University of Strathclyde
Department of Educational Studies

Sport, Culture and Society in Tanzania from an African Perspective

A Study in Historical Revisionism

by

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Abstract

Despite the significance of sport in the modern evolution of the societies of Africa, until recently, there has been a lack of academic interest in the extent of its assimilation into the fabric of these societies. In contrast, this is a cultural history of sport in Tanzania. It involves both cultural continuity and change, of shifting ideologies over time in response to political stimuli, and of the social processes of diffusion, assimilation, alienation, rejection, adaptation and restoration of culture. The thesis examines the place of sport in Tanzanian society in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. Underlying this approach is a revisionism that permits the exploration of sport *from* a Tanzanian and an African perspective. The consideration of the pre-colonial period traces the different types of physical activities of early eastern Africa and explores their functions in the lives of the indigenous peoples. Then follows a discussion of the arrival of the Arabs and their role in the spread of Islam in later eastern Africa and considers the negative attitudes towards sport that resulted from this Islamisation. Next is the review of the German colonisation of the country and the Teutonic introduction of Western education into German East Africa. Hand in hand with this education went marching drills, parades and German gymnastics which have become significant components of school sport in contemporary Tanzania. The crucial contribution of the British imperialist to modern Tanzanian sport in the form of team games, athletics and gymnastics in the shape of 'adapted Athleticism', is then described and analysed. Finally, sport in independent Tanzania and its association with nationalism, modernisation and globalisation is scrutinised. The central argument of this thesis is that modern sport in Tanzania has been a consequence of a multifaceted evolution embracing three distinct periods of the country's history and three disparate legacies: indigenous, Islamic and European, but that it was the British middle class colonial educationalists, more than others, who were responsible for the sport of modern Tanzania. Thus, in independent Tanzania, as in many other developing countries in Africa, modern sport has become clearly associated with Western culture but now, in addition, is linked to nationalism, modernisation and globalisation. The thesis concludes with the argument that Tanzania keenly aspires to integration into the world of global sport but at the same time searches for a distinctive identity by utilising Tanzanian 'sport', past and present, as an integral part of education and as an important ingredient in her culture.

Prologue

0.1 Sport, Culture and Society in Tanzania[1] from an African Perspective

Sport is a universal phenomenon with significant aesthetic, social, cultural, educational, economic, political and spiritual dimensions.[2] Historians, educationalists, sociologists, philosophers and anthropologists increasingly recognise the significance of sport in Africa.[3] In particular, attention is drawn to its cultural, educational, political, gendered and diplomatic dimensions.[4] In addition, scholars now reflect upon the forms and types of physical activity to be included or not to be included in the term 'sport' in an African setting, compare the term with 'modern' (European) usage[5] and explore its validity in an African context.

This is a study of the social and cultural history of sport in Tanzania. I will employ the term 'sport' as a generic term embracing all physical activities within education and in society and culture beyond education in the colonial and post-colonial periods (see below). Within education, it will embrace those activities - games, sports and dance - intended to promote physical, mental and moral development and offer recreational opportunities.[6] Within society and culture, it will cover games, sports and dance in the wider social and cultural settings and the processes of diffusion, assimilation, rejection, adaptation and restoration. I will use the term physical activity when dealing with the pre-colonial period, as sport is a modern term.

As a consequence of historical moments the history of Tanzania may be divided into three distinct periods – pre-colonial (before 1885), colonial (1885 – 1961) and post-colonial (after 1961). During the three periods under consideration, the geographical and political entity now known as Tanzania had different names. Before late 1880s, when the colonialists drew up the present boundaries[7] of the East African countries of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, it was part of a larger area of eastern Africa. This area was referred to differently by various early writers. For example, in the first known written record of the coast of eastern Africa, contained in The Periplus of the Erythrean

Sea, a first century traveller's handbook, the coast of eastern Africa was referred to as *Azania*.[8] This book, a guide to the ports and trade of Arabia, eastern Africa, India and the connecting route to China, is believed to have been written by a Greek geographer at Alexandria around 100 A.D.[9] The name, *Azania,* was also mentioned by another Greek, Claudius Ptolemy in *Geographia* believed to have been composed around 150 A.D.[10] In *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu,* a ninth-century Chinese compendium of knowledge, which contained the first definite Chinese information on eastern Africa, Tuan Chieng-Shih referred to the coast of eastern Africa as the land of *Po-pa-li*.[11] In the middle of the tenth century, a Persian Gulf sailor, Buzurg Ibn Shahriyar, referred to the same area as *Zanj* (the land of the black people).[12] It was not until the nineteenth century that specific names for specific areas appeared, apparently as a direct consequence of colonisation.

The piece of land now known as Tanzania (mainland) became known as German East Africa[13] when the Germans colonised it in 1885 and was renamed Tanganyika by the British when they took over its administration in 1920. Tanganyika became independent in 1961. Three years later Tanganyika and Zanzibar entered into a union and the country became known as Tanzania. In this study the piece of land will be referred to as follows: during the pre-colonial period it will be referred to as pre-colonial East Africa; during the colonial period it will be referred to as German East Africa (between 1885 and 1920) and Tanganyika (between 1920 and 1961) and during the post-colonial period it will be referred to as Tanzania. The title 'Tanzania' will also be used when making general reference to the country over more than one of the three time periods.

The history of sport in Tanzania reflects what Ali Mazrui has called the triple cultural heritage of Africa.[14] By triple heritage, Mazrui was referring to the influence of Indigenous, Islamic and Western cultures on Africa. This triple heritage is set out diagrammatically in Figure 0.1.

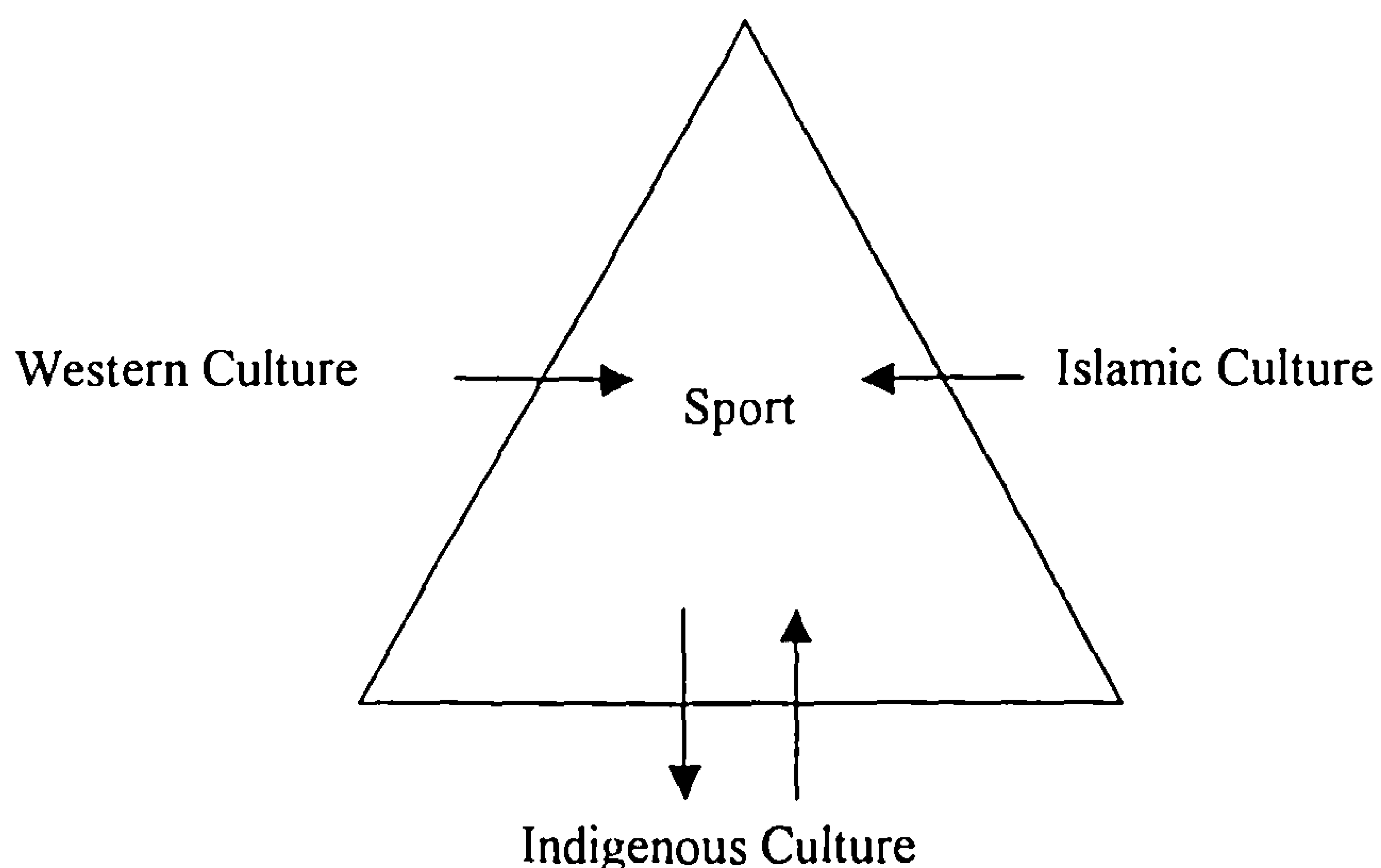

Figure 0.1: The Triple Heritage History of Sport in Tanzania

From time immemorial, the indigenous African population incorporated physical activities into many aspects of their daily lives. They educated their young men and women through specific physical activities, they used them to socialise and they used them for recreation. Islamic culture, for its part, influenced certain aspects of traditional physical activities. However, it was not until the arrival of Western modern sport that the long-term impact of Islam on the history of sport in Tanzania was to manifest itself. Of the three, the Western Culture of the triple heritage of sport was to have the greatest influence, through the introduction of modern games and sports. Indeed, Western culture came to be integrally associated with modern sport, itself linked to concepts such as westernisation, modernisation and globalisation.

Despite the significance of sport in the evolution of the societies of the so-called Third World, until recently, [15] there has been a lack of interest in the extent of its assimilation into the fabric of these societies. Unsurprisingly, therefore, very few studies have explored the evolution of sport in Tanzanian society.[16] There have been equally few studies on foreign influences.[17]

This study analyses the place of sport in past and present Tanzania. Its aim is to explore how different types of physical activities were incorporated into the everyday life of pre-colonial East African societies, to trace the introduction and diffusion of modern sport into German East African and Tanganyikan society during the colonial period, and finally to examine the adoption and adaptation of modern sport in independent Tanzania, the policies that guided it and the attitudes that resulted from it. Consideration of the pre-colonial period will allow the linkage between the indigenous traditions of physical activities and the foreign influence on these traditions, to be traced. The impact of this foreign influence on indigenous culture and society will then be reviewed. Specific objectives of this study include:

(i) to record and analyse the physical activities in pre-colonial East Africa. Answers will be sought to questions such as: what physical activities were engaged in by the indigenous people prior to their contact with the overseas foreigners and how was this aspect of living integrated into their culture. In short, how did physical activities harmonise with other major aspects of living, such as war, hunting, education and recreation?

(ii) to determine for the first time the changes which were brought about in pre-colonial East African indigenous physical activities through cultural contact as a result of Islamisation and colonisation.

(iii) to examine for the first time the manner in which modern sport infused itself into the culture of the Tanzanian peoples.

(iv) to record and analyse for the first time this significant phase of the history of sport in Tanzanian society.

(v) to relate for the first time the history of sport in Tanzania to the triple heritage model of the Indigenous, Islamic and Western cultures.

0.2. Methodology

The relationship between sport and society is dynamic and is continuously constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed over time. To examine this relationship in the context of Tanzania, anthropological, ethnographical and historical methods are employed in

this study. Underlying these methods is a revisionistic approach to studies of sport in Africa, an approach that hopefully will permit the exploration of sport from an African perspective. The revisionism lies in the fact that the author is Tanzanian, grew up in Tanzania and participated in sport at every level from school level to international representation, and subsequently became a member of the physical education department of the University of Dar es Salaam with responsibility for, *inter alia*, the teaching of the history of Tanzanian sport. His perspective is, therefore, African and Tanzanian and this perspective involves reviewing the triple legacy from a Tanzanian and African perspective. As touched upon in the preceding pages, there are few detailed studies of sport in Africa. There are even fewer detailed ones of Tanzania. This study, the first to explore the place of sport in the lives of Tanzanian peoples, combines a variety of methods of collecting data. It relies on secondary sources, archival records, visits to relevant historical sites and interviews with local people, former colonial educationalists, modern educationalists, sports club leaders, administrators, and sportsmen and sportswomen.

The virtue of the Mazrui's model is that it is generic. Thus, it avoids inappropriate analytical narrowness and it allows development into further categories within his all-embracing comprehensive triadic structure. For this reason, it can be proposed that within the Mazrui model *seven* subdivisions may be suggested – a septenary approach – and a *sevenfold* categorisation of evolutionary development set out: Indigenous Culture (tribal similarities and dissimilarities), Islamic Culture (autonomous indigenous customs and Islamic and indigenous convergence, and Western Culture (German and British colonialism, post colonial Socialism and post Socialism). And this is the pattern de facto to be described in the thesis.

In this context, it is important to appreciate that the revisionism attempted in this thesis is not pan-African revisionism. It is a subtle variant – much needed, it is argued, in any cultural, political, social and economic analysis of Africa with its huge national variations. It is Tanzanian revisionism- an attempt to review the evolution of the society and its sport from this national perspective. In this regard, to a large degree, it is both an autonomous and idiosyncratic revisionism which, it is intended,

adds subtlety to larger African revisionistic studies in the mould of Basil Davidson and others.

In The Search for Africa: A History in the Making published in 1994, Basil Davidson wrote optimistically of future African History:

> In this new epoch, perhaps, 'their' reality and 'ours' – again from whichever side you take it may begin to converge: not in the singularities of culture, remaining as these will as richly various as human nature, but in their ever more evident requirement of conjoint acceptance. 'They' will begin to be 'there' as much as 'we' are – from whichever way you come in forms and intensities never before possible in consciousness.

and he added that,

> As they take shape there, and as we begin to see their reality and all the lineaments of their condition, and as the same perception arises in reverse, so in that measure can we and they approach and stand on common ground and in doing that, find the synthesis which can realise conjoint potentials.[18]

Seeing 'them' (the Tanzanians) in 'their reality and all the lineaments of their condition,' it is argued, is the merit of the Tanzanian revisionism adopted here. It strives for 'conjoint acceptance' through fresh understanding within the framework of national evolution.

This thesis has been written essentially for Tanzanians. Experience in the higher education system of Tanzania has acutely sensitised the author to the need to paint a broad, but carefully accurate, canvas covering past and present Tanzania for the young of today and tomorrow in the hope that they will understand the present and the future more fully. Both grow out of the past. In pursuit of this approach there has been a specific effort made in the thesis to include caveats and qualifications and to state limitations.

From this 'macro-canvas' in time will come 'micro-canvases'. The investigation into sport in Tanzanian culture, society, economics and politics has begun. It is intended

to take it a good deal further. It is argued again that Tanzanian revisionism goes beyond the broad concept of pan-Africanism revisionism. It takes it a step further. Of course, its concern overlaps with Davidson's concerns and the concerns of others – particularly in that its priority is to allow the 'voices' of Tanzanians to be heard and to allow *their* analysis of their culture. Tanzania exists within Africa but it is Tanzania. Tanzania is not Africa and Africa is not Tanzania. Pan-African generalisations can be as dangerous as any other sweeping generalisations. This danger is to be noted and acted upon. The future of revisionism in the African continent requires the detail considerate of nations within Africa. This is the approach of this thesis.

Finally, to add a further subtle analytical dimension, it is as well to recognise that:

> One thing that should not be overlooked with regard to all these studies is that for Africa there is no going back. In the words of the sage C. L. R. James, the African has to find ways to live, to understand and to create within the Western tradition – *faute de mieux*. The African nation in its pursuit of a twenty-first century identity can only go forward. There can be no return to the past. There can only be the pulling of the past beyond the present into a distinctive but different future: colonialism 'realised forces within the colonised societies that altered...cultural priorities for ever, and transformed the concept of the West from a geographical and cultural entity to a psychological reality; with the result that the West is now everywhere, within the West and outside; in structures and in minds.[19]

In this setting Tanzanian revisionism and Pan-African revisionism certainly overlap and Tanzania reveals itself susceptible to the powerful forces of Mazrui's Western Cultural Legacy in *all* its sophistication. It is for this reason that his model will remain of analytical value to Tanzanian and African well into the new millennium.

As already mentioned, the study covers three periods: pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial. Sources of information on physical activity in the pre-colonial period are limited. Extracts from the pictographs[20] of the late Stone Age people were used to help reconstruct the place of physical activities in the lives of the early inhabitants of eastern Africa. These people, indeed like others elsewhere, recorded daily activities such as

hunting and recreation, and commemorated events of social significance in the form of rock paintings. Visits to the rock paintings of the late Stone Age people of Central Tanzania were particularly helpful in establishing the place of spear throwing, archery and dancing in the lives of the earliest inhabitants of pre-colonial East Africa. Painted pictures, depicting some of the images and activities of these people, from the rock painting sites of Central Tanzania are included in Appendix 2. Information from Fidelis Masao's research,[21] *The late Stone Age and the Rock Paintings of Central Tanzania* was also used.

Material on some of the weapons, such as bows, arrows and spears used by the pre-colonial East Africans for hunting and war, was extracted from the early works on eastern Africa by Tuan Ch'eng-shih and German colonial official, C. Velten.[22] Direct reference to some of the physical activities of the people of eastern Africa was made by the explorer Richard Burton in 1858 in one of his manuscripts *The Village Life of East Africa*[23] and by the British colonial official, M. M. Hartnoll, in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, in 1938.[24] In 1954, Mathias Mnyampala, in Historia, Mila na Desturi za Wagogo wa Tanzania describes a team game of his native Central Tanganyika.[25] In 1953, Otto Raum compiled a substantial analysis on the place of physical activities in the lives of the people of eastern Africa, drawing on earlier works such as those of a Ovir, 1896.[26] The works of Burton, Hartnoll, Mnyampala and Raum are fully utilised in the study. Full details are to be found in the bibliography. In addition, indigenous items such as spears, bows and arrows, and information on their usage, from the National Museum of Tanzania, helped to reconstruct the connection between the pastime pursuits of spear throwing and archery and training for war and hunting in pre-colonial East African society.

The country now known as Tanzania was colonised by Germany in 1885. With this colonisation came the introduction of new types of games and sports. In order to establish the manner, and the agents and agencies involved, in which modern sport entered into the culture of Tanzania, relevant literature was reviewed. The place of German gymnastics in the education, politics and social life of nineteenth century Germany was scrutinised. In addition to the literature review, relevant official

documents – government reports, correspondences, speeches and headmasters' reports – were researched in the Tanzania National Archives and the archives of the studied schools of Tanga and Mpwapwa. Surviving[27] photographic material was collected from these archives in order to help reconstruct the 'sporting life' of the pupils of these schools in the early days of the introduction of modern sport. Photographs are included in Chapters Four and Seven.

