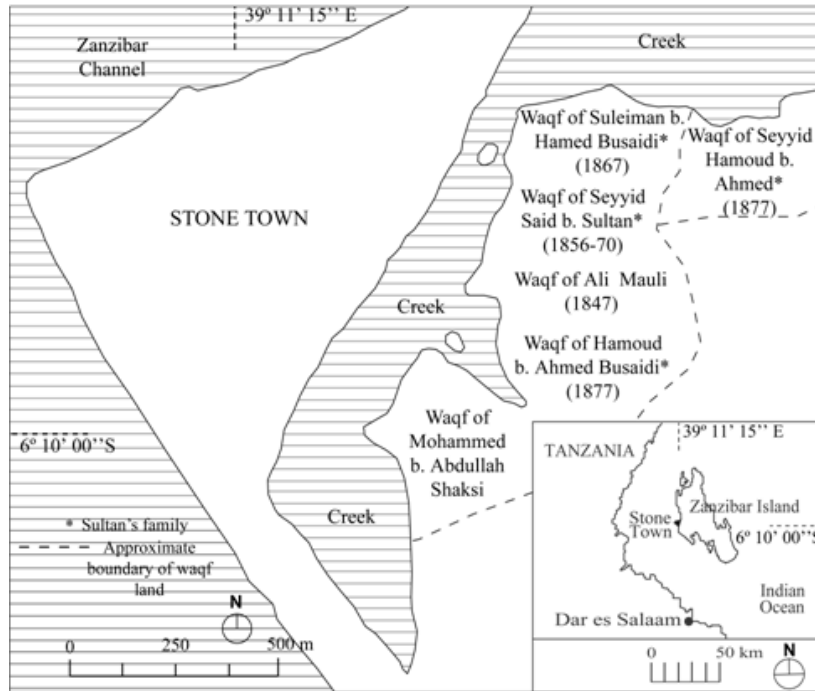
Figure 2 : The 19ᵗʰ c. land awqaf on the other side of the STZ (source: Adopted from Myers (1999))

VI. WAQF, HERITAGE AND CONSERVATION

a) The link between waqf and built heritage conservation

Back to the tradition in Box 1, there are two significant scenarios that may enlighten our understanding of *waqf* in relation to property conservation; its requirement to keep the property intact, and the need for an administrator. The interest of the present paper is in the former in which a prolonged existence of a property is envisaged. In fact, lengthening property life is the key objective of any conservation project. Conservation in *waqf* system is found to be an automated secondary aim resulting from financing social welfare, the primary concern of the tradition (Fig. 3). But, the primary concern cannot be sustained if the secondary aim of preserving the property is not carried out. Thus, the importance of the secondary aim logically outweighs that of the primary. And this is perhaps why the tradition did not take for granted protection; instead it clearly stipulates that it should be carried out.
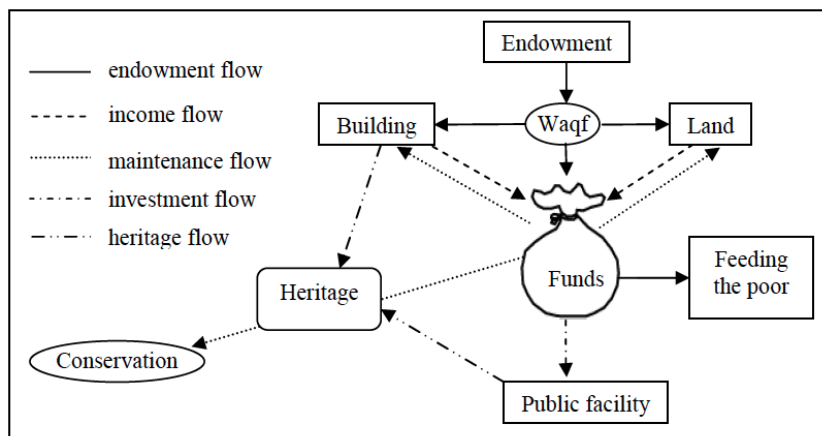
Figure 3 : Conceptual link between waqf, heritage and its conservation

Analysis of *waqf* deeds from ZNA and WTC reveals two forms of endowments that assisted to build the *waqf*-conservation framework in Fig. 3. The first is an asset (building/land) itself set as *waqf* to generate income for a certain social function, of which part is used for its upkeep. Second is an asset (building/land) set as *waqf* to provide income for the upkeep of another property, such as public facility, while part of it is retained to maintain the asset. Maintaining *awqaf* in the first place was found to be a pre-requisite set by all *waqif*. In no circumstance was a *waqif* recorded to skip such a stipulation in all *waqf* deeds scrutinized. The building assets and the facilities continue to be maintained through the system, and as time passes by they become heritage of which their conservation still depend on the same system. Hence, *waqf* can be explained as a heritage and conservation inherent tradition.

b) Local waqf-conservation movement

At times, rental income of some *awqaf* yielded surplus funds. But, owing to the presence of several schools of Islamic jurisprudence in the evolution and development of *waqf* tradition in STZ, jurists differed over the way the surplus amount should be spent. Spending an amount on other purpose than that endorsed by the *waqif* was particularly debated. Nevertheless, a later precedent established that income from one *waqf* may be spent on another, provided it is for charitable purpose (ZNA, HD10/7). This precedent was significant because several *awqaf* buildings were falling out of repair due to insufficient income. A cross financing mechanism between the *awqaf* was then made possible and records show a number of such properties received maintenance fund from the wealthy *awqaf* (ZNA, AB 34/1; HD 10/85). Such an arrangement defines the co-operate conservation efforts of the individually endowed *awqaf* and perhaps created a local conservation movement unconsciously.

c) International waqf-conservation movement

The property conservation co-operation was not limited to the STZ locality. It extended across several nations. The files contain records of *waqf* funds used to repair pilgrims' lodging house in the city of Mecca in 1934 (ZNA, HD 5/66). A mosque in Cutch Madvi, India also benefited for its upkeep from income of a house in the STZ (ZNA, HD 4/67). Similarly, a mosque *waqf* at Shangani in the Stone Town is said to receive income from a share of irrigation scheme in Oman (Sheriff, 1999).

The most striking result to emerge from this movement is that, the international conservation activities in *waqf* pre-dates the global conservation charter, the Athens Charter[9] of 1931. And it is learned from history of conservation that UNESCO's first convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage was enacted in 1972 to laud the notion of heritage as for all humanity, just found embodied in *waqf* practice long ago.

d) Waqf tradition and building longevity

Waqf highly inspires property permanence, longevity and at the far end its perpetuity. In other words it instigates preservation. When the *waqf* deed in Box 1 is further examined, the *waqif* provided a perpetual declaration on the property by stating that, "… the property should neither be sold, mortgaged, gifted or inherited". And phrases like "until the resurrection day" and "until God inherits the earth" often accompany the declaration to insist on the property eternity. These strict and explicit terms were definitely intended for *waqf* longevity. They try to leave no room for disposal or alienation of *waqf*. Moreover, *waqf* deeds usually go into details about who should be responsible to oversee the *waqf* management and once s/he dies who would be the next manager. A well defined management is in place to ensure the property does not fall into tampered hands that would eventually cut off its longevity. In short, these stipulations may be summed up to a maxim that "once *waqf*, always *waqf*" and in conservation terms, one may refer it to "once reserved, should be preserved".

Intentions and realities however, do sometimes mismatch. The *waqif* cannot utterly foresee everything in the uncertain future with regards to execution of his strict stipulations. Although the *waqif* insists on no alienation of the *waqf*, in some situations this proved difficult to abide. In 1947 sale of property was permitted by Muslim jurists after the British administration unilaterally sold several houses on grounds of accessibility (ZNA, AB 34/32), dilapidated condition, and low income (ZNA, HD 3/21). Jurists initially objected the sale presumably to control tampered alienation of *waqf* by the British. In fact the sale is allowed, but with replacement, under very strict criteria of the Sunni *waqf* philosophy known as *istibdal*. Maghniyyah (1988) mentions these criteria as: 1) where the *waqif* stipulates its sale at the time of creation of *waqf*; 2) where the *waqf* is a movable property and is considered unfit for its prescribed purpose; 3) an immovable property will be sold for the expansion of public services such road, cemetery, etc. Maghniyyah further stresses that the sale is not permitted in any way out of these even if it lies in ruins and is not being utilized for any purpose. No *waqif* in the STZ was found to set the first criterion and all *awqaf* that the British sold did not qualify for the criteria, hence invalidate their sale grounds.

The perpetual concept in *waqf* is underpinned by the fact that the property and its associated surroundings have to be fixed to ensure its permanence, and so longevity. Thus, a *waqf* of building erected on non-*waqf* land is considered invalid[10] (ZNA, HD 10/7). But, the records show that one can dedicate his/her building as *waqf* on someone else land if and only if that land is also declared as *waqf* (ZNA, HD 10/9).

e) "Reconstruction" concept in waqf

The rules regarding sale of *waqf* tried to maintain strictness while introducing some sort of flexibility. Besides, they aspired to prevent sale by restricting situations under which the sale should be allowed. This is useful because many *awqaf* are real estate properties. They are attractive to the lucrative estate market. If the sale is not restricted several properties could be tampered to that end. Following the rules, the British colonial government was politically sympathetic that it replaced some of the sold houses with newly bought properties to be administered according to those sold (ZNA, HD 10/58). The British could have achieved the same if a new building is constructed instead. The replacement gave rise to a new *waqf* rule of substituting a sold *waqf* in the STZ, though already in the *istibdal*. Despite the fact that the sold *awqaf* were replaced by ones bought elsewhere, a general conservation idea arising from this option is that of a "recreation" of, or make up for a lost heritage which roughly corresponds to "reconstruction" in the world conservation concepts. As well, an interesting correlation emerges here with regards to the number of *awqaf*. With time, *awqaf* should not decrease in number. Instead, they should either increase or remain the same.

Recreation idea might be useful in international conservation discourse. Reconstruction concept is a relatively new phenomenon which is currently under controversial discussion. Such discussion is going on in, among other countries, Japan and the United States as a response to a complete replacement of demolished historic heritages in these countries (Lambiasi, 2008). According to Lambiasi, it is still unclear whether replacement of entire building by new construction should be termed "reconstruction" because the current discourse regards, reconstruction as recreation of non-existing portions of an existing property.

When we contemplate on *waqf* practice in the STZ, reconstruction of a complete building may be considered in the discourse. Further, the location of the reconstruction can be debated as to whether such reconstruction should take place on the same site, with in the same district, or elsewhere in the country. *Waqf* rules suggest a reconstruction on the same site, contrary to what the British government did. The reason for this is logical. It was shown in section 6.4 above that buildings dedicated as *waqf* have to be on land which is also *waqf*. Additionally, when a building collapses the land cannot be used for other purpose than that of *waqf*. Else, if reconstruction has to take place on site other than the previous *waqf* land, then the site should first be made *waqf*.

f) Authentic preservation issue in waqf

A building survey in 1993 by Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA) reported a relatively unsatisfactory condition of *waqf* buildings. Nevertheless, the *waqf* case is not exceptional. Majority of heritage buildings from other owners are also in deteriorating condition due to neglect (Fig. 4). In fact, *waqf* has managed to conserve more than other owners and in rather authentic way. Fig. 4 shows *waqf* had 2% of its buildings in ruins, 0.6% new - under construction, and 0.3% emptied plots. Therefore, it has lost 2.9% of its buildings. In comparison, private ownership, the largest landlord in the STZ had 1.7% of its building stock as ruins, 4% newly developed sites, and 1.4% emptied plots. Thus, it has lost 7.1% of its buildings in the 1993 counts; more than double that of *waqf*.

The relatively high percentage of good buildings from the private ownership come from business motivated renovations and adaptations to tourist facilities that started since 1980's. Large number of these renovations was found to be radical to the buildings. As well, the buildings are extended unlawfully and demolished unnecessarily. They are also associated with most ongoing new constructions (Khalfan & Ogura, 2010).

The 1993 survey showed 4% (45 structures) of buildings in private ownership being newly constructed and some 16 (1.4%) cleared (likely to have attracted new constructions). Further, among 98 buildings reported as radically altered, 72 come from private owners, 6 from *waqf*, and the remaining 20 belong to other ownership. Coincidentally, Khalfan & Ogura (2010) found additional 72 new structures from private developments were erected between 1993 and 2009. Therefore, private properties disappear at a higher rate compared to that of *waqf*. One major reason that kept *waqf* buildings far from such effects is that, tourist facilities in the STZ often involve activities that are regarded unlawful to such religiously owned buildings. In this way, *waqf* can achieve authentic preservation of its buildings better. It was observed that the original functions of most *waqf* buildings have remained the same, so is the structural integrity and no less the materials.
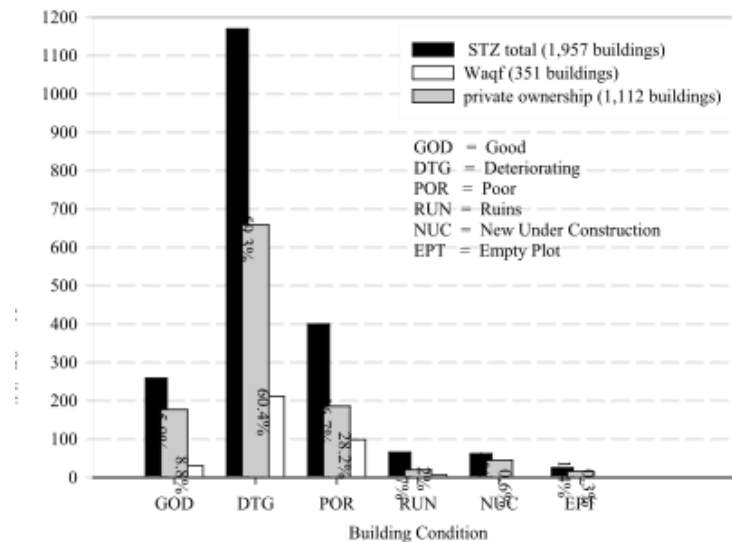
Figure 4 : STZ building condition in 1993 (source: STCDA)

VII. Conclusion

This paper set out to link building conservation with an Islamic endowment tradition, known as *waqf*. Over the centuries, the history of this tradition is turbulent but its ability to withstand external effects is remarkable. The result of preservation of its built heritage today is a result of *waqf's* ability to survive without its rudiments undermined. The genius of *waqf* tradition lies in its rigorous interaction with the society and the means of securing funds for property upkeep in addition to its universality. Properties such as land and buildings are used to generate *waqf* income to financially support *waqf* beneficiaries and provide funds for the upkeep. In so doing, *waqf* created a sort of dependency that certainly makes its beneficiaries to pay attention to. And in order for the benefits to continue, the source of the benefits should stay intact. It is through this simple logic that *waqf* properties are preserved. Therefore, according to *waqf* the preservation might be sustainable, if it comes out as a byproduct of something else desirable.

The preservation of *waqf* building heritage in the STZ and elsewhere should be credited to its highly incredible philosophy of longevity. There are hardly gaps for property disposal. The longevity is based on strict yet flexible rules supporting stability and permanence. *Waqf* buildings in the STZ have almost retained their ownership and their number has not decreased due to temptation but rather through neglect, common to most buildings in the town. This has contributed so much to their stability and permanence. Property permanence paves way for its longevity, hence its preservation. The ideas arising from this study are useful and could be used as a model to enrich today's conservation practice. It is surprising for a tradition like this to yield such interesting results. There is certainly an invitation to the conservation society to look back to traditional systems for inspirations.

VIII. Notes

1. See Liebeskind, A.: The Financing of Madrasas and English Universities – Education, Endowments, and Law, p.5 (http://www.abbyliebeskind.com/portfolio/the_founding_and_evolution.pdf),retrieved:2010/12/19.
2. This is a baseline study towards understanding *waqf* and heritage, perhaps one of the first (if not the first). It is a short article explaining the way *waqf* was used to manage cultural heritage in Palestine. The author mentions that *waqf* could be developed and adopted as a sustainable management tool but did not give the details of how such sustainability could be achieved. Besides, it deals with managerial aspects and has not explored the technical aspects on the way conservation of cultural heritages may be achieved through the *waqf*; the major distinction between this article and the present study.
3. The UN-Habitat Agenda is a main international political document produced by the Habitat Conference in its 1996 meeting in Istanbul, Turkey. It is ratified by 171 countries. The major issue in this conference is to promote sustainable development. The need for use of traditional knowledge is given under Chapter IV, Section C [8] [153(e)] of the document. See http://ww2.unhabitat.org/declara-tions/habitat_agenda.asp, retrieved: 2011/01/10.
4. The traditions of the Prophet are recorded in some six major collections. One of the most authentic collections of these traditions is *Sahih* Muslim. The collections feature oral traditions containing words and deeds of the Prophet.
5. Islam, like any other world religion is practiced according to schools of thought or sects. There are

several schools and sub-schools in Islam. The major sects in Zanzibar are Ibadhi, Shia, and Sunni.

6. Shamba is a local word for a piece of land with permanent plantations that yield regular or annual crops. The plantations are rented or its fruits sold to provide income.

7. Dedicators found themselves responsible for maintaining the mosques they established. Following this commitment many of the mosques are known by the names of their dedicators. Mosques are the most preserved buildings. This study has not found a report of a mosque collapse in the STZ although several had done so in other parts of Zanzibar Islands.

8. Properties made *waqf* vary from location to location. In the case of STZ land and buildings were mostly used. But, Assi (2008) reports on *awqaf* of books, agricultural machinery, and cattle. Cash was introduced during the Ottoman Empire.

9. The "Athens Charter" was a manifesto written mostly by the Swiss architect and urban planner Le Corbusier, summarizing the Fourth Congress of the International Congress of Modern Architects (CIAM), which took place in 1932. It is now one of the authorities in the restoration of historic monuments. See www.iflaclc.org/guidance/ICIC-AthensCharter-1932.pdf, retrieved: 2010/01/11.

10. One of the basic requirements of a valid *waqf* is that, it should be declared as permanently reserved.

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Kenyatta and Odinga: The Harbingers of Ethnic Nationalism in Kenya

By Dr. Paul Abiero Opondo

Moi University, Kenya

Abstract- The paper traces the political problems that Kenya currently faces particularly the country's inability to construct a united national consciousness, historical relationships that unfolded between the country's foremost founders, Jomo Kenyatta and Oginga Odinga and the consequences of their political differences and subsequent-fallout in the 1960s. The fall-out saw Kenyatta increasingly consolidating power around himself and a group of loyalists from the Kikuyu community while Odinga who was conceptualized as the symbolic representative of the Luo community was confined to the wilderness of politics. This paper while applying the primordial and essentialist conceptual framework recognizes the determinant role that the two leaders played in establishing the foundations for post-independent Kenya. This is especially true with respect to the negative consequences that their differing perspectives on Kenyan politics bequeathed the country, especially where the evolution of negative ethnicity is concerned. As a result of their discordant political voices in the political arena, there were cases of corruption, the killing of innocent Kenyans in Kisumu in 1969, political assassinations of T J Mboya, Pio Gama Pinto and J M Kariuki among others as this paper argues.

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Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

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I. Introduction

In discussing ethnicity Ali Mazrui observes that "while the greatest friend of African nationalism is race consciousness, the greatest enemy of African nationhood is ethnic consciousness" (1977, 295). He asserts that the process of national integration requires a partial decline in the power of kinship symbolism and ethnic confrontation (Mazrui, 299). In a nutshell the problem of negative ethnicity has led to governments in Africa being overthrown, poverty and genocide in Rwanda in 1994. The disputed 2007-2008 election, more than just a protest against a stolen election, was the politicization of ethnic rivalries that have dominated many African nations. Indeed, political mobilization, along ethnic lines, has been a major source of intercine political conflicts in Kenya especially in 1969, 1992, 1997 and 2008. Could the foundations of ethnic tensions between the Luo and the Kikuyu have been laid by Jaramogi Odinga and Kenyatta? As the two frontier politicians in Kenya, their fallout in 1966 probably set the ground for ethnic animosity in the country. It was the spirit of Nationalism that motivated Kenya's premier nationalists, Kenyatta and Odinga, among others, to triumph over colonialism. This opinion is supported by

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dynamics which led to the formation of the Mau Mau movement, the Kenya African National Union (KANU), the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), the Kenya Peoples' Union (KPU), the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD) and the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) parties, which all claimed that their goal was to fight ignorance, poverty and disease but eventually turned out to be a conglomeration of ethnic dominated vehicles for getting political power. Decolonization and even the second liberation were also driven by nationalist fervour. In Kenya, nationalism was precipitated by the events after 1945, Nkrumah's pan-Africanism, Christian-educated teachers and the fiery nationalist politics of Odinga, Mboya and Argwings Kodhek, all of whom were agreed on the desire for independence. No doubt, the pan-African movement showed the path and it was this trajectory which was followed by Kaunda of Zambia, Nyerere in Tanganyika, Obote in Uganda.