Relevant literature on the emergence and growth of the educational ideology of athleticism in Victorian and Edwardian Britain was also reviewed. J. A. Mangan's widely acclaimed monographs, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School and The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideology, published in 1981 and 1986 respectively, were the cornerstones of this inquiry. In addition to published material, various official documents on colonial educational and cultural policies were consulted in both Tanzania and Britain. Two repositories – Tanzania National Archives and the Public Record Office in Britain- were particularly useful to this end. Background information on instrumental middle class colonial educationalists such as Cecil Julian Tyndale-Biscoe was also researched.

There are few sources dealing directly with sport in the mainstream academic literature dealing with Tanzanian history, culture, education and society. Especially relevant sources include Dean McHenry's, *Use of Sports in Policy Implementation: The Case of Tanzania* (1980), Hamad Ndee's, *A Tentative Model of Planning Physical Education and Sport for Tanzanian Primary Education* (1993) and Anne Liseth's, *The Use of Juju in Football: Sport and Witchcraft in Tanzania* (1998).[28] Journalistic material, particularly on sport and politics, from prominent Tanzanian newspapers such as *The Daily News, The Nationalist* and *Uhuru* from the post-independence period is quite extensive and is fully utilised in this study. Full details can be found in the bibliography.

Between 1995 and 1997, open-ended interviews with sports administrators, sports club leaders, sportsmen and sportswomen, former and present headmasters of the studied schools and others were conducted. The main purpose of these interviews was to gain first hand insight into some of those areas of Tanzanian history that are not well

documented. Interviews were conducted with the former and present headmasters of the studied schools to establish the place of sport in the education of the colonial Tanganyikan pupils. Sports clubs leaders, for their part, were interviewed to better understand the histories of their clubs. Sports administrators, sportsmen and sportswomen were interviewed in order to acquire some information on the development of sport in Tanzania. Their opinions were sought on the performances of Tanzanian sportsmen and women on the national and international arenas and their implication for the future improvement of Tanzanian sport. The list of names of interviewees is found in Appendix 1.

Finally, the author has drawn on his experiences of recent developments in sport at virtually every level over a period of some forty years.

Under Julius Nyerere there was an attempt to embrace radical socialism based, to an extent but only to an extent, on models designed and implemented in leading communist nations. As the thesis makes clear, however, in the history of Tanzania this attempt was both brief in time and inadequate in implementation and ultimately abandoned. It is argued with good reason in the light of present developments set out in some detail in the later stages of the thesis, that the longevity of the pre-Nyerere 'Anglo-Saxon' and 'Germanic' influences prevail over the 'Johnny-come-lately' socialist aspirations - witness merely the continuing influence of gymnastics and football in the modern Tanzanian education system. Neither owes anything to the post 1917 socialism as practised, for example, in the Soviet Union, and the socialism practised later in China. Mazrui's Triple Heritage model holds good in its continuing essential relevance.

It is salutary to appreciate that even in the period of Tanzanian socialist idealism and euphoria, there remained class-specific and religious-specific schools pursuing their own curricular emphases. This is made clear in the thesis. Thus, a broad eclectic investigatory approach rather than a narrow doctrinance analytical preoccupation is considered both sound and sensible. James Riordan's reductionism[29] can be overvalued, can be misleading, indeed can be inadequate, and in fact, reveals the

value of a subtle Tanzanian revisionist mind-set that appreciates the cultural nuances only understandable to the cultural 'insider'.

In reality, communist models from other continents were patriotically inspected and adjusted and in their Tanzanian guise proved to be shadowy forms of the 'real' thing articulated and practised elsewhere. Furthermore, the Tanzanian 'indigenous' forms were inefficient and thus short-lived. This is fully recognised by the Tanzanian revisionist – hence the nature of the approach. Reality not reification is the ambition.

Riordan's work has some value. In Tanzania there were Soviet influences but they should not be overemphasised. Consequently, his writings were carefully noted in the earlier stages of thesis preparation. However, attention is here drawn to the recent article by Fan Hong in *The International Journal of the History of Sport* which reviews Riordan's (together with a colleague) crude attempts to understand Chinese sport within Chinese culture. The review is justly damning. It is a timely critique. It points up the inadequacies of attempting to analyse 'alien' cultures without recourse to adequate linguistic skills, sufficiently knowledgeable analysts within the culture and cultural historians with an 'insider's' perspective.[30]

Tanzania's socialism was *Tanzanian* socialism. The ideas and actions of other distant and more socialist nations were interpreted *and* implemented in a Tanzanian way. The Soviet Union was known, at least theoretically, to have brought sport into the main stream of its politics and the nation's overall development plan.[31] Sport was considered to have important functions to perform – it was associated with defence and patriotism as well as cultural identity and national building. For these reasons, administratively, the Soviet Union made the army and security forces sports clubs dominant.[32] In addition, sport was centrally controlled. For example, the Soviet Olympic Committee was a government body appointed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and was run by a member of the sole political party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.[33] How far was this all a model for others?

As far as the external functions of the Soviet sport system were concerned, it sought, *inter alia*, to win support for the USSR and its policies among the developing states in Asia, Africa and Latin America.[34] Thus from the early 1960s, when many African countries gained independence from Western colonial powers, the Soviet Union, within the East-West contest for influence over the development and politics of the 'Third World', offered aid to the sports of the developing countries. Sport assistance took the form of sending Soviet coaches abroad, building sports amenities and training foreign coaches and sports administrators.[35] It is estimated that by the early 1980s over forty developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America had sent coaches to study at the Moscow State Central Institute of Physical Culture.[36] In the case of Tanzania, the Soviet programme was *limited* to training Tanzanian coaches and sport administrators. No Soviet coaches reached Tanzania, no amenities were built by the Soviets or with Soviet money and most important of all, the structure of sports administration nationally, regionally and educationally owed very little to Soviet influence. Only in the context of support for military and security forces sports teams and organisations could Soviet influence be discerned.

It might be though that through such contacts the Soviet Union would have greatly influenced Tanzanian sport. As indicated above, this is to overestimate its impact. Furthermore, two things happened in Tanzania: in 1985 Julius Nyerere resigned as president, and this led to the second major event, the rejection of socialism a few years later. Thus, the influence of the Soviet Union, or indeed of the socialist ideology, can be overstated. Indeed, too much emphasis on it can run counter to a properly sensitive awareness of the values and appropriateness of a Tanzanian revisionist perspective.

0.3. Historical Background: Brief Overview

As stated already, the history of Tanzania covers three distinct periods - pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial. At each stage different names applied to the piece of land that constitutes present day mainland Tanzania. The pre-colonial period covers the period before 1885. Among other things, it saw the coming of the Arabs to the coast of

eastern Africa in the ninth century and the Portuguese occupation of the major city-states along the coast between 1498 and 1698. Neither the Arabs nor the Portuguese occupied the whole area now known as Tanzania. The Portuguese stayed on the coast, while only individual Arabs penetrated the interior in search of slaves. These Arabs reached as far as Ujiji, on the present western border of the country on the shore of Lake Tanganyika. They established pockets of settlements along the slave routes to the coast and lived among the indigenous people. The largest Arab inland settlement was at Tabora.[37]

The colonial period, between 1885 and 1961, includes both the German and British occupation of the country. The German occupation of pre-colonial East Africa commenced with the dubious treaties made by Carl Peters with eleven local leaders on the mainland soon after he had landed in Zanzibar in November 1884.[38] By February, 1885 Germany had annexed the land which was to be known as German East Africa. In August, 1885 a German naval demonstration of firepower took place off Zanzibar, and by the end of that year, Germany had acquired customs rights over Dar-es-Salaam and Pangani. German claims over the mainland were recognised almost immediately by other European powers. The swiftness of Germany in signing one treaty after another, the demonstration of her military power and the acquisition of customs privileges underlines the intensity of the scramble for overseas colonies by the European nations at the end of the nineteenth century. Eventually Germany colonised German East Africa and introduced, among other things, formal education. Marching drill, parades and German gymnastics were later to form the major components of the physical education curriculum in schools in the colony. The Great War, of course, broke out in 1914. Germany was defeated and subsequently lost German East Africa, after ruling it for over thirty years, to the British.

By virtue of her significant presence in the eastern African region as a colonial power in British East Africa (Kenya) and as a 'protector' in the Uganda Protectorate, an d as a victorious allied power, Britain was given a mandate by the Leagues of Nations to administer the now defunct German East Africa. Britain was given this responsibility as 'a sacred trust of civilisation' until such time as the country would be able ' to stand on

its feet in the arduous conditions of the modern world'.[39] Britain renamed the country Tanganyika and administered it as a 'Mandate Territory' until 1945.[40] After the collapse of the League of Nations at the end of World War II Tanganyika's mandatory status became an issue under the newly formed United Nations Organisation.[41] Britain was reluctant to continue with its administration mainly because the economy of Tanganyika was deteriorating.[42] It was only through American pressure that Britain reluctantly agreed to administer Tanganyika under a trusteeship agreement with the United Nations Organisation.[43] Under this agreement, Britain was to prepare the country for independence, while the United Nations, for its part, was to send members of the Trusteeship Council every three years to monitor developments.[44] Britain administered Tanganyika through indirect rule and introduced, among other things, adaptive education.[45] Through the medium of this education British team games diffused into Tanganyikan schools and society at large. The country became independent in 1961. In April, 1964 Tanganyika and the islands of Zanzibar formed a union and named the country Tanzania. With this brief overview completed, a fuller description of the three moments now follows.

0. 3.1. Pre-Colonial East Africa: Culture, Physical Activity and Islamic Influence

In the pre-colonial period many tribes played some form of team games as recreation and as training for hunting and war. The Chagga and the Gweno of the Kilimanjaro area and the Arusha of Mount Meru, among others, played the rolling target game (hoop-and-pole) which improved spear throwing skills.[46] The Gogo of Central Tanzania played *naga* in inter-village competitions which, among other things, fostered warrior masculinity.[47] The rolling target and *naga* are discussed in Chapter Two. In addition to team games, boys in many tribes enjoyed physical activities such as spear throwing, fencing with sticks, wrestling, running and jumping. In the evening boys and girls played games around the fire and there was story telling and singing and dancing sessions.[48]

Some of the physical activities of pre-colonial East Africa were 'institutionalised' in that they included elements that maintained a pattern of standardised behaviour over

time and from one situation to another. For example, early evidence of the rolling target game of the people of eastern Africa can be traced back to the late Stone Age.[49] Inter-village competitions in the Gogo's *naga* took place at regular intervals, usually after the harvest, between June and August.[50] Because of this institutionalisation the main activities and rules of the competitions could be retained. These rules were orally administered, preserved and passed on to the next generation. Of course, from time to time, they were modified to suit new circumstances. Evidence shows that many tribes enjoyed the game over centuries and that the equipment changed when necessary.[51] Other types of physical activities practised by various tribes in the pre-colonial period – still evident to an extent in archery, wrestling, singing-games and local dances enjoyed by children today - have been passed on from one generation to another, probably through traditional institutions such as the 'initiation schools' (known in Kiswahili as *jando* for boys and *unyago* for girls). The main features of *jando* and *unyago* included circumcision and learning. Some tribes, like the Rangi of Central Tanzania circumcised both boys and girls, while others like the Pokomo of southeast Tanzania circumcised boys only. The initiation rites of the Rangi and the Pokomo are discussed in more detail in Chapters One and Two respectively.

The 'initiation schools' were used by society to introduce its young to adulthood. During the initiation period, usually three to four months, the boys were removed from their homes and lived in isolated 'camps', chosen specifically for this purpose. This isolation was meant to create an environment conducive to learning - quiet, uninterrupted and undisturbed. It was also to allow circumcision and recuperation from circumcision. Girls were kept together indoors, also isolated and undisturbed, during their initiation period. The main function of the 'initiation schools' was thus to pass on to the next generation the basic values of its society. In the initiation period, different 'experts' imparted various kinds of knowledge - 'astronomy', 'astrology', travelling, trade (mainly barter trade), hunting, animal husbandry, counselling and farming - to the next generation. Above all, the young were made to understand, to appreciate, to cherish, to maintain, and to be proud of the values of their society. They were also made aware of their responsibility to society. In particular, they were taught to be good husbands and wives.

Physical activity played an important role in the education of the young in the 'initiation schools'. The types of exercises conducted during *jando* and *unyago* were those which aimed at promoting general fitness and developing specific skills necessary for specific tasks. Boys, for example, needed skills such as accuracy in shooting, as well as physical qualities like strength and endurance for hunting and war. They developed such skills through archery, spear throwing and wrestling exercises. Girls, on the other hand, needed skills such as balancing and general physical qualities like endurance and flexibility. To develop these skills, during *unyago,* some form of gymnastic exercises, particularly balancing exercises, and dances were taught to the girls. These were aimed at preparing girls for the type of activities they would be expected to undertake as adult members of society. African girls and women, for example, carry water in gourds and other loads on their heads for long distances, without necessarily securing the loads with their hands. In training boys and girls separately and in different skills, the future generation was introduced to the notion of division of labour among the members of the family, that is, between boys and girls and between men and women. In addition, dance was often used in both *jando* and *unyago* ceremonies as a means of passing on the values and meaning of human life as well as the values of the interrelationship between mankind and his environment. For example, the Pokomo, through the exegetical meanings of their songs and gestures of their dances, taught their young, among other things, how to behave together as men and women and how to cultivate and fish.

Before the coming of the foreigners most physical activities of the pre-colonial eastern Africans were intended to prepare them to be responsible adults. They prepared boys, for example, to live in the society as responsible men who could protect their people at all times and provide them with the necessities of life - food and shelter. They prepared girls to be physically fit, strong and healthy women who could fetch water, till land, cook food for the family and bear and look after the children. As will be argued in later chapters, various physical activities such as dances were affected by the arrival of the overseas foreigners, the earliest of whom were the Arabs.[52]

The Arabs (associated with the spread of Islam in eastern Africa) first appeared on the coast of eastern Africa as early as the eighth century, but it was not until the thirteenth century that the serious Islamisation of the people began.[53] However, for the next five centuries, the Arabs lived among and interacted with the indigenous people of pre-colonial East Africa. As will be illustrated in the following chapters, the indigenous traditions had no impact on the Islamic traditions and Islamic culture did not adopt any of the native cultural practices associated with physical activity. In turn, significant negative Islamic attitudes towards physical activity did not substantially manifest themselves until the arrival of modern sport to Tanzania in the nineteenth century, although Islam from the earliest moments, it appears, frowned on some native dances which it considered unholy.

Later Islam did (and still does) inhibit Muslims from participating in modern sport.[54] In keeping with beliefs regarding religious modesty it remains a violation of morality for a Muslim male to wear shorts, as exposing the leg from the knee upwards is unacceptable in public. This restriction makes training for and competing in modern sports like athletics and swimming, difficult. The dress code, as reflected by the wearing of *hijab,*[55] is even more stringent for Muslim women. The practice of fasting during the month of *Ramadhani,*[56] that is, abstaining from food and liquid from dawn to twilight (approximately 12 hours of daylight) also militates against modern sports training. Fasting Muslims do not take physical exercise during this time and consequently, they cannot maintain systematic training. Furthermore, Muslims are required to go for prayers five times a day - at dawn, at noon, in the afternoon, in the late afternoon and in the evening. Most modern sports sessions take place in the afternoon and in the evening. As these sessions coincide with afternoon and evening prayers, they are seen as distracting the faithful from religious practice.

Attitudes in Islamic culture towards dance, rules of dress for men and women and religious practice bred negative attitudes towards modern sport among Muslims. As part of the indigenous population was gradually Islamised, it too developed these negative attitudes. Over time, these attitudes became deeply ingrained, in one way or another, in the indigenous pre-colonial East African population and, as will be seen in Chapter

Three, they influenced (and still influence) its participation in modern sport. However, since most Tanzanians are not Muslims, the main influence on the indigenous sporting traditions came from the Germans and the British. These two former colonisers of Tanzania were largely responsible for the spread of modern sport in the country.

0.3.2. The Introduction and Diffusion of Modern Sport in Tanzania

Immediately prior to the German occupation of pre-colonial East Africa, German gymnastics were broadly based on three major principles[57] - the *Turnbewegung* (gymnastic movement) created by Johann Ludwig Jahn; the *Ordnungsübungen* (order exercise) developed by Adolph Spiess and the Swedish Ling free-standing exercise advocated by Hugo Rothstein. In Germany at this time, team games were simultaneously being introduced from Britain.

The *Turnbewegung* originated when Jahn, a teacher and ardent German nationalist, took his students to the woods where he taught them to wrestle and climb and vault over branches.[58] Later, the movement developed sophisticated *Turnplatz* (places for gymnastics) equipped with advanced gymnastic apparatus. The *Turnbewegung* became popular among many Germans, in particular among political groups.[59] For example, the *Burschenschaft*, a political group associated with university students, adopted the *Turnbewegung* as a regular part of its programme for the purpose of preparing them to one day fight for Germany. Thus, the *Turnbewegung* were instrumental in promoting German unity and providing training for nationalist fighters.

At the end of the nineteenth century, German school gymnastics included the philosophies of Adolph Spiess and Hugo Rothstein.[60] Spiess considered gymnastics to be a pedagogical process and as such, concerned with the education of the whole child. Rothstein, on the other hand, was an admirer of the Swedish Ling system which considered gymnastics as military, medical, pedagogical and aesthetic. He incorporated some of these aspects into the German schools and German army. Thus, in addition to Jahn's *Turnbewegung*, German school gymnastics embraced Spiess' *Ordnungsübungen* and Rothstein's free-standing exercise.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, an enthusiasm for modern sport emerged in Germany.[61] It developed as a reaction to formalism and militarism in schools and as a result of the pressures of industrial development and urbanisation. Repressed conditions of industrial life and crowded cities prompted demands for better health and recreational facilities. The introduction of new sports, particularly football, tennis, rugby and cricket (from England) added vigour to this enthusiasm. The introduction met with opposition from the *Turners* who accused the new sports of demanding high elitist performances at the expense of mass participation. However, this exploratory aspect of German culture, never as popular as gymnastics and drill, had initially no influence on Tanzania.

In contrast, as will be apparent in Chapter Four, the traditional German system of physical education was to influence Tanzanian sport. It marked the beginning of the introduction of Western sport with its marching drills and gymnastic exercises. Thus, although at the end of the nineteenth century team games and sports, as we know them today, were being introduced into Germany, mainly from England, it appears that Germany did not export them to German East Africa. It was the British who were to introduce team games and sports to Tanganyika.

The growth of the ideology of athleticism and the consolidation of team games in the English public schools in the 1880s are discussed in Chapter Five and the adoption of this ideology in English elementary and grammar schools at the beginning of the twentieth century is examined in Chapter Six. The subsequent introduction and diffusion of an adapted ideology in Tanzania is covered in Chapters Seven and Eight.

The ideology of athleticism seems to have underpinned the games and sports that the British introduced to Tanganyika. Athleticism was the 'brain child' of certain English public schools. As is well known, the Victorian British public schools system's contribution to Britain's attempt to establish and maintain a world-wide empire, was immense. Through public school sport, it was possible to disseminate throughout the empire the hugely influential moralistic ideology of athleticism that had relevance for

both imperial *dominance and deference*.[62] The purpose behind the sports ethic, was to create "a Universal Tom Brown: loyal, brave, truthful, a gentleman and, if possible, a Christian."[63] It was this rather whimsical proselytisation, through the *games ethic* and the British education system in general, that was to produce significant educational reforms both before and after independence in Tanzania.