But compared to Tanzania, did nationalism succeed in uniting all Kenyans as one nation, Africanizing the economy, bringing equitable development and gender parity, protecting our resources and environment as well as eradicating poverty, ignorance and disease and ethnicity? Did every Kenyan feel part and parcel of the Kenyan crucible similar to the melting crucible in the United States of America. If not, then what happened to the Kenyan body-politic after 1963, 1969, 1975, 1982, 1990, 1992 and 2008? The paper seeks to find out why Kenyan pioneer nationalism was replaced by the Kiambu, Kalenjin and Mt. Kenya mafias. Why is it that in Kenya, the heads of security forces, Central Bank, NSIS and police force have to come from the backyard of the incumbent president while all the heads of our public universities belong to the ethnic groups where the campuses are situated? Do Kenyans trust each other with power? Then why was the MOU between Kibaki and Raila dishonoured in 2003? Why have the Luo been perceived as natural oppositionists since 1969? Why do the Somali, Turkana, Pokot and the Giriama feel marginalized by their own government? This paper interrogates all these issues by examining the role of pioneer nationalists in our struggle for independence and the changes that came after 1963, the crystallization of opposition parties, the place of neo-colonialism in all these and finally, the ethnic race for the control of economic and political hegemony in Kenya, which

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culminated in the worst election violence ever in December 2007 and the formation of the Grand Coalition government in 2008. The paper suggests that negative ethnicity was responsible for the political break up between Odinga and Kenyatta and the subsequent marginalization of Odinga and his supporters in the country's political arena.

II. Ethnicity: the Origins

What is ethnicity? Does Kenya have ethnic nationalism or is there something like a nationalist ideology which guides our politicians? The answers to these questions are polemical, not definite. Nationalism is the love for one's country, the readiness to serve it, die for it. But Thomas Eriksen alludes to the fact that "ethnicity is an aspect of social relationship between agents who consider themselves as culturally distinctive from members of other groups with whom they have regular interactions" (119). In addition to sharing all the prevailing culture and language, ethnic groups tend to have myths of common origin and have ideologies that encourage endogamy (Eriksen 119-120). Thus ethnicity is an attempt by a group of people in a nation to think and act differently from their fellow nationals in a given territory. They are distinguishable by language, culture, and beliefs about each other. In their struggle for a stake in sharing the national resources, they identify ethnicity as a handy for bargaining of resource access. Yet there is also a nationalist ideology, an ethnic ideology which demands a stake on behalf of an ethnic group. If this nationalist consciousness becomes ethnic, then ethnic nationalism becomes part of the ideology of a given ethnic group guided by the search for social, economic, and political security from the state.

Wanyande, Omosa and Chweya have argued that the class-based conflicts that emerged during the colonial period continued into the post-colonial era, precisely because the class structure of society was retained although the bourgeoisie was reconstituted (Wanyande, Omosa and Chweya, 2007, 13). State officials were employed in the public office to accumulate capital along with their political clients in the private sector. The patron-client relationship and linkage gave an impetus to ethnic relationship between the big man and the small man in the grassroots (ibid). Ethnic communities that were affiliated to the centre of the political system were able to accumulate by far more than ethnic groups that stayed outside the inner circles of the political structure (ibid, 13). It was the desire for such state privileges associated with being at the top of the political regime that set the stage for ethnic competition for power between Odinga and Kenyatta. Each one of them, supported by their ethnic communities wanted to monopolize state power for their benefits hence Odinga lost when he disagreed with Kenyatta. Looked at in another way, the ethnic animosity

and subsequent political disagreements between Odinga and Kenyatta is an example of elite conflict. According to Mwaura (1997, 2) this type of conflict may threaten the established political order but rarely becomes broadly violent, although violence does exemplify itself through assassinations of leading political figures. The conflict is relatively restrained and characterised by competition among elites for political power and therefore the conflict is self-containing and within the status quo. Assassinations and murder become alternative instruments of elite competition against those who threaten the ruling faction, such as Pio Pinto and Tom Mboya, then Ronald Ngala and J.M. Kariuk and Robert Ouko and Alexander Muge in the three decades of elite competition in Kenya. In giving example on ethnic nationalism in Kenya, Mazrui noted that 'a Kikuyu in Nairobi is probably a Kikuyu first and a laborer second and a Kikuyu businessman sees his future in the survival of the Kikuyu pre-eminence in Kenya much more than he sees his future in terms of a shared destiny with a Luo businessman" (Mazrui, 299). Such are the intricacies and uncertainties of negative ethnicity that ethnic groups in Kenya fail to see the country as belonging to all citizens. It a truism that some Kenyans are more at home in the company of their kinsmen and "tribesmen" than, when they are with members of other communities.

Hence it is the opinion of Adedeji that most intra-state conflicts in Africa are caused by "ethnicism and 'tribalism'" (Adedeji, 8). Ethnic identity (or nationalism) "is more a question of perception than an absolute phenomenon and the identity can be perceived by the group or family themselves." But also, Adedeji asserts, ethnic identity "can be attributed by outsiders" (Adedeji, 1999: 8). Thus ethnicity is not merely about language, same culture (as in Rwanda) and religion (as in Somalia) but it is mostly a perception. For example, due to extensive migrations of Rwandese a refugee from Rwanda, there is now a new ethnic group in Uganda known as Banyarwanda (Adedeji 8). On the other hand, Rawlinson (2003) has argued that though ethnicity is primordial, it was created by colonialist in their scheme of divide and rule. According Guy Arnold, political elites such as Odinga and Kenyatta used "tribalism" to gain influence and resource distribution (Arnold, 25-28). Ethnicity might also be caused by "the fear of the future, lived through the past. Such fear, Adedeji explains, is based on "a history of social uncertainty due to the failure of the state to arbitrate justly between groups or to provide credible guarantee of protection for ethnic groups" (Adedeji 8). The search for status, power and access to resources should be seen in terms of ethnicity. In order to dampen class consciousness, issues of ethnicity have been used for the control of the state power (Rawlinson, 2003 28). Thus in Africa, the main criteria by which socio-political groups define and identify themselves is rooted ethnicity instead of class.

Peace and stability is only maintained if there are perceptions of ethnic balancing in sharing the national resources and power. Bates (1983) argues, and rightly so, that the long process of industrialization, western education, urbanization, political mobilization, and competition for jobs and other commercial opportunities, which come with development and modernization, would deepen ethnic identities and animosity as individuals and politicians exploited their ethnic group memberships as tools for political, economic and social advancement (Bates 8). In other words, the Kikuyu and the Luo who were the first beneficiaries of modernization began competing for economic and political opportunities long before any other Kenyans could hence the fierce competition that still holds to date. But all in all, it needs to be reiterated that it is political leaders who use ethnicity for political mobilization and that citizens themselves do not have ethnicity in the blood. It is this "instrumental manipulation" by politicians that leads to ethnic cleansing as happened in Kenya in the 1992 and 2007/8. Indeed, African leaders such as Kenyatta and Milton Obote of Uganda "had pursued nationalism at the expense of freedom of expression through authoritarianism and the one-party state" (Rawlinson, 2003). As a corollary, most Kenyans suffered repression, detention and lack of democratic space during Kenyatta's reign, in the name of building a united Kenya.

III. Contrasting Personalities and Elites

Class, power and ethnicity became increasingly intertwined and thus displaced race as a factor in the political process hence the Kenyan society became de-racialised but not de-ethnicised (Karuti Kanyinga, 2007, 86). Kanyinga asserts that at indepencende, "the concept of tribe became more important as the new elites turned to their ethnic groups for support in their competition with each other" (Kanyingi, 86). Subsequently and for the sake of power, ethnicity became a toll for political survival. As a result, the police, army and the civil service came under the control of ethnic loyalties. The bureaucracy became an instrument through which the state dominated the political relations and society. In Kenya, the provincial administration, inherited from the colonial era, became the means through which the government maintained law and order at the local level and hence control political opponents. It is stated that after banning political parties Kenyatta had unlimited political space which he used "with his Kikuyu confidants to amass political power for the control and regulation of the Society' (Kanyinga, 87). Concomitant with this, Atieno Odhiambo observes that the study of independence movements and conflicts in Africa has perhaps, legitimately, been weighted, in terms of concentration on elites (1972, 22). In tandem with opinion, this paper has narrowed its focus on Odinga and Kenyatta, the two leading politicians and

nationalists. This focus is relevant because at independence, it was these two educated elites that assumed the reins of power under the belief that their struggle against colonialism was to act on behalf of the people who were voiceless. Indeed Odinga believed that Kenyatta was the right person for the leadership of Kenya as far as tackling ignorance, illiteracy and poverty was concerned.

For an orderly analysis of the two political allies who later became arch rivals it is vital to asses the ideologies, personalities and understanding that underpinned the political logic of each one of them and then set out to draw parallels and generalizations. Jaramogi Ajuma Oginga Odinga was born in 1911 (he revised it to 1917), studied at Maseno and Makerere College, where he trained as a teacher. He began his political journey as a member of the Central Nyanza Local Native Council (LNC) in late 1940s, where he was an outstanding critic of the colonially based LNC for failing to be the voice of the oppressed masses, instead serving the colonial interests (Berman 311). He used his position to oppose forced land alienation and conservation measures that were draconian. Berman asserts that "in many instances these were unpopular measures that the colonial administrators pushed through the councils" (Berman 311). He came out as the voice of the African peasants. In the 1950s he offered strength to the nationalist recovery after the destruction of the Mau Mau resistance movement and the subsequent arrest of its leaders led by Kenyatta between 1952 and1960 (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1998). He could have been easily mellowed to the whims of the colonialists and international capital to take over Kenya's leadership, when Kenyatta was in prison, but he chose the path of a wider nationalist Kenyan cause, which to me was the epic of mega nationalism in Kenya. Odinga was also a champion of African business initiatives, which he saw as a way of liberating Africans from the yoke of poverty and dependency. Writing on Odinga, Atieno Odhiambo (1998) is of the view that Odinga differed with Kenya in political perception. Odinga went for populist politics that was in tandem with peasants and underdogs such as the Mau Mau fighters who should be compensated, the landless who should get free land and the small man in the urban centers. The differences between Odinga and Kenyatta stemmed from their different perceptions on how Kenya's economic and political challenges, such as the prevailing inequities and the gulf between the rich and the poor, could be bridged.

Jomo Kenyatta (Johnstone Kamau) was born around 1890 in Gatundu and was educated by missionaries. In 1928, he began his political life as Secretary-General of Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) and an editor of its monthly journal, *Muigwithania*, the first vernacular publication produced by Africans in the colony (Berman, 1992: 230). The KCA objectives

included the settlement of land claims, the security of title to the remaining Kikuyu land, the expansion of educational facilities, the improved health and sanitation facilities, and the promotion of economic development in the reserves (Berman, 230). He was a cultural champion who opposed Scotland missionaries' attempts to ban female genital mutilation. Through KCA, he challenged the colonial state's role as a paternalistic protector and an intermediary to African rights. He, in essence, succeeded in organizing the Kikuyu against the Social, economic and political domination. Kenyatta enhanced political consciousness among his people. He helped to create an opposition against the British colonial masters, asking for direct representation in the Legco.

Kenyatta traveled to London to create awareness of the injustice and the land problems created by the British alienation policy. He supported teacher education in his Kiambu district. He imbued Pan Africanism and worked closely with Kaunda of Zambia, Nkurumah of Ghana, Nyerere of Tanganyika, and Obote of Uganda to promote the spirit of independence in Africa. He assumed the powerful and influential position of a "quintessential African" (Ogot and Ochieng, 1995). He was the savior, the messiah against colonialism, a liberator who "held the lion by the tail" and believed that the tree of freedom must be watered with blood. His return from London had far-reaching consequences and as a leader of Kenya African Union, he was as inspiration to the youth and Kenyan politicians. Arnold highlights an important personality of Kenyatta when he writes:

Politics [in Kenya] are volatile, sometimes fierce and the interest groups diverse. ..The country's ruling elite is conservative; in the late Jomo Kenyatta they had a leader who mixed in his person [sic] the traditional beliefs of an older, vanishing age with a keen desire to see Kenya modernize and an admiration for western, especially British, achievements. (Arnold, 1980, 1)

No description fits Kenyatta's political personality better than the above one. This assertion by Arnold is not only befitting but, an explicit exposition Kenyatta's understanding and belief in the global economic and political situation, reflecting the core of his ideology and beliefs that guided his administration of Kenya as a father figure, an educator and an African patriarch.

Mwaura (1997) has anlysed factors that made Kenyatta a strong leader at independent. Firstly, "to obtain stature in last years of colonialism, nationalist leaders owed a great deal of their success to verbal virtuosity" (Mwaura, 5). Until independence gave them concrete power, they did not have adequate resources for general patronage to win support. The skills of oratorical persuasion were often paramount in the initial

phases of rising to power, though they had to be combined with political prudence and tactical competence" (Mwaura, 5). The "gift of the gab" was therefore initially important and Kenyatta, Odinga and Tom Mboya attained their political stature partly because of their capacity to captivate mass audiences.

Kenyatta's first act of patriotism was the declaration of a republic in 1964 after KANU's election victory in the 1963 elections. Next step was the wooing of KADU members to "cross the floor" from the opposition in parliament and join KANU and the government in forgoing national unity for national building. His vision to bring Kenyans together and wield one nation was eloquently portrayed by his colourful rhetoric to reduce inter-party divisionism which saw the Akamba Peoples Party (APP) of Paul Ngei and KADU join KANU. However, this manipulation did little to reduce ethnic animosity between the Luo and the Kikuyu.

With the declaration of a republic in 1964, Kenyatta got the opportunity to reduce the power promised to the regions (*jimbos*) - powers which he firmly believed would militate against the creation of a national identity (Mwaura, 1997: 5). Finally, Kenyatta centralized political power in the person and office of the President, a situation reinforced by the fact that President of the country was also the head of the ruling party. The institutions of political succession came under the control and direction of President Kenyatta. The following consequences came from the president's manipulation of the constitution: Firstly, the president was empowered with wide discretionary powers to appoint and fire all cabinet ministers - including the vice-president and all civil servants. Parastatal heads were his nominee or those of his ministers. Secondly, appointments of senior administrative officers (particularly Provincial Administration), helped cultivated a patronage system in which all parts of the country enjoyed some of the benison of patronage.

- After manipulating the constitution, Kenya became a *de facto* one party state where candidates could only `stand' for civic and parliamentary elections if nominated by a political party - KANU. This ensured that potential rivals leke Odinga and political recruitment and mobilization of people occurred within a rapidly shrinking political space.

According to Atieno Odhiambo (1998, 17), Kenyatta decided to support the petite bourgeoisie (*uthuuri*). Property had to be protected using political power, and power had to be consolidated. So to Kenyatta, it was best protected within the Gikuyu nation and in the process eliminating the Luo and other ethnic rivals.

So, Atieno Odhiambo concludes, "the social struggle for the future was turned around and re-baptized Kikuyu-Luo rivalry as ethnicity won over ideology" (Atieno-Odhiambo, 5). In my view Kenyatta

wanted to monopolize political power in order to use it for economic gain by the children of Gikuyu and Mumbi. In contrast to Odinga, Kenyatta went for the already successful elites, not Odinga's poor and landless *ahoi*. He mobilized the Kikuyu elite around him and gave them a link with the international capital. From 1967, he forged the new Kikuyu-Kalenjin alliance with Daniel arap Moi in order to solve the perennial problem of land shortages in Kiambu, Muranga and Nyeri, by bringing several lorries of peasants from Central province. The possibility of wealth and opportunity lay in the RiftValley province. To solve the Kikuyu agrarian problem, Atieno-Odhiambo argues, "he made a pragmatic alliance with Moi, a member of the conservative wing of the Kalenjin, to enable the Kikuyu to settle in the former White Highlands (Throup and Homsby, 1998). Kenyatta had a unique form of ethnicity and exclusion, choosing to be specifically loyal to his ethnic group and general to the Kenyan nation. Atieno-Odhiambo has argued that he distinguished between the "homeboy" and the other "outsiders": the Luo were regularly referred to as *waruguru, kinyamu, kihii* (or little boys) (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1998: 31). One blocked opportunity followed another, as industries collapsed or failed to be created in Western Kenya. It is my position that such innuendos and superficial marginalization created an incurable political animosity between the Luo and the Kikuyu elites on the one hand, and Luo and Kikuyu labours/peasants on the other, leading to the huge ethnic divide that culminated in the 1969 and 2007/8 violence in Kenya.

Yet the colonial administration always harassed African efforts to enter business because it was competing against the established trading preserves of Asians and Europeans. African initiative was also a demonstration of African initiatives (Odinga, 1967: 89). As a member of the Legco, Odinga used his opportunity in Parliament as a forum for attacking the colonial government and settlers, mobilizing fellow Members to frustrate colonial coercive measures. He led them to demand for more seats in the Legco, and they refused to accept the ministerial portfolios that were offered to entice them to follow the colonial path. That was Jaramogi championing nationalist interest, a phenomenon that later characterized his political style. Odinga's opposition to the colonial administration and later the Kenyatta government was driven by the suffering of the Kenyan masses rather than personal issues. In 1958 he mobilized the six additional Members to reject the Lennox Boyd constitution. In addition, he fought for Kenyatta's release from Kapenguria. As Berman points out, "Odinga also invoked Kenyatta's name and image as a national leader amid the shock and outrage of the colonial officials and settlers in the Council" (Berman, 1992: 399). Due to his efforts, at the end of 1958, the African Members of the council embarrassed the Administration when they collectively walked out during the governor's speech to the Legco.

Both Odinga and Kenyatta had a first. Mzee Jomo Kenyatta (1890-1978) was the first Prime-Minister and President of Kenya, and Jaramogi Ajumaa Oginga Odinga (1911-1993) was the first Vice-President (1963-1966), and both men were pioneer nationalists, educationists, cultural defenders of their ethnic groups, staunch ideologies and firm patriots and pan Africanists. However, according to Atieno-Odhiambo (1998), "the parting of ways between Odinga and Kenyatta was ideological, but was also reflected in their separate understandings and dreams". Their positioning, he asserts, represented conflicting understandings of the African past, because both of them had been immersed in the inventions of the past. He posits that both men brought with them an ethno-cultural understanding of politics, and both were deeply cultural, with values that were locally rooted among their kinsmen. Atieno-Odhiambo points out that, "both of them understood the link between individual and community, emphasized the potency of hard work and unity, and the force of power behind the developmental roots ethnicity" (Ibid, 28).

But Kenyatta was the archetype of repressive politics and used his position to forcefully weld Kenyans together. In contrast, Odinga was the doyen of opposition politics, a radical believer in peasant mobilization for political ends. Both men have legacies that spanned over fifty years. But what can we remember both these pioneer politicians for? How did they impact on the life of the nation? Can what they stood for still be felt across the country? Were they responsible for the prevailing ethnic polarization of the country? No doubt, they laid the foundation for the development of Kenyan politics as we know it today. Kenyatta's trajectory of creating a capitalist economy was established on the establishment of the monolithic Kenya African National Union (KANU) dictatorship, leading to one party politics and reprisals against any form of opposition (*nitawakanyaga kanyaga*-I will crush them). In pursuing this conservative policy, between1963-1975, the country suffered one tragedy after another, including oppressive policies, assassinations, land grabbing, inequity, gender imbalance, negative ethnicity, and regionalism, and his successor, Daniel arap Moi, followed in his footsteps (*fuata nyayo*). Pio Gama Pinto (assassinated in 1965), T J Mboya (assassinated in1969), Argwings-Kodhek (assassinated in 1972), Ronald Ngala (assassinated in 1973) and J M Kariuki (assassinated in 1975) all of whom paid the price for Kenya's bad governance and an assumed sense of political peace and stability. Kenyatta allied himself with conservative and neo-colonial forces under the guise of attracting foreign investments and fighting communism. On the other hand, Odinga set the motion for radical opposition politics with his base among his Luo community forming the first opposition party, the Kenya Peoples' Union (KPU) in 1969. On top of that he died while heading the

official opposition party, the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy-Kenya (FORD-K). By contradicting Kenyatta, and for being in radical opposition for close to 50 years, Odinga was the doyen of Kenyan opposition politics, and he thus set the ground for the subsequent economic marginalization of Nyanza region, for the economic downturn of the Luo professionals and civil servants and for their negative perception as the political black sheep in Kenya. According to Atieno Odhiambo, as a result of Odinga-Kenyatta rivalry, the Luo have since been seen as die-hard political anti-establishment, leading to Jaramodi Odinga's detention, the detention of his son, Raila in 1982 (as well as of Wasonga Sijeyo, the former MP for Gem) as the longest serving political detainee in Kenya (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1998, 23). Through Odinga's brand of politics, the socialist ideology became adopted in Kenya's political and intellectual life leading to the radicalization of student politics in our universities in 1970s and setting the links with Eastern-leaning democracies, such as Russia and China.

Both Odinga and Kenyatta, began their public life as political allies and nationalists friends and nationalists but later became bitter political rivals. Through their manipulations of the constitution, their marginalization of parts of Kenya, and their actions and omissions, they planted the seeds of nationalism, and later when they broke off, they encouraged the culture of intolerance and ethnic animosity in Kenya by pursuing different political ideologies behind their ethic support.