In order to trace the connection between the English public schools and the evolution of Tanzanian sport, it is necessary to describe some of the more fascinating aspects of the British Empire under Queen Victoria and highlight some of the fundamental characteristic of its schools. In the Longman Encyclopaedia, Queen Victoria is described in the following words: "She was of high moral character and extremely conscientious and gave her name not only to an adjective but also a noun, Victorianism. Her reign, the longest so far in English history (64 years), saw the rise of *industrialism at home and imperialism abroad*"[64] (emphasis added). Under Victoria, "Britain - a small country, ranking seventieth among the world states and possessing two percent of the world's population - was the world's most powerful nation."[65] Undoubtedly, this was because Britain, among other things, had initiated the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century and developed the wealthiest manufacturing industry in the world.[66] With the associated advantages - economic, technological, political and naval - Victorian England established an overseas empire "that was without rival in terms of its territorial extent, its mixture of variety and coherence, and its unifying characteristics of hierarchy and tradition."[67] At the end of the reign of Queen Victoria, in 1900, when 'Britannia ruled the waves', this empire at one stage encompassed one fourth of the earth's land surface and controlled one fourth of its population.[68] Hand in hand with this control went the inculcation of public school 'virtues' considered necessary for maintaining the empire, into middle class schoolboys in the public schools.

By means of the moralistic ideology of athleticism, the dominant ideology in the schools, public school boys allegedly learnt the basic virtues of imperial command: *courage, endurance, assertion, control* and *self-control*.[69] This ideology, of course, had a two-edged purpose; *dominance* and *deference*.[70] It inculcated qualities of command and control, promoting loyalty and obedience, and hence was a useful instrument of

colonial purpose as it created the confidence to lead and the compulsion to follow. Victorian Britain disseminated this moralistic ideology beyond the schools via public school sport and the missionaries throughout the Empire,[71] including Tanganyika. The main agents, the middle class educationalists and missionaries, of this dissemination are considered in Chapter Seven. For over four decades British games spread throughout Tanganyikan society mainly through the medium of education.

During the British administration of Tanganyika, in schools, and indeed in society in general, the modern sports that were played were mainly of Western origin and were race-specific, culture-specific or culture-neutral.[72] Hockey and cricket were examples of race-specific sports, tennis was an example of a culture-specific game, while culture-neutral sports included football (soccer), athletics, netball (exclusively for girls), basketball and volleyball.

Hockey and cricket were played in European and Asian schools.[73] In a few other schools, especially government secondary schools which admitted both African and Tanganyikan pupils of Asian origin,[74] hockey and cricket were played almost exclusively by the latter. Elsewhere, hockey and cricket were played in European and Asian sports clubs. The game of tennis was popular among Europeans and African elites, who had had their training in the West, thus becoming to an extent westernised. These Europeans and Africans formed a 'middle class' enclave involved in a culture-specific sport. To play tennis, apart from the financial factor (affordability), immersion in Western culture was necessary. The whole population, including the African population, of course, participated, to a greater or lesser extent in football, athletics and netball - culture-neutral sports. Other culture-neutral sports, such as basketball and volleyball were played in some secondary schools (by boys and girls) and in some African clubs. The availability of these games in schools depended largely on the interest of the individual schools' headmasters, sports masters and the school staff [75]in general.

Before independence and during the first few years after independence, Tanzanian schools were run as separate educational entities and segregated by race, religion and

sex. There were schools for Europeans, for Asians and for Africans, for Christians and for Muslims (*Madrasah*) and for boys and for girls. Some racially and religiously segregated schools bore names that clearly reflected racial or religious exclusion. Names such as Arusha European School, Dodoma Indian Secondary School, St. Mary's Mission School or Kondoa Muslim School were typical examples. This system of separate education favoured the European and Asian schools in terms of facilities, equipment and personnel and left the African schools wanting, particularly in sports facilities. Africans could not afford comparatively expensive sports like hockey because in order to play hockey a player requires at the very least a hockey stick and some protective equipment. Thus the African schools had no option but to engage not only in culture-neutral sports *per se* but in the relatively cheaper ones, like football - in order to play football a player needed, at most, a sort of football and some sort of a pitch. Whether consciously to maintain the race status gap and perhaps to open it even wider, the Europeans and Asians concentrated on the comparatively expensive sports. It was the unacceptable racial and religious disparities of the system of separate education that led to the educational reforms of the mid 1960s. These reforms are discussed in detail in Chapter Eight.

Associated with sport and historically affected by foreign influences was indigenous dance. When the Western imperialists arrived they brought Christianity with them. Their church services included religious songs. Traditional African music and dance were rejected as primitive. As discussed in Chapter Seven, in schools, particularly mission schools, Western dances were introduced. Concurrently in the Islamic culture, traditional dances were also 'frowned upon' and regarded as pagan and irreligious. Thus indigenous dances and indigenous songs had no acceptable role in either Western or Islamic religions and sadly almost succumbed to both. In recent years the dominant Tanzanian song lyrics and dancing styles are those of the Western secular culture of popular music and the means of the dissemination of this fast-spreading phenomenon are the national television and radio stations and videocassettes. Popular western-style music is so wide-spread that it appears on inter-city buses and sea ferries where video clips of Michael Jackson and many other singers and dancers are shown throughout the journeys. This may be seen as part of a process of the globalisation of Tanzanian

culture, and there is understandable concern for the plight of the homebred culture. Media presentation and participation is almost monolithic and is dominated by one culture - the Western. As such, it threatens the rich indigenous culture of dance. Western secularism not religion is now poised to destroy the long heritage of the local dance culture.

Finally, in Tanganyika, certain major modern sports were both elitist in imperialistic terms and in racial terms. Rugby and cricket which, it was believed, promoted virtues appropriate to an imperialist - leadership and self-control - were available only to Europeans and some Asians. In contrast, other activities like football, athletics and drill which were used, *inter alia*, to signify subordination, were mostly deemed suitable for Africans under the supervision of Europeans.

This then was the pre-independence situation in Tanganyika regarding sport. It was hierarchical with a political purpose. It was also Western which symbolised an imperial set of value judgements. It was a situation which ironically remained in place until after independence and right up to the eve of the educational reforms of the mid 1960s. It was a situation that deprived many African children of sporting opportunities and prompted Julius Nyerere, the first President of Tanzania, to declare the colonial system of education, and all its ingredients, unfit for the newly independent Tanzania.[76] In 1967, in order to create a 'liberated Tanzania', he launched his policy of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR), a policy that was intended to have far-reaching consequences on the educational system of the country, and by extension, on sport. This is discussed in Chapter Eight.

After independence, embedded in the country's policy of socialist self-reliance, ESR was seen as a means of creating a 'socialist Tanzanian.' Among the steps taken towards making education more Tanzanian and towards promoting self-reliance, were the abolition of the former separate systems of education. Pupils could now be admitted to any kind of school regardless of their race or religion. Almost all former racially or religiously named schools were renamed. However, even after the integration of the former separate systems of education, the division in sport along racial, cultural and

economical lines continued. Names can easily be changed but resources cannot be so easily reallocated. This continuation was largely due to the fact that the now government-run schools could not afford the 'expensive' sports. Pupils of Asian origin could still afford them and thus they could maintain their separateness even within the new system.

0.3.3. Modern Sport in Tanzania: Current Situation

Since independence in 1961, three major sports - football, netball (for girls) and athletics - have dominated the sporting life of Tanzanians. More recently, professional boxing and basketball have become popular, especially in urban areas. Tanzania has participated internationally in all five sports. Tanzanian athletes and boxers have fared prominently in specific competitions like the Olympics, the Commonwealth Games and the All Africa Games.

Football, the most popular game in the world, is indisputably the number one game in Tanzania. The game of football is so popular that children's 'tournaments' in what is popularly known as *chandimu* have become a major 'recreational activity' for young boys. *Chandimu,* like *pelada*[77] in Brazil and similar localised variations particularly in the developing world, is an adapted form of football (in nature and practice) played by young boys along the streets and open spaces in both urban and rural areas of Tanzania. The game does not necessarily conform to the standards, rules and regulations of a normal football game. It is 'liberal' in terms of the number of players involved, the size of the pitch, the uniform (jersey), the referee, the duration of a match and the material used to make the ball itself. A team can consist of almost any number of players, from two-a-side upwards, and this number can increase or decrease during a 'match' as players join or leave the pitch. The size of the pitch can be the same as that of a standard football pitch, or it can be an open space beside a school compound or a portion of a street between buildings. It is seldom that such matches have referees and that a strip is worn. The usual way of distinguishing between two teams is that the players of one team remove their shirts while members of the other leave theirs on. A match lasts as long as is convenient to all or until darkness falls.

Perhaps, the most fascinating feature of *chandimu* is the material that the young boys use to make the 'ball'. The ball is made of folded pieces of plastic bags or rags firmly bound together with a soft synthetic material - for example, nylon rope. The durability of the ball depends mainly on the owner's care, the compactness in construction and the frequency of use. A standard III pupil of Mpwapwa Primary School told the author in February, 1997[78] that he had been playing with a ball for the last three years. Given care, it is possible that this ball could last for three more years or more. In a nation of limited sports resources the advantages of *chandimu* are self-evident. The game also reveals the resourcefulness and adaptability as well as the enthusiasm for modern sport on the part of Tanzanian youths.

Netball, a game of British origin,[79] plays a major role in the sporting life of Tanzanian girls and women. It is played in all primary and secondary schools, colleges and universities. There are many netball teams affiliated with major sports clubs in the country. Athletics is not only the main ingredient of schools' physical education programmes but also it is a sport that many people engage in – many of them, especially in urban areas, jog or walk. Moreover, athletics has been Tanzania's 'core' sport in international arenas. The country has fielded athletics teams in the All Africa Games, the Commonwealth Games and the Olympic Games.

As will be demonstrated in Chapter Eight, Tanzanians have adopted and adapted modern sport for their own cultural and political ends. After independence education was reformed: "to enable learners to know, appreciate and develop a Tanzanian culture that perpetuates the national heritage, individual freedom, responsibility and tolerance and which pays respect to elders,"[80] while sport was expected, among other things, to develop general physical skills and sport specific skills. In addition, sport, in the widest definition of the term, was to play its part in the revival and promotion of a national culture as it was felt that modern sport was 'killing' the traditional 'sports culture'

Thus, in the late 1960s and early 1970s some aspects of traditional physical activities were emphasised in the bid to promote indigenous culture. For example,

mchakamchaka (group jogging) was introduced and emphasised in schools to start the school day while modern sport, considered an extra-mural activity, ended the day. The introduction of *mchakamchaka* was aimed at promoting the simplest and most fundamental movement pattern of sport – running.[81] *Mchakamchaka* was meant to symbolically reflect the traditional modes of athletic activity. It represented in its uniform communal action a sense of community. *Gwaride* (a traditional form of drill) was another activity introduced into schools at that time. It was used for the paramilitary training of young Tanzanians. Outside the school system, *gwaride* was used by selected groups of people in the training of a people's militia (popularly known as *mgambo*), for the defence of the nation.

Other attempts to restore the physical practices of the indigenous culture included the establishment in 1975 of a national association responsible for the revival and propagation of traditional games and sports. The Traditional Games Association,[82] (CHAMIJATA), was entrusted with the responsibility of organising national competitions in some traditional games – wrestling, spear throwing and archery.

In 1967, the National Sports Council[83] was established to foster the development of sport in the country. In addition, Regional, District, Divisional and Village Sports Councils were created. A Directorate of Sport was also established and was attached to various ministries from time to time. Initially, it was placed under the Ministry of National Education and Culture. In 1974, sport was given a 'higher status' when a ministry - The Ministry of National Culture, Sport and Youth - responsible[84] for sport was created. A few years later, this Ministry was dissolved and the Directorate of Sport was once more tossed from one ministry to another. Today, the Directorate of Sport is in the Ministry of Education and Culture. Clearly, the frequent organisational changes reflect the fact that, although sport was recognised as an important social phenomenon, its actual place in society was not yet officially fully determined.

The middle of the 1970s also saw the nationalisation of sports clubs, particularly the renaming of the clubs that bore foreign names. Young African Sports Club and Sunderland Sports Club - the two most popular football clubs in the country - were

renamed *Yanga* and *Simba* Sports Clubs respectively. Parastatal[85] institutions, civil service establishments and the armed forces were strongly encouraged by the government to form institutional sports clubs in a bid to popularise modern sport. The renaming of sports clubs and the creation of parastatal institutions' sports clubs was, to a large extent, a government response to the sports crisis of 1970s covered in detail in Chapter Eight. The government intended to gain control over sports in the country.

It is regrettable that despite a resurgence of interest in, and an emphasis on, indigenous physical activities, few inquiries have been carried out in Tanzania into the cultural history of indigenous 'sport.' Yet, the identity of modern Tanzania is incomplete without an understanding of past cultural forms as well as present cultural synthesis. For this reason, a study of the evolution of 'sport' within the Tanzanian society, which covers the distant past and recent past as well as immediate present, is important. What is also important is a revisionistic approach looking at this evolution from the point of view of the formerly *colonised*. Early, recent, and even most recent, studies of the history of sport in Africa are, more often than not, from the 'European' (Western) perspective, that is, from the point of view of modern members of the former colonising powers.[86]

This does not mean, of course either, the absence of a sympathy for, or sensitivity towards the former colonised. However, it remains a fact that however sympathetic and sensitive the modern Western observer, to an extent he or she remains 'trapped' within a specific ethnocentric cultural perspective. This does not negate the value of an analysis but it may circumscribe it. It is certainly true in these circumstances that the individual cannot place himself or herself fully within the cultural experiences, parameters and lifestyles of the observed. The value of Tanzanian revisionism once again becomes apparent.

What is particularly important, therefore, is that a triadic approach is to be valued: indigenous observer, western observer and joint indigenous and western observers. All bringing their distinct cultural experiences to bear on an analysis of the chosen subject. Attention is drawn to the discussion of this important approach by J. A.

Mangan in his foreword to Soccer in South Asia: Empire, Nation, Diaspora, published in 2001.[87]

Conclusion

In summary, pre-colonial East Africa did not have formal schools but most tribes had periods of initiation in which indigenous 'sport' played an important role, as well as less formal moments of physical recreation, leisure and pleasure. This indigenous tradition was somewhat influenced by Islamic culture after the coming of the Arabs, in the thirteenth century or perhaps earlier. This culture exerted negative influences on first traditional dance and then modern sport. It still does. Today, about thirty five percent of the population of Tanzania is Islamic.

Westerners appeared on the coast of eastern Africa as early as the end of the fifteenth century. Portuguese maritime travellers reached Kilwa in 1498. But it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that there was any evidence of the Western influence on sport in Tanzania. The Germans introduced their system of gymnastics and drill between 1885 and 1918. The British, for their part, introduced ball games and athletics in the 1920s and 1930s. Most of the modern sports played today in Tanzania are of western origin, in particular of British origin. The presence of football pitches in many places around the country is the supreme legacy of this British influence.

Despite the cultural significance of sport in Tanzanian society, sport, as a field of inquiry, is characterised more by neglect than by attention. While there have been sketchy studies and reports on sports in general that have touched upon the policies, practical issues and problems facing the development of sport,[88] there is very little literature on the history of sport in Tanzania. In *Games and Sport in Pre-colonial African Societies*, J. Blacking writes that lack of information is a major problem in the study of sport in traditional African societies.[89] He hopes, however, that this problem will no doubt be rectified by African scholars, who can collect oral testimony about the past as well as describe the current practices.[90] If a nation is to have demonstrable cultural roots, the traditional as well as the contemporary values of sport need to be

recorded and remembered. This study is an attempt, at least in part, to document those values so as to trace the evolution of the culturally significant phenomenon of sport in Tanzania.

A further unfortunate fact is that there is a contradiction between policy rhetoric and action in the restoration of the indigenous culture of sport and actual implementation. For example, the 1960s nationalistic sentiments were prompted by the desire of politicians to create a socialist and self-reliant country. This goal was to be achieved through various means. While it was hoped that sport would contribute to the cultural dimension of this policy, in reality sport was marginalised. Since independence, until recently, there has been no written policy on the role of sport as an integral, fundamental and symbolic element of Tanzanian society. It was not until June, 1995 that such a policy was framed. This policy could go some way towards achieving the restoration of the indigenous sports culture, blending the traditional and the modern. In this way, it may be possible to utilise sport as an integral part of education and as an important ingredient in the culture of Tanzania. This in turn, could offer the nation a *distinct* identity based on the retention, adaptation and assimilation of activities which now are viewed internationally as crucial components of a nation's individuality, status and success in the global village of the twenty first century.

In conclusion, the general aim of this study is to explore the development of physical activities, sport and physical education in Tanzanian society. It intends to explore this development in terms of three legacies - the Indigenous Legacy, the Islamic Legacy and the Western Legacy. It is, therefore, a study of both cultural continuity and change, of shifting ideologies over time in response to political systems, and of the social processes of diffusion, assimilation, alienation, rejection, adaptation and *restoration* of culture. Above all, it is one of a handful of studies of imperialism and post-imperialism from 'underneath' – that is, from the perspective of the former colonised. As such, it is part of a revisionism that will update, enrich and complete the past record of European imperialism in Africa and it will also ensure a record of present independence in Africa.

Notes

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1. The name Tanzania comes from the union of April, 1964 between Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

2. J. A. Mangan, 'The Social Construction of Victorian Femininity: Emancipation, Education, Exercise', The International Journal of the History of Sport, Frank Cass, London, Vol.6, No. 1, May 1989, p.1.

3. W. J. Baker and J. A. Mangan, Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History, Africana Publishing Co., New York, 1987, p. vii.

4. W. J. Baker and J. A. Mangan, Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History, Africana Publishing Co., New York, 1987, p. vii; A. A. Mazrui, 'Africa's Triple Heritage of Play: Reflections on the Gender Gap', in W. J. Baker and J. A. Mangan, Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History, Africana Publishing Co., New York, 1987, pp. 217-228; R. Archer, 'An Exceptional Case,: Politics and Sport in South Africa's Townships', in W. J. Baker and J. A. Mangan, Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History, Africana Publishing Co., New York, 1987, pp. 229-249.

5. J. Blacking, Games and Sport in Pre-Colonial African Societies', in W. J. Baker and J. A. Mangan, Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History, Africana Publishing Co., New York, 1987, pp. 3-22.

6. J. A. Mangan, 'The Social Construction of Victorian Femininity: Emancipation, Education, Exercise', The International Journal of the History of Sport, Frank Cass, London, Vol. 6, No. 1, May 1989, p.1.

7 The present boundaries of the East African countries (Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda) as we know them today were drawn in 1890. However, the Germans occupied the piece of land now known as Tanzania in 1885. See J. D. Fage and M. Verity, Atlas of African History, Edward Arnold, London, 1978, p. 49.

8. See G. S. P. Free-Grenville, The East African Coast: selected documents from the first century to the earlier nineteenth century, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1962, Document No. 1, p. 1; See also, Ministry of Information: 'Who-What-Where in Tanzania', Dar es Salaam, 1974, p. 5.

9. See G. S. P. Free-Grenville, The East African Coast: selected documents from the first century to the earlier nineteenth century, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1962, Document No.1, p. 1, See also, Ministry of Information: 'Who-What-Where in Tanzania', Dar es Salaam, 1974, p. 5.

10. See G. S. P. Free-Grenville, The East African Coast: selected documents from the first century to the earlier nineteenth century, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1962, Document No. 2, p. 3.

11. Ibid., Document No. 4, p. 8.

12. Ibid., Document No. 5, p. 8.

13. At that time Britain occupied Kenya as a colony and Uganda as a protected land - Kenya was known as British East Africa and Uganda as British Protectorate.

14. A. Mazrui, 'Africa's Triple Heritage of Play: Reflections on the Gender Gap', in W. J. Baker and J. A. Mangan, Sport In Africa, Essays in Social History, Africana Publishing Company, 1987, p. 217.

15. J. A. Mangan, 'The Social Construction of Victorian Femininity: Emancipation, Education, Exercise', The International Journal of the History of Sport, Frank Cass, London, Vol. 6, No. 1, May 1989, p1.

16. B.V. Madeje, 'Physical Education in Tanzania', (Unpublished), Dar-es-Salaam, 1980, passim; W. Johnson, 'Sport and Physical Education in Tanzania', Sport and Physical Education Around the World, Stipes Publishing Co. Illinois, 1980, passim; J.Nkongo, 'Historical Foundations of Physical Education and Sport', Tanzania Institute of Education, Dar-es-Salaam, 1993, passim; H. S. Ndee, 'Sport, Culture and Society from an African Perspective: A Study in Historical Revisionism', The International Journal of the History of Sport, Vol. 13, No.2, August, 1996, pp. 192-202.

17. J. Nkongo, 'The History of Physical Education, Tanzania Institute of Education', 1993.

[18] B. Davidson, The Search for Africa: A History in the Making, James Currey, London, 1994, p. 14.

[19] See Foreword by J. A. Mangan to P. Darby's Africa, Football and FIFA: Politics, Colonialism and Resistance (forthcoming), p.xi.

20. Pictograph refers to figures painted on a rock surface. See for example, F. Masao, 'The Late Stone Age Rock Paintings of Central Tanzania', Studien zur Kultrkunde 48, Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, Wiesbaden, 1979, p. 216.

21. F. Masao, 'The Late Stone Age Rock Paintings of Central Tanzania', Studien zur Kultrkunde 48, Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, Wiesbaden, 1979, passim. Incidentally, between 1976 and 1977, When Masao was conducting his research in Kondoa, the author was the district cultural official in the area and was involved in the research. He participated in the excavation of some material from the caves and from under rocks.

22. C. Velten went to German East Africa in 1889 as an interpreter to the German Governor General, Von Wissmann. While in the colony, in his *Prosa und Poësie der Suaheli,* published in Berlin in 1907, Velten compiled histories of towns such as Kilwa, Pangani and Bagamoyo; See G. S. P. Free-Grenville, The East African Coast: selected documents from the first century to the earlier nineteenth century, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1962, Document No. 46, p.220 and 238.

23. R. Burton, 'The Village Life of East Africa', in R. Oliver and Caroline Oliver (eds.), Africa in the Days of Exploration, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1965, pp.97-98.

24. M. M. Hartnoll, 'Some African Pastimes', Tanganyika Notes and Records, Vol. 5, 1938, pp.31-36.

25. M. Mnyampala, 'Historia, Mila na Desturi za Wagogo wa Tanzania', The Eagle Press, Dar es Salaam, 1954, passim.

26. See O. Raum, 'The Rolling Target (Hoop-and-Pole) Game in Africa', African Studies, Vol.12, 1953, passim

27. At the end of the Great War the Germans either destroyed or took with them many documents from German East Africa.

28. Anne Liseth, 'The Use of *Juju* in Football: Sport and Witchcraft in Tanzania', in G. Armstrong and R. Giulinotti (eds.), Entering the Field: New Perspectives in Football, Oxford and New York, 1998, pp159-174.

[29] See for example, J. Riordan and .R. Jones (eds.), Sport and Physical Education in China, E & FN Spon, London, 1999, passim. See also J. Riordan ,The Role of Sport in Soviet Foreign Policy, n.d., passim.

[30] Fan Hong found numerous books and articles which are not even endorsed by Riordan and his colleague. Her value to Tanzanian analysis should not be over – estimated.

[31] See J. Riordan , The Role of Sport in Soviet Foreign Policy, n.d., p.2.

[32] See J. Riordan , The Role of Sport in Soviet Foreign Policy, n.d., p.2.

[33] See J. Riordan , The Role of Sport in Soviet Foreign Policy, n.d., p.2.

[34] See J. Riordan , The Role of Sport in Soviet Foreign Policy, n.d., p.13.

[35] See J. Riordan , The Role of Sport in Soviet Foreign Policy, n.d., p.2.

[36] The author studied in this institute between 1979 and 1983.

37. See for example, J. Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, African Studies Series 25, Cambridge University Press, 1994, Chapter 3.

38. Ibid., p. 290.

39. R. Oliver and J. D. Fage, A Short History of Africa, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1970, p. 210.

40. See J. Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, African Studies Series No. 25, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1979, p. 246. Although the idea of the mandate came from the League of Nations, Britain accepted the responsibility mainly for one reason, imperial security. Following German defeat, Belgium (which was occupying the Congo) and Portugal (which was occupying Mozambique) claimed some territorial share of the defunct German East Africa. That, to an extent, threatened the security of British East Africa and British interest in the region. Also Britain feared that Germany would use some of her submarines (a 'new weapon' by then) in the region to destroy British imperial communication there. For these reasons, Britain preferred annexation under the loose supervision proposed by the League of Nations, thus reconciling imperial security with idealism.

41. J. Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, African Studies Series No. 25, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1979, p. 430.

42. Ibid., p. 430.

43. Ibid., p. 430.

44. Ibid., p. 430.

45. See Chapter Seven.'

46 See O. Raum, 'The Rolling Target (Hoop-and-Pole) Game in Africa', African Studies, Vol.12, 1953, p. 109.

47 M. Mnyampala, 'Historia, Mila na Desturi za Wagogo wa Tanzania', The Eagle Press, Dar es Salaam, 1954, passim.

48 E. B. Castle, Growing up in East Africa, Oxford University press, London, 1966, p. 40.

49 See O. Raum, 'The Rolling Target (Hoop-and-Pole) Game in Africa', African Studies, Vol.12, 1953, passim.

50 See M. Mnyampala, 'Historia, Mila na Desturi za Wagogo wa Tanzania', The Eagle Press, Dar es Salaam, 1954, p. 4.

51 See O. Raum, 'The Rolling Target (Hoop-and-Pole) Game in Africa', in African Studies, Vol.12, 1953, 105.

52 The term 'Arabs' is used to inclusively describe the earliest foreigners who came to the coast of eastern Africa in the eighth century from south west Asia and the Persian Gulf.

53. R. Oliver and J. D. Fage, A Short History of Africa, Penguin Books, C. Nicholls and Co. Ltd. Great Britain, 1970, p. 97.

54. I. O. Kamiyole, 'Physical Education in Muslim Culture', The International Journal of Physical Education, Vol. xxiii, Issue No. 1, Verlag Hofmann, Schorndorf, 1986, p. 27.

55 For a detailed discussion of *hijab* see J. Hargreaves, Heroines of Sport: The Politics of Difference and Identity, Routledge, London, 2000, pp. 46-77.

56 Once in every twelve lunar months Muslims fast - abstain from food and liquid - from dawn to twilight for one month. As the occurrence of *Ramadhani* follows the lunar calendar the start and the end of *Ramadhani* depend on the sighting of the moon.

57. D. B. Van Dalen and B. L. Bennett, A World History of Physical Education: Cultural, Philosophical, Comparative, Prentice Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, 1971, p. 212.

58 R. N. Singer (ed.), Physical Education: Foundations, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1976, p. 67.

59 Ibid., p. 67.

60. D. B. Van Dalen and B. L. Bennett, A World History of Physical Education: Cultural, Philosophical, Comparative, Prentice Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, 1971, p. 212.

61. Ibid. p. 215. See also Udo Merkel, 'The Hidden Social and Political History of the German Football Association (Dfb), 1900-50', Soccer and Society, Vol. 1, No. 2, (Summer 2000), passim.

62. J. A. Mangan, The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal, Viking Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, 1986, p. 18.

63. Ibid., p. 18.

64. A. Briggs, *et al*, The Longman Encyclopedia, BCA London, 1992, p. 1117.

65. D. B. Van Dalen and B. L. Bennett, A World History of Physical Education: Cultural, Philosophical, Comparative, Prentice Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, 1971, p. 285.

66. Ibid., p. 285.

67. "By comparison, the German and Belgian Empires might also be royal, but they were rather small; the Portuguese and Spanish Empires were also royal, but they demoralized; and the French Empire might be large, but it was republican." See D. Cannadine, Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire, Allen Lane The Penguin Press, Harmondsworth, 2001, 71.

68. D. B. Van Dalen and B. L. Bennett, A World History of Physical Education: Cultural, Philosophical, Comparative, Prentice Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, 1971, p. 285.

69. J. A. Mangan, The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal, Viking Books Ltd., Harmondsworth, 1986, p. 18.

70 Ibid., p. 18.

71 Ibid., p. 19.

72 See for example, J. Nkongo, 'Historical Foundations of Physical Education', Tanzania Institute of Education, Dar es Salaam, 1993, passim; B. V. Madeje, 'Physical Education in Tanzania', (Unpublished), Dar es Salaam, 1980, passim.

73 During the British mandate of Tanganyika, there were schools exclusively for Europeans, for Asians and for the Africans. See for example, J. Nkongo, 'Historical Foundations of Physical Education', Tanzania Institute of Education, Dar es Salaam,

1993, passim; B. V. Madeje, 'Physical Education in Tanzania', (Unpublished), Dar es Salaam, 1980, passim.

74 The Tanzanian population comprises the indigenous Africans, Asians and Persians (from the Indian Sub-continent and the Persian Gulf) and some Europeans.

75 For example, American Peace Corps teachers intensively promoted basketball in schools and in society at large, especially during the early years of the country's independence in the early 1960s.

76 See J. K. Nyerere, Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism, Oxford University press, Dar es Salaam, 1968, pp. 48-49.

77 I am grateful to the Visiting Professor Sebastiano Votre at the International Research Centre for Sport, Socialisation and Society from Brazil in 1999 for this terminology.

78 The author was on fieldwork when he encountered this boy.

79 See Chapter Six.

80 J. Nkongo, 'Historical Foundations of Physical Education', Tanzania Institute of Education, Dar-es-Salaam, 1993, p. 64.

81 Ministry of National Education, 'Muhtasari wa Mafunzo ya Elimu kwa Michezo kwa Shule za Msingi', Tanzania Publishing House, Dar es Salaam, 1975, passim. See also Ministry of Education, Muhtasari wa Mafunzo ya Elimu kwa Michezo kwa Shule za Msingi, Tanzania Publishing House, Dar es Salaam, 1989, passim.

82 From an interview between the author and the first chairman of CHAMIJATA - E. Sulus, March, 1997.

83 The United Republic of Tanzania: The National Sports Council Act No. 12 of 1967, Dar es Salaam, April, 1967.

84 The administration of sport at national level has been moved from one Ministry to another many times and as yet there has never been a 'Ministry of Sport'. I, therefore, find it appropriate to use 'Ministry responsible for sport', meaning the Ministry that was responsible for sports activities at a particular moment in time. Today, sport is under the Ministry of Youth Development and Sport.

85 These were institutions and corporations which were indirectly controlled by the government. These included the National Development Corporation, Tanzania Posts and Telecommunications and National Milling Corporation.

86. See, for example early studies by M. G. Sanderson, 'Native Games of Central Africa', Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. 43, 1913, pp. 726-736; M. M. Hortnoll, 'Some African Pastimes', Tanganyika notes and Records, Vol. 5, 1938, pp. 31-36, H. S. Harrison, 'A Bolas-and-Hoop Game in East Africa', Man, 1947, pp. 153-155; Otto Raum, 'The Rolling Target (Hoop-and-Pole) Game in Africa', African Studies, pp. 104-121. Recent studies include those by W. Johnson, 'Sport and Physical Education in Tanzania', in Sport and Physical Education Around the World, Stipes Publishing Co. Illinois, 1980, pp. 538-548; D. E. McHenry, 'Use of Sport in Policy Implementation: The Case of Tanzania', Journal of Modern African Studies, 1980, pp. 237-256; J. A. Mangan, 'Ethics and Ethnocentricity: Imperial Education in British Tropical Africa', in W. J. Baker and J. A.. Mangan (eds.) Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History, Africana Publishing Co., 1987, pp. 138-171; J. Blacking, 'Games and Sport in Pre-Colonial African Societies', in W. J. Baker and J. A. Mangan (eds.), Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History, Africana Publishing Co., 1987, pp. 3-22; S. Paul, 'The Wrestling Tradition and Its Social Functions', in W. J. Baker and J. A. Mangan (eds.), Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History, Africana Publishing Co., 1987, pp. 23-46. Most recent studies are those carried out by P. Mahlmann, 'The Role of Sport in the Process of Modernisation in Kenya', The Journal of East African Research and Development, Vol. 22, 1992, pp. 120-131; P. Darby, 'Football, Colonial Doctrine and Indigenous Resistance: Mapping Political Persona of FIFA's African Constituency', Culture, Sport, Society, Vol. 3, No. 1, Spring, 2000.

[87] See P. Dimeo and J. Mills (eds.), Soccer in South Asia: Empire, Nation, Diaspora, Frank Cass, London, 2001, pp. xi-xiii.

88. W. Johnson, 'Sport and Physical Education in Tanzania', in Sport and Physical Education Around the World, Stipes Publishing Co. Illinois, 1980, pp. 538-548; D. V. McHenry, 'The Use of Sports in Policy Implementation: The Case of Tanzania', The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 18, No. 2. Cambridge University Press, 1980; R. W. Kirimbai, 'The Place of Physical Education and Sport in the Context of Education for All', Dar-es-Salaam, 1989, (Unpublished); H. S. Ndee, 'A Tentative Model of Planning Physical Education for Tanzanian Primary Education', Masters Thesis, Gotab, Sweden, 1993.

89. J. Blacking, 'Games and Sport in Pre-Colonial African Societies', in W. J. Baker and J. A. Mangan (eds.) Sport in Africa; Essays in Social History, Africana Publishing Co., New York, 1987, p. 4.

90. Ibid., p. 4.

Chapter One

Eastern Africa: Geography, Ethnography and Physical Activity

This chapter considers the historical background, the geographical features, the ethnic origins and the tribes of eastern Africa as a prelude to a later discussion on the social and cultural history of Tanzania. Before the colonialists partitioned Africa in the 1880s, present-day Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, which now geographically and politically form an entity called East Africa, were part of a larger area of eastern Africa. I will use the term 'eastern Africa' to refer to this area, except when talking in the present in which case I will use East Africa. I will also use the term 'East Africa' when referring to the area in both the past and the present.

1.1: Eastern Africa: Historical Background

Some of the earliest known written records of eastern Africa variously referred to its coasts as *Azania, Po-pa-li* or *Zanj* (the land of the black people). In The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, the first known written record of the coast of eastern Africa, an anonymous Greek merchant referred to the coast of eastern Africa as *Azania.*[1] The exact date of the publication of this book is not known, but it is believed to have been written at the end of the first century A. D. The same name was mentioned by another Greek, Claudius Ptolemy in his *Geographia*, written around 150 A. D.[2] Seven centuries later, a Chinese, Tuan Ch'eng-shih, referred to the coast of eastern Africa as the land of *Po-pa-li.*[3] In the middle of the ninth century, an Asiatic sailor, Buzurg Ibn Shahriyar, referred to the piece of land stretching from present-day Somalia to what is now Mozambique as *Zanj* (the land of the black).[4] The names *Azania* and *Zanj* are frequently mentioned in many works dealing with the history of the coast of eastern Africa[5]. Almost all writers, early and modern, of the history of this coast are in agreement that the area referred to as *Azania* or *Zanj* stretched from what is now Mogadishu in Somalia to the mouth of the Rufiji river in south-east Tanzania, thus covering the coasts of present-day Kenya and Tanzania.[6] The chief town mentioned by the early writers was *Rhapta*, which was

the most southerly settlement known to them. The exact site of this town has never been established but its most likely location was in the Rufiji delta.[7]

It will be helpful in this chapter to briefly examine eastern Africa – its geography, the origins of its people and their culture - as a prelude to the later discussion on the social and cultural history of Tanzania. Before colonisation, what is now East Africa was a vast piece of land without modern boundaries[8] inhabited by groups of people whom we know today as tribes. However, when the colonialists divided the area up among themselves, they drew lines across areas without any regard for the groups of people already living there. Thus some tribes found themselves split by the new borders. This is true, for example, of the Masai who can be found in both Kenya and Tanzania.

As will be apparent later in the chapter, the geographical position of eastern Africa uniquely contributed to the development of events along its coast notably from the eighth century when the first foreigners, the Arabs,[9] arrived and settled there.[10] Since then, eastern Africa has been an *entrepôt* for commerce from the Indian Ocean, especially from south west Asia and India. Through commercial contacts, cultural interactions inevitably developed between the peoples of eastern Africa and the overseas foreigners. The accessible geographical distance between eastern Africa and south-west Asia seems to have stimulated the growth of commerce between these parts of the world. It is only 1,700 miles from Zanzibar to Aden and about 2,500 miles across the Indian Ocean from Mombasa to Bombay.[11]

The end of the fifteenth century saw Portuguese invasions of the coastal city-states of Kilwa and Mombasa.[12] These invasions heralded the beginning of a rivalry, which was to last for a long time, between the Portuguese and the Shirazi and Oman Arabs.[13] For the Portuguese the main reason for this protracted rivalry was the wish to gain control of the strategic eastern African coast for the purpose of controlling trade between the Middle East, India and South America, and eastern Africa.[14] The Arabs, for their part, as the first foreigners to reach the area, had already gained control of certain areas and had established trade routes which obviously they did not want to lose. It is useful at

this stage to briefly describe the relief features, climate and population distribution of present-day East Africa.

1.2: East Africa: Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda – Basic Facts

As mentioned above the geographical and political entity, East Africa covers Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda.

Kenya[15]

Area: 580,367 square kilometres
Population: 30 million
Capital: Nairobi

Tanzania[16]

Area: 945,087 square kilometres
Population: 32.1 million
Capital: Dar-es-Salaam

Uganda[17]

Area: 241,139 square kilometres
Population: 20.9 million
Capital: Kampala

1.3. East Africa: Relief Features, Climate and Population Distribution

East Africa lies on the eastern coast of Equatorial Africa. It stretches between latitudes five degrees north and twelve degrees south of the Equator and between longitudes twenty nine degrees east and forty two degrees east. The region shares modern borders with Somalia, Ethiopia and Sudan to the north of Kenya, with Sudan to the north of Uganda, with Zaire to the west of Uganda and to the west of Tanzania, and with

Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique to the south of Tanzania. The Indian Ocean washes the coasts of Kenya and Tanzania.

East Africa has a diversified topography. Approximately fifteen million years ago, during the Miocene epoch, huge tectonic upheavals raised a forested upland of eastern Africa by about nine hundred metres.[18] From this uplift the highlands of Ethiopia, Kenya and Tanzania were created.[19] As a result of this vertical thrust, volcanoes erupted causing the earth's crust to crack and collapse, forming the Great Rift Valley, which extends from the Gulf of Aqaba to south of the Zambezi River in Mozambique. The Rift Valley cuts through East Africa in the form of an inverted "V" -shape creating two branches, the eastern and western.