Their long political rivalry set the ground for the bad blood between the Luo and the Kikuyu politicians and intellectuals. While these differences were purely ideological, they later assumed ethnic seriousness. Odinga was an enigmatic leftist *(ogwal bade cheko)* while Kenyatta was seen as a nationalist but one who favoured his community's economic advancement above anything else. Kenyatta died after fifteen years of enjoying massive political power, setting the arena for *siasa mbaya maisha mbaya* (politics is life) that Moi later adopted. Odinga died with all his dreams and ambitions for Kenya, a bitter lesson for the political opposition in this country. He died literally begging Kenyans to 'give me a chance even for one day' but ethnic nationalism, led by Kenneth N. Matiba led to the splitting of FORD, a vehicle he would have used to get political power. He had begun his politics as at Maseno School in the 1940s as a teacher where he questioned the logic of teaching mathematics using Western formula. He had his own methods of teaching Mathematics, he argued. Odinga then joined politics with his opposition to colonial land policies in Nyanza in the 1950s and in 1957-58, as a member of the Legislative council, he fought for the release of Jomo Kenyatta and other nationalist who had been detained in 1952 when the Mau Mau rebellion had broken out. Later, in the 1960s, he was opposed to Kenyatta's policies of economic liberalization without

taking care of the poor, for which he lost his number two position in the government, earning the wrath of the state. This led to the Kisumu disturbances in 1969, in which 26 school children were shot by police. Odinga had warned his political nemesis and an ally of Kenyatta, Tom J Mboya against aligning himself with neo-colonial politics and Mboya, a leading trade unionist was later assassinated in 1969. In the 1980s there were attempts to rehabilitate him by the Moi regime, but he refused to join the ruling Mafia in land grabbing in the country's cities and the Rift Valley province. Odinga and Kenyatta enjoyed massive support from their Luo and Kikuyu ethnic groups respectively, where they were literally regarded as political prophets by their followers. Kenyatta suffered a bout of unpopularity from the Coast, whose inhabitants accused him of grabbing their land along the coastal beaches, from Nyanza for marginalizing the intellectuals, and form North Eastern Province for the killing of innocent citizens. The killings of the innocent citizens in north-Eastern region occurred in the 1970s due to the perceived Shifta (Somali) rebellion. The Somali inhabitants there had been driven by ethnic nationalism and so wanted to secede and join the greater Somalia. In response the government sent military forces to quell the insurgency leading to loss of lives.

Odinga was the darling of radical intellectuals in Nairobi, Kampala and Dar-Es-Salaam, but was perceived to be un-electable for the presidency because he was not circumcised and hence was unfit to lead until he passed on in 1993. Because he died fighting to get political power, many Kenyans but especially his Luo community, continued with the war for the second liberation against the oppressive political system and against their perceived marginalization and this culminated in ethnic consciousness and nationalism among the Luo as well as the deep hatred for Kenyatta, the stumbling block against their ambition. There is no doubt that the ideological wars between Kenyatta and Odinga set the ground for the ethnic hatred between the Kikuyu and the Luo that culminated to the animosity and post-election violence in December 2007, in which the Kikuyu were the greatest losers. For Kenya to have peace, the two ethnic groups must work together as they did in 1963 when they brought independence, in 1992 their unity and that of other Kenyans led to the multiparty system being re- introduced, and finally in 2002 when the dreaded Luo-Kikuyu union led to the rejection of presidential candidate, Uhuru Kenyatta, perceived to have been Moi's "project". As a result, (KANU) was ejected from power and when the two communities disunited in 2007, the lights went off Kenya.

IV. Methodology and Theoretical Frameworks

As far as theoretical orientation is concerned, ethnicity has been discussed under the primordial and essentialist concepts. The primordial approach views ethnicity as an embedment of individuals to 'tribal' groupings" (PG Okoth, 2008, 147). Thus primordial ties are normally persistent and often form the basis to legitimize political groupings. It these age-old ties, which tie individual members of ethnic groups to support and even risk their lives for collective benefit of the members (ibid). In a nutshell, primordial means those aspects of life which we inherit and we can do nothing to change. It is the strength of the ethnic bond that supersedes other motives including economic gains for action to benefit the group. Yet such benefits accrue only to the elites of the group and hardly trickle down to *wananchi* (citizens). Accordingly, "anthropoligists believe that ethnic groups or cultures provides peoples with a unitary sense along various dimensions: ascprtive (labeling), moral (normative) and cultural (linguistic and artifactual)" (Gil-White, 1999, 46). Accordingly thus, an ethnic group understands itself as different from other groups and hence it is labeled by "others" in the same fashion as having a distinctive culture and whose members preferred each other to non-members. Another vital concept is instrumentalist theory, which is applicable to this paper. It views ethnicity as a tool by which individuals, groups and elites achieve material objectives. It breeds conflict when individuals pursue personal interest through the mobilization of ethnic groups (PG Okoth, 147). This concept is germane to this study because both Jaramogi Odinga and President Kenyatta always favoured and sympathized with their respective 'tribes' when it came to politics. In supporting the essentialist view, Osamba states that 'access to state power in Kenya was regarded as an excellent opportunity for various groups because the state controls almost all aspects of economic and political life" (Osamba. 2001, 37). That explains why each ethnic grioup in Kenya and Africa in general, tries to mobilize to ensure or safeguard that access. The selfish ambition of the ruling elite such as Odinga and Kenyatta "was often presented as an ethnic interest and as a general struggle for the survival of the community (Osamba, 2001: 46). Thus ethnic consciousness increases in scope and intensity, and the "the socio-economic atmosphere becomes charged with tension" (Ibid). This kind of tension, between the two leaders led to violence that took place in Kisumu in 1969 following the death of the popular politician Tom Mboya. Lonsdale has argued strongly that, "ethnicity was a question of honour within what have become 'tribes' before it was a weapon of conflict between them" (Lonsdale, 1992, 315). For him ethnicity has been a vehicle of achieving sectional ambition (ibid). He points out that ethnicity reflected the isolation of closed minds, nationhood commerce of people and ideas (Lonsdale, 334). He concludes that "Tribes" were bound by kinship and religion, not open to renegotiation. Applying those concepts in this paper is thus essential in trying to fathom the intensity and logic of ethnic animosity in Kenya's political history.

a) 1963-1978: Peace and Stability Amidst Oppression

Professor Bethwel Ogot has correctly pointed out that Kenya faced a myriad of problems that included the transition from the colonial to the first independent government, the adverse influence of settler dominance, and the Africanization of White Highlands by the Kikuyu elite, among other attempts to weave through these problems (Ogot, 1995). Belatedly, Odinga and Kenyatta, planted the seeds of ethnic struggle as they consolidated ethnic based competition for resource allocation. On 12 December 1963 Kenya became began, based on ethnic supremacy, with Kenyatta siding with Tom Mboya, a member of Odinga's ethnic group to vilify Odinga as a communist who was not fit to lead Kenya. Several manipulations pursued by the Kiambu Mafia followed, and in 1964, in order to exclude Odinga from any automatic succession, a new succession formula was introduced in the country's laws to the effect that should the president die in office parliament would elect a successor to finish his term (Ogot, 1995: 188).

Ogot argues that between July 1967 and June 1968, there was a more acrimonious change-the-constitution debate this time intended to frustrate Tom Mboya, the other important Luo leader, from succeeding Kenyatta, by allowing the Vice President to succeed the President for 90 days. Having curtailed Odinga and Mboya, there were more wars between 1976 and 1977. This period witnessed the pitched struggle for the control of KANU between supporters of Vice president Moi and Dr Njoroge Mungai, a powerful Minister, a struggle that was guided by ethnic desire by the Kiambu mafia to control Kenya and the ruling party. Thus life was made more difficult for the Vice President. Yet at the beginning of territorial nationalism, both Kenyatta and Odinga pursued national interests devoid of ethnic cleavages. For Tom J Mboya, nationalism meant the 'mobilization of all available groups of people (Kenyans) in the country for single struggle for *uhuru* (independence) (Berman 1995). In Kenya generally decolonization was driven by nationalist fervor, but sooner rather than later, ethnicity was taking over.

b) 1978-2002: Moi's One Man Rule

In the words of Karimi and Ochieng in their famous book, the Kenyatta Succession, published in 1980, it is stated that "realpolitik always forced Kenyatta to appoint non-member of GEMA, indeed a non-Kikuyu, to the post of the Vice-President" (Karimi and Ochieng 15). Thus after Odinga resigned from the post, he appointed Joseph Murumbi to the position but he lasted

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only a few months, before Daniel arap Moi was picked. But thee was always, a kitchen cabinet, a group around Kenyatta who might not have been related to him by blood or marriage but were members by virtue of financial or other interests and this included Dr Njoroge Mungai, nephew, Mbiyu koinange, brother-in-law, Peter muigai Kenyatta, son, ngegi Muigai, nephew and Udi Gecaga, son of a niece, Margaret, wife, James Muigai, brother and Beth Mugo, niece (Karimi and Ochieng, 15). It was the wish of this group that one of them succeeds Kenyatta as President. It was for this motive that this group (referred to as the "Family" by Karimi and Ochieng, (15-17). Contrary to their wish, however, on 22 August 1978, President Kenyatta died in Mombasa and as Ogot observes, "Power quietly passed to the hands of Daniel arap Moi" (Ogot, 26). His policies, based on *Nyayo* (footsteps) were guided by forgiveness, national unity, bringing Odinga back to the fold, releasing all political detainees and forgiving *ngoroko* fighters, among others. He vowed to follow the policies of former President. In his approaches to dealing with perceived opponents, he seemed to have perfected the art of manipulation under Kenyatta (Nangulu-Ayuku, 2007, 245).

The Kikuyu had initially underestimated Moi as "a passing cloud", (Karimi and Ochieng, 40-45) though they were themselves divided with Charles Njonjo and Kibaki backing Moi while Njoroge Mungai and Mbiyu Koinange supporting the Kikuyu wing, who wanted to retain power after Kenyatta (Karimi and Ochieng, 15-17). President Moi released al the 26 political detainees as a sign of reducing ethnic animosity. In fact, in his first few years in power Moi hardly practiced "tribalism", preferring to side with the Kikuyu and gradually bringing in the Luo, especially former KPU detainees who had been incarcerated by President Kenyatta. He appointed Odinga to be Chairman of the Cotton Lint and Seed Marketing Board to give him a second chance in public life in 1980. Another effort towards this rehabilitation was his directive that the press and politicians should stop besmirching the names of ex-KPU politicians from Nyanza by referring to them as radicals (Ogot, 1995:194). In 1980 President Moi convened the Third Leaders' Conference (his first one) at the Kenya Institute of Administration in Nairobi. It was this Conference that declared war on negative ethnicity and all ethnic-based associations for the sake of national unity. Consequently, the Gikuyu Embu and Meru Association (GEMA), the Luo Union East Africa, the Abaluyia Association, the Miji-Kenda Organization, the Kalenjin Association and the Akamba Union were all banned. But was Moi sincere in declaring negative ethnicity dead? Was he only trying to clip the wings of the Kikuyu and the Luo, the two communities that bore the brunt of his administration later in 1990s? This might be the case because as Ogot (1995) points out, GEMA had become

a powerful economic and political bulwark in Kenya. How was GEMA formed?

It was formed by Kikuyu leaders, supported by President Kenyatta, in 1971 as a cultural and social organization led by Gikonyo Kiano and Jeremiah Nyaga. Two years later, Njenga Karume, a successful businessman in Kiambu, replaced Kiano as the undisputed leader of the association, with huge expansion on its financial base. Ogot argues that the role of these ethnic organizations in national unity was doubtful. For example, GEMA Holdings Limited later became so influential and economically powerful that Moi probably perceived it as a threat to his firm grip and control of political affairs over the Kikuyu ethnic group. Similarly, the Luo Union, formed, in 1940s under the influence of Jaramogi Odinga as a way of promoting the economic welfare of the Luo people (Odinga, 1967). It had become a political vehicle used by Odinga to mobilize finance and social capital for political and economic control of his Luo ethnic group. It became a formidable political force in the hands of Odinga and his cronies, thus posing competition to Moi's scheme of controlling the politics of Kenya from the Lake region to the Indian Ocean at the Coast. Though the ideas of forming these ethnic associations were noble, some, like GEMA threatened the ruling party, KANU with their substantial financial clout. In 1974, for instance, the leader of the Akamba movement, Mulu Mutisya, was appointed to parliament, from where he assumed the position of a 'king maker" in Ukambani, just like Odinga and Kenyatta had done in Nyanza and Kikuyuland. Thus, what became clear to Moi was that "ethnic loyalty and solidarity could [not] be reconciled with national loyalty and unity" (Ogot 197). Despite banning these associations, ethnicity and ethnic nationalism continued to permeate the Kenyan society in its entirety as Moi promoted his Kalenjin people to major positions in the civil service, the private sector, and the military in the 1990s, having edged out Kenyatta loyalists from plum positions in the government.

The Luo and the Kikuyu later became victims of wide-ranging political and economic manipulations hence, their coming together in 1990s to champion the call for multiparty politics and more democratic space. As a result of dissatisfaction with the political establishment Odinga led Martin Shikuku, a veteran of the Lancaster House London talks, Ahmed Bamahariz of Mombasa, Masinde Muliro, former freedom fighter and later Minister in the first republic, James Orengo, the fiery politician from Ugenya and Kenneth Matiba among others, to form a formidable political force, FORD as a vehicle of wrestling power from Moi and his cronies in 1991 (Nangulu-Ayuku, 243-280). But once again, in 1991-1992, the Kikuyu-Luo rivalry of the 1960s reared its ugly head, this time pitting Odinga against Matiba, who was ailing in a London hospital, having suffered when he was put in solitary detention for challenging Moi. The

Odinga-Matiba rivalry was not ideological but ethnic. The Luo felt that they could not back another Kikuyu for the presidency, having done so in 1963 when they supported Kenyatta and subsequently suffered considerably from the move. Opposition unity was scuttled in the 1990s mostly due to failure on the part of the Kikuyu and the Luo to unite and provide political direction for the nation. Ethnic nationalism never allowed this sort of nation-wide unity of purpose to thrive, and Moi continually pursued this trajectory of divided house to beat Matiba and Odinga in 1992 and 1997 (Nangulu-Ayuku, 2007). When such unity was achieved in 2002, KANU was sent packing.

Opposition from professors and lecturers from the University of Nairobi posed a big headache for Moi in the 1980s and the 1990s. Radicalized ex-KPU members had been refused to address University students at Taifa Hall in the 1974. This precedent, and several others afterwards, set in motion a long period of government intolerance to academic freedom and free thought (Ogot, 1995: 197). In 1972, the editors of a University newsletter, the *Platform*, had been arrested for criticizing the government as a result of which there were riots and the closure of the university. The same riots happened in 1975 when a prominent politician and businessman, JM Karuiki, was assassinated. The university riots in the 1970s and 1980s targeted mainly Luo and Kikuyu Professors, who were seen as opposing the Moi and Kenyatta regimes. In 1982, four years after taking power, Moi was jolted by an attempt to overthrow his government, which was, however, unsuccessful. All the same from 1982 onwards, Moi became more intolerant to any opposing ideas to his rule, and most victims were Luo and Kikuyu, as exemplifies by the detention of Gibson Kamau Kuria, Prof Alfred Otieno, Anyang Nyongo, Shadrack Gutto, Korwa Adar, Ngugi wa Thiongo (1978), Michael Chege, and Atieno Odhiambo, among others, all regarded by the government as Marxists (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1998).

By 1991-92, the Luo and the Kikuyu found themselves in another ethnic duel over the control of FORD, a strong political party with its grassroots in the urban centers. Both Odinga and Matiba, a former Minister, wanted to control this political vehicle to get power from president Moi. Due to this division, Moi won the 1992 and 1997 General elections. The difference came in 2002 when for the first time since in 1963, the Luo united with the Kikuyu to oppose Uhuru Kenyatta, who was Moi's handpicked candidate. In this election, the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) led by Mwai Kibaki, a Kikuyu and Raila Odinga, a Luo and the son of Oginga Odinga, won with a landslide. But negative ethnicity was experienced sooner rather than later. Raila, and his party, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), accused President Kibaki of several failures, including his failure to implement the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in which Raila Odinga had been promised the Prime Minister's position, but was never appointed. The Luo-Kikuyu rivalry erupted afresh, engulfing the whole nation, and ethnic nationalism took over. This tension was manifested in the 2005 Referendum for a new constitution, in which the opposition, led by Raila, defeated the government of Kibaki, setting the ground for the high political temperatures that followed. The animosity between the two ethnic groups, now took a national dimension, with the rest country siding with either the Luo or the Kikuyu. The consequence was that the 2007 elections were held amidst these tensions, leading to un-precedented violence in the country due to the perception that the elections had been stolen. This violence led to the death of 1,133 people and the displacement of more than 300,000 Kenyans, mostly Kikuyu, who suffered the worst ethnic violence as victims of the long-term ethnic rivalry in Kenya.

V. Conclusion

This set to discuss the roots of the political conflict between Odinga and Kenyatta that resulted to political tension between the Luo and the Kikuyu since 1963. It is noted that the principal problem was the race for political control in Kenya. Having fought the colonial system together, the two leaders who had pursued different ideological trajectories, sought to gain ethnic support from their respective ethnic communities to fight for power. Guided by the patron-client and primordial/essentialist theoretical concepts, the paper has highlighted the historical roles of Odinga and Kenyatta in enhancing negative ethnicity and the nationally unhealthy Kikuyu-Luo rivalry in post-independence Kenya. Although the British colonialists encouraged divisionism along the 'tribe', it was the events that followed Odinga's resignation from the government in 1966 that fermented and heightened the ethnic divide between the Luo and Kikuyu. The lack of political space caused by Kenyatta's high-handed rule led to radical politics by the masses, the university students and lecturers and civil bodies, to launch for good governance and more democratic space. Ethnic discrimination and marginalization, particularly of the Luo, led to animosity within the political divide, leading to the 1969, 1982, 1992 and 2007 ethnic violence in the country.

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The Travails of African Women in a Globalized Economic System: Glimpse from Pottery Industry of Oto-Edo and Ughevbughe, Western Delta, Nigeria

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Abstract- This paper is an interrogation of the link between the social crisis extantly experienced by modern African women and the change that occurred in the economic system within the first six decades of the twentieth century. It examines the social basis of Oto-Edo and Ughevbughe women involvement in the pottery industry as a way of demonstrating the nexus between production activities and the needs of Ughievwen society under the indigenous economic system. In the conclusion, the paper posits that efforts shouldnot only be geared at evolving developmental programmes that will extricate us from dependence on monocultural economy (dependence on crude oil), but also, a re-orientation and aggressive implementation of policies that would show case the productive capacities of women albeit integrating same in our educational curriculum. Empowering women as "mothers" of the society is one sure way of solidifying the society and engendering peace and progress.

Keywords: african women, oto-edo, pottery industry, ughevbughe and western delta.

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I. Introduction

Change, as the only constant thing in life holds true in the evolution of societies all over the world. It is the constant variable in the process of social evolution.[1] Human Societies have had to contend with how to adapt It to Their needs and has therefore posed a big challenge in man's effort at engendering stability. This inimitable truism has Spanned time and space. African states have and will continue to fashion out ways of evolving solutions to the myriad of challenges. Oto-edo and Ughevbughe women of Ughievwen clan, Western Delta of Nigeria, typifies this due largely to their deplorable conditions exacerbated by changes in the economic system in their communities.

In the twenty-first century world where different cultures and economic systems are becoming connected and similar because of the influence of large multinational companies and improved communication, the need to restructure past economic engagements of African women to meet current realities cannot be glossed over[2]. In the light of this, the paper examines the condition of women in Africa and shows, with illustrations from the Oto-edo and Ughevbughe women of Ughievwen clan, Western Delta of Nigeria, how they came to be subsumed in the development crisis that came to define the process of social change in the African continent. The reason why the process is crisis laden is examined and suggestions are made on how African women could be made more relevant like their counterparts in other parts of the world.

The study is divided into six parts. Following the introduction is the methodology employed in gathering the data upon which analysis was made. This is followed by an examination of the land and peoples of Oto-edo and Ughevbughe, Oto-edo and Ughevbughe women in the indigenous economic system, the pottery industry and women of Oto-edo and Ughevbughe in Ughievwen clan and the impact that the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century had on this economic engagement. Ways of repositioning and improving the productive capacities of African women in a globalised world in the twenty-first century takes the final segment that concludes the work.