In broad relief outline, East Africa can be broken down into belts running roughly from north to south. The main belts include the Coastal Plain, the *Nyika*[20] Plateau and the Main Plateau. The Coastal Plain, a narrow coastal fringe, runs from northern Kenya to southern Tanzania. This coastal strip broadens considerably along the Tana River in Kenya. In Tanzania, it widens in the immediate hinterland of Dar-es-Salaam and extends inland along the lower course of the Rufiji delta. The *Nyika* plateau - the land immediately beyond the coastal fringe - rises gradually to about four hundred and fifty metres above sea level.[21] It covers much of central and northern Kenya and narrows to the west of Tanga in Tanzania. It widens around Morogoro in Tanzania, from where it extends to include Kilombero and the Great Ruaha valleys. Much of south-eastern Tanzania belongs to this physiographic region.

The Main Plateau occupies most of East Africa. This vast region can be divided into the Eastern Highlands, the Central Plateaux and the Western Highlands. The Eastern Highlands roughly form an arch-shaped region covering much of Kenya and Tanzania. The region's raised eastern ridge, made up of Mount Kenya, Mount Kilimanjaro, the Usambara Mountains, the Iringa Plateaux and the Livingstone Mountains, rises on average to over two thousand metres above sea level.[22] The volcanically formed Mount Kilimanjaro, (5895 metres above sea level), is the highest point. The eastern branch of the Rift Valley cuts through the Eastern Highlands from north to south while rivers such

as the Tana in Kenya and the Pangani, Wami, Rufiji and Ruvuma in Tanzania flow eastward through these highlands to the Indian Ocean. The eastern branch of the Rift Valley also provides a basin for the long, narrow and deep lakes of Turkana and Naivasha in Kenya and Eyasi and Nyasa in Tanzania.

The Central Plateaux cover a broad area between the two branches - eastern and western - of the Rift Valley. These plateaux stretch from northern Uganda through central and south-western Kenya to south-western Tanzania. In Uganda, the height of these plateaux decreases gradually towards the north. In Tanzania, they extend to cover the Serengeti plains and the Masai Steppe. The Central Plateaux are comparatively lower than the rest of the plateaux of East Africa. Lakes Victoria and Kyoga, which lie in the northern half of the Central Plateaux, are conversely broader and shallower than the lakes found on the basins of both branches of the Rift Valley. For example, the deepest point in Lake Victoria is only eighty two metres deep as compared to a depth of nine hundred and seventy metres in Lake Tanganyika.[23]

The Western Highlands lie along the rim of the western branch of the Rift Valley. They extend (in an arch form) from Lake Albert through Lake Kivu to Lake Tanganyika. The Western Highlands form a natural border between Zaire and Uganda. Lakes Albert, Kivu and Tanganyika, found in this basin, have the same characteristics - long, narrow and deep - as those lakes in the eastern branch of the Rift Valley. Ruwenzori Mountain, found in this area, is the highest (5120 metres above sea level) non-volcanic mountain in East Africa.[24]

The climate of East Africa is highly varied as a result of extensive altitudinal ranges, the distribution of land mass and water and air movements.[25] Although the temperatures vary throughout the region, the seasonal variation is small. The mean annual temperatures of most of East Africa are between twenty five and thirty degrees Celsius. There are three major geographical factors – relief, location and monsoon winds[26] - that influence the climate of East Africa. While high relief has a moderating effect on the temperature by way of altitudinal variation and land barriers, the geographical location of East Africa exposes it to the influence of the monsoon winds. The monsoon winds

are particularly interesting to this study not only because of their effect on the climate of East Africa but also because they facilitated the earliest cultural contacts between the indigenous peoples of eastern Africa and foreigners from south-west Asia.

The primary winds over East Africa consist of the north-east and the south-east monsoon winds. These winds are a result of the air movement from high to low pressure zones in relation to the movement of the sun - overhead sun between the two tropics. The pattern of the direction of the winds is critical in November and April. A dry air-mass, the north-east monsoon wind, blows over East Africa from November to March. This air mass starts from the Asiatic high-pressure zones and blows across the northern high pressure zone to East Africa. It has a drying influence, particularly over the western parts of East Africa. However, the coastal strip, south of the equator, receives some precipitation from the north-east monsoon winds as they pick up moisture as they blow over the Indian Ocean.

The wind pattern changes considerably in April, when it becomes a south-east monsoon wind. This air-mass, as it blows over the vast ocean area, becomes moisture-laden and brings rain to most parts of East Africa. It normally blows steadily over the region until it reaches its maximum in July when a low-pressure zone develops in the northern hemisphere. These winds then cross the equator and approach the Arabian Peninsula and Indian sub-continent and become the south–west monsoon winds.

The north-east and the south-west monsoons have had an important historical significance on East African culture. In particular, the alteration of the winds naturally facilitated early contacts between the people of south west Asia and the people of the eastern African coast.[27] The north-east monsoon winds blowing across the Indian Ocean from November to March brought Arab and Indian *dhows* to the eastern African coast with trade goods such as glass, porcelain and cloth. In the months of May to October the monsoon winds from the south-east took the single-sailed vessels back to Asia with their cargoes of gold, ivory, cotton, hides, iron and slaves.[28] As will become apparent in later chapters, this early contact with south west Asia was to influence the

cultures of East Africa, including those cultural activities directly associated with physical activity.

The monsoon winds strongly affects the rainfall distribution of East Africa. This distribution is uneven, with parts of the region having a tropical climate while other parts have an equatorial climate. The rainfall pattern roughly follows the pattern of the relief belts. As a direct influence of monsoon winds, the coastal plain receives an average annual rainfall of over a thousand millimetres. However, the amount of rainfall decreases toward the north from Mombasa.[29] North and north-east Kenya is semi-desert and receives just under two hundred and fifty millimetres of rainfall annually.[30]

The Main Plateaux that cover the greater part of the interior of Kenya and Tanzania receive a moderate rainfall - between seven hundred and fifty and one thousand millimetres annually - with considerable variation from place to place.[31] The amount of rain increases in the higher areas of south-west Tanzania. All the other plateaux of East Africa receive a tropical rainfall with the wet season lasting from November to April.

Almost all of Uganda and the areas around Lake Victoria have an equatorial rainfall regime with no marked dry and wet season. The entire area receives an average of over one thousand millimetres of rainfall annually with some places receiving as much as two thousand millimetres.[32]

Because of the low rainfall over most parts of East Africa, the vegetation of the region is mostly Tropical Savanna Wood.[33] However, the coastal belt (except along the river valleys where mangrove forests and swamps can be found) is covered by what is known as Coastal Savanna Mosaic.[34] Much of the drier parts of Kenya and Tanzania are covered by dry bush with thorn trees. Scattered rain forests are concentrated in western Uganda. In East Africa, like in many parts of Africa, rainfall distribution, to a large extent, affects population distribution.

A demographical map of East Africa shows that areas with ample annual rainfall are densely populated whereas areas with low rainfall are scarcely populated. Areas of high

population density are found along the coastal belt south of Mombasa and along the Usambara-Kilimanjaro strip and Mbeya. Others include areas north of Nairobi, around Lake Victoria, the scattered clusters of the highlands of Embu and most parts of Uganda. Today, the big cities are densely populated. The populations of Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi are over one and a half million people and the population of Kampala is approximately one million.[35] Urbanisation has been on the increase in all three countries for the last three decades.[36]

The population of East Africa has been described as a steadily growing population since the first census was taken in 1948,[37] when the African population was approximately 18.1 million. By the early 1960s, it had risen to 23,224,000,[38] an increase of about 28 per cent, and today the population of East Africa is approximately 84 million.[39] Of the three East African countries, Kenya has the highest annual population growth rate (4.0 per cent) and Tanzania has the lowest (3.0 per cent). Uganda has an annual growth rate of 3.5 per cent.[40]

The 1948 census is especially significant in that it was the first such census of East Africa as a whole. In addition, it provided statistical information about the different races[41], as can be seen in Appendix 3, that make up the population of East Africa. East African society may be described as a pluralist society - culturally heterogeneous and overlapping. The origin of the peoples of East Africa and their varied cultures will now be briefly traced.

1.4. East Africa: Ethnic Origins and the Composition of Society

The exciting debate about the origin of mankind falls outside this study but some associated points relevant to eastern Africa need to be raised. Archaeological evidence suggests that East Africa is, in fact, the cradle of humanity.[42] The discoveries made by the Leakey family, from 1959 onwards, of the humanlike hominids - *Zinjanthropus boisei* (East African man) and *Homo habilis* (able man) - suggest that both, but particularly the latter, are the most direct ancestors of *Homo sapiens*.[43] In 1959, Louis and Mary Leakey discovered remains of the *Zinjanthropus* at Olduvai Gorge on the

edge of the Serengeti Plains in northern Tanzania. A few years later, Jonathan Leakey discovered *Homo habilis*, also at Olduvai Gorge. Both creatures are believed to have lived in eastern Africa during the Lower Pleistocene epoch, between one million and three million years ago.[44] It is also believed that some *Australopithecines* (the first bipedal creatures) lived in Africa during this period. In his book Africa in History: Themes and Outlines, B. Davidson bases his reflections on the traces of *Australopithecines* found and makes three crucial observations: - it was the African continent that gave rise to man as we know him today; it was in Africa, during the late Miocene epoch, that the main branch, which ended up as man, broke away from those leading to apes; and during the eastern African Pleistocene epoch true man separated from his man-like cousins, the *Australopithecines*.[45] By the 1980s, few had any doubts that the human lineage originated in Africa.[46] The recently discovered Millennium Man[47] in Kenya adds weight to this theory about the origin of man. Millennium Man is believed to have lived six million years ago and is considered to be the most direct ancestor of man. From this, the following statement may be made with confidence: as long as the theory that the fossils of *Zinjanthropus* belong to the *Australopithecines*[48] still holds and that Tanzania's *Homo sapiens* continues to be regarded as the most direct early ancestor of *Homo sapiens*,[49] the origin of the indigenous East Africans is most probably in Africa. This is the view taken in this study.

Debate, though, still continues over the peopling of eastern Africa. The lack of a direct lineal connection between the ancient hominids of eastern Africa and the eventual peopling of the region, and indeed, of the rest of the world, stimulates continued discussion. In his book, East African Societies, the ethnographer A. Shorter argues that this debate is hampered by, at least, two problems: the complexity of East African society and the prejudice (conscious or unconscious) of writers and scholars.[50] These two problems overlap one another.

There is the problem of classification regarding the complexity of the East African society.[51] There is considerable overlapping between cultural, linguistic and physical characteristics. The peoples of East Africa, as we know them today, have certainly lived together for centuries and have intermarried. There are no 'strictly marked borders'

between them. Over time, different cultural layers have intertwined with each other and there have been varying degrees of cultural association between different traditions.[52] In addition, in the evolutionary process of the East African peoples, some languages and cultures that have played an important role in this process have either become submerged or have vanished altogether.[53]

Shorter deplores the prejudice of European writers for being Eurocentric in their interpretation of the peopling of Africa as a whole.[54] For example, he argues that early European scholars such as C. G. Seligman worked on the assumptions that Europe and the 'Near East' were points of diffusion of culture, language and race in Africa.[55] These writers explained the peopling of Africa in terms of successive waves of invasion from the north-east.[56] Subsequently, they invented terms such as 'the brown race' or Hamites, whose 'civilisation', they claimed, belonged to Europe and Western civilisation.[57] Furthermore, they maintained that the cultural achievements of Negro peoples were attributed to this 'superior race'. Early African writers such as Anta Diop, on the other hand, Shorter notes, laboured too long on counter claims, creating a Hamitic Myth in reverse.[58] This is a complicated issue. Given this complexity - a product of ethnocentricity, lack of hard evidence and audacious speculation - an accurate revisionistic approach, requiring the goodwill of both European and African writers, is still a long way off.

There are varying theories about the original peopling of East Africa. Despite differences in the interpretation of the peopling of Africa as a whole, many writers - anthropologists, linguists, ethnographers and historians - agree that there are Bantu, Nilotic, Cushitic and Khoisan speaking groups of people in East Africa.[59] Accordingly, the indigenous people of East Africa can be grouped into these clear linguistic categories.[60] Common criteria that have been used by linguists for categorisation purposes include similarities in the prefixes of the class of nouns found across certain tribes. For example, the Bantu speaking tribes are distinguished from other tribes by the pronunciation and writing of the word referring to a human being - *muntu* or *umuntu* (singular) and *vantu* or *abantu* (plural). The Khoisan speaking people, on the other hand, are distinguished by the clicking sounds they make when they speak. It should be

noted, however, that sophisticated linguists are hesitant about this superficial comparison based mainly on similarities in prefixes.[61] In this study, linguistic categorisation is used as a classification of the people of East Africa for the purpose of identifying similar cultural traits.

J. E. G. Sutton has suggested that the original inhabitants of East Africa were probably the Bushmanoid stock of the late Stone Age hunters and gatherers.[62] He described them as short people who spoke with a clicking sound. He suggests that the descendants of these people are the Bushmen and Hottentots at present found in the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa and the present day Sandawe and Hadza of central Tanzania. The gradual disappearance of these people, Sutton argues, was largely due to changes in the basic economy with the substitution of settled life for nomadic life. There was a gradual change from hunting and gathering to food producing. However, the Bushmanoid have not disappeared completely but have either been absorbed into other groups through intermarriage or have been forced deep into the forests by other food producers. These late Stone Age people are talked of in some East African traditions as 'the short hunters' who have now vanished. Tales such as *wambonera hai* (at what distance did you see me) have been told about these short people. According to this tale, whenever these people met people taller than themselves, the first question they asked was "at what distance did you see me?" The answer had to be "I saw you from miles away", if one didn't want trouble from them. An answer of "I saw you from close by" was considered an insult and would result in a fight, which, according to the tale, the short people always won.

According to Sutton's theory, these Bushmen were 'invaded' by Cushitic and Nilotic speaking people from the north and Bantu-speaking people from the west and south. The Cushitic-speaking people, who were hunters and pastoralists, are said to have moved southwards from present-day Ethiopia to the highlands of Kenya and northern Tanzania.[63] Archaeological evidence[64] of their early existence has been found in areas around Kilimanjaro and Ngorongoro. Today the Cushitic languages are found among the Kalenjin in Kenya and the Iraqw in Tanzania.

The Nilotes, who came from the north and north-east of East Africa, can be divided into three main branches[65] - the Highland Nilotes, the Plains Nilotes and the River-lake Nilotes. The Highland Nilotes were hunters and gatherers as well as pastoralists. Descendants of these people are found among the Kalenjin of Kenya and the Tatonga (Mang'ati) and the Taturu of northern and central Tanzania. Although some of the Tatonga have maintained their identity in Mbulu and Singida, others have become integrated with the Cushitic-speaking Iraqw and others have been assimilated into Bantu-speaking people. The Masai are said to have descended from the Plains Nilotes and the Luo are said to have descended from the River-lake Nilotes.[66]

It is believed that the Bantu-speaking people entered East Africa from the west, through the corridor between Lake Kivu and Lake Tanganyika, and from the south, between Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa. These people were mainly agriculturists using tools they made from iron. Today the majority of the East African people are Bantu-speaking. Sutton estimates that over ninety per cent of Tanzanians are Bantu speaking.[67]

C.G. Seligman took racial characteristics as his starting point in mapping the peopling of East Africa and proposed three 'pure' races : the Hamites, the Bushmen and the Negroes.[68] He suggested that the original inhabitants of East Africa were Bushmen. He also suggested that inter-marriage between these three groups produced the Bantu, Nilote and Nilo-Hamite speaking peoples. He concluded that the Bantu were produced from a mixture of Hamite and Negro where the Negro dominated, while the Nilote resulted from the same mixture, but where the Hamite dominated and that the Nilo-Hamite resulted from a mixture of Nilotes and Hamites.

Like Seligman, H. Baumann took racial characteristics as his starting point and argued that there were four original races for Africa as a whole: Pygmy, Bushmen-Hottentot, Eurasian and Negro.[69] He held that the mixture of Eurasian and Negro produced Ethiopians, that the mixture of Negro, Ethiopians and Bushmen-Hottentot produced the Bantu and that the mixture of Negro and Ethiopian produced the Nilote.

It seems, therefore, that the present African population of East Africa has evolved from the stock of the original inhabitants and immigrants from other parts of Africa. The original inhabitants have been described as short with a yellow-brown complexion.[70] In the course of time, this stock has intermingled with immigrants resulting in changes to their physical appearance, culture and language. Direct descendants of these original inhabitants can be found in the Sandawe and Hadza in Tanzania and the Pygmies along the border between Uganda and Zaire.[71] In short, many groups of people moved into East Africa at different times from different directions from various parts of Africa. Commentators all agree that these immigrants had a huge influence on the evolution of the people of East Africa.[72] Over time these different groups of people have intermingled among themselves and with the original inhabitants both peacefully and forcibly. They have assimilated, absorbed and influenced one another. Most writers have preferred to classify these immigrants into the linguistic groups: Bantu, Nilotic and Cushitic.[73]

The latest movements of groups of indigenous peoples into East Africa were those of the Zimba, the Tutsi and the Ngoni.[74] At the end of the sixteenth century, the Zimba moved northwards from Mozambique ruthlessly attacking, killing and eating people as they advanced along the coast.[75] While the Zimba are remembered for their savagery, their actual impact on the peopling of East Africa is insignificant. They vanished as mysteriously as they arrived.[76] About the middle of the eighteenth century, the Tutsi moved from present-day Rwanda and Burundi to south-west Tanzania and remained there until the 1840s.[77] Finally, the Ngoni moved northwards from South Africa in great numbers in what is commonly known as The Great North Trek.[78] They entered present-day Tanzania in two columns - the western and the eastern - one on each side of Lake Nyasa. Those who went through the western column reached Lake Victoria in the 1850s and were gradually absorbed by the other tribes in the area. Those in the eastern column reached Ruvuma around the same time, settled there and are there to this day.

In brief, four major assumptions can be made concerning the peopling of East Africa. First, from palaeotological evidence, it appears that early man lived in East Africa.[79] Therefore, it can be argued persuasively that the original inhabitants of East Africa are

derived from this early man. Second, it is clear that, before the eighth century, there have been movements of groups of people from other places into East Africa. These groups entered the region from the south, the west and the north and north-east.[80] The Bantu speaking people entered from the south and the west[81] while the Nilotic speaking are believed to have followed the Nile from the north into the present day Uganda and the highlands of Kenya.[82] The Cushitic speaking people entered East Africa from the north-east first into northern Kenya and then into northern Tanzania.[83] The incoming people found the original inhabitants in place. These original inhabitants have been varyingly described as Pygmies,[84] Bushmen or Khoisan and are believed to have been dispersed over large areas of Africa.[85] Third, from at least the eighth century onwards, the Asiatic traders, mainly Arabs from south-west Asia,[86] came and settled along the coast and in Zanzibar. Finally, from the nineteenth century onwards many Europeans appeared and settled on the highlands of Kenya. The last two groups, the Arabs and the Europeans, will be discussed in detail in later chapters. Underlying the peopling of East Africa was the formation of ethnic groups commonly known as tribes. As will be defined shortly, a tribe is a group of people of the same race, language and customs, including the custom of engaging in physical activity with specific purposes and in specific circumstances. In the following pages some eastern African tribes are considered in relation to their use of various physical activities in their traditional initiation ceremonies.