II. Methodology

This study employed the historical method that involves collection and analysis of data. The study depended largely on oral interviews which Vansina, recently said provided they are well interpreted, represent "history in their own right"[3]. It also utilized information derived from the Intelligence Report compiled on the Ughievwen people by S.E. Johnson in 1932. Where these sources could not provide answers to the issues examined, resort was made to secondary sources such as books. From the analysis of these sources, it was found that the industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century affected social activities of Oto-edo and Ughevbughe women in terms of economic engagements. In the conclusion therefore, attention is drawn to the need to fashion out ways of sustaining

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the productive capacities of Oto-edo and Ughevbughe women of Ughievwen clan, Western Delta, Nigeria so that they could contribute positively to economic development of the Nigeria state, the changes occasioned by industrial revolution notwithstanding.

a) Oto-edo and Ughevbughe: The Land and People

The territory of Ughievwen to which Oto-edo and Ughevbughe belong is made up of about thirty-two villages before and even after the British came to the area[4]. Within the first three decades of the twentieth century, these areas were under Warri Province until four years later, when they became part of Ughelli Division[5]. In modern Nigeria, Oto-edo and Ughevbughe are located in Ughelli South Local Government Area of Delta State. The immediate neighbours of Oto-edo and Ughevbughe include: Ekrejegba and Ekakpamre to the North, Ighwrekan, Edjophe, Otujeremi and Agbowhiame to the South, Ighwrekeka and Usiephron to the West, while to the east, they share border with Effurun-Otor and Olomu clan. The people speak Ughievwen (sometimes called Ujemen by non indigenes) dialects of the Urhobo language.

Traditions of origin of the Ughievwen people to which these areas belong, point to Benin, Middle East and Ijo land (Bayelsa State) as possible areas from where the people migrated. However, a recent study dismissing the possibility of mass wave of migration from one area, but rather, in a "stop and move" fashion has suggested an arrival period for the Ughievwen in the area to the beginning of the eighteenth century[6]. While the traditions of origin of the Ughevbughe are in agreement with other Ughievwen people, that of Oto-edo point to the ancient Benin Kingdom.

The tradition that links Oto-edo to Benin claims that the community was founded by a Bini prince called Edo[7]. The tradition claims that long ago, one Eruowho left Benin with his brother called Edo. What led to the departure is not explained by the tradition, but that in the course of their sojourn, Edo founded the present village of Oto-edo, while his brother founded Effurun-Otor. Both communities can be reached through a tributary of the River Niger in Western Delta. The tradition claims that not long thereafter, Edo migrated to Ijawland where he married again and even founded a village called Edowhare near Sagbama in present day Bayelsa State of Nigeria. However, what happened there before migration out of the place for the present abode of the Ughievwen people is not explained by the tradition.

A variant of the same tradition even claimed that the said Edo was a relation to Ewuare the Great of ancient Benin Kingdom[8]. A close examination of this tradition throws up salient questions such as: could the said Edo be one of those Binis that left the

kingdom in the heat of the situation in Benin Kingdom at that time?, if it is true that he founded Oto-edo and named it after himself, what about the name of his brother, Eruowho, which has more semblance to Urhobo than Bini?. Yet, the tradition is vehement in the claim that Edo had children in Oto-edo named after him such as Ehoro (whose ancestral shrine still exist near the Town Hall), Esusuoefe, Gogodi up to Djevbudu (the father of one of the interviewees) who died on September 7, 1944[9].

Whatever doubts that may exist concerning the above Claims, an important point to note is that it confirms that the area was inhabited by people long ago. The similarity in name with the Binis of ancient Benin Kingdom could not have been accidental. Perhaps, until excavation is done on this area, any definitive comment will be difficult to be made. However, almost all Ughievwen Villages visited in the course of this research, the people attested to the special skills of the women of Oto-edo and Ughevbughe in pottery work from early times.

b) Oto-edo and Ughevbughe Women in the Indigenous Economic System

Nineteenth century Ughievwen society was organised in a monarchical structure in which villages and communities were under the control of the Ovie with the headquarters at Otujeremi. The means of livelihood and survival of these villages depended on fishing, trade and ancillary industries. The pottery industry among Oto-edo and Ughevbughe women represented one of the indigenous Economic System. The need to appreciate the historical reality of the indigenous economic system underscores an examination of the role and place of women.

In Oto-edo and Ughevbughe, like most indigenous Nigerian societies, the culture of shared social responsibilities along gender lines had evolved and was clearly defined[10]. The family institution exhibited this trait. Husbands and wives had the obligation of attending to needs of their families. Whereas husbands fulfilled this social responsibility if enough food was available for consumption, wives were expected to assist in whatever meagre means they could. Failure to meet up with this expectation could elicit quarrels between husbands and wives[11]. As a result of this, women that deserved respect from their husbands devised means of assisting in the family upkeep.

Again, in Ughievwen land, certain ceremonies required women to feast their fellow women. One of such was *epha eyamwon*. It was an important cultural practice of the Ughievwen people. It was a sacred initiation of matured females into adulthood. Every woman initiated acquired a traditional social status that placed her above those who have not undergone the initiation. It is important to state that not all matured

women were so initiated but rather those who could afford the means. This celebration took place in the months of June and July annually, simultaneously, in all the different communities in Ughievwen land[12]. This period preceded the celebration of Ogba-Urhie festival at Otughievwen (the headquarters of the clan)[13]. All the *epha* made traditional public outing at Otughievwen on a market day especially during the celebration of the Ogba-Urhie festival[14]. The avenue for realizing this social fulfillment was thus provided in the pottery industry, among others, under the indigenous economic system.

The above depicted instances of shared social responsibility in which Oto-edo and Ughevbughe women were socially mobilized to play important roles in the overall development of their society under the indigenous economic system.

c) The Pottery Industry Among Oto-edo and Ughevbughe Women

Pottery industry constituted one of the main occupations of women in pre-colonial Oto-edo and Ughevbughe communities. The geography of the villages of Ughevbughe and Oto-edo, with soils that are essentially clayey was special factors that facilitated this industry, unlike other parts of Ughievwen clan. The main raw material was clay (a whitish sticky type of soil). Other items used up to the final stage of production included: a powdery substance prepared from grinded broken pots mixed with clay to make it hard, some quantity of water used to make the clay less sticky during pounding, smoothened sharp hard stick for decoration, firewood, dried green leaves and dye[15]. The clay was dug from the soil and carried to the place where production was done (usually by the side of their houses or at the back of the houses). The clay was soaked, pounded and kneaded. It was then sharpened and later decorated. The next stage was drying during which the kneaded clay was kept under the sun and fired with dried green leaves and dyed. The pots were then sharpened into required pattern by moulding and cooling[16].

Different types of clay products were derived from the above process. This included: utensils, articles for decoration, earthenwares (traditionally called *evwere*) used for storing food, water and palm wine, and plates for serving food. Some were even used as water coolers (a local form of refrigeration). Terracotta designs of Both Human beings, animals, statues for worshipping gods and goddesses were also made. This was used by Igbe worshippers common among the people[17]. Other use to which pottery products were made included: pipes for smoking tobacco and clay dolls with which children enjoyed their leisure.

Pottery industry played significant role in the pre-colonial economy of the people of Oto-edo and Ughevbughe communities. Apart from the fact that it was cheap but dependable occupation for Oto-edo and Ughevbughe women, it afforded mothers the opportunity of looking after their children. It was also a means of employment, increased family income and encouraged both short and long-distance trade because its products were taken to other communities such as Warri, Ughelli and Okwagbe. This type of trade brought about increased interaction among the people and may have also encouraged cultural diffusion.

d) The Industrial Revolution and the Women of Oto-Edo and Ughevbughe in the Pottery Industry

The Industrial Revolution which had Britain at the forefront brought innovations in production processes that went beyond Europe. For Africa, it incorporated her into the capitalist economic system. The change elicited in Africa is demonstrated by the pottery industry among Oto-edo and Ughevbughe women of Warri Province in the early decades of the twentieth century. The area which later came under the control of Warri Province, had before its eventual subjugation by the British, had signed Protection treaties with the British officials. Salubi states that "by 1894, not less than fourteen of such treaties had been entered into[17]. As argued by him, the signing of these treaties meant that the Protectorate Government did not wait for the enactment of Order-in-Council before penetrating into the hinterland of what was hitherto a virtual, sea-coast Protectorate[18]. Part of the reason for this development states Obaro Ikime, was the unanimous preference of all the Delta States for some kind of 'crown' administration as distinct from company rule…"[19].

Before the coming of the British, the pottery industry as earlier stated, was not only a means of livelihood for Oto-edo and Ughevbughe women, it was also a means by which they complemented the income of the family. The pressure occasioned by technological advancement meant the women of Oto-edo and Ughevbughe had to make adjustments. For example, the use of wax was now introduced. By this, according to one of my interviewees, the essential material for the industry was molten (melted) metal and clay[20]. By this new method, the wax was moulded into the required shape and pattern of the article to be produced. The model was then covered with a thick layer of clay and then heated till the wax melted. The vacuum left by the melted wax was filled with molten bronze or metal and left to cool. When it became hardened, the clay covering it was removed and the required shape is left[21]. With this method bronze statues and vessels were produced. The period when this method was introduced, perhaps, due to the non-literate nature of the practitioners is not easily remembered by the people, but it said to have gained

popularity when the Europeans Arrived Ughievwen area[22].

By the description given above, in all probabilities, it could be suggested that it was the lost-wax method, which Art historical called *cire perdue*. Considering the fact that the people had contact with peoples outside their communities, through trade, it is also possible to suggest that Benin Kingdom that was mentioned in the early history of the people could possibly have had link with this. The crucial question however, is: how did revolution in technology occasioned by the Industrial Revolution affect the fortunes of the pottery industry in Oto-edo and Ughevbughe?

The introduction of colonial rule argues Ayokhai, came with "the establishment of the kind of law and order conducive for the exploitation of Africa's natural resources and transformation into one huge market for disposing surplus European goods[23], meant that Africans needed to adjust. The implications were grave. First, production in the industry, which hitherto, was propelled by the desire to fulfill basic needs, became driven by the desire for capital accumulation and neglect of the traditional mode of production. Second, labour was affected. For example, in pre-capitalist Oto-edo and Ughevbughe, women being part of the family's labour force organised themselves in work groups by which they worked for each other on rotational basis. This practice changed with the monetization of the economy under the capitalist system. Third, the monetization of the economy and the resultant export trade in palm oil which became the vogue shifted attention from the pottery industry and neglect of food production. Women played major roles in the palm oil production process. According to one of the interviewees, native technology of producing palm oil apportioned roles to women[24]. While men harvested palm fruits by climbing the palm tree with the aid of *Efi*, a specially designed rope for the purpose, the harvested fruits were boiled and then laid out in a long hollowed-out tree trunk and worked on by women.

Women entered the tree trunk (*okor*) where they stamped their feet on the softened fruits to squeeze out the oil. The tree trunk (*okor*) was then filled with water and the soil skinned off the top. Thus, while men did the task of harvesting of palm fruit, the stage of processing was the duty of women[25]. Migrations thus took place into areas where palm oil production was high and in the process, most Oto-edo and Ughevbughe women migrated to far-flunged areas such as Ikaleland in Ondo State of Nigeria. This meant neglect of the pottery industry. This migration, states Olukoya Ogen, "... received boost through three major factors: the increased demand for palm produce by British traders, initial cultural constraints of

the Ikale people and the experiences garnered by the Urhobo in the Niger Delta[26].

Apart from the aforementioned factors, it could also be argued that the type of education that came with colonial rule also affected the fortunes of Oto-edo and Ughevbughe women in the pottery industry. Western education seems to have guaranteed easier and quicker access to European currency and social mobilization. In a sense, this encouraged labour drain from the pottery industry to the palm oil industry and salaried employment in the civil service and professions in emerging cities and Urban centres across the country, Nigeria.

Above all, the pottery industry which until the coming of colonialism and was oriented towards the development of Oto-edo and Ughevbughe communities was abandoned in favour of the palm oil industry that became the vogue. Beside, the growing appetite for European manufactured goods among the Nigerian Public meant neglect of the indigenously produced goods. The resultant effect was that the pottery industry which hitherto, provided means of livelihood and employment for women gradually went into extinction. This is rather unfortunate because women in that region of the country have had to contend with this challenge even in the face of global economic 'meltdown'.

III. Suggestions and Conclusion

This paper has attempted to examine the link between the social crisis faced by modern African women and the change that occurred in the economic system in the first six decades of the twentieth century in Oto-edo and Ughevbughe communities of Western Delta, Nigeria. The consequent neglect of the pottery industry which was dominated as an occupational enterprise in Oto-edo and Ughevbughe communities by women seem to have worsened women's living conditions. To reverse this trend, it is suggested that:

i. Efforts should be made by government to articulate policies that would improve the conditions of women in terms of employment and involvement in governance;
ii. Resuscitation of local industries that in the past, provided means of livelihood to African women. Menial occupations such as hair plaiting, petty trading etc, should be financially empowered. Income realised from these occupation could help, provide basis of support from women for the upkeep of families;
iii. The pottery industry which in the past turned out products like ear then wares, pipes, statues, etc, should be revived because they constitute part of African culture. Apart from the provision of employment, such industry also portray our rich cultural past, and

iv. An overhaul of our education system to accommodate subjects that will Project our indigenous occupation and thereby ensure that women are effectively integrated into industrialization and developmental programmes necessary to face the challenges of the twenty-first century should be vigorously pursued.

Empowering the African woman is one sure way of solving family problems. As 'mothers' of the home, once family needs are taken care of, society by extension would be purged of the ubiquity of social vices and cohesion and peace will be easy to attain.

Endnotes

1. F.E. F. Ayokhai, "African Women in changing Economic Systems: An Examination of the Oil Palm Industry among Uzairhue Women of Benin Province: 1900-1960", Jalingo Journal of African Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1, April, 2011, p. 41.

2. See O.D. Oamen, "Globalization and Cultural Management; Between Modernization and Westernization of African Culture". Paper presented at the 2nd International Conference on "The Dynamics of African Culture in the 21st Century" Ambrose Alli University, Ekpoma, 11-14 March, 2014, p. 3.

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6. F.E. Oghi, "Problematics of the Traditions of Origin and Migration of Ughievwen of Western Delta, Nigeria", Ebonyi Journal of History, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2014, Also see Intelligence Assessment Report on Jeremi Clan, Sobo Sub-Tribe, 1932, compiled by S.E. Johnson, CSO. 26, File No. 27630, National Archives, Ibadan.

7. Interview with Djevbudu John, 60years, Vice President, General Oto-Edo Community, 13/7/2011. This view was corroborated by Pa Urhieriemu Edward Dick, 80years, fisherman, Ekrokpe Village, 13/7/2011.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. F.E. F. Ayokhai, "African Women in Changing Economic System: An Examination of the Oil Palm Industry among Uzairhue Women of Benin Province; 1900-1960" Jalingo Journal of African Studies… p. 42.

11. Interview with Mrs. Akpevwe Mesorho, 57years, pot maker, Ekrosen Quarters, Ughevbughe village, 13/7/2011. Her view was corroborated by Mrs. Okiemute Djevbudu, 56years, pot maker, Oto-edo village, 13/7/2011.

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19. O. Ikime, The Fall of Nigeria: The British Conquest (Ibadan: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1977) Pp. 43-44.

20. Interview with Mrs. Akpevwe Mesorho… 13/7/2011.

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22. See F.E.F. Ayokhai, "African Women in Changing Economic System…", p. 50.

23. Ibid.

24. Interview with Michael Onobitai, 72years, farmer, Iwhreogun village, 14/11/2010. His account corresponds greatly with the works of J.W. Hubbard and J.A.P. Grant. See J.W. Hubbard, The Sobo of the Niger Delta (Zaria: Gaskya Corporation, 1952), pp. 29-30 and J.A.P. Grant, "Okitipupa: A Brief Survey" Nigerian Geographical Journal, Vol. 1, No. 1, April 1957.

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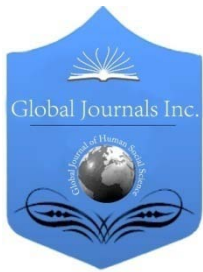
Joseph Merinyo: A Patriotic Chagga Nationalist and Adamant Champion for Justice and Human Rights

By Godson S. Maanga

Abstract- This paper sought to highlight the life and work of Joseph Merinyo, using historical-biographical and ethno-anthropological approach. The main tools used in data collection were interviews, discussions, and literature analysis. Serving the society as a houseboy, clerk, store keeper, interpreter and informant, Joseph Merinyo rose from being a simple villager to a high-profile nationalist and freedom fighter – working closely with local chiefs, foreign researchers and administrators. The main finding of the paper was that Merinyo was a patriot, nationalist, and a frontline activist who unwaveringly fought for social justice and human rights. Key terms (patriot, nationalist, justice, kingmaker, human rights, and diplomacy) were defined according to the context of the paper and it was concluded that hard work, social commitment, and self-sacrifice were virtues which elevated Merinyo to international stature and reputation. Studying people like Joseph Merinyo enables members of the society, the younger generation in particular, understand the legacy of African makers of history. As a challenge and invitation for future research, two recommendations were made. First, it is necessary to study important persons like Joseph Merinyo because such studies help to interpret Africa to the outside world; and second, African heroes and heroines should be studied – not only to satisfy historical curiosity but also to benefit from the immeasurable insights packed in the history of their lives.

Keywords: patriot, nationalist, justice, kingmaker, human rights, and diplomacy.

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JOSEPHMERINYOAPATRIOTICCHAGGANATIONALISTANDADAMANTCHAMPIONFORJUSTICEANDHUMANRIGHTS

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

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Abstract- This paper sought to highlight the life and work of Joseph Merinyo, using historical-biographical and ethno-anthropological approach. The main tools used in data collection were interviews, discussions, and literature analysis. Serving the society as a houseboy, clerk, store keeper, interpreter and informant, Joseph Merinyo rose from being a simple villager to a high-profile nationalist and freedom fighter – working closely with local chiefs, foreign researchers and administrators. The main finding of the paper was that Merinyo was a patriot, nationalist, and a frontline activist who unwaveringly fought for social justice and human rights. Key terms (patriot, nationalist, justice, kingmaker, human rights, and diplomacy) were defined according to the context of the paper and it was concluded that hard work, social commitment, and self-sacrifice were virtues which elevated Merinyo to international stature and reputation. Studying people like Joseph Merinyo enables members of the society, the younger generation in particular, understand the legacy of African makers of history. As a challenge and invitation for future research, two recommendations were made. First, it is necessary to study important persons like Joseph Merinyo because such studies help to interpret Africa to the outside world; and second, African heroes and heroines should be studied – not only to satisfy historical curiosity but also to benefit from the immeasurable insights packed in the history of their lives.

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I. Introduction

From the biological viewpoint human beings fall into only two groups (males and females) but their socio-economic, religio-cultural, and politico-scientific contribution is diverse and multi-faceted. Some human beings contribute so little to the society whereas others contribute abundantly and extensively. There are people who live in the world without any distinct aim and as a result when they die they do not leave behind anything substantial. Such people are useless and a great burden on the society. They are 'good for nothing chaps', just like Unoka in *Things Fall Apart* who is depicted by Chinua Achebe as a loafer and an incorrigible debtor – a total failure who (because of his chronic laziness and cowardice) is derided by everybody, including his relatives (Achebe 2004:3–6).

Some people have a contribution so great that they are remembered many years after they have passed away. There are people who protrude above others due to the fact that they are remembered as great researchers and accomplished scientists, tough freedom fighters and adamant social reformers, bold voyagers and new land discoverers. Others are remembered as articulate architects and fecund musicians, historic novelists and visionary poets, as well as great historians and veteran politicians. Such people are great accomplishers in deed and thoughts – people of the stature of William Shakespeare, Thomas Edison, Winston churchill, Wolfgang Goethe, Sebastian Bach, Abraham Lincoln, Karl Marx, Julius Nyerere, and Nelson Mandela – to mention only a few.

a) The Problem and Aim of the Paper

This study aims at answering the following important question: is the person of Joseph Merinyo sufficiently studied? If yes, has he been studied correctly, fairly and for the benefit of members of the society? This particular question crops up amidst the realization that in different areas of Africa, there are many people who have superb contribution behind them but due to the fact that there is no intensive research done about them, in most cases these people remain in oblivion. Some die without having anything recorded about their lives when they were alive. The study is geared towards achieving one objective – to take Joseph Merinyo as an object of study and share the results of the study with the general public. This is the actual thesis of the paper and its purpose has been to prove that Merinyo really lived and he stood for his convictions. As it is said in a research manual, the main purpose of a research paper is "to explain, illustrate, argue for, or in some sense 'prove'" (Weidenborner and Caruso 1994: 6) what the researcher has in mind.

In the light of the available handful literature, Joseph Merinyo is least studied. This is disappointing, remembering his great role and contribution to the society. The situation underlying the scarcity of research on the life and work of Joseph Merinyo has dictated the research and writing of this paper and hopefully more papers of this kind will appear in the future.

The aim of this paper is not to blow trumpets for Joseph Merinyo who was never perfect. In his own right, Merinyo had strengths and weaknesses, just like any

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genuine human being. He lived in real world, with human ups and downs. Nelson Mandela points out quite clearly when he says that in "real life we deal, not with gods, but with ordinary humans like ourselves: men and women who are full of contradictions, who are stable and fickle, strong and weak, famous and infamous" (Mandela 2010: xvi). Quoting dack Obama, the first American president with an African ancestry, the researcher confesses that the paper's account on Joseph Merinyo is not the story of an infallible person or a super creature. Like the story on the life and work of Nelson Mandela, information on the person of Joseph Merinyo is a story of "a man who was willing to risk his own life for what he believed in, and who worked hard to lead the kind of life that would make the world a better place" (Obama 2010: xiii).

b) *Working Hypothesis*

As a stepping stone, the researcher established a tentative hypothesis. This hypothesis helped him guess a number of things about Joseph Merinyo. Hypothesis can be explained as "a conjecture about relationships between relevant variables, cast as a statement that is testable. It provides a clear (tentative) proposition of what might be the case that is then subjected to verification via empirical investigation" (Green 2011:56). Thus, the following hypothesis was formulated: Joseph Merinyo was one of the makers of Chagga history and that most of the things seen in Chaggaland are the product of bold and fecund-minded people like him. The researcher formulated this hypothesis, quite aware of the fact that history is not made by one person. With this realization in mind, it was evident to the researcher that Joseph Merinyo, in collaboration with other prominent Chagga citizens, shaped Chaggaland into what is seen today.

c) *Theoretical and Conceptual Framework*

The life and work of Joseph Merinyo is used to highlight the socio-cultural and politico-economic contribution of various people in the African villages. In the pursuit of this study, it became necessary to define some concepts which occupy a crucial role in the paper. These concepts are patriot, nationalist, justice, kingmaker, human rights, and diplomacy.

According to *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary,* the term 'patriot' means a person who loves his country and "who is ready to defend it against an enemy" (Hornby 2005: 1068). Nyerere introduced National Service to his country so that the citizens could be patriots who are willing or ready to put into practice the initiatives and aspirations of first-generation patriots like Joseph Merinyo.

The *Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary* defines the word 'nationalist' as a person "who favours or strives after the unity, independence, interests, or domination of a nation" (Macdonald 1974:877). As far as the African political history is concerned, people like

Nelson Mandela, Julius Nyerere, Samora Matchel, Steve Biko, and others were nationalists in the real sense of the term.

Nationalists use people (their countrymen and countrywomen) as agents of change in the nationalist pursuits. This is proven by Biko's bold statement – that it becomes necessary for one to see the truth as if one understands that the people who have lost their personality as human beings are the only tools for change. Thus, the first initiative in nationalist campaigns is to enable the black people come back to themselves; to restore pride and respect to them; to enable them recognize their complicity in the folly and crime of agreeing to be misused and mistreated by their oppressors and committing the crime of letting evil dominate in their country of birth (Biko 1978:12). In his own right, Joseph Merinyo was a political comrade and a hardcore nationalist because he was always striving to liberate his people and enable them live in peace, unity and independence.

In the *Webster's New World Student's Dictionary,* the term 'justice' is briefly defined as "the quality of being just and fair" (Goldman and Sparker 1996: 482). Another Dictionary, *Random House Webster's College Dictionary,* gives a definition that is more or less similar to the one found in *Webster's Dictionary* but with something extra. According to this dictionary, 'justice' means the quality of being just, righteous, equitable, or morally right. Quoting an unknown author, Nicholas Otieno and Hugh McCullum say that what is important in African societies is not democracy as such but rather providing "justice, equality, and dignity for its citizens" (Otieno with McCullum 2005:73). This was very much realized by Joseph Merinyo during his lifetime. He understood how the forces of imperialism and exploitation impinge bitterly and mercilessly on the lives of poor and sometimes defenceless people in the dilapidated African villages, including villages of his home area.

As it is defined by *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, the term 'kingmaker' means "a person who has a very strong political influence and is able to bring [somebody] else to power as a leader" (Hornby 2005:815). Joseph Merinyo was one such person because his political influence was great and he indeed possessed the power of enthroning various chiefs.

According to *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the term 'human rights' means "rights that belong to an individual as a consequence of being human." Merinyo was a champion of human rights because he worked hard to ensure that everybody got the respect and rights he/she deserves. According to Julius Nyerere, human rights means the rights to participate in public elections (i.e. to elect and be elected to positions of leadership), being regarded as a valuable creature, getting chance to establish humane communities, enjoying equal socio-

economic opportunities, and things of that sort (Nyerere 1966: 69–71).

The *Collier's Encyclopedia defines* the term 'diplomacy' as "the theory and practice of conducting negotiations between governments." Merinyo was a master of diplomacy but not always so because sometimes he was harsh and forceful as it becomes evident in the incidents he dealt with certain people who fell out with him. In a democratic society, diplomacy is very much needed because history has proven that swords and guns never solve social conflicts – they worsen things.

i. *Nature of the Paper*

This is a historical paper which deals with its variable from a historical perspective. Taking history as a huge building, Joseph Merinyo stands as one of the blocks or walls which give the building shape and existence. The paper is also political in nature because it reflects on the political stance of a Chagga icon whose life and work occupy a permanent place in the annals of history about great people, inside and outside Africa.

ii. *Significance of the Paper*

The significance of the paper lies in the fact that quite a big number of people are expected to benefit from its finding. These people include students, teachers, researchers, politicians, missionaries, ethnologists, anthropologists, sociologists and even philosophers. Joseph Merinyo's thoughts and initiatives will continue being influential in many social sectors. The paper is also significant because it is expected to stimulate more research on influential people around the country – hence supply subjects of study for school and college curricula. It is believed that any academic debate arising as the result of sharing and discussing the message passed across by the gist of this paper would be an indication that the paper's main concern has not been in vain. Like a virtuous circle, it is hoped that the paper will stimulate more research because this is always the case in the academic arena.

d) *Methodology*

As it is done in any academic study, research procedure, design, as well as sampling and sample size were dully accorded the attention they deserve, with the understanding that the quality of methodology "refers to how well . . . a study has been designed and implemented to achieve its objectives" (Fink 2010:63).

i. *Research Procedure*

The research procedure enabled the researcher go about the subject at hand and the research design enabled him conduct and collect data in the manner which is measurable and analyzable. The data were carefully collected, making sure that they are reliable and they had as less errors as possible. This is because "reliable data collection method is one that is relatively free from error" (Fink 2010: 114).

ii. *Sampling and Sample Size*

The sampling procedure gave the researcher the chance of choosing the target of the study – that is, Joseph Merinyo, to be representative of other prominent people in Chaggaland and Tanzania at large.

The population sample and sample size were limited to the person of Joseph Merinyo but to balance the kudos, other people were involved here and there, particularly the few people (who are still alive) who knew Merinyo in person – friends, colleagues, and relatives. The interviews and discussions were organized in such a way that ten people were chosen: children, grandchildren, colleagues, friends, and tribesmen – two from each group. The logic behind this particular sampling and sample size was to get a fair representation, as far as the people with reliable information about Joseph Merinyo are concerned.

iii. *Literature Review*

A modern researcher describes literature review as a "systematic, explicit, and reproducible method for identifying, evaluating, and synthesizing the existing body of completed and recorded work produced by researchers, scholars, and practitioners" (Fink 2010:3). Literature review required the researcher to survey all available materials on the person of Joseph Merinyo – published books as well as unpublished theses and dissertations. Unfortunately, these materials were considerably few.

The little corpus of published literature with sporadic information about Joseph Merinyo was examined. This includes *Social Facts & Fabrications: Customary Law on Kilimanjaro, 1880–1980* by Sally Moore; *The Short History of Tanzania* (edited by Isaria Kimambo and Arnold Temu); *Historians and Africanist History: A Critique by* Arnold Temu and Bonaventure Swai; *Penetration & Protest in Tanzania by* Isaria Kimambo; and *History of the Chagga People of Kilimanjaro* by Kathleen Stahl. Others are *The church in East Africa 1840–1974* by William Anderson and *A History of the Lutheran church Diocese in the Arusha Region* by Joseph Parsalaw.

These few publications depict Joseph Merinyo as a brilliant person who served the society in different capacities – court clerk, interpreter, houseboy, husband to a chief's sister, and worker at a colonial district's office. Merinyo is also presented as the president of *Kilimanjaro* Native Planters Association (KNPA), the first coffee growers' association in *Kilimanjaro*, as well as a person elevated to the position of a chief when the German missionaries were deported in *Kilimanjaro* in 1920 (Moore 1986:118–119, 123;Anderson 1988:75).

The points touched on by all these publications are important but they are not detailed, nor do they indicate the factors which pushed Merinyo to do what he did. Admittedly, these publications make quick or brief references to Merinyo because his life and work is not

their main concern. This paper is written to examine the person of Joseph Merinyo in a broad perspective. So the literature review enabled the researcher discover that very little study has been done on Joseph Merinyo and from this viewpoint there is a gap which needs to be filled up.

e) Data Collection Tools

Research Methods, which incorporates the basic tools for gathering data were employed by the researcher to get the information presented in this paper. These methods were mainly interviews, discussions, and documentary analysis. All these fall into the realm of ethnography (a recently coined term) which is a "form of qualitative research combining several methods, including interviewing and observation" (Fielding 2011:267).

Interviews were of considerable value because they were frequently used by the researcher. Various people were approached, using both structured and unstructured questionnaire. A challenge was interviewing educated people who sometimes failed to keep promises due to their tight programs. So the researcher was compelled by inevitable circumstance to plan the interview sessions with elites in a particular way. As it is asserted in research circles, "When it comes to interviewing elites, the location of the interview venue, the length of the interview, interview format and the presentation of the interviewer are extremely important" (Franklin and Blyton 2011:111).

f) Data Analysis and Evaluation

The data gathered in the course of doing research on Joseph Merinyo (November 2012 to April 2014) were analyzed before being summarized and evaluated. The main task here was to evaluate the views and comments acquired from the interviewees, discussion partners, and the reviewed literature. As it happens in any historical study, some interviewees and respondents had hazy memories about Joseph Merinyo and the researcher had to engage in cross checks, interpreting or evaluating information from such people against the data from the people who seemed to have more reliable information about Merinyo. It was by so-doing the validity and invalidity of the data was established. Considering research data as scientific findings deduced from a laboratory experiment, the researcher joined Benjafield in arguing that any tentative or experimental endeavor employed in an academic study "can provide objective data that allow a researcher to argue in favor of one theoretical interpretation rather than another" (Benjafield 1994:16).

Prior to analyzing the data obtained, the researcher applied both descriptive and inferential approach, something which enabled him to make decisions in the crucial task of checking how the data relates to the hypothesis or research assumption (Salkind 1991: 165–166).

Now let us go to the life and work of Joseph Merinyo – drawing together the important aspects of his early life, teenage years, middle age, and finally his old age and demise.

g) Birth and Early Childhood

Joseph Merinyo was born in Mahoma village, Old Moshi, on the slopes of Mount *Kilimanjaro*. His father was Merinyo Ndewero Maro and his mother was Ndesingyiokyi Malyatuu. As it was the custom in the Chagga traditional society (prior to the advent of Christianity), when he was born he was called Mnyamari, the name he bore until he was baptized and given the name Joseph.

Why Merinyo was called Mnyamari (the evil doer) nobody can tell. The reasons for giving this local name can probably be based on the argument that before the coming of the Christian missionaries to Chaggaland most people were named according to the circumstances or environment in which they were born. For example, some people were named *Ndeinja* (I visited many places in search of food), *Ndemasiawengyi* (I made others rich), *Ndetenga* (I roamed here and there), *Marunda* (works or duties), *Mkyamise* (he was taken to many places or take him to many places), *Ndemicho* (I was shoved aside), *Mturuchuoe* (the ill-treated or ill-treat him) *Kyilawelega* (that which cannot be refused), *Mkaasara* (loss wife), *Mkahimo* (Himo market wife), *Kyituwakyaumbe* (cow hatred), and many others. Even in the post-Christian era, Christian converts in Chaggaland were given names which captured a meaningful situation in the Christian circles (Lema 1982:217) – names like Elyiambuya, Lyimikasia, Lyianaelyi, Ndeenengosia, Ngyianasia, Onyonyasienyi, Elyingyisutsawuyesienyikoelyi, Ngyitanamsu, Ndetaramo, Ngyilekyiro, Ndesario, Elyiawonyi, Ndeletwa, Nkyirashekyia, Aleonika, and others.

The parents of Joseph Merinyo enrolled their son at Kidia Mission School. They were extremely proud of him because very early in his life he showed that he would grow into a strong and very hard-working man. As the ancestors put it, a good day is seen in the morning and a strong cock is witnessed when it is still a chick. His teachers at the mission station could see in him a brilliant pupil, a great leader and a bold nationalist. He looked a very serious student – determined to accomplish extensively in school and life in general. However, at it sometimes happened even to brilliant students attending school in the colonial era, Joseph Merinyo encountered a number of hurdles such as lack of enough school fees, unbecoming weather, poor school facilities, discouragement from people who were least informed about the value of education, childhood diseases, ailing infrastructure, and lack of employment.

Despite the fact that Joseph Merinyo – on whose life and work this essay focuses – was born in a very remote African village and to poor parents, he is

one of the people who are still remembered for their great ideas, historic social commitment and lasting heroism. As we shall see in the subsequent sections of this essay, Joseph Merinyo's nationalistic and patriotic contribution to his society was so great and valuable that he is regarded as one of the greatest sons, not only of Chaggaland, but also of Tanzania and Africa at large. Compared to the people of his time, his vision was unequalled, his strategy incomparable, his patriotism unfathomable and his nationalism rare and exemplary. He was a tireless champion, who never rested until he saw achievement and realization of what he believed to be right and just.

Joseph Merinyo's personality and social commitment was a blend of Chagga patriotism and nationalism, as well as a combination of constant fighting for people's rights and defending social justice. Nationalism, as it is understood by James Coleman, means opposing foreign domination, appraising national culture and achievements; it is struggle for self-rule well as expressing or encouraging national consciousness, even if it is through agitation (Coleman 1958:425). In a broader perspective, nationalism includes "different kinds of organized protest, which may be couched in tribal, religious, economic, cultural, or racial terms" (Okoth 2006:1).

Nationalism was at its apex when Merinyo was busy fighting foreign rule in his country. This is proven by the fact that from the 1930s nationalism was looked upon as a force of change among the oppressed Africans. It was a force capable of moving people into action and it was a demonstration of either peaceful or violent well-being of the oppressed and exploited people in Africa (Hallet 2005:667). In Tanzania nationalism began with the colonial invasion. So even Nyerere, expressing sentiments of nationalism, said that independence of his country should be attained – peacefully or by force (Temu 1997:189–190).

Gripped with nationalism impulses as well as being nauseated by oppression, Joseph Merinyo opposed oppressors quite fearlessly – to free himself and his people from the fetters of religio-cultural and racial-economic oppression. He shared Nelson Mandela's sentiments that no "power on earth can stop an oppressed people determined to win their freedom" Crwys-Williams 1998:36). And Ndabaningi Sithole describes African nationalism, which strongly appealed to Merinyo, as "the desire of the African people to rule themselves, and it is their desire to terminate all foreign rule" (Sithole 1963:2).

Strong desire for freedom and self-rule was a quality that became distinct very early in Merinyo's life and even his parents and relatives knew for sure that their family had somebody who one day would involve himself fully in the task of fighting for people's welfare, from the socio-economic and cultural-political perspective. In the person of Joseph Merinyo, it became

inherent that love and justice are practical remedies against injustice, social factions, and human inequalities. Some years ago, Dom Helda Camara, the Latin American priest, once disillusioned the world by heralding that the power of love and justice is as strong as the force of nuclear energy – probably stronger (Camara 1974:1–6).

There are people who are given names which resemble their deeds and character, and this is exactly the truth about Joseph Merinyo, whose lineage goes back to a Maasai ancestry. Merinyo's bold personality is well captured in the explanation given by Parsalaw who says that in the Maasai vernacular Merinyo means "one who does not retreat in battle" (Parsalaw 1997: 285).

Joseph Merinyo's father was a war leader of Meli, a Chagga formidable chief (Stahl 1964: 273) who stands in the annals of history as one of the most strategic Chagga heroes hanged for resisting German intrusion in the Central *Kilimanjaro* area. That Joseph Merinyo's father was a war leader is proven by Stahl who says that "Moshi made an ill-starred attempt [to invade Sina of Kibosho], but its warriors led by Merinyo were completely routed" (Stahl 1964: 171–172). Elsewhere, Stahl writes that "the Moshi warriors who accompanied the German troops to collect booty after the victory were led by Merinyo, the same who had earlier been put to flight in his foolhardy attempt to raid Kibosho" (Stahl 1964:186).

A deeper look into the person of Joseph Merinyo suffices, to know who he was as well as what he did as a civil servant and a family man.

h) Family Tree and Close Siblings [1]

Joseph Merinyo came from a polygamous family and later on he followed suit in the sense that he too was polygamous. His father was married to two wives, and Merinyo's mother was the first one, who according to the Chagga custom is accorded the highest respect. His mother had three children – Joseph, Simba (his younger brother), and Ndelyawosi (his sister) who was later on christened Christine.

In his life, Joseph Merinyo got married four times. In 1909 he married his first wife, Yohana Masochi, and with her he got three children: John, Shauri (Elikunda) and Anna. His wedding with Yohana Masochi was unique because it was the first wedding in Old Moshi where the bridegroom put on a suit like a white man. His wife was also revolutionary because she put on a head cover (shela) like a white bride. Before that period any person who had had a church wedding in Old Moshi simply wore a kanzu (a white flowing robe). In 1913 Joseph Merinyo got married to Idda Makei Mandara, who gave birth to Mringi, Jesse, Japhet, Pauli, Cleopa, and Nicolaus who was later on chosen

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[1] *The information presented under this subheading was obtained from Dr Jesse Maro, in an interview session with the researcher on 1st November 2012.*

Tanzania's Ambassador to Germany and Burundi before passing away in 1992. Merinyo married a third wife called Makomu in 1915 and from her he got two sons (Anderson and Amos); and in 1917 he married his last wife called Ndawonyi, who gave birth to Dawson and Emma.

Joseph Merinyo is survived by a number of children, grandchildren and great grandchildren. For example, Dr Jesse Maro, who until the date of writing this article was a medical doctor with the YMCA Hospital in Moshi, got married to Maria Abrahamu Mandara in 1948 and his children are Frank (an employee of Tanga Sisal Company), Stella, David (deceased) and Freedom. Joseph Merinyo had a number of grandchildren. Through Frank he had Maria, Haika, and Ndichi; through Stella he had Wawila and Maria; and through David he had Martin. Through Shauri he had Anna (wife to Benjamen Mkapa, the third President of Tanzania), Betty Minde (a private advocate), Lesley (deceased), and Esther. Through Anderson he had Lui Godwin. He also had grandchildren through Freedom and Japhet but through Haika he had no grandchild because she did not get married.

i) Fighting for Human Rights and African Dignity

A German missionary family once employed Joseph Merinyo as a houseboy. The German missionary who used Merinyo as a houseboy was a medical doctor by profession and one of his daughters was married to Bruno Gutmann, the famous German pastor-cum anthropologist who was so committed to the Chagga culture and local values that the local people named him *Wasawu o Wachaka* – Grandfather of the Chagga – (Jaeschke 1985: 341). The German missionary doctor took Joseph Merinyo to Germany, something which gave Merinyo a profitable international exposure as far as his future life was concerned.

Joseph Merinyo stayed in Germany from 1906 until 1908, working as a houseboy, garden attendant and a general overseer of his master's property. As a houseboy he performed his duties well that the missionary trusted him very much but unfortunately Joseph Merinyo lacked the favor of his master's wife.

While in Germany Merinyo wrote a letter to Rev. Robert Fassmann who by then was working as a missionary in Old Moshi, complaining about the harsh treatment he got from the doctor's wife in Germany. When Fassmann got the letter he wrote a strong-worded letter to the German doctor, saying categorically that it was not fair for his wife to treat Joseph Merinyo that way. Being saddened by the situation to which Joseph Merinyo was exposed, the German doctor requested Merinyo to forgive him for what his wife had been doing to him, admitting honestly that he was not aware that his wife treated Merinyo so harshly. Ever since, the German doctor promised to do the work of assigning Merinyo what to do, instead of his wife.

The protest of Joseph Merinyo against the German medical doctor's wife inhuman treatment depicted him as a strong fighter for human rights. He resisted the bad treatment done by the doctor's wife to show the world that being an African should not warrant a license for anybody to treat him like a beast or second-hand human being. He was a human being who deserved love and respect, like any other human being. Merinyo detested the inhuman treatment from the doctor's wife because, like Nelson Mandela, he was committed to struggle for the respect and dignity of the African people – to eradicate all sorts of domination as well as fighting fearlessly for a society where people, regardless of race or social status, "live in harmony and with equal opportunities" (Mandela 2010:121–122).

As a way of consoling Merinyo as well as keeping him away from the brutal lady, the German doctor decided to take Joseph Merinyo to all places he visited, inside and outside Germany. For example, they visited London in the United Kingdom (via Dover's Gate) and Paris in France. While in France, Joseph Merinyo got a rare chance of meeting King Edward VIII of The United Kingdom – making his international exposure even more profitable.

From France, Joseph Merinyo and his master proceeded to other European cities like Madrid in Spain, Lisbon in Portugal, Brussels in Belgium and Moscow in Russia (when Russia was ruled by King Tsar Nikolaus). According to what Joseph Merinyo used to tell his friends and relatives, almost the whole year of 1908 was used for visiting various places in Europe.