1.5. East African Tribes, Physical Activity and Rite of Passage

Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, defines a 'tribe' as a group of people of the same race and sharing the same language, religion and customs and often led by a chief.[87] The Kiswahili dictionary, Kamusi ya Maana na Matumizi, defines a 'tribe' as a group of people with the same language, culture and environment.[88] From these two definitions alone, there appears to be some difficulties in defining the concept of a tribe. One such difficulty involves the specific inclusion or exclusion of the element of religion. In East Africa, religion plays no part in differentiating one tribe from another. Two members of the same tribe can have different religions and many tribes share the same religion.

In his book Tradition and Transition in East Africa: Studies of the Tribal Element in Modern Era, P.H. Gulliver traces the roots of the term 'tribe' and suggests that it has long since been used in English to refer to the biblical people of Israel and certain divisions of the ancient Roman Empire. However, Gulliver notes that since its appearance in Middle English it has acquired both the vagueness of everyday speech and a plurality of meanings which are often contradictory, dogmatic, pejorative and emotive.[89] For these reasons, the term 'tribe' can mean, and has meant, many things to many individuals. The term tribe is widely used in East Africa by both East Africans and outsiders, with varying connotations, but in most cases it has been taken to mean a collection of people sharing the same language, culture and customs. This definition is adopted in this study.

Present-day East African society is made up of many tribes together with Asian immigrants and European settlers. Each of the estimated one hundred and eighty five tribes - approximately thirty five in Kenya, over one hundred and twenty in Tanzania and thirty in Uganda - belong to one of the main linguistic groupings discussed earlier.[90] Appendix 4 schematically illustrates the main linguistic groupings of the peoples of East Africa and the different tribes within these major groups. Appendix 5 shows the geographical location of the major tribes of East Africa. It is clear from the groupings that the majority of the tribes are Bantu-speaking. Despite this linguistic homogeneity, the geographical location - physical features and climate – of different tribes have influenced their activities and cultures. For example, while the activities of the coastal Bantu-speaking Pokomo and Zaramo include fishing, the Bantu-speaking Gogo and Nyamwezi of central and western Tanzania, respectively, are pastoralists. Nevertheless, many tribes in East Africa had one thing in common, the rites of passage rituals. Like other societies elsewhere, East African tribes initiated their young into adulthood. Many of them did this through tribal institutions, known as 'initiation schools' which combined initiation rites and circumcision.[91]

Many tribes used physical activity in their 'initiation schools' to pass on the basic values of society to their young, to train the boys for warfare and to identify future

potential leaders among them. By way of specific illustration, I consider some of the recorded aspects of the initiation ceremonies of three of the tribes of East Africa - the Kikuyu of Kenya, the Gisu of Uganda and the Rangi of Tanzania.

In Facing Mount Kenya: The Traditional Life of the Kikuyu published in 1938, Jomo Kenyatta describes the Kikuyu's initiation ceremony for girls and boys. The Kikuyu held a competitive form of walking for girls and running for boys during their initiation ceremonies. These competitions were held before the surgical circumcision took place. The girls had to walk to a sacred tree while the boys had to race to it.[92] To start the competition, a ceremonial horn was blown and the girls began their walk. When the first girl was within a certain distance of the tree the boys' race was started. The first girl to reach the tree would become the leader of her group and would be much sought after as a wife in later years. The first boy to reach the tree would also become the leader of his group and would be spokesman of that group for life. Such competitions acted as a means of establishing status within the society and as such had much symbolic value for the Kikuyu.[93] It was believed that such leaders were chosen by the will of the ancestral spirits in communication with their God and therefore were highly respected. By using this method of selection, the possibility of peers having to fight among themselves to establish a pecking order was eliminated. More significantly, the competitions were considered contests between the spirits of childhood and adulthood – part of the rite of passage.[94]

The Gisu of Uganda circumcised their boys after the main harvest, usually any time between June and September.[95] As part of the preparation toward these initiation ceremonies the Gisu performed various preliminary rituals. Based on his personal experience, J. S. La Fontaine divided these preliminary rituals into four main phases.[96]

According to La Fontaine's account, the first phase was performed prior to the main agricultural work of sowing seeds. This phase consisted of singing and dancing. The initiates, all boys, dressed up in traditional costume and danced on the village greens. An elder, who instructed the initiates in the songs and dances, led them. The duration of this phase was not fixed, but it must have lasted long enough to allow the initiates to

learn the songs and absorb the instruction as they were expected to lead themselves - in singing and dancing - in the next phase. The second phase began soon after the weeding of the crops. The initiates visited all their relatives, both maternal and paternal, and informed them of their imminent circumcision. Led by one of their own, the initiates walked from relatives house to house while singing and dancing, accompanied by their sisters. The third phase started a few days before the actual circumcision. It was characterised by intensified dancing in which almost the whole community took part. Elder people joined the dance at this stage and the dancing continued until late at night. The final phase consisted of the cleansing of the groves, the rebuilding of the shrines and the offering of sacrifices by the elders. At this stage, the initiates sought blessings and 'formal permission' to be circumcised from their maternal ancestors. They were given two short twigs symbolising that permission had been granted. These twigs were believed to bring courage to the initiates and they were now ready for the physical circumcision. Dancing again accompanied this phase and continued until late in the night. A period of convalescence followed the surgical operation of circumcision, after which came the day of 'graduation'. Dancing dominated this important ceremony of admitting the newly circumcised to the status of adult men. Almost everyone present at the ceremony joined the dancing and it continued for two to three days.

The Gisu combined dancing and walking exercises in their initiation ceremonies. At the early stages of the ceremonies, it was mainly the novices themselves who danced. Elders and others joined the dances at the later stages and on the day of 'graduation' almost everybody danced. The inclusion of dances in all phases of the ceremony accentuates the fact that dance constituted one of the strongest forms of cultural expressions among the Gisu, and indeed among many other tribes in East Africa and all over Africa.

In the settled area of the Rangi of Central Tanzania, initiation (circumcision) sites were easily recognised. Usually they were a group of trees or a grove. Traditional laws strictly forbade the felling of trees in these sacred sites. When such a site was being used for the first time, a blessing ritual was held a day before the actual circumcision ceremony.

Observing such a circumcision ceremony in December, 1953, H. A. Fosbrooke described the blessing as being symbolised by the lighting of a ceremonial fire and a circumambulation of the site.[97] The novices assembled at the homestead of the master of ceremony,[98] who then led the initiates from his house to the circumcision site for the blessing ritual. In his capacity as the master of ceremony, he wore hide sandals (rubber or any other type of shoes were not allowed) and carried a ceremonial axe and a green twig from the castor oil plant.[99]

The wearing of hide sandals reflected the relationship between the ceremony and the Rangi's traditional wealth of domestic animals - cattle, sheep and goats. Blessing the circumcision site and the 'country' at large was synonymous with blessing the grazing land for the animals, thus ensuring the survival of this wealth. The axe symbolically represented the means with which the community sustained itself - in terms of food, shelter and defence. With an axe, the Rangi cleared forests for cultivation and felled timber for building houses and in times of war an axe was used as a weapon. The green twig represented green fertile crops (a sign of wishing for a bumper harvest). Castor oil plants are among the few plants that can survive droughts. Their leaves remain green all year round, even in the semi-arid areas of Irangi, and thus the castor oil plant was the main cash crop of the Rangi.

Holding fire-sticks taken from the ceremonial fire, the initiates were led around the site by an elder pushing a ewe and a lamb. Another elder carried a hen.[100] The next step in the blessing ceremony was the sprinkling of the area with leafy twigs of a mixture of white clay, water and beer. While sprinkling this mixture, the party chanted the words of blessing "*E Varimu vito lali*" (let our spirits sleep).[101]

The slaughtering of a sacrificial ram, which had remained in the centre of the site all the time, concluded the blessing ceremony. The ram was then skinned and dissected. The contents of its stomach were thrown north, south, east and west. In the Rangi tradition, a ram was considered a sacred animal. By using it to conclude the blessing ceremony, the Rangi signified that the site was now ready for the circumcision ceremony. Once this

ritual was conducted it did not have to be re-enacted prior to future circumcisions. However, further cleansing of the 'country' was necessary if there had been any fighting in that area that had resulted in the spilling of human blood. If this was the case, the offender(s) had to provide a special sheep for the additional cleansing. This sheep was slaughtered in the same manner as the ram and the contents of its stomach were thrown around the site. Once this was done, the land was 'declared' pure and peaceful. The performance of this extra purification demonstrates that the circumcision ceremonies also provided opportunities for members of the community to reconcile among themselves. The Rangi circumcision ceremonies, therefore, may be considered not only as rite of passage rituals but also as forums for propagating peace in its society.

The Rangi circumcised girls too. The girls' site for circumcision was normally next to that of the boys. The blessing ceremony of this site took place simultaneously with that of the boys, with a similar ritual conducted solely by women. During the whole ceremony, women were not allowed on the men's site and vice versa.

When the blessing ceremony was completed, all the novices (boys and girls) and the other members of the tribe walked back to the master of ceremony's house. The initiates spent the night at his house awaiting the surgical operation the following morning. Singing and dancing accompanied the journeys to and from the circumcision sites. The dancing consisted of various forms of jumping and running exercises.

On the day of the physical operation, a procession of initiates (boys only), led by the master of ceremony and a couple of elders, left the house for the circumcision site. The master of ceremony carried the ceremonial axe. The singing of heroic songs accompanied the procession. The initiates were flanked by their sponsors and relatives. The girls were collected one at a time by the women, brought to their circumcision site and carried back to the house once they had been circumcised.

The dancing intensified during the operations and songs of praise and warning were sung. One common warning song was aimed at reminding the initiates of their prime responsibility as future adults - to feed society. The song went:

Hunger is bad
Hunger is like a lion
Hunger is bad
Hunger makes us eat locusts.[102]

One principal dance, the *Ikoma*,[103] took place at this time on a 'neutral ground' between the two circumcision sites. Women stood in a line on their side, facing the men who stood on the opposite side forming a human wall. Both men and women sang songs teasing and mocking each other about their genitalia.[104] While dancing the *Ikoma*, both sides advanced toward each other attempting to invade the other's 'territory'. Each side tried to foil such incursions. The *Ikoma* and the accompanying songs lasted as long as the operations lasted. It is worth noting here that, according to the Rangi tradition, the kind of songs and the type of body movements performed in the *Ikoma* dance were confined only to this part of the ceremony and were 'forbidden' at any other times outside the circumcision ceremony.

When the circumcision was completed, people gradually dispersed, leaving the initiates (boys only) behind to spend the night at the circumcision site under the supervision of the master of ceremony and other experienced elders. The following day, the initiates moved to a specially built hut on the premises of the master of ceremony and remained there until they had completely recovered.

During their convalescence, the initiates lived apart from the rest of the community. It was during this period that the Rangi combined running and throwing exercises as a means of training the boys for the transition from childhood to adulthood. The boys were made to run and were taught spear throwing, as these exercises were deemed necessary skills for hunting and warfare. At the end of the healing period, as part of the 'graduation' into adulthood, the boys competed in running and spear throwing competitions. The latter competition had far-reaching social implications. A large mortar[105] was placed about fifty metres away from the boys and each of the initiates took his turn to try and hit it with his spear. The target, a mortar, symbolised food for

the family and society at large. This was a crucial moment for the initiate, for to miss the target branded him a poor hunter and provider.[106]

From the exposition above it is evident that physical activity played an important part in the initiation ceremonies of the Rangi. Aspects of physical activity, especially dance, accompanied almost all the activities that took place in these ceremonies. Running exercises and throwing competitions were used not only as a means of physically training the boys but also as symbolic representations of some of the more important values of society. This can be evidenced by the spear throwing competition on the day of 'graduation'.

From the overall discussion on the initiation ceremonies of the Kikuyu, Gisu and Rangi it is clear that physical activities constituted a vital ingredient of the initiation rites of these tribes, and indeed of many other tribes. They formed an integral part of the physical education and psychological preparation of the children of East Africa.

Conclusion

In summary, the term East Africa, is both geographical and political and refers to Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. It lies on the eastern side of the continent of Africa. The geographical position of eastern Africa facilitated the earliest commercial and cultural contacts between it and other parts of the world. For centuries, eastern Africa was an *entrepôt* for commerce from the Indian Ocean.

East Africa can be broken down into a number of relief belts running roughly from north to south. This diversified topography hugely influences the climate of the region. The climate, in turn, is largely responsible for the pattern of rainfall over the area. Rainfall distribution, of course, has a direct relationship with economic activities. Because of low rainfall, the vegetation of East Africa is mostly Tropical Savanna Wood.

The population density of East Africa is closely linked to the pattern of rainfall distribution. Areas with sufficient rainfall are densely populated. These areas include the coastal belt, the highland areas and the areas around Lake Victoria. The population of East Africa is said to be growing rapidly with an average annual growth rate of over three per cent.

Archaeological evidence suggests that East Africa is the cradle of humanity. This follows the discoveries made by the Leakey family, from 1959 onwards, of the ancestors of *Homo sapiens, Homo habilis*. Over time, there have been movements of different groups of peoples from other parts of the continent into East Africa. This leads to the conclusion that the peopling of East Africa is as a result of three main factors: the archaeological suggestion that East Africa is the cradle of humanity, the movements of groups of people into East Africa and the intermingling and assimilation of these people. Although East African society is culturally heterogeneous, it can conveniently be categorised into four main linguistic groups: Bantu, Nilotic, Cushitic and Khoisan, irrespective of the various tribes found within these groups.

Physical activity played an important role in the pre-colonial society of eastern Africa. It was used as a means of training for warfare and hunting and widely used during tribal initiation ceremonies to establish status and as a means of training boys and girls for the transition from childhood to adulthood. While the preceding account paints a general picture of the pre-colonial life of the indigenous people of eastern Africa, the life and culture of the pre-colonial people of the land now known as Tanzania and the affect of physical activity on their daily life will now be considered.

Notes

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1. The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea: Travel and trade in the Indian Ocean by a merchant of the first century, Translated from Greek and Annotated by Wilfred H. Schoff, Longmans, Green, and Co., Philadelphia, 1912, passim.

2. See G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, The East African Coast: Selected documents from

the first century to the earlier nineteenth century, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1962, Document No. 2, p. 3.

3. See G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, The East African Coast: Selected documents from the first century to the earlier nineteenth century, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1962, Document No. 4, p. 8. See also B. Davidson, Old Africa Rediscovered: A Story of Africa's forgotten past, Victor Gollancz Ltd., London, 1959, pp.155-163.

4. See G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, The East African Coast: Selected documents from the first century to the earlier nineteenth century, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1962, Document No. 5, p. 8.

5. See for example, N. Chittick, 'The Coast before the Arrival of the Portuguese', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, pp.100-118; G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, The East African Coast: Selected Documents from the first to the earlier nineteenth century, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1962, passim.

6. For the early writers see for example, The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, c.100 A.D.; Cluadius Ptolemy, Geographia c.150 A.D.; Al-Mas'ud, The Ivory Trade, c.915 A.D.; Ibn Battuta, A Visit to Zeila, Mogadishu, Mombasa and Kilwa Kisiwani in 1331, in G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, The East African Coast: Selected Documents from the first to the earlier nineteenth century', Clarendon Press, 1962. For the modern writers see for example, N. Chittick, 'The Coast before the Arrival of the Portuguese', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, pp. 100-118; F. J. Berg, 'The Coast from the Portuguese Invasion to the Rise of the Zanzibar Sultanate', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, pp. 119-141.

7. See for example, N. Chittick, 'The Coast before the Arrival of the Portuguese', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, pp.100-118.

8. The present boundaries were drawn in 1890. See A. D. Fage and M. Verity, Atlas of African History, Edward Arnold, London, 1978, p. 49.

9. See the Prologue.

10. G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, The Medieval History of the coast of Tanganyika:

With special reference to recent archaeological discoveries, Veb Werkdruck Gräfenhainichen, 1962 passim; R. Coupland, East Africa and Its Invaders: From the earliest time to the death of Seyyid Said in 1856, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1938, p. 15.

11. R. Coupland, East Africa and Its Invaders: From the earliest time to the death of Seyyid Said in 1856, Clarrndon Press, Oxford, 1938, Chapter II.

12. See G. S. P. 'Freeman-Grenville, The East African Coast: Selected Documents from the first to the earlier nineteenth century', Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1962, Document No.21, p. 80 and Document 22, p. 104.

13. See F. J. Berg, 'The Coast from the Portuguese Invasion to the Rise of the Zanzibar Sultanate', in B. A.Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, p. 119.

14. See G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, The Medieval History of the Coast of Tanganyika: with special reference to recent archaeological discoveries, Deutsche Akademie Der Wissenschaften zu Berlin Institut fur Orientforschung, Veroffentlichung Nr. 55, Akademie-Verlag, Berlin, 1962, p. 9. "Portugal sought no more than to control the outlets of trade and to establish safe watering places on the tedious routes to Goa."

15. Kenya Profile, http://www.newafrica.com, June, 2001.

16. Tanzania Profile, http://www.newafrica.com, June, 2001.

17. Uganda Profile, http://www.newafrica.com, June, 2001.

18. See M. Posnansky, 'The Prehistory of East Africa', in B. A.Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, pp. 49-68.

19. R. Yeager, Tanzania: An African Experiment, Dartmouth, London, 1989, p. 5.

20. *Nyika* is the Swahili word for wilderness.

21. W. T. W. Morgan, East Africa, Longman, London, 1973, p. 35.

22. H. R. Jarrett, Africa: The New Certificate Geography Series, Macdonald and Evans, Plymouth, 1979, p. 348.

23. Ibid., p. 349.

24. Ibid., p. 349.

25. Francis F. Ojany, 'The Geography of East Africa', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, p.32.

26. H. R. Jarrett, Africa: The New Certificate Geography Series, Macdonald and Evans, Plymouth, 1973, p. 350.

27. F. F. Ojany, 'The Geography of East Africa', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, p.32.

28. Ibid., p.32.

29. W.T. W. Morgan, East Africa, Longman, London, 1973, p. 46.

30. Ibid., p. 44.

31. Ibid., p. 46.

32. Ibid., p. 46

33. F. F. Ojany, 'The Geography of East Africa', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran, Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, p. 38.

34. Ibid., p. 38.

35. P. C. Graham and K. M. Baker (eds.) The Changing Geography of Africa and the Middle East, Routledge, London, 1992, p. 118.

36. Ibid., p. 118.

37. F. F. Ojany, 'The Geography of East Africa', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran, Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, p. 43.

38. Ibid., p. 43.

39. Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda Profile, http://www.newafrica.com, June, 2001.

40. United Nations Statistical Yearbook, New York, 1995, pp. 35-36.

41. Today the population of East Africa is almost African (Kenya: African population 98%, others – Asian, European and Arab 2%; Tanzania: African population 99%, others – Asian, Arab and European 1%; Uganda: African population 98%, others – Asian, Arab and European 2%). See Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda Profile http://www.newafrica.com, June, 2001.

42. L. S. B. Leakey, Adam's Ancestors: An Up-to-date Outline of the Old Stone Age (Palaeolithic) and what is known about Man's Origin and Evolution, Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1953, p. xviii; World Travel Guide, Columbus Press, London, 1994, p. 461; R. Yeager, Tanzania: An African Experiment, Dartmouth, London, 1989, p. 6; B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House and Longmans, Nairobi, 1968, p. 50; B. Davidson with J. E. F. Mhina, The Growth of African Civilisation: East Africa to the Late Nineteenth Century, Longmans, Nairobi, 1967, p. 3; R. Oliver and F. D. Fage, A Short History of Africa, Harmondsworth, 1962, p. 16.