The German medical doctor and Joseph Merinyo decided to come back to Tanganyika through Rome, Jerusalem and Cairo. In Cairo they boarded a ship and passed through Aden and traveled until Mombasa where they disembarked from the ship. From Mombasa they traveled by train until Voi where they rested for a few days before coming back to Old Moshi on foot because by then the Voi-Kahe railway junction was not yet built. This particular journey via Mombasa was very useful to Joseph Merinyo because when he was later on employed as a clerk to carry out his master's financial assignments he took money to a bank situated in Mombasa. The doctor's financial income came from his two hotels – Kibo Hotel in Marangu and Kolila Hotel in Old Moshi. So Merinyo, as a result of his wide travel and transaction with people of different backgrounds and nationalities, became a very enterprising fellow.

j) Go-between in German and British Administration

During the First World War, the British troops moved from Taveta to Kahe. Some of these troops followed the railway line and others used the path used by the Chagga of Old Moshi *(Wamochi)* on their way to Kahe to look for *mmbala* (soda ash). The troops which followed the path to the soda ash supplies passed

through Msaranga and ascended as far as Kolila[2] where German offices were situated.

Kolila was the headquarters (*Bomani*) of the German administrators and when the Germans left Tanganyika in 1920 the British shifted the headquarters from Kolila to a place they called New Moshi (the present-day town of Moshi) and they called Kolila and its surrounding areas Old Moshi. The British administrators built the new headquarters at the place which has been known as *Bomani* until today – the place which is behind the District Court building on the Moshi-Arusha highway.

The British troops which used the path meandering from the soda ash area in Kahe finally reached Kolila and laid a siege around it and the troops which followed the railway line seized the railway station in the new town of Moshi. Unfortunately, the troops which went to Kolila found that the German Colonel Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck had already escaped – something which made them extremely dismayed (Lema 1980:95–97). The British troops (which consisted of Boer, British, and some African soldiers) were led by two soldiers, General Jan Christian Smuts and General Jeventer.

Due to the fact that the Kolila people were not knowledgeable in matters connected with the British ways of doing things, Joseph Merinyo (by then a knowledgeable, bold, and strategic young man), came up and met the British troops. He impressed them very much because he could communicate with them in English. Joseph Merinyo became the interpreter of what was written in the German files left behind by German run-away administrators at Kolila. Earlier on Joseph Merinyo had appealed to the German administrators because he was also able to communicate with them in German. He was therefore a very useful person for both the Germans and the British, mainly because at that time nobody in the entire area of Old Moshi could speak German or English to the extent of Merinyo.

When the British troops realized that Joseph Merinyo was a smart guy, shrewd and intelligent, they decided to use him as a person who could show them the hiding places of the Germans who had escaped from Kolila. Merinyo's responsibility in this particular assignment was not very difficult because some of the British troops knew English, German, Swahili and Kinubi. So, the importance of Joseph Merinyo in the British

troops' day-to-day military and administrative activities made him stay at Kolila for many hours – from very early in the morning to very late in the evening. As Joseph Merinyo himself would say afterwards, he used to go to Kolila at six in the morning and left around 8.00 to 9.00 p.m. in the night, due to the fact that the numerous work at the Kolila *Boma* made him very, very busy.[3]

k) Defending Land and Fighting for People's Property

Joseph Merinyo worked very closely with the foreign rulers but when these rulers oppressed the local people he opposed them very strongly. For example, when the British troops seized Kolila, the neighboring villages were robbed of their cattle, bananas, and other foodstuffs to feed soldiers. Annoyed by this particular robbery, Joseph Merinyo stood up in defense of the villagers. He fought so strongly and fearlessly that the British government ordered the invasion and looting of people's property to cease immediately. His resistance made him a useful link between the British government and the local people in Old Moshi. In this respect Merinyo is supposed to be a role model in defending people's land in the country, land which is increasingly being taken by foreign land-grabbers, in collaboration with gluttonous local agents. It needs to be remembered that local resistances such as the *Mau Mau* Uprising in Kenya and the *Maji Maji Rebellion* in Tanzania erupted as a result of, among other things, local land defense and hatred against foreign rule (Sahlberg 1986:70). Merinyo was adamant and committed to defending his people's land like Kirilo Japhet who traveled all the way to New York in his towering campaigns to defend the land of the Meru people which was being looted by foreign settlers and colonial masters – a saga captured in the book entitled *The Meru Land Case* written by Kirilo Japhet and Earle Seaton. Talking about the relationship between land and nationalism, John Iliffe says that population increase and land scarcity stirred up nationalism. Even the *Mau Mau Rebellion* in Kenya was a reaction "to a population growth on a fixed area of land" (Iliffe 2009:258). Merinyo saw the danger of land scarcity very early in his life and he acted accordingly.

Due to his usefulness, one of the leaders of the British troops ordered Joseph Merinyo to be taken to Mombo Tanga to work as an interpreter. However, when Merinyo reached town of Same. report came that he was needed back at Kolila because of too much work there. He respected the call and returned to the Kolila *Boma*.

l) Fighting for Equal Rights in Employment

Joseph Merinyo was on the frontline in fighting for equal rights in matters pertaining to education and employment. In 1947, Dr Jesse Maro (the eldest son of

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[2] In Swahili Kolila means *Kwa Lila* and in the Chagga vernacular it is *Ko Lila*, which literarily means 'Place of Lila' – a place owned by Lila or where Lila is prominent. History has it that Lila was a famous Arab trader who dealt mainly with slave trade and he had a camp at this place which was later on named after him. As time progressed, Kolila grew and became the original place of Moshi town. There is another place called Kolila in Meruland where the same trader had a station or a stopover for his trade caravans coming from Ngarenairobi to Sanya Chini. This particular caravan joined the route from Arusha, the route which proceeded to Kilimanjaro and finally to the coast (interview with Rev. Peter A. Komba, 30th December 2012, Kiboriloni, Old Moshi).

[3] Interview with Dr Jesse Maro, YMCA Hospital, 1st November 2012, Moshi town.

Joseph Merinyo) was posted to Bombo Hospital in Tanga town. By then Joseph Merinyo developed a dental problem and he was referred to Tanga to see a more qualified dentist. It was way back in 1954 and while in Tanga he stayed at his son's house.

When Joseph Merinyo went to Tanga for the dental treatment he met Pastor Yakobo Ngombe, the first Lutheran black pastor in Tanga Province during the colonial era. By 1954 Ngombe was working as a pastor at Kana Lutheran Parish. Pastor Ngombe was one of Joseph Merinyo's best friends and their friendship started when Joseph Merinyo was a student in Tanga from 1934 to 1936. According to what Merinyo used to tell his son, before becoming a pastor Yakobo Ngombe was an evangelist and he was the one who propagated Christianity to Tanga in the midst of strong Muslim influence. Ngombe's evangelization strategies won him a few converts due to socio-cultural and religious barriers which loomed quite large in Tanga.

When an American missionary (the name is concealed) came to Tanga he stifled up the nice work which Pastor Yakobo Ngombe had been doing over the years. With an attitude of arrogance and despise, the missionary caused an incitement so great that it became impossible for the work started by Ngombe to flourish. Due to the tricks and malice of the missionary and his collaborators, Ngombe was dismissed from church work, being accused falsely of squandering church money.

Remembering their great friendship, Joseph Merinyo decided to go to visit Pastor Yakobo Ngombe. He found him in his dilapidated house with his wife Christine, extremely destitute and depressed – something which put Joseph Merinyo on the brink of tears. When he was told that Ngombe had been deposed from church work as a result of false accusations that he had stolen church offerings, he decided to defend him.[4]

Joseph Merinyo's defense for Yakobo Ngombe brings to memory other people who were forced by oppression circumstances to defend the local people in their own areas. For example, we learn from history that Samwel Chiponda, Martin Kayamba, Leslie Matola and his brother Cecil Matola stood up firmly to defend and instruct their people who were highly disunited due to ignorance and poverty brought about by colonial oppression and exploitation. With their great commitment to education and the Christian faith, as well as their deep experience in civil service and travel, they called upon their people to value education, form trade unions, enhance unity, and promote social advancement (Iliffe 1997:154–157).

Joseph Merinyo secretly summoned a meeting of the African members of the church council at Kana and explained to them how he had known Yakobo Ngombe, a pioneer local pastor in Tanga. He told them that the white people could not have succeeded to built a church in Kana hadn't it been the selfless struggle and notable sacrifice made by Yakobo Ngombe. He also said that it was quite unfair to allow white missionaries come and cause havoc in the African church. Because of that he called upon all members of the church council to be on his side and defend the rights of Pastor Yakobo Ngombe.

Defiant of colonial masters, Merinyo went to the office of white missionaries at Kana and told them that they were quite unfair in kicking out Yakobo Ngombe from the church. With tact and great concern Merinyo told the missionaries that they were supposed to give Yakobo Ngombe a good salary as well as guest allowance because most church guests who visited Kana at that time were entertained at Yokobo Ngombe's simple house, with the little income he used to get before being dismissed from church work. The missionaries were extremely ashamed by the questions Joseph Merinyo threw at them.

From Yakobo Ngombe's house in Digoland, Joseph Merinyo went straight to Usambara and confronted the white missionaries who worked there. When he told them pointblank that nobody would believe that white missionaries who posed as God's clean servants and people from countries where justice and human rights were practiced could dare to treat Ngombe in such a bad way, the missionaries were so ashamed that they decided to allow Yakobo Ngombe resume his pastoral responsibilities. So, Joseph Merinyo's advocacy and campaign for the rights of exploited people enabled Yakobo Ngombe continue working as a pastor, getting a fair salary until his death. Following this particular incident Joseph Merinyo explained everywhere that he formidably faced the oppressive and racially-minded missionaries, to the extent of giving an African clergyman in Tanga what he deserved.

m) Fighting for Cultural Identity and Religious Rights

Joseph Merinyo was on the front line in demanding freedom of worship. He insisted that the Chagga Christians should be looked upon as valuable children of God and because of that they should be allowed to express their Christian faith in the way they see appropriate. That is, according to their feelings and environment. He really opposed imposing the European religious culture on the Africans. Merinyo challenged his people to reject the religio-cultural yoke of enslavement and oppression placed on the Africans' shoulders by ruthless colonial masters and their puppets. This is what Samuel Kobia, the then LWF General Secretary, recognized in 2004 – hence cautioned his fellow

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[4] Interview with Dr Jesse Maro, YMCA Hospital, 1st November 2012, Moshi town.

Kenyans about the danger of perpetuating the history of colonial stalwarts who enslaved and oppressed the African people by the cruelty of western 'ideologies and institutions'(Otieno with McCullum 2005:90).

Joseph Merinyo was also a good propagator of Chagga culture and traditions. He did not entertain the idea of forcing the Chagga Christians to throw away their religio-cultural traditions, simply because they were despised by foreigners. In this stand he was supported even by German missionaries like Bruno Gutmann and British administrators like Charles Dundas. For instance, Charles Dundas confesses that "given wise teaching, the African may still be appreciative of and faithful to his traditions, whether he be pagan or Christian" (Dundas 1968:6). And Johannes Raum, one of the ardent admirers of Chagga ways of life, was so agonized by disintegration of the Chagga culture that he called upon sincere cooperation between the German government and mission societies working in Chaggaland. He always struggled to make sure that the Chagga traditional culture was preserved for the advantage of future generations (Lema 1982:7, 290).

Being a good student and disciple of Bruno Gutmann, Joseph Merinyo, in collaboration with Nathanaeli Mtui (a renowned Chagga historian) supplied Charles Dundas with almost the whole information which enabled him write the famous ethno-anthropological treatise entitled *Kilimanjaro* and Its People (Moore 1986:119; Dundas 1968:6). According to Kathleen Stahl, Dundas "drew extensively upon the views of Mr Joseph Merinyo . . . who served as his clerk in Moshi" (Stahl 1964: 223).

Joseph Merinyo's insistence on religious freedom made him demand that African Christians should be left alone to run their own church affairs. In his opinion, overseas donors should cut down foreign church aid as much as possible. In other words, he fought for total freedom of the Africans, because as Ama Ata Aidoo (the Ghanaian writer) has observed, "the liberation of the [African] continent is inextricably linked with the liberation of its people" (Aidoo 2000:21). It is pleasant to see that Joseph Merinyo, as far back as the pre-independence era, recognized that the dignity and role of the African churches rested on the struggle to be self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating – things which afterwards became the dream and determination of most churches in independent Africa (Otieno with McCullum 2005:81).

The commitment of Joseph Merinyo to church affairs made him spend most of his time and energy in building churches in various places, particularly in the northern province of Tanganyika. One of the church buildings he is remembered for until today is the Lutheran Cathedral in Arusha Town. His contribution to this church building was great and valuable. He supervised the task of constructing it, and being a tax clerk he spent most of his time going to settlers to collect money for the construction.

Joseph Merinyo's adamant decisions sometimes made him collide with some missionaries. For example, it is narrated that his wife decided to wear the garments put on by white ladies (i.e. a dress and a European hat – without a wrapper or khanga), something which appeared offensive to the white people. Merinyo's wife dressed in this way from the 1930s when some missionaries wanted to be treated like gods or goddesses. One day a white missionary (Pastor Georg Fritze) saw Joseph Merinyo's wife wearing a hat during a Holy Communion service in Kidia congregation. Immediately the missionary ordered a church elder to walk over to where Mrs Merinyo was sitting and the church elder took off the hat from her head. Other church historians narrate that it was Pastor Fritze himself who took the hat from the head of Merinyo's wife, when she had already knelt down to receive the Holy Communion (Patzig 1931:7; Parsalaw 1997:285).

Sitting on the men's side, Joseph Merinyo was so offended that he marched out of the Holy Communion service. Were he sitting together with his wife he would have prevented the man from taking the hat off his wife's head. The incident made Joseph Merinyo rethink the habit of making men and women sit in different rows during church services and from that day he did not support the system of segregating men and women during church services. In this regard, he depicted himself as one of the earliest women liberators in Chaggaland.

After the church service Joseph Merinyo's wife went straight home and found her husband sitting on the verandah of his house, annoyed beyond compare. "Do you know the man elder who took the hat from your head?" Joseph Merinyo barked. When Joseph Merinyo's wife said that she did not know the man but on seeing his face she could recognize him, Merinyo ordered her to go back to Kidia to look for the rude church elder. Without wasting time, Joseph Merinyo's wife started walking back to Kidia church and on the way she met the man who had harassed her. She asked him to escort her home because her husband was so furious that something must be done to cool down Merinyo's anger. Shuddering with fear and frustration, the church elder agreed to go with Merinyo's wife to her home.

When they reached Joseph Merinyo's home, he was still on the verandah. Looking at the church elder with angry eyes, Merinyo asked, "Are you the senseless and uncivilized man who removed a hat from my wife's head, right in the middle of worship in the church? Tell me before I tear you into pieces!"

The church elder mumbled something unintelligible and like lightning Joseph Merinyo jumped at him, panting like an injured leopard and slapped him severely. "You are indeed a fool! Instead of doing things

like a liberated African you continue licking the dirty boots of the white men." Joseph Merinyo took a Bible which was near him and opened it hurriedly. He read a passage from 1 Corinthians which says that a woman should cover her head while worshipping. "My wife complied with the Bible because she covered her head during church service. And nowhere in the Bible is a woman forbidden to wear a hat in the church."

Without waiting even for a word of apology from the church elder, Joseph Merinyo left quickly and went to Pastor Georg Fritze's residence at Kidia mission center. Breathing heavily, he asked the missionary as to why he had ordered a hat to be taken off the head of Merinyo's wife. He also read him the passage from 1 Corinthians. He wanted to slap the missionary as he had done to the foolish church elder but an inner voice told him not to. "Hadn't it been the fact that you are a consecrated person, God's servant, I would have taught you sense. You dare do that to my wife again and you will know that my mother did not suckle me for nothing. You pretend to be a pastor but you are as rude as Goliath, that bogus giant in the Bible who was killed by David – a mere lad. I warn you to stop treating Africans as if they are half human. You came here to preach the Word of God and not to practice racial discrimination," Merinyo said vehemently.

The message Joseph Merinyo wanted to pass across to the racially-minded missionary was that Africans are neither beasts of burden nor empty slates where foreigners could write all sorts of nonsense. This kind of racial discrimination is what has by and large been fought against by Christian churches in East Africa, from the colonial era down to the present day. Douglas Waruta, talking about the history of Christianity in Africa, says that the

missionary Christianity was part and parcel of the colonial establishment. . . . The brand of Christianity . . . planted in Africa therefore, besides introducing the missionary country's civilization (habits, customs, laws, languages, etc) taught African converts that obedience and loyalty to the missionary's rulers was a religious duty. Respect for and subservience to secular rulers was instilled into Christian believers as an inseparable part of their religious faith (Waruta 1994:89).

Douglas Waruta summarizes his argument by asserting that the missionaries who brought the Gospel to Africa "abused the Biblical doctrine of Imago Dei, God's image, when they treated the African people as tabula rasa upon which to imprint all their values without adequate respect for the African cultural and religious heritage" (Waruta 1994: 94).

Joseph Merinyo's confrontation with the missionary at Kidia mission center put him in a difficult situation. Forthright the missionary announced that Joseph Merinyo had been excommunicated until further notice. The announcement annoyed Joseph Merinyo so much that he could not keep quiet. He wrote a letter to Germany complaining about the missionary's decision to excommunicate him but the letter was not replied. To Joseph Merinyo's surprise, later on his case was examined at a pastors' conference (A Synod or General Assembly of the Lutheran church in Northern Tanganyika) held at Ashira in East *Kilimanjaro* District. The meeting had delegates from Germany and from all church districts in *Kilimanjaro* and Arusha.

The case of Joseph Merinyo was on the agenda of the General Assembly and when his time came he was summoned to go forward. At that time Stefano Moshi (later the Bishop of the ELCT Northern Diocese) was a teacher at Marangu TTC and he was invited to attend the meeting at Ashira. Afterwards Stefano Moshi narrated to his friends the trial of Joseph Merinyo in the following words:

I saw Joseph Merinyo entering the meeting hall – the church at Ashira. He was looking up and down, in a very stern stare. He was dressed in a very nice suit, and he looked very smart. He boldly walked right to the altar, like a lion – the king of the jungle. He was given a chair and he sat down confidently and with much authority. He seemed not to fear anybody. He looked at the people in front of him like an army commander checking his troops. Having proven to himself that there was nobody in the hall who could frighten him he adjusted his necktie methodically and kept quiet, waiting for the next step. Honestly speaking, Joseph Merinyo was a very courageous person. He did not fear even the white people.[5]

Joseph Merinyo's case was heard at the "First church Synod of the established Lutheran church in East Africa [which] took place in *Kilimanjaro* Mamba congregation from the 22nd to the 26th of August, 1930" (Fleisch 1936: 442). Fifteen congregations sent delegates to the meeting and the newly established Maasai Mission were given a chance of sending two representatives although they were not bona fide representatives of the church assembly. About fifty people – natives and missionaries – participated in the church assembly (Parsalaw 1997: 283). As Joseph Parsalaw goes on to narrate,

on the last day of the meeting the 26th of August, 1930, Joseph Merinyo, an influential Christian from the Old Moshi congregation was heard in the Synod. Joseph Merinyo was reported to have been an important man in the government as well as being the chairman of the Native Cooperative Society in *Kilimanjaro*. His position in the government as a representative of the Chagga people and his other post as chairman of the Chagga Native Coffee Society had won him great respect among his people (Parsalaw 1997:285).

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[5] Interview with Dr Jesse Maro, YMCA Hospital, 1st November 2012, Moshi town.

According to the chairman of the General Assembly, Joseph Merinyo had gone beyond his bounds because he had gone to a highly esteemed missionary and quarreled with him. At that time quarreling with a pastor missionary was an insubordination of the highest order.

When Joseph Merinyo was given chance to defend himself, he stood up majestically, cleared his throat, surveyed the people accusing him and said fearlessly:

I want somebody to tell me the truth. The missionary pastor was at the altar, communicating with God through prayer. How did he see my wife wearing a hat? How could he communicate with God and at the same time order somebody to remove a hat from my wife's head? Indeed, the pastor forgot his responsibility. Honestly speaking, he misbehaved while doing a sacred job at the altar. He must be excommunicated because, from the Christian viewpoint, he did something which made him unclean. Now let me ask another question. Doesn't the Bible allow a woman to wear a hat during a worship service? If yes, why was my wife barred from wearing a hat? Is it because she is black? And if women are not allowed to wear hats, why are white ladies allowed to wear hats right inside the church? Removing the hat from my wife's head is indeed a great discrimination against the black people. Even God does not like this kind of discrimination.[6]

In the battle with Missionary Fritze Merinyo was pressed to apologize but he "saw no point to retreat" (Parsalaw 1997: 285). He was fully convinced that an African of his type should never yield at a trial chaired by a white oppressor because a person who is fighting for truth and justice should fight to the very end. He fought hard but unfortunately nobody stood on his side, even his fellow Africans. Parsalaw explains:

Joseph Merinyo, having presented his case and defending himself from the reproach before the Synod members, found no support even from his closest supporter and friend Petro Njau who always took sides with him. Instead of being supported by the congregational representatives, Joseph was rebuked. He was pinned down by Solomon Nkya from Machame congregation accusing Merinyo for two points. He was told that he should have brought his problem to his congregational elders just like any other normal Christian of the Old Moshi congregation should have done. Secondly, he was accused of the trouble he wanted to bring the Lutheran church into by his repeated threats to call back the Anglican missionaries to reoccupy Old Moshi. The church Synod then in its decision requested Joseph and his

wife to bring their complaint back to the congregational elders (Parsalaw 1997:285-286).

The case of Joseph Merinyo revealed the real character of the African representatives of the Synod. It was African identity against the European superiority. The Africans were coward in defending their fellow African. It was collision between conservative German missionaries and liberal Africans and few pro-African culture missionaries like Bruno Gutmann who defended Joseph Merinyo. As Claus Fiedler (quoted by Parsalaw) narrates sarcastically, the quarrel on clothes

between Missionary Fritze and Joseph Merinyo casts a clear light on the values of the educated elite and several missionaries. The clothes quarrel shows also that not all conservative missionaries were of the same mind. Then it ended with the conservative Gutmann protecting the progressive Merinyo against the conservative and authoritarian Fritze (Parsalaw 1997: 286).

Joseph Merinyo's collision with the white missionary was not a mere conflict over garments – it was more than that. Through the fracas on attire, although a bitter ordeal on his person, Merinyo wanted to shake off his shoulders the habit of forcing Africans to continue wearing the clothes which were used by the white masters to look down on Africans. In his opinion, the Chagga should possess the freedom of wearing what they liked, including European garments if they wished. Again Parsalaw describes the situation vividly:

Before the war, most Chagga Christians wore what the missionaries called to be an African dress, namely the Kanzu which was taken over from the Arabs towards the end of the 19th century. Now in the thirties, many Chagga have started to wear European clothes and many missionaries saw that as a symbol of destroying the culture of the Chagga. European clothes were also an expression of a growing social difference which several missionaries completely refused. For the Chagga, especially the educated and those who earned money, European clothes were a symbol of progress and the beginning of the aspiration to shake off European rule. That explains why the quarrel was very hot and why the nationalistic sound continued (Parsalaw 1997:286–287).

n) Fighting for Educational and Ecclesiastical Rights

Joseph Merinyo's social commitment increased as he continued demanding equal rights in education. Wherever he went in Chaggaland he advised people to build schools and colleges, so that the Chagga could compete with other people in terms of education, social development and employment, he himself struggling to the maximum to lead the way. It was during his involvement in *Kilimanjaro* Native Cooperative Union (KNCU) that a Cooperative College in East and Central

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[6] Interview with Dr Jesse Maro, YMCA Hospital, 1st November 2012, Moshi town.

Africa was established in the KNCU building in Moshi town. The building had also a hotel of international standards, plus a number of rooms which were set apart for income-generating activities. In collaboration with visionary Chagga chiefs, diligent farmers, and scholars of his time such as August Ndoro (a prominent coffee farmer from Marangu), Solomon Eliufoo (the Chagga Council president and the first Minister of Education in Independent Tanganyika), Abdiel Shangali (the first Chagga chief to be elected to the Legislative Council in 1945) and Thomas Marealle (the Chagga Paramount Chief), Joseph Merinyo's campaigns for better education in *Kilimanjaro* saw the construction of modern schools like Lyamungo (formerly known as KNCU Secondary School) which was built solely with money from KNCU.

The case of Joseph Merinyo was not the only issue discussed by the delegates of the Synod held at Ashira. Another important matter on the agenda of this particular Synod was to establish a school for training African pastors. It was realized that without having local pastors the church would not grow strong roots among the local people and as a result it would persist being a foreign institution among the Chagga. The first pastors' school under the leadership of Missionary Johannes Raum was started at the building of the Machame mission station. The candidates for the pastoral training were people who had undergone a teaching course. Furthermore, the candidates were also expected to be faithful Christians as well as people who had practical experience in congregational service. Thus when the case of Joseph Merinyo was ended it was unanimously agreed to start a pastors' training school at Machame known in German as *Machame Hirten Schule* (Parsalaw 1997:287–288, quoting Fleisch 1936:S. 442).

Joseph Merinyo had a great role in advocating for the endeavor of having local pastors. In the actual fact, the establishment of the pastors' school at Machame was the outcome of his struggle. He was the first person to write a letter to Germany, requesting the Leipzig Mission Society to come and start a school for training African pastors. At this time, there was only one pastor (a white man) who was in charge over the whole area from Old Moshi to Kahe in the plains. Other large areas like Marangu, Machame and Siha had also one pastor each. The assembly which approved Merinyo's educational initiatives took place on 23-26 August 1930 under the chairmanship of the leader of Leipzig Mission Society, Rev. Johannes Raum (Smedjebacka 1973:45).

The response to Merinyo's letter was the decision of Leipzig Mission Society to come and start a pastors' training school at Machame in 1933. Later the school was transferred to Lwandai (1947) and then Makumira (1954). The first Chagga pastors to be trained at Machame were Immanuel Mkony, Benjamen Moshi, Alyifayo Ngowi, Solomon Nkya, Nsesanjo Kitange, Amiramu Sandi, Yakobo Lyimo, and Timoteo Mushi

(Parsalaw 1997:290). So the training and graduation of these first African pastors in *Kilimanjaro* were undeniably the fruits of Merinyo's initiatives.

Joseph Merinyo was also instrumental in establishing the rank of a bishop in the Lutheran church in Tanganyika. When Stefano Reuben Moshi was the president of the Lutheran church in Northern Tanganyika (LCNT), Merinyo wrote a letter to the church authorities, supporting his argument with newspapers, claiming that the title 'president' was for secular authority and because of that the leader of the church must be called a 'bishop' as it was done in a country like Germany. Merinyo's argument was brought again by Chief Thomas Marealle at the LWF Meeting at Marangu in 1955 (Smedjebacka 1973:261). So Merinyo's lobbying made it possible for Stefano Moshi to be called bishop when he was installed in 1959. Joseph Merinyo was so committed to the whole issue of having a bishop and the ring which Bishop Stefano Moshi wore when he was installed was bought with money from Merinyo's pocket. Merinyo also fought against the people who opposed Bishop Moshi not to wear a miter.

Joseph Merinyo was one of the people who enabled the Lutheran church to continue existing in the northern zone of Tanganyika. For example, when he quarreled with Missionary Georg Fritze he threatened to use his "position in the government to call back the Anglican missionaries to reoccupy their old mission station. The present Old Moshi congregation was therefore invited to bring its case against Missionary Georg Fritze before the native representatives at the church Synod" (Parsalaw 1997:285, quoting Fleisch 1936:S. 433).

At the congregational level, Joseph Merinyo was also on the fore line in other things. He was one of the earliest church elders in Chaggaland. He initiated many ideas and resolutions in various church councils, especially the Executive Council which used to hold its meetings in turn at Moshi Town, Kotela, Arusha, and Shighatini. He used to spend nights at Bishop Stefano Moshi's residence in Mamba, so that they could discuss important church issues. Merinyo was a man who wore many hats and he wore these hats correctly and profitably.

o) *Fighting for Economic Rights and Social Development*

Joseph Merinyo was a leading advisor on matters related to coffee growing in Chaggaland. He went to London in 1953 to fight for better coffee prices. He met many obstacles in this campaign but he never gave up. He even managed to convince the British national, Donald Cameron, to join him in the coffee growing campaign as well as demanding better prices for coffee growers. So the fair pay which coffee farmers got in the mid-1950s was the product of Merinyo's

adamant demand for better prices in the entire coffee growing and selling business in *Kilimanjaro*.

Merinyo was the founder member of KNPA, which was started in 1924/25 and later changed into *Kilimanjaro* Native Cooperative Union in 1932. Joseph Merinyo and Charles Dundas formed the union for selling coffee, Merinyo himself being one of the leading coffee farmers. John Iliffe proves this when he says that "Joseph Merinyo, son of the chief of Moshi's war leader, remembers that he began to grow coffee in 1907" (Iliffe 1997: 136). Joseph Merinyo became the first president of KNPA and the first offices of this union were in the building along the Florida Road, opposite Rahisi Hardware in the present-day Moshi town.

When KNCU was formed, it took the offices which had been hitherto used by KNPA and the economic contribution of these two cooperative unions is among the factors which have transformed Chaggaland into what it is today. It is KNPA and finally KNCU which has brought into existence economic institutions like Coffee Curing Plant in Moshi town, Coffee Research Station (now TACRI) at Lyamungo Machame, various coffee peeling factories in almost all wards of Chaggaland, as well as numerous local cooperative societies which specialized in buying and transporting coffee to Moshi town, before being handed over to the Tanzania Coffee Board which played the role of ferrying coffee to auctioning centers, inside and outside the country.

Joseph Merinyo's contribution to social development is also a notable phenomenon. While working as a chief in Machame, he initiated and supervised the task of digging the road which starts from Nkuu to Lyamungo, and on completion it was known as Joseph Merinyo Road. All people who showed signs of resisting digging the road were severely dealt with. Joseph Merinyo went to the extent of whipping them so that they could comply with digging the road which he considered as a key for development. Those who knew him from close quarters narrate that among the things he prioritized was terrestrial infrastructure.

p) *Fighting for Political Rights and Placing Chiefs in Power*

Joseph Merinyo was both a king and a kingmaker. His role in the colonial era was great and what he said in front of the colonial administrators had a far-reaching impact. He was the spokesman of the Chagga chiefs in the Chagga Council which was established to mould Chaggaland into a modern society where things could be done fairly and leaders chosen democratically in such a way that all people would benefit, as far as the political equilibrium is concerned. During the era of the three Divisional Chiefs (Wamangi Waitori) who were appointed by the colonial government in 1946, Joseph Merinyo had an influence so great that he was invited to almost all meetings held in these Chagga chiefdom provinces.[7] He was the brain behind all campaigns for demanding political rights from the colonial masters. Very few politicians today could measure up to the standards of Joseph Merinyo, in terms of political planning and implementation of sophisticated political ideas. Although he did not show himself openly as a politician, his political involvement in various political activities is a reality which will take time to fade in the Chagga political arena. Talking about the Chagga administrative and political structure in Chaggaland, Kathleen Stahl explains:

[W]hen the British administration created three administrative divisions in 1946, Mangi Petro Itosi became divisional chief of Vunjo. The creation of divisions provoked the first organized popular political movement on *Kilimanjaro*, the *Kilimanjaro* Chagga Citizens Union, which successfully worked to secure appointment of a paramount chief chosen neither by the British administration nor by the chiefs themselves but by popular election. The two organizers, Joseph Merinyo and Petro Njau, were both men of Moshi but their nominee came from the ruling Lyimo clan of Marangu; and from 1952 until 1960 Thomas Lenana Marealle, son of Mlanga and grandson of Marealle, ruled as the paramount chief of all the Chagga (Stahl 1964:335-336).

Joseph Merinyo was instrumental in Chagga local politics due to his socio-political role as a court interpreter in the colonial era. In his capacity as an interpreter, he could even twist or alter the truth to fit his political campaigns. This is proven by Stahl who writes:

More important, each locally-staffed post in the Boma could be used by the holder to effect political repercussions on the mountain. The importance of the role played by the Boma interpreters and clerks in swaying the politics of *Kilimanjaro* is one of the most unexpected findings. . . . Joseph Merinyo of Moshi, clerk to Major Dundas in 1920's is the most outstanding of such intermediaries in a series beginning in the 1890's and continuing into modern times. Moving about the mountain at Major Dundas' side, in his master's eyes Merinyo was a good assistant in a humble post, but to the Chagga in word and deed he had more power at that time to make or break different chiefs than any other man (Stahl 1964:362).

As Kathleen Stahl explains, Joseph Merinyo was sometimes stronger than most chiefs in Chaggaland as well as a notable maker of history.

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[7] "In 1928 the British administration introduced the first embryonic experiment of grouping the chiefdoms of Kilimanjaro into three divisions for financial and legal matters and in each division selected two leading chiefs to handle them. The better of these two posts was considered to be finance. In Vunjo it was given to Mangi Mashingia, since it happened that Kilema's chief had just been worsted by a stratagem of the chief of Marangu . . ." (Stahl 1964:289, footnote 4).

According to Stahl, Joseph Merinyo was one of the great politicians from Chaggaland. She narrates:

> Curiously enough the impact Moshi made on the general politics of the mountain in the 20th century was not made by its chiefs at all, but by two astute politicians, both commoners, Joseph Merinyo and Petro Njau. Both men in their political operation cut right across chiefly boundaries. Both were kingmakers. In many of the chiefdoms Merinyo secured chieftainship for his candidates during the early 1920s, no action being more fraught with importance for *Kilimanjaro* than the choice of Mangi Abdiel for Machame in 1923. Later, from 1946 onwards, Merinyo and Njau successively organized and led a mountain-wide political movement against Mangi Abdiel and in favour of a Paramount Chief drawn from the royal ruling house of Marangu. Thus Moshi men, if not Moshi chiefdom, shaped the two most important political events on *Kilimanjaro* in the first half of the 20th century (Stahl 1964:279-280).

Joseph Merinyo proposed education as one of the qualifications for ascending to the post of a chief in Chaggaland. According to Stahl, Merinyo's insistence on education "incidentally provides an early example of the use of a new Chagga political argument which came with European rule and for some years was to be used primarily as a matter of convenience, that of schooling as a qualification for chieftainship" (Stahl 1964:141, Footnote 39). Here we see how Joseph Merinyo's value on education played a crucial role in the local politics in *Kilimanjaro*. Merinyo insisted education as one of the prerequisites for being elected a chief. For instance, he suggested to Major Charles Dundas that Abraham, who had a better educational background, was a better candidate to rule Machame. This educational precondition enabled Abraham to be enthroned in 1922, deposing Sudi who was less educated (Stahl 1964:276).

The political campaigns of Joseph Merinyo elevated to power a number of Chagga dignitaries. Even a famous monarch like the late Mangi Mkuu of the Chagga (from Vunjo area) was greatly supported by Joseph Merinyo to become a Paramount Chief. Why Joseph Merinyo did not campaign for a person from his home area (Old Moshi) is not easy to explain. So Joseph Merinyo who assisted the Chagga Paramount Chief to come to power had a great contribution to making Marangu famous because, as Stahl attests, "All these events redounded to the prestige of Marangu, enabling it to continue in the tradition which had been set in the 1890's by Marealle. This explains why, through the whole period of British rule from 1916 to 1961, Marangu . . . ranked with Machame as one of the twin-political nerve centres on *Kilimanjaro*" (Stahl 1964:336).

Joseph Merinyo was a kingmaker, in the sense that he assisted some individuals to rule. For example, as it has already been said, he enabled Abraham to be a king. "Joseph Merinyo, the son of Rindi's old war-leader, favoured Abraham [in his case against Sudi] and, being employed as clerk and interpreter in the Boma, was most advantageously placed to advance his case" (Stahl 1964: 275). Merinyo had a very conducive environment for his campaigns for the people he wanted to see reigning as local chiefs in Chaggaland. This is because while the people of Old Moshi regarded Joseph Merinyo to have enabled Abraham to become a chief, they did not "regard his action as having been unfortunate: Sudi had shown himself useless, while Abraham was to serve them well. Moshi therefore provides an instance where Merinyo's king-making, which at that time affected chiefdoms all over *Kilimanjaro*, had happy rather than dire results" (Stahl 1964:276).

When the District Commissioner went to meet the Chagga local chiefs, from Kibong'oto in Sanya Juu to Usseri in Rombo, he was accompanied by Joseph Merinyo. In addition to that, when the DC wanted to clarify certain important issues to these chiefs, it was Joseph Merinyo who put matters clear or straight and by so doing his role in the colonial government became even manifold. This indicates that Joseph Merinyo was a man of the people, and being a person of rare abilities, he helped all people who came to him to seek help. The oppressor and the oppressed gained equally from this talented man.

One of the greatest things done by Joseph Merinyo was defending the Chagga chiefs who were shifted from a jail in Moshi to Tanga. The saga was the result of malignity started by a white priest (probably Father George) who worked in Kibosho and Uru in Central *Kilimanjaro*. The priest said that some Chagga chiefs were making clandestine plans with the Maasai to overthrow the British rule in *Kilimanjaro*, so that the Germans could come to power again. To curb the evil plans, the British authorities decided to arrest some Chagga chiefs and their allies and detained them in Moshi. When the chiefs were detained, Joseph Merinyo was chosen to work as an acting chief in Machame, the headquarters of his chiefdom being Machame Central.[8] Stahl explains pointedly:

> According to the Chagga view, Merinyo's plan was carried out in three stages. When Ngulelo was deported Merinyo himself took over the chiefdom and for several months was effectively 'mangi' of Machame. With askaris from Moshi town to guard him, he ruled harshly and often with the lash to bring people to heel. The ground being thus prepared, Shangali was reinstated as chief in 1918 as a

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[8] While in Machame, Joseph Merinyo attached himself to a woman named Ruth Fisha who had once been wife of Shangali. Merinyo's devotion to Ruth made him support the struggle of Abdiel (her son) to become chief.

temporary measure to pave the way for his son. After a decent interval he retired and Abdiel was installed as mangi by Major Dundas in 1923. The British administration was not the only pawn in these manoeuvres. Shangali himself was hoodwinked, for Abdiel was the son neither of his eldest nor of his favourite wife and not the heir he would have chosen. Here Merinyo outwitted him by suggesting to Major Dundas that he should suggest to Shangali that Abdiel was best qualified to become chief, since with the six years of schooling procured for him by Merinyo he was the most educated of Shangali's sons (Stahl 1964:141).

According to Anderson, the Chagga chiefs were deported from some areas of Chaggaland and Joseph Merinyo was made a chief, in charge of Machame area. Serving as a chief, Merinyo ('a leading Chagga Christian') "reduced the power of the headmen, raised the status of teachers and Christianity rose even higher as a result" (Anderson 1988:75).

Some writers say that Merinyo was among the Chagga individuals deported to Tanga when Germans were defeated in Tanganyika. When the British assumed power in the country, they suspected that the Chagga might stage a resistance or rebellion and to make sure that such a thing would never happen, the British authorities summoned the deportation. As Sally Falk Moore narrates, fearing that some of the Chagga leaders "might be a danger to the new administration, Major Theodore Morrison, the officer in charge in 1917, had ordered some thirty-six Chagga deported to Tanga, including nine chiefs, among them Salema, and his brother-in-law, the commoner Joseph Merinyo" (Moore 1986:118).

It was when he was working as a mangi in Machame Merinyo was informed that some Chagga chiefs had been detained, an information which sparked off his anger and compassion for them. He was so disturbed psychologically because some of the detained people were his father-in-law (Chief Abraham Salema of Old Moshi) and Merinyo's uncle called Imeti Lyatuu.

Without even saying where he was going, Joseph Merinyo immediately left for Moshi town where on his arrival he demanded being told as to why the chiefs and the other people had been arrested and detained. The DC refused to tell the reason and patriotically Merinyo said that he too was ready to be detained if the detainees were not released. "Open the door so that I too can be detained!" Merinyo said loudly, defiant of any punitive measures which the colonial authorities might take against him. Immediately the DC knew that Joseph Merinyo was indeed a bold man. Even when he was told to go back to Machame Merinyo refused. So he joined the local chiefs and the other people in the lockup, forfeiting the pleasures and privileges of serving as a chief in Machame.

After a few days, the Chagga detainees were divided into two groups. One group was taken to a jail in Tanga and the second one was taken to Kismayu. The reason for deporting these chiefs to Tanga and Kismayu[9] was probably to keep them away from their relatives, who might organize a plan to invade the jail in Moshi and set them free. The group taken to Tanga was kept at Tanga Police Station where they were held as political detainees. By luck Joseph Merinyo, Chief Salema, and Imeti Lyatuu were in the group taken to Tanga. The detention experience made Merinyo and his fellow prison inmates bolder and more freedom conscious, just as it happened to other African political detainees elsewhere in Africa. As history indicates, harsh penalties do not scare people when their consciousness for freedom is fully aroused (Mandela 1994:319).

The move to shift the detainees to Tanga and Kismayu made Merinyo even more furious, vowing not to rest until his countrymen were all released. His support to Chagga chiefs extended even to Kirua Vunjo. As Stahl accounts, Kiting'ati was a very weak leader who had narrowly escaped the fate of hanged Chagga chiefs in 1900 as well as the 'great Chagga conspiracy' of 1916. A great faction in Kiting'ati's chiefdom offered an ample opportunity for his son Mashingia (briskly supported by Merinyo) to rise to power in Kirua Vunjo (Stahl 1964:289).

Among the Chagga chiefs deported to Kismayu in 1917 were Msami, Ngyilyisho, and Malamia of Kibosho. Chief Malamia

was a natural victim since the author of the whole stratagem, the Boma clerk Joseph Merinyo of Moshi, was concerned to build up Machame chiefdom under his chosen candidate. . . . [Joseph] Merinyo had a special personal interest since he was a son of that Merinyo who had led Mangi Rindi's warriors to defeat in unsuccessful raid upon Kibosho in the time of Sina. The oral traditions of Kibosho put the responsibility for this stratagem squarely upon [Joseph] Merinyo (Stahl 1964:201).