43. R. Yeager, Tanzania: An African Experiment, Dartmouth, 1989, p. 6.

44. Ibid., p. 6.

45. Ibid., p. 7.

46. I. Tattersall, The Fossils Trail: How we know what we think we know about evolution, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1995, p. 187.

47. On October 25, 2000 a team of scientists from College de France and the Community Museum of Kenya discovered fossilised remains of a hominoid, believed to belong to the earliest direct ancestor to man. The French and Kenyan scientists nicknamed this creature Millennium Man. See *Irish Times*, Tuesday, December 5th, 2000.

48. See, for example, B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, p. 51; R. Oliver and F. D. Fage, A Short History of Africa, Harmondsworth, 1962, p. 14; See also see L. S. B. Leakey, Adams Ancestors, 1953, passim.

49. R. Yeager, Tanzania; An African Experiment, Dartmouth, 1989, p. 6; I. Tattersall, The Fossils Trail: How we know we think we know about evolution, Oxford University Press, New York, 1995, p. 117. As recently as 1995 Ian Tattersall, wrote: ... "it is hardly surprising, then, that it took some fifteen years and the discovery of a variety of new fossils for paleoanthropologists to become at all comfortable with the idea of Homo habilis. ... nonetheless it is possible in retrospect to see that, largely through the efforts of the Leakeys, the human fossil record had begun, by the mid 1960s, to take the outline that is familiar today".

50. A. Shorter, East African Societies, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1974, p. 18.

51. Ibid., p. 18.

52. Ibid., p. 19.

53. Ibid., p. 18.

54. Ibid., p. 18.

55. Ibid., p. 18.

56. Ibid., p. 18. See also for example, C. G. Seligman, The Races of Africa, Oxford, 1930.

57. C. G. Seligman, The Races of Africa, Oxford, 1930; A. Shorter, East African Societies, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1974, p. 18.

58. See for example, Anta Diop, Nations Negres et Culture, Presence Africaine, Paris, 1955, p. 290; J. C. Trevor, 'Races Crossing', Man, Cambridge, 1953; A. Shorter, East African Societies, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1974, p. 18.

59. See for example, J. E. G. Sutton, 'The Settlement of East Africa', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, pp. 69-99; D. W. Cohen, 'The River-Lake Nilote from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Century', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, pp142-157; C. Ehret, 'Cushites and the Highland and Plains Nilotes', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, pp. 158-176; G. S. Were, 'The Western Bantu Peoples from A.D. 1300 to 1800', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, pp. 177-197; B. G. McIntosh, 'The Eastern Bantu Peoples' in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House and Longmans, Nairobi, 1968 pp. 198-215.

60. C. Ehret, 'Cushites and the Highland and Plains Nilotes', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran, Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, p. 158; R. G. Abrahams, 'The Political Incorporation of Non-Nyamwezi Immigrants in Tanzania', in R. Cohen and J. Middleton, From Tribe to Nation in Africa: Studies in Incorporation Processes, Chandler Publishing Co., Pennsylvania, 1970, p. 99. See also J. H. Greenberg, 'Linguistic Evidence Regarding Bantu Origins', Journal of African History, Vol. 13, 1972, pp. 189-216.

61. A. Shorter, East African Societies, Routldge and Kegan Paul, London, 1974, p. 21.

62. J. E. G. Sutton, 'The Peopling of Tanzania', in I. N. Kimambo and A. J. Temu (eds.), A History of Tanzania, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1969, p. 8.

63. C. Ehret, 'Cushites and the Highland and Plains Nilotes', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran, Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, London, 1968, pp. 160-161.

64. Ibid., pp. 160-161.

65. A. Shorter, East African Societies, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1974, pp. 18-24.

66. Ibid., pp. 18-24.

67. Ibid., pp. 18-24.

68. Ibid., p. 19.

69. Ibid., p. 19.

70. Ibid., p. 23.

71. J. E. G. Sutton, 'The Peopling of East Africa' in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran, Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House and Longmans, Nairobi, 1968, p. 86.

72. See for example, I. N. Kimambo, 'The Interior Before 1800', in I. N. Kimambo and A. J. Temu (eds.), A History of Tanzania, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1969, passim; J. E. G. Sutton, 'The Peopling of Tanzania', in I. N. Kimambo and A. J. Temu (eds.), A History of Tanzania, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1969, pp.14-16; A. Shorter, East African Societies, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1974, Chapter Three.

73. See for example, J. H. Greenberg, 'Linguistic Evidence Regarding Bantu Origins', Journal of African History, Vol. 13, 1972, pp. 189-216; M. Guthrie, 'Some Developments in the Pre-history of the Bantu Languages', Journal of African History, Vol. 3, 1962, pp. 273-282; A. Shorter, East African Societies, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1974, Chapter Three.

74. E. A. Alpers, 'The Nineteenth Century: Prelude to Colonialism 'in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran, Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House and Longmans, Nairobi, 1968, pp. 240-244.

75. G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, The East African Coast: Selected documents from the first to the earlier nineteenth century, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1962, Document No. 30, p. 146.

76. Ibid., p. 147.

77. A. Shorter, The East African Societies, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1974, p. 24.

78. See for example, G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, The East African Coast: Selected documents from the first to the earlier nineteenth century, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1962, Document No. 30, pp. 146-151; E. A. Alpers, The Nineteenth Century: Prelude to Colonialism in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran, Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House and Longmans, Nairobi, 1968, pp. 240-244.

79. L. S. B. Leakey, Adam's Ancestors: An Up-to-date Outline of the Old Stone Age (Palaeolithic) and What is known about Man's Origin and Evolution, Mathuen & Company Ltd., London, 1953, p. xviii; I. Tattersall, The Fossil Trail: How we know what we think we know about Human Evolution, Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 105-117.

80. See for example, B. G. McIntosh, 'The Eastern Bantu Peoples', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, pp. 198-215; J. E. G. Sutton, 'The Settlement of East Africa', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, 69–99; G. S. Were, 'The Western Bantu Peoples from A .D. 1300,' in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, pp., 177-198.

81. See for example, J. Hiernaux, 'Bantu Expansion: The Evidence from Physical Anthropology', Journal of African History, Vol. 9, 1968, pp. 505-516; M. Guthrie, 'Some Development in the Pre-History of the Bantu Languages', Journal of African History. Vol. 3, 1962, pp. 273-282; J. H. Greenberg, 'Linguistic Evidence Regarding Bantu Origins', Journal of African History, Vol. 13, 1972, pp. 189-216.

82. D. W. Cohen, 'The River-Lake Nilotes from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Century', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran, Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, pp. 142-144.

83. C. Ehret, 'Cushites and the Highland and Plains Nilotes', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran, Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, London, 1968, pp. 1160-161.

84. H. Baumann and D. Westermann, Les Pueples et les Civilisations de l'Afrique: Suivi de Les Langues et L'education, Payot, Paris, 1962, pp. 20-28.

85. C. G. Seligman, 'The Races of Africa', Oxford, 1930, passim.

86. R. Oliver and J. D. Fage, A Short History of Africa, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1970, pp. 97-101.

87. A. S. Hornby, Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary of Current English, Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 1275.

88. S. K. Bakhressa, Kamusi ya Maana na Matumizi, Oxford University Press, Nairobi, 1993, p. 130.

89. P. H. Gulliver (ed.), Tradition and Transition in East Africa: Studies of the Tribal Element in Modern Era, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969, p. 7.

90. World Travel Guide, Columbus Press, London, 1994, p. 908.

91. Many tribes practice circumcision in their initiation rites. Among the Bantu-speaking they include the Kikuyu, Gisu, Rangi, and the Gogo. The Cushitic-speaking Iraqw and the Nilotic Masai also circumcise and as do the Khoisan-speaking Sandawe.

92. J. Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya: The Traditional Life of the Gikuyu, Martin Secker and Warburg, 1938, pp. 140-141.

93. Ibid., p. 141

94. Ibid., p. 140.

95. J. S. La Fontaine, 'East Central Africa Part X: The Gisu of Uganda', The International African Institute, London, 1959, p. 42.

96. Ibid., p. 42.

97. H. A. Fosbrooke, 'A Rangi circumcision Ceremony: Blessing a New Grove', Tanganyika Notes and Records, 1958, p. 32.

98. A Master of Ceremony was any elder who enjoyed the confidence of the community at that time and was capable of running the circumcision ceremony.

99. H. A. Fosbrooke, 'A Rangi circumcision Ceremony: Blessing a New Grove', Tanganyika Notes and Records, 1958, p. 31.

100. Ibid., p. 32.

101. Ibid., p. 32.

102. Ibid., p. 35.

103. Ibid., p. 33.

104. I am grateful to Selemani Iboni, who explained to me that such songs were sung only when the actual surgical operation was in progress and not at any other time, certainly not at home nor at any other ceremonies.

105. A mortar is a piece of carved wood used for pounding grains of sorghum, bulrush, millet and finger millet out from husks. The mortar was also used (and is still used today) to pound certain grains into flour.

106. I am grateful to the Rangi elders, Muhindi Isaka and Selemani Iboni, who informed of the symbolic meaning of using the mortar as a target and its implication.

Chapter Two

2.1 Pre-colonial East Africa[1]: History, Culture and Physical Activity[2]

The history of the people of the country now known as Tanzania, like that of other peoples elsewhere, stretches back thousands of years and has involved the social, cultural, political and economic evolution and intermixing of diverse groups of people.[3] This evolution of man and his constant interaction with the environment has been covered in general terms in the earlier discussion in Chapter One on the origins and activities of the peoples of eastern Africa. In Tanzania, today, there are over one hundred and twenty tribes with different languages, cultures and customs. Many tribes share common cultural features. However, as touched upon in the preceding chapter, it is possible to divide the people of Tanzania into four linguistic groups: Bantu, Nilotic, Cushitic and Khoisan. Tanzanian society can therefore be described as a linguistically pluralist society. However, over ninety percent of Tanzanians are Bantu-speaking.[4] Furthermore, Kiswahili, the national language, provides an effective medium of communication throughout the entire country and allows for cross-tribal, urban and urban-rural integration. This is nowhere better illustrated than in the district of Kondoa in Central Tanzania. There the tribes - the Rangi, the Barabaig, the Burunge and the Sandawe - belong to the Bantu, the Nilotic, the Cushitic and the Khoisan linguistic groups respectively. This phenomenon does not occur anywhere else in Africa.[5] Kiswahili is the *lingua franca*. Incidentally, Kondoa has the largest number of sites of the late Stone Age rock paintings. Pictographs from these sites are used in this study to reconstruct the place of physical activity in the lives of the early inhabitants of the area, and by extension, hypothetically, the country at large.

The origin and movements of the earliest inhabitants of pre-colonial East Africa have been briefly discussed, of course, in general terms in Chapter One. Archaeological information from the Olduvai Gorge, Ngorongoro and the recently discovered Millennium man in Kenya provide evidence of the origins of these earliest inhabitants.[6] Prehistoric man painted on rocks recording daily activities such as hunting and

commemorating events of social significance. Late Stone Age archaeological sites such as those of the Kondoa district, therefore, provide invaluable evidence of these activities. These sites are found under huge rocks and in caves that probably provided shelter for these people and served as 'workshops' for making tools and weapons such as bows, arrows and spears for hunting and warfare. Some of the rock paintings show the people feasting and dancing, perhaps following successful hunts (or battles).[7] The paintings indicate that the early pre-colonial East Africans incorporated some form of jumping into their dances. Today, the traditional dances of many tribes such as the Gogo of Central Tanzania, include elements of jumping and somersaulting. This suggests that body movements in the earliest recorded dancing are still extant today. Other images such as those illustrated in Appendix 2, depict hunting scenes and [tribal] raids. One figure (2A) shows a scene of possible abduction while another shows a man with a bow and arrows stalking an animal (2Ba) and eventually shooting it (2Bb). Thus, hunting and war in the lives of the pre-colonial East Africans manifest themselves clearly. Self-evidently, in order to hunt wild animals successfully a hunter would have needed to be physically fit and adept at handling hunting tools such as spears, bows and arrows. The pre-colonial East Africans may well have engaged in some forms of childhood conditioning exercises such as running to develop endurance and stamina. They certainly practised spear throwing and archery in order to improve their skills. Thus, physical activities, which were crucial for warfare and hunting, in all likelihood were passed on from generation to generation through tribal institutions such as the initiation schools, as they have been subsequently in later centuries.

2.2 The Training of Warriors and the Perfection of Hunting Skills in Pre-colonial East Africa

It was during the late Stone Age period, around 10,000 B.C.[8] that pre-colonial East African people first hafted small sharp blades on sticks to form arrows and spears. Ever since, they have used them for hunting and fighting. Describing the people of *Po-pa-li* in the ninth century, Tuan C'heng-shih wrote:

> The people do not eat cereals but meat...From of old this country has not been subject to any foreign power. In fighting they use elephant's

tusks and ribs and wild cattle horns as spears, and they have corsets of bows and arrows. They have over twenty myriads of soldiers.[9]

Ten centuries later, in 1889, a German C. Velten, in his *Prosa und Poësie der Suaheli*, described the Kamba, who invaded the coastal state of Bagamoyo from up country, as barbarians whose arms were poisonous arrows.[10]

Fighting men in all societies and cultures to be successful need training. In his book, An Oral History Tribal of War: The Meru of Mount Kenya, published in 1981, Jeffrey Fadiman, discusses relevant "abstract [traditional African] military ideals", the introduction of which began in early childhood.[11] The first of these dealt with the ideal of self-development, an expression which was interpreted to include both physical and mental abilities. This ideal was to be achieved through 'hardening' and 'quickening' processes.[12] The 'hardening' process involved developing physical strength through exercise and increasing the body's capacity to endure physical pain.[13] The process of 'quickening' took two forms. A potential warrior (and hunter) strove to quicken his physical reflexes through mastering tasks needing swiftness or stealth, and his mental processes through the improvement of his powers of observation and memory.[14]

Self-control was a further military ideal. It too was part of the 'hardening process'. Through endurance to pain, inflicted during initiation rites and on other formal occasions, 'true' warriors were made. The 'true' warrior was expected to show neither weakness to pain nor resistance to its infliction. In this way self-control was developed.
A third military ideal emphasised subordination to both age and tradition. Subordination to age applied not only to those more senior in the social hierarchy but also to peers, who were ranked within a set according to their moment of entry into warriorhood. Internalisation of this concept was particularly crucial in warriorhood in order to maintain respect and discipline. However, tradition was flexible in the interest of developing aggression. Younger members could provoke confrontations both among themselves and with the sets immediately above them.[15] Such provocation manifested itself ritually. The Gogo boys from one village 'provoked' boys of their own age from another village during the game of *naga* while young Chagga boys often challenged older boys to wrestling contests.

Subordination to tradition was based on the recognition of an elder's ability to recall and interpret tradition wisely. It was in a warrior's own interest to submit to his elders' wisdom and authority until such time as he grew sufficiently experienced to exercise the same wisdom.[16]

These ideals, as mentioned earlier, were introduced in early childhood, and were later reinforced through the playing of various team games[17] and during manhood initiation rites. Indeed, in many tribal cultures initiation into manhood and initiation into warriorhood were indistinguishable.[18] The warrior tradition thus created a link between physical activity and warfare. It is in the context of warrior masculinity that indigenous Tanzanian sports may be best understood.[19]

In 1858, in an article *The Village Life of East Africa,* the explorer Sir Richard Burton, described some of the daily habits of the pre-colonial East Africans: "after eating, the East African invariably indulges in a long fit of torpidity, from which he awakes to pass the afternoon as he did the forenoon, chatting and *playing.*[20] "This hour", Burton continued, "is replete with enjoyment....though not yet indoctrinated into aesthetics." What Burton referred to as "enjoyment not yet indoctrinated into aesthetics" undoubtedly were unfamiliar recreational activities that clearly failed to impress him. In all probability, the pre-colonial East Africans had enjoyed them for centuries but what they were is not clear.

In the 1930s, a British colonial official, M. M. Hartnoll travelled throughout the country collecting information about the different pastimes of indigenous Tanganyikans.[21] He reported the use of catapults and bows and arrows in Utete, the girls' *ngoma* dance in Uluguru and the *mwendo wa mbarala* dance in Unguu. In Kondoa he reported a girls' sedentary game called *mdako. Mwendo wa mbarala* and *mdako* will be discussed in more detail later.

Reporting in 1938 on these pastime activities, Hartnoll wrote:

> Most of the games played by Tanganyikan Africans have been introduced [by foreigners] at various times....The nearest approach to a purely native ball game that I have seen, was in the Central Province where young men used knobkerries to hit round stones along the road, but that was all there was to the game which appeared to have no rules or time limit.[22]

Although regrettably, Hartnoll does not give us details of the game he had observed, he provides us with useful information about an original indigenous ball game played in the Central Province for many years. It was, in his own words, the most "purely native ball game that I have seen."[23] The game that Hartnoll saw was undoubtedly the team game, *naga,* played by the Gogo of Central Tanzania. *Naga* was a seasonal game usually played after the harvest, between June and August. Writing in 1954 about the culture and traditions of his tribe, the Tanzanian poet, the late Mathias Mnyampala described *naga* as a team game, going back centuries, that the young Gogo men played in inter-village competitions.[24] Players used knobkerries to hit a 'ball' which was a hard seed from the fruit of a tree called *msugara* or *mkoche. Naga* was usually played in the afternoon (around four o'clock) and continued until darkness fell. The game continued the next match day. The earlier scores were carried over. The team with the most 'points' at the end of the season won the tournament for that season. In those days the winning team received amounts of grain from all the teams it defeated.[25] At the end of the season the team's winnings were divided among its members.

According to Mnyampala, there were two variations of *naga*: *ngobe naga* (to drive away the ball) and *nsola naga* (to get the ball). In *ngobe naga,* two teams of young men from two villages met in an unmarked field near the villages. The goal in *ngobe naga* was to drive the ball as far as possible into the opponents' 'territory'. In *nsola naga,* a group of young men from one village went to a neighbouring village and challenged the youths there to a match. Traditionally, the challengers brought the ball with them. The goal in *nsola naga* was to get the ball home. When the game started the challengers' task was to hit the ball back to their village while the challenged tried to keep the ball in their territory. In both *ngobe naga* and *nsola naga,* the number of players in each team varied depending on the turn out. Sometimes a team could field, within reason, more players than the other team, a fact that may have influenced Hartnoll's description of

naga as a game without rules. It had rules but not those easily recognisable by the colonial administrator, a product of the British public school education system.

There were two ways of starting the game of both *ngobe naga* and *nsola naga*.[26] One way was the *chiwene*, in which a player from one team held the ball in one hand and the knobkerrie in the other. He then tossed the ball up in the air and before it fell to the ground he attempted to hit with the knobkerrie. The other way of starting the game was the *ngobe*, in which two players, one from each team, stood facing each other with their knobkerries raised above their heads, crossed like a pair of scissors. A starter stood between the two players and tossed the ball up between the two knobkerries. The players then attempted to hit the ball. As soon as the ball was hit, other players from both teams swarmed to it and whoever reached the ball first, picked it up and hit it as appropriate. Incidentally, *naga* can be compared to the traditional Gaelic games of hurling (Ireland) and shinty (Scotland).