Even while in Tanga, Merinyo's brilliance and smartness was recognized by the colonial masters. His experience and sound educational background made the Tanga DC choose and assigned him the task of working as a storekeeper of the prison he was detained in. Thus Merinyo served as a detainee and a storekeeper at the same time.

Joseph Merinyo went on fighting for the release of his fellow detainees and the jail warders listened to his pleas. They agreed to grant the detainees a little freedom of leaving the prison and spend the day in the town, but with the condition of coming back in the

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[9] Other historical sources say that there was a group of Chagga conspirators – including Chief Kiting'ati of Kirua Vunjo – which was taken to Bagamoyo (Stahl: 1964:289).

evening – before 4.00 p.m. This particular freedom persisted and Joseph Merinyo kept on fighting for the total release of the detainees. Merinyo was so tricky that he requested the person in charge of the jail to give him some people to prepare lime. He was given the people he needed and after one week the lime was brought to the jail. Merinyo supervised the prisoners in the work of painting lime in all offices of the jail and the jail building became very attractive, something which made Merinyo looked upon as a very exceptional person in terms of brilliance and planning. So Joseph Merinyo became a figure of hope, encouragement, and expertise in manual labor, even in prison.

The British Governor who lived in Dar es Salaam had a routine of visiting Tanga town. One day he came to Tanga and Joseph Merinyo requested to be given permission to meet him. Unfortunately, the Governor left for Dar es Salaam before Merinyo could talk to him.

At that time the passenger train used to travel from Tanga to Moshi twice a week, to carry remand prisoners (*mahabusu*). Joseph Merinyo wrote a letter and gave it to one policeman who was coming to Moshi to escort remand prisoners. On arriving at Moshi the policeman delivered the letter according to Joseph Merinyo's instructions. The jail in Moshi was at the place where there is the present-day building with the offices of the Ministry of Work. Joseph Merinyo requested the people from Old Moshi who worked with the Ministry of Works to receive the letter from the policeman and take it to Anna Masochi, Joseph Merinyo's wife who knew how to read and write. The letter enabled her know the condition of her husband in Tanga as well as the condition of the other detainees. In response she spread information to the concerned families about the detainees held in Tanga and by so doing she became a very important link between the detainees and their relatives in Old Moshi.

In collaboration with Joseph Merinyo's grandmother, Anna Masochi ground tobacco and collected one rupee from the relatives of the detainees and put what they had collected into a tin and sent it to Tanga, using the same policeman who had brought the letter. Into the tin they also put a letter which explained from whom the rupees had come and to what detainees the rupees in the tin were destined.

Joseph Merinyo's grandmother (Malyatuu) descended to Moshi town to meet the policeman who would be requested to take the tin with ground tobacco, rupees and the letter to the people detained in Tanga. She gave the policeman one rupee as a motivation so that he could take the tin to Joseph Merinyo in Tanga. The policeman took the tin and ferried it secretly to Tanga.

When Joseph Merinyo opened the tin and read the letter he knew to whom the rupees were supposed to be given. Unfortunately, and to the annoyance of Joseph Merinyo, the detainees used the money for buying coconut beer during the hours they were permitted to leave the jail and go to town. Merinyo cautioned his fellow detainees not to return to the jail drunk. Furthermore, to continue impressing the prison warders he did not go to town like the other detainees. He remained in the jail taking care of the store he was in charge of – to make sure that everything was in order.

The letter which Joseph Merinyo took from the tin also gave the prisoners all information about their home villages, families and relatives. It explained as to who had died, who had got married, who had got a new baby and other matters pertaining to life in Old Moshi in general. What a good luck! They got a lot of valuable information, despite the fact that they were in prison.

Joseph Merinyo's grandmother was quite intelligent, and her wits made her do another thing. She roasted meat of *ndafu* (fattened he-goat), dried it to deaden its smell and put it in a well sealed calabash (*kyisoro*) and requested the same policeman to take the calabash to Tanga, to the detainees. In that way, the detainees got *ndafu* meat from home. Getting *ndafu* meat while imprisoned was no little luck on the side of the Chagga prisoners.

The detainees stayed in Tanga for about two years. One day it was announced that the Governor would come to Tanga and Joseph Merinyo saw that as a very good opportunity to carry out his plans. He wrote a letter in English and sent it to the house where the Governor would stay and to remain anonymous he did not sign it. The letter was put on a small coffee table in the living-room, without him being aware of Merinyo's plan. When the Governor was through with what had brought him to Tanga, he returned to his lodge and found the letter on the table. He opened it and it read as follows:

Your Excellency, Honorable British Governor. We are political detainees from *Kilimanjaro*, detained without trial. We do not know our fate. The fact that the British Government is known all over the world for being fair, transparent and compassionate, we kindly ask you to intervene because we do not know whether we shall be hanged, detained indefinitely or not. We have stayed from our homes for quite a long time and our families, our wives in particular, are painfully missing us. Honorable Governor, please intervene and help us! In your capacity as the most powerful person in this country, we trust a hundred percent that you can save us. Honorable Governor, we are under your mercy. Please, help us.[10]

Joseph Merinyo was pushed by a strong inner feeling to write the letter because he knew how staying in prison tarnishes a person's personality as well as demoralizing him. As Nelson Mandela has noted, not

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[10] The words of this letter were dictated to the author by Dr Jesse Maro, YMCA Hospital, 1st November 2012, Moshi town.

only does prison rob a person of his freedom but also tries to take away a person's identity (Mandela 1994:321).

The Governor took the letter and gave it to the DC of Tanga. "There are political detainees here. Why haven't you told me?" the Governor remarked. The DC was dumbfounded. He had nothing to reply because he knew the consequences of saying the truth.

When the Governor had left, the DC of Tanga asked the detainees as to who had written the letter. Immediately Joseph Merinyo said that he was the one who had written it. He clarified by saying that he wrote the letter because they did not know the crime committed by the Chagga detainees, nor did they know their fate. "We complained to the Governor because we have stayed here for more than two years without trial. We have left our wives and relatives at home – they are missing us a lot," Merinyo told the DC.

Having seen the urgency and sincerity of Joseph Merinyo's letter, the Governor did something very helpful. On arrival at Dar es Salaam he wrote a letter, in response to the appeal of Joseph Merinyo, and within a week the letter reached Tanga. The letter gave an order for all political detainees from *Kilimanjaro* to be repatriated to Moshi for public enquiry and that the person in charge of the inquiry would be Sir Charles Dundas, the Pangani DC.

Without delay, all detainees from *Kilimanjaro* were sent back to Moshi and stayed at Moshi Train Station for two months. Then a public inquiry (chaired by Charles Dundas) took place and Dundas was assisted by Joseph Merinyo as interpreter. Throughout the inquiry the detainees were brought meat, beer, and clothes by their relatives.

After the inquiry, it was seen that the detainees were not guilty and that their detention was the result of the rumor spread by an evil priest. They were reinstated to their respective areas, with Charles Dundas making sure that all things were done in a good way. Henceforth, wherever Charles Dundas went he was accompanied by Joseph Merinyo as interpreter. But whenever Merinyo saw anything which he thought might endanger the lives or welfare of his fellow Africans he interpreted it in their favor. Peace and tranquility prevailed in Chaggaland and the priest who had caused malignity was transferred to Nkhonda Morogoro where he died afterwards.

When the detainees had already been reinstated to their respective areas, Sir Charles Dundas was appointed the DC of Moshi and Joseph Merinyo became his secretary. So, most of the administrative activities in Moshi was placed on the shoulders of Charles Dundas and his assistant Joseph Merinyo. Dundas and Merinyo began to convince the Chagga to grow coffee as a cash crop, instead of leaving coffee cultivation to the white settlers. Prior to that coffee was planted only at Kilema Mission where it had been introduced by Roman Catholic priests in the early 1890s, most probably in 1892. Coffee growing elevated the Chagga to great heights of economic progress and education. As John Baur says, the Roman Catholic priests who had also worked in Bagamoyo introduced the Chagga "to the art of coffee growing, thus fostering the spirit of enterprise that later became the hallmark of the Wachagga and the major reason for their great desire for education" (Baur 2005:228). Convincing the Chagga peasants to grow coffee was a setback to the settlers who had hitherto dominated the business. Another setback was caused by the fact that if the Chagga would begin growing coffee as Charles Dundas and Joseph Merinyo urged them to do, the white settlers would no longer get cheap labor from the Africans.

q) Fighting against Fraud and Embezzlement Allegations

Joseph Merinyo's imprisonment in connection with the saga of Chagga local chiefs was not the last episode in his life. He was later on jailed for matters related to his involvement in coffee growing activities. When he was very active in the KNPA, the white people were dissatisfied by this union because it empowered the local coffee farmers. It was a union which even the Chagga chiefs lacked power to put under their control and furthermore it put these chiefs at logger heads with the settler community in *Kilimanjaro*. Isaria Kimambo paints the scenario succinctly when he gives the following account about KNPA:

It was a peasant organization controlled by mission-educated coffee producers and the chiefs had no way of controlling it. It was in conflict with settlers, who by 1927 were loud in wanting government to prevent African coffee production. It was in 1927 that Governor Cameron 'issued a circular ordering agricultural staff to discourage the growing of coffee by Africans'. From 1928 onwards, the colonial officials in Moshi were looking for ways of controlling the KNPA and the opportunity came in 1931 when, because of the depression, the organization was in financial crisis. Joseph Merinyo, its President, was arrested together with some of the members of his committee on charges of fraud. Although the main charge was not proved, Merinyo was eventually imprisoned for 'embezzling' KNPA funds. While he was in prison, the colonial state introduced the *Kilimanjaro* Native Cooperative Union (KNCU) to replace KNPA. While this solved a political problem in *Kilimanjaro*, it created a practical problem for Pare coffee growers (Kimambo 1991:78–79).

Narrating about this false embezzlement saga, Arnold Temu and Bonaventure Swai say that through an investigation it was alleged that Joseph Merinyo, KNPA's president, had embezzled 21 British Pounds and that he had used pretext to get 120 British Pounds from a firm known as Sharif Jiwa and Company based in

Moshi town, something which resulted into his immediate prosecution and imprisonment. KNPA set up a committee to protest against the way the case of Joseph Merinyo had been handled but the committee's protest was fruitless because the colonial government had really decided to give Merinyo a stern punishment. When Joseph Merinyo was in prison, the colonial government got a chance of attacking KNPA and if "the government had originally been of the opinion that KNPA was useful, it was no longer so after the Merinyo case" (Temu and Swai 1981:139).

An overriding reality is that the British masters in Moshi put Joseph Merinyo behind bars by fabricating a case that he had misused the money of KNPA, a cooperative society that Sir Donald Cameron and Sir Charles Dundas encouraged Chagga farmers to start in 1924/25. It happened that the British officers in Moshi exercised indirect rule through cooperatives like KNPA and when Cameron left Tanganyika in 1931 the British masters sought a scapegoat with which to dissolve KNPA and form something else. An audit group was formed, to audit the accounts of buying and exporting coffee. The first task of auditing came up with the discovery that for a period of two years (1929-1931) only 50% of the expected amount of income was collected from KNPA members for subscriptions (Temu and Swai 1981; 138–139). Another accusation leveled at KNPA was that its officials

gave loans to one another freely. All this convinced Griffith [an accountant appointed by the British government to investigate allegations of money embezzlement within the KNPA in the 1930s] that the Chagga were 'not competent to control such large interests as are involved, and . . . that a reliable European Firm [should] be requested to take over this work, subject to the direction and supervision of the Administration and that the Books and Accounts be written up by the same Firm (subject to Audit) at an agreed rate Commission on coffee sales and a definite fee for keeping the said books of Accounts' (Temu and Swai 1981:139).

The mistrust of the colonial masters during the time of Joseph Merinyo, which made them assert that the Chagga were incapable of handling huge sums of money, reminds us of the critique made by the patriotic writers in the Africanist Discourse. The writers in this particular discourse disclosed how the arrogant stalwarts from the western hemisphere treated Africa with shocking ambivalence – one of the facets of this particular ambivalence being the convention of binary oppositions, i.e. "a manifestation of the West's ambivalence towards Africa. . . . [That] the West is one thing – good, reasonable, bright – while Africa is its opposite – evil, irrational, dark" (Killam and Rowe 2000:15). Joseph Merinyo opposed the racist claim that Africa was bad, senseless, and dark. Nor was Africa a

platform where the white masters could do anything they wanted.

Joseph Merinyo went on fighting against the charges of fraud fabricated against him and finally he was released from prison, this time emerging as a more militant champion and politically more organized campaigner. His malicious accusers and jailers had made him stronger at heart and in his person they molded a fearless fighter for the rights of his fellow countrymen. The prison spell did not instill in him any kind of cowardice. Instead, the prison experience was a great advantage on the side of Joseph Merinyo because, as Nelson Mandela says, a person's "goodness is a flame that can be hidden but never extinguished" (Mandela 1994:615). Joseph Merinyo's goodness was hidden in prison for some time but it was not extinguished. When he came out of prison he perpetuated his campaigns against white domination and oppression on the black peasants. As a Chagga hero he walked around the Old Moshi villages and in *Kilimanjaro* Region at large, campaigning for human dignity and fair crop prices. He continued opposing all sorts of discrimination and injustice, showing that the prison spell could not bend his determination to keep on fighting for his people. He resembled Mandela who, during a court trial in South Africa, uttered very memorable words: "I will still be moved . . . by my dislike of the race discrimination against my people when I come out from serving my sentence, to take up again, as best I can, the struggle for the removal of those injustices until they are finally abolished once and for all" (Mandela 1996:160). Julius Nyerere supports the views of Mandela when he says that due to the fact that we are not animals, grown-ups should "fight against what seems to them gross social injustice – things like apartheid, or colonialism, or religious oppression" (Nyerere 1994:18). That is exactly what Joseph Merinyo stood for, wherever he went. He was not ready to bow even to the colonialists who wrapped themselves in the blanket of religion.

r) Displaying Patriotism and Opposing Racial Discrimination

Joseph Merinyo did what he did because he was motivated by the psyche of both internal and outer freedom. As it is correctly asserted by Julius K. Nyerere, "every individual really wants two things: freedom to pursue his own interests and his own inclinations. At the same time he wants the freedoms which can be obtained only through life in the society – freedom from fear of personal attack, freedom from the effects of natural dangers . . . " (Nyerere 1966:7).

The clash between Joseph Merinyo and Missionary Georg Fritze was an image of African patriotism in the midst of racial discrimination. The circumstances that shoved Merinyo into the conflict with a foreigner, at the end of the day, marked a great

politico-cultural paradigm shift in the sense that things never remained the same. In the course of the case lodged against him, it was finally realized that the white pastor had made a mistake but because a white man working in Tanganyika at that time could never err, the truth was concealed, to give the impression that it was Merinyo who was wrong. To settle the dust, Merinyo was secretly allowed to partake of all things which a 'clean' Christian deserves and his excommunication scenario came to an end.

One of the enemies Merinyo fought against to the end of his life was superiority complex which affected Africans too. In deeds and speech, superiority complex was witnessed even among some missionaries. For instance, talking about dress fashions, Joseph Parsalaw says that there "were a few conservative missionaries who did not accept it as good manners to see native Christians dressed in the European fashions. The congregation in Arusha was one of the congregations which suffered during the quarrels between Lazaros Laiser and Blumer simply because Lazaro's wife, Tabea wore shoes which to Blumer's eyes was an insult to wear shoes like Europeans" (Parsalaw 1997:282). Elsewhere, for example in the apartheid South Africa, blacks could not share anything with whites – buses, schools, prisons, social clubs, markets, and hospitals. The apartheid minority rulers, as Nelson Mandela describes them, glorified and promoted 'pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic' tendencies, claiming to be defenders of 'western Christian civilization' against the nuisance of black people. Believing that they had been chosen by God to rule the blacks, they were reluctant to listen to anything from outside their socio-political cocoon and they were totally opposed to important things like freedom, justice, and equality (Benson 1994:22). Nail and tooth Merinyo opposed such tendencies in his home country. For him, segregation, racial discrimination and superiority complex were deadly enemies which should be opposed at any cost.

s) Death and Funeral

Brother Joseph Merinyo, as he frequently called himself, died on 19th April 1973. Like a great baobab tree, he succumbed to death – the inevitable fate of every human being. His demise marked the end of a physical presence on earth but his contribution to culture and politics is there to stay. He was buried at his home in Kolila and his funeral service was led by the late Bishop Dr Stefano Reuben Moshi, in collaboration with many pastors from inside and outside Old Moshi. The impact of his funeral was so great that many people realized that a man of the people had really passed away.

Joseph Merinyo rested with his forefathers, in peace and honor. His wonderful and captivating personality still loom large in people's memories, and his tomb at Kolila is reminiscent of a great man who was indeed a defiant fighter, a bold hero, an articulate campaigner, a visionary farmer and an icon for peace and justice. He finally left the world, shining like a buoy on a hilltop, and indeed depicted as an exemplary figure for the past, present and future generations.

II. Conclusion and Recommendations

Joseph Merinyo will remain in the annals of history as one of the greatest sons Chaggaland should be proud of because he was a person in whom a blend of nationalism and patriotism was quite inherent. He was a tireless freedom fighter, fighting for the rights of the numerous underdogs around him. He stood firm to fight against various forms of economic exploitation, political oppression, cultural disregard, religious marginalization, and racial discrimination. He was a man of great vision, possessing unequalled boldness and the prowess of a lion when it comes to fighting for the socio-cultural and economic-political rights of the common people. Bravo, Joseph Merinyo! Tanzania and Africa at large need people of his type – people who do not shrink back with fear and cowardice in front of threats and persecution. The society is in great need of more Merinyos, people who never compromise in the task of defending the dignity of the despised and exploited people, particularly the poor and the marginalized.

At this juncture, two recommendations can be made. First, it is incumbent to study important persons like Joseph Merinyo because such studies put Africa on the world map; and second, African heroes and heroines should be studied widely and deeply – not merely to entertain or meet the demands of a historical adventure but also to benefit from the immense and valuable knowledge packed in their life accounts.

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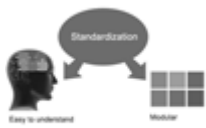
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- Abstract Font size of 9 Bold, "Abstract" word in Italic Bold.
- Main Text: Font size 10 with justified two columns section
- Two Column with Equal Column with of 3.38 and Gaping of .2
- First Character must be three lines Drop capped.
- Paragraph before Spacing of 1 pt and After of 0 pt.
- Line Spacing of 1 pt
- Large Images must be in One Column
- Numbering of First Main Headings (Heading 1) must be in Roman Letters, Capital Letter, and Font Size of 10.
- Numbering of Second Main Headings (Heading 2) must be in Alphabets, Italic, and Font Size of 10.

You can use your own standard format also.
Author Guidelines:

1. General,

2. Ethical Guidelines,

3. Submission of Manuscripts,

4. Manuscript's Category,

5. Structure and Format of Manuscript,

6. After Acceptance.

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(b) A brief Summary, "Abstract" (less than 150 words) containing the major results and conclusions.

(c) Up to ten keywords, that precisely identifies the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.

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(e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition; sources of information must be given and numerical methods must be specified by reference, unless non-standard.

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(h) Brief Acknowledgements.

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- Describe the method entirely
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures
- Simplify - details how procedures were completed not how they were exclusively performed on a particular day.
- If well known procedures were used, account the procedure by name, possibly with reference, and that's all.

Approach:

- It is embarrassed or not possible to use vigorous voice when documenting methods with no using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result when script up the methods most authors use third person passive voice.
- Use standard style in this and in every other part of the paper - avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings - save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.

Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part a entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Carry on to be to the point, by means of statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.You must obviously differentiate material that would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matter should not be submitted at all except requested by the instructor.

Content

- Sum up your conclusion in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In manuscript, explain each of your consequences, point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and comprise remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or in manuscript form.

What to stay away from

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surroundings information, or try to explain anything.
- Not at all, take in raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.

- Do not present the similar data more than once.
- Manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate the identical information.
- Never confuse figures with tables - there is a difference.

Approach

- As forever, use past tense when you submit to your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.
- Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report
- If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results part.

Figures and tables

- If you put figures and tables at the end of the details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attach appendix materials, such as raw facts
- Despite of position, each figure must be numbered one after the other and complete with subtitle
- In spite of position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other and complete with heading
- All figure and table must be adequately complete that it could situate on its own, divide from text

Discussion:

The Discussion is expected the trickiest segment to write and describe. A lot of papers submitted for journal are discarded based on problems with the Discussion. There is no head of state for how long a argument should be. Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implication of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and hold up for all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of result should be visibly described. Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved with prospect, and let it drop at that.

- Make a decision if each premise is supported, discarded, or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."
- Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work
- You may propose future guidelines, such as how the experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details all of your remarks as much as possible, focus on mechanisms.
- Make a decision if the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory, and whether or not it was correctly restricted.
- Try to present substitute explanations if sensible alternatives be present.
- One research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind, where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

- When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from available information
- Submit to work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.
- Submit to generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

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Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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