Naga competitions had significant social, cultural and military implications for the Gogo. They provided them with opportunities for socialisation and for social cohesion. The Gogo practised mixed farming, they cultivated and herded cattle. Their land, which lies in the Main Plateaux of Central Tanzania, as noted in Chapter One, receives a moderate rainfall between November and April. Farming work ended in May as many of their crops – maize, millet and groundnuts - were seasonal. Between May and the beginning of the next cultivating season, the Gogo had 'nothing' to do and that is when they played *naga*, doubtless to while away the time while waiting for the rains and to recuperate from the fatigue of farming. Most of the members of the village were involved, either as players or spectators and thus the game promoted cohesion and solidarity among the villagers. For the spectators, and indeed the players, there was quite a lot at stake. They were keenly concerned about the outcome of the competitions, as poor results had economic implications for them. If a village lost a game, it had to pay out some grain. For this reason, some knowledgeable spectators, especially the older men and past players, carefully 'evaluated' their representatives and would offer advice about the competence of certain players. These comments were of value to the selectors when selecting players for future rounds.

A win for a team, especially in *nsola naga,* certainly raised the social status of its members in society, as they had proved themselves to be strong, fit and courageous and thus were the 'heroes' of their village. This had far-reaching social implications. As Mnyampla has noted, according to Gogo custom such heroes were sought by girls for marriage not only from within the village but also from the neighbouring villages.[27] It was socially humiliating for the defeated team to see a girl from their village marry a young man from another village, especially if that village was the current 'champion' of *nsola naga.* Victory made heroes; defeat made villains. If the challengers lost the game by failing to bring back the *naga,* they were ridiculed and mocked by their villagers. In several ways, therefore, *naga* was an important part of the social life of the Gogo and thus a highly competitive activity.[28]

The game of *naga* was physically demanding and violent. Players tackled each other mercilessly and pushed each other in order to get the ball. Playing *naga* successfully may be described accurately as an expression of the Gogo sanctioned male aggression and as a manifestation of the desirable masculinity. Arguably, the Gogo had a well-established tradition of character building through their 'organised' team games, that was in no way different from the later British public school introductions to be discussed in due course – pre-colonial and colonial games were different; the purpose was similar. The fact that a group of young men could go, in *nsola naga,* and challenge young men of another village on their own 'territory' is illustrative enough of sanctioned aggression with ultimate wider implications. Furthermore, in order to pose such a challenge, the young men would have believed in themselves and felt that they were well-prepared - fit and strong enough to defeat the other team.

The link between playing *naga* and the indigenous way of military training is self-evident, especially with reference to the 'hardening' process of the young Gogo warrior, as the game involved speed and physical strength. The physical and psychological attributes generated by the violent and vigorous nature of playing the game are obvious. Such attributes were as important for warriors on the battlefield as they were for ensuring victory for *naga* sportsmen. Not only this, there was status attached to victory

in both cases. In addition, the fact that a group of young men challenged another group to *nsola naga* in the others' territory can be compared to territorial invasion. Finally, the game afforded the young Gogo opportunities to display qualities of steady self-control and cool restraint in situations of provocation and challenge. It is through these aspects that the Gogo tradition of playing *naga* can be linked to preparation for warfare.

Today the Gogo of Central Tanzania only play *naga* occasionally, essentially as a consequence of recent past political and economic developments. The implementation of the country's policy of *ujamalisation*[29] (the resettling of people into communal villages) in the early 1970s, destroyed many traditional village settings and communities as their occupants were dispersed to new areas. The established social systems of the former villages of the Gogo people were considerably damaged when the people were moved, often forcibly, and resettled in new villages with 'strange' families. *Naga* suffered in consequence.

In addition, the economic hardships caused by the long droughts that hit the country in the 1970s 'forced' many young Gogo men to migrate to urban areas in search of employment. With the migration of many of the young men villages no longer had sufficient numbers to play the game. The harvest times, when *naga* was traditionally played, were no longer relevant to it as before.

Another team game that was played extensively throughout pre-colonial East Africa, and indeed by many nations around the world,[30] was the rolling target game. A war oriented game, it was played by, among others, the Chagga and the Gweno of the Kilimanjaro area and the Arusha of Mount Meru.[31] The game consisted of 'throwing' a missile at a target that was rolled along the ground. The type of missile and target used depended largely on the availability of raw materials. The most commonly used missiles were lances, forked spears, arrows or thonged sticks. The target was usually a form of wheel, hoop or ball. Wheels were mainly made of wood while hoops were woven from creepers, canes or osiers.[32] Balls were made from the roots or fruits of certain creepers such as gourds or pumpkins. In some places bitter lemons were used as target balls. Symbolically the target represented a wild animal being hunted or an

enemy being pursued. As such, the rolling target game simulated hunting and warfare and thus promoted skills in spear throwing and archery.

The game had different names depending on where it was played. Often it was described by combining the name of the target with the infinitive of a verb meaning to stab or to spear. For example, the Kamba of Kenya called it *kuatha ndia*, to shoot the wheel, while the Lango of Uganda used the phrase *toto ohoto*, to spear the hoop.[33] Records are hazy regarding the name that the Chagga gave to the rolling target game that they played for many generations. They are recorded as playing it, for example, in 1897,[34] on a sloping field they had cleared of shrubs at the foot of Mount Kilimanjaro, using hoops as targets and spears as missiles.

Although informal competitions between individuals occasionally took place among the Chagga boys it was usually teams that played the rolling target game. A team consisted of a headman who prepared and 'bowled' the hoop and the commoners who 'shot' it. As a rule one team bowled the hoop while the other team attempted to hit it. As noted above, the game was mainly used as a means of training young men for hunting and warfare. It was useful for the training the swiftness of hand-eye co-ordination, eminently useful preparation for the work of huntsman and warrior. Indeed, "the Chagga [Africans] declared it a war game,[35]" since it gave practice in throwing the spear accurately and in all likelihood improved the exactness of aim.

However, there was also a social aspect attached to the game for the Chagga people. It was considered by both players and onlookers as a sports event.[36] Competitions between different districts within a chieftainship, especially when the game was played by older boys and men, were popular spectator events.[37]

Another war-related game, possibly an early version of the rolling target game, which is believed to have been played in pre-colonial East Africa is the bolas-and-hoop.[38] Archaeological discoveries by, among others, the distinguished archaeologist L. S. B. Leakey[39] have found stone balls which indicate the use of the hunting bolas in eastern Africa in the Palaeolithic times.[40] The game can be identified with the early hunters.

Symbolically the hoop represented the fleeing animal whilst the bolas was a direct derivative of the missile weapon.[41] Sparse traces of the game have been found at Kazagga near Lake Tanganyika,[42] which certainly indicates that the bolas-and-hoop was played some time in pre-colonial East Africa. However, the immense gap in time is an obstacle to identifying the game's spread in ancient times and to tracing its continuity in modern or near modern times.[43]

Although, in the main, in pre-colonial East African society there were no particular groups of people trained specifically for war (all, especially men, served as warriors) some time at the end of the nineteenth century more specialised military organisations did take shape within certain tribes.[44] Some chiefdoms began to mobilise specialised fighters.[45] The reasons for the emergence of these groups of warriors are outside the scope of this study. But two points may be made. Trade in imported goods from the coast in exchange for ivory was already flourishing in the eighteenth century.[46] By the late nineteenth century, some chiefdoms began to send parties to the coast and so they had to protect their trading routes and their trading interests. Secondly, there was a growing need for highly skilled co-ordinated resistance against foreign invaders.[47] The Germans had occupied German East Africa in 1885. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw a period of armed resistance by prominent chiefdoms and their warriors against the Germans.

One such chiefdom was the Kimbu. It was once headed by a charismatic leader, *Nyungu ya Mawe* ('pot of stone', which symbolically meant 'pot that does not break') who recruited and trained a band of warriors from various sources, including war captives, deserters from caravans and runaway slaves. Because of its background this band was heterogeneous and owed no allegiance to anyone except its chief. This band of warriors was known as the *Ruga Ruga*, which in the vernaculars of the Kimbu meant young, unmarried, professional soldiers.[48] The *Ruga Ruga* are said to have had an 'iron' discipline and carried weapons which mostly consisted of bows and arrows, two or three spears and old muskets.[49]

Although documented evidence on how these warriors were trained is difficult to find, it is reasonable to suggest that physical activity, for obvious reasons, played an important role in their training, especially in the process of 'hardening'. The *Ruga Ruga* have been described as professional soldiers. To be a professional soldier one must have, among other things, stoical physical fitness, self discipline and a knowledge of different weapons. Exercises such as drill, running, route marching, spear throwing and archery, in all probability, would have formed a large part of the training of these warriors. Moreover, in this period in Tanzanian history, when overland transport was primitive, the *Ruga Ruga* would have had to walk huge distances to and from the battle-fields.[50] The warriors would have had to make frequent long journeys to maintain efficient communication among the troops and between the troops and the leadership. The *Ruga Ruga* must have had a well-developed physical training regime in order to reach and maintain this high level of fitness. In addition, the fact that the *Ruga Ruga* apparently were so disciplined may be an indication that the elements that dominated their training were those which emphasised obedience, loyalty, subordination and submission. By extension, to maintain a high level of discipline must have required the use of various forms of corporal punishment including extra drill and punishment exercises.

While the Gogo warrior's masculinity was fostered through participation in team games such as *naga* and the Chagga, among others, trained their warriors through the war-related team game of the rolling target, many pre-colonial East African youngsters, like youngsters elsewhere, enjoyed the pleasure of spontaneous games and sports. These will now be considered.

2.3 Youths' Sport, Games and Socialisation

It was usual for the boys[51] of many of the tribes of pre-colonial East Africa to herd their animals - cattle, sheep, goats and donkeys - together on common pastures. Groups of three or four and sometimes more, households co-operated together to facilitate herding. Boys, between five and twelve, were entrusted with the task of looking after the animals. This provided them with an opportunity to meet and to compete against each

other in combat activities such as wrestling and stick fighting, in athletic events such as running, long jump and high jump and in recreational activities such as donkey riding. The older boys usually arranged and supervised contests among the younger ones. In organising such contests the older boys had to abide by some fundamental norms and rules of society. They had to ensure that the contestants were matched - in size, in age and in level of skill - and that the individual's right to refuse a challenge was upheld. They also had to ensure that enmity was avoided on defeat. Observing these norms of society was important for maintaining harmony among the boys and society at large. In addition, the contests sometimes acted as a means of social selection by society. Strong young athletes were usually held in high esteem by the tribe and were often viewed as potential future leaders. By way of example, I will examine the role of wrestling in the lives of the Chagga in the Kilimanjaro area.

Wrestling was a distinctive process of social selection among the Chagga[52] as the outcome of such contests determined an individual's status. A Chagga boy gained respect among his peers if he proved to be the strongest wrestler. More often than not he became the leader of his peer group and a role model for the young. As such he would organise, supervise and direct wrestling contests among them. A boy was also looked upon by his elders with due dignity, if he exhibited outstanding physical qualities in wrestling. Often such champions were earmarked as future leaders of the Chagga people.[53]

The Chagga, and indeed many other tribes, had a highly developed codified ritual routine in these wrestling contests. Before a contest began both contestants were reminded not to throw one another brutally to the ground. Above all, they were strictly instructed not to dishonour their opponent even if they defeated him. It was with such honourable expectations at the back of his mind that a Chagga boy entered a 'wrestling ring'. He reserved the right to refuse a challenge if it became clear that his challenger had superior capability over him. When two matching Chagga boys confronted one another in a wrestling match, an older boy, the strongest wrestler among them, drew a line on the ground between them. The boys faced one another, putting one foot (normally the left foot) in front of them (but behind the line). To incite a challenge one

courageous boy crossed this line to the other boy's 'territory'. Both boys stretched their hands out in front to catch hold of one another and attempted to throw each other to the ground. During the contest the 'master of the match' constantly corrected the boys if they broke the rules. He would direct them and shout phrases like: don't take your opponent by treachery; take each other in a fair manner - play fair.[54] Depending on the regulations of the contest, a wrestler won a match by either throwing his opponent once to the ground on the flat of his back or by an aggregate of several throws. Many of these wrestling contests took place spontaneously among the Chagga boys, and indeed among boys from other tribes, while they were minding their families' cattle on common pastures, in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods.

In his youth, the author himself observed and participated in some of the physical activities such as stick fighting, athletic exercises and donkey riding, that the Tanzanian boys enjoyed while herding. There were two forms of stick fighting - a stick in one hand or two sticks, one in each hand. In the case where each boy held only one stick, each attempted to strike the other while at the same time defending himself with the same stick. To do this the boys employed various techniques and tactics. In an exciting contest, where adept stick fighters were involved, a contestant would skilfully feign in one direction and then in the other. In the other variant of stick fighting, each boy held a stick in both hands. One stick was used for striking and the other was used for parrying blows. Quick footwork was one of the essential skills in both variants of stick fighting. Having the ability and agility to move fast helped a stick-fighter to break away from an opponent, parry a blow and launch his own attack. As the term suggests, stick fighting was a youthful simulation of warfare, and as such was an appropriate means of 'military' training. Sticks were one of the weapons used in inter-tribal and inter-clan wars. Although stick fighting may still be practised in some parts of the country today, arguably its traditional purpose as a means of military training is no longer viable. Modern weapons, of course, have replaced the traditional ones. Moreover, inter-tribal and inter-clan wars are, on the whole, things of the past.

During the 'mid-day rest' (usually when the animals were taken to a well to drink water) or whenever time and space allowed, running competitions took place among the

boys. Usually the older and younger boys competed among themselves as did the younger ones. However, it was not uncommon to see younger boys 'challenging' older boys. The older boys organised the competitions for the younger ones and determined the distance to be run. The course was usually a stretch of land between two natural features - two trees or two groves. Two or more young boys lined up at a starting point and from a signal to start they raced to the finishing 'line'. The winner of a running competition enjoyed special 'privileges', normally accorded to the older boys. For example, during the course of a day of herding, the older boys enjoyed sitting under the shade of trees sharing 'big boys' conversations while the younger ones minded the cattle. The winner was accorded the 'token privilege' of sitting with the older boys for that day and enjoyed a 'day off' while the losers looked after his animals. Such activities established a social pecking order, offered opportunities for social status and were part of an implicit and explicit system of leadership training.

The boys also competed in high jump and long jump competitions. The tropical savannah bushes described in Chapter One provided suitable natural high jump 'stands and bars'. Older boys as well as younger ones competed in jumping over these 'bars'. Sometimes these bushes had prickles, which made jumping over them even more challenging. A boy not only had to try to clear the height but also had to think of avoiding the prickles. To be scratched in front of peers was not only embarrassing but was also obviously painful.

More 'advanced' high jump competitions took place on the river beds. During the dry season most rivers dried up and became ravines with sand beds. The boys erected two poles on these sand beds and tied a rope between them. In this way more organised and highly competitive high jumping took place. The boys could now increase the heights to be jumped by tying the rope higher up the poles when all or some had cleared the previous height.

Long jump competitions also took place on these sand beds. One of the boys jumped as far as he could. Others lined up after him and tried to either equal his jump or out jump him. Normally the older boys competed among themselves as did the younger ones.

However, sometimes the younger boys challenged the older boys. A youngster 'earned' himself honorary 'status' among the older boys if he performed very well.

Collectively, the athletic exercises described above were suitable pastime pursuits and a form of socialisation for the boys while they were engaged in the productive work of animal husbandry. Individually, they had various physical as well as social implications. Undoubtedly, through these activities, basic physical qualities such as strength, power, endurance and speed – necessary skills for hunting and fighting - were developed. Also, by competing against each other under certain regulations, the boys learned the importance of social rules and the value of 'fair play' in the interest of social cohesion, solidarity and stability. They learned to accept responsibility and to respect authority.

The boys sometimes engaged in donkey riding while herding their animals. They took turns to ride a donkey around the herds mainly to keep the animals together but sometimes they raced against each other. This was another pleasurable way of passing the time. In addition, the boys often had to travel long distances in search of richer pastures. On their way to and from these distant places the boys rode on the donkeys' backs and often raced each other, especially on the way home. Such races continued with other boys taking turns until they all reached home. Onlookers (those waiting for their turn or passers-by) cheered on the riders and congratulated the winners. Sometimes the same donkey was used continuously by different racers. This led to the donkey getting tired and becoming agitated. In such a situation, the donkey would try to unseat its rider by bending its head down or jumping and kicking around uncontrollably. A boy felt embarrassed and humiliated if unseated by a donkey in front of friends. He saw himself as having lost face among his peers. However, it was socially unacceptable to ridicule the unseated boy. As a matter of mutual respect and good manners, on such occasions, the boys were expected to comfort the abased rather than mock him. Co-operation and cohesion were the watchwords. Their cultures were collective rather than individualistic in orientation.

While the young boys of pre-colonial East African societies enjoyed various physical activities during and after work, young girls and the very young, of course, also learnt the values of society through spontaneous games and play.

2.4 Children's Games and early Cultivation of Social Values

One sedentary game that was played by girls was called *mdako*[55] derived from the verb *kudaka,* to catch. *Mdako* was a game composed of about twenty five small round stones and a small hole dug in the ground, preferably in hard ground. The hole measured approximately twenty to twenty five centimetres in diameter and ten to fifteen centimetres in depth.

Two players sat on the opposite sides of the hole facing one another. Each player chose a stone and held it in her hand. This stone was called the *mdako.* All the other stones, except the *mdako*, were put into the hole. The first part of the game was to scoop all the stones from the hole and place them beside the hole. This was done by throwing the *mdako* up in the air, scooping the stones from the hole, placing them beside it and catching the *mdako* before it fell to the ground. All this was done with the one hand. The aim was to scoop all the stones out at one go, but a player was allowed several attempts to take all the stones out. A player lost her go when she either failed to catch the *mdako* before it fell to the ground or when she failed to scoop a single stone from the hole in any one attempt. When all the stones were out of the hole, her opponent nominated one of the stones by touching it with her finger. This stone was special and was called '*the mtoto'* – the child. One of the challenges of the game lay with the player's selection of the *mtoto.* Usually a player selected amongst the stones, the one that was placed in the most difficult position – in the middle of the stones or very near the edge of the hole. The second part of the game was to deposit all the stones back into the hole in the same manner as they were taken out, but with the opponent's *mtoto* being the last one to be put back. A player won a round of the game when she successfully did this.

If the *mdako* went into the hole before the others, the current player lost her go. Before her opponent took her turn, the first player took the *mtoto* back out of the hole, placed it with the remaining stones and selected her *mtoto* from this group. Play continued until one of the players won a round. The overall winner of the game was the one who won the most rounds.

Like most other pre-colonial East African, and indeed many other African children,[56] the young girls learned by imitation. They acquired the knowledge of playing *mdako* by observing and imitating either their peers or their elder sisters. As the game was not supervised by elders, the girls were left to their own devices. Most likely, this developed the attitudes of self-reliance, independence and self-confidence in the children. Concepts such as fair play, honesty and co-operation were also promoted in this way. And as the girls had to keep track of all scores on their own, some of the basic elements of arithmetic must also have been developed.

A combination of techniques and tactical skills were developed in the children through playing the game of *mdako*. As all the actions of throwing the *mdako* up in the air, scooping the stones from the hole or moving them into it and catching the *mdako,* had to be performed fast, the game promoted a good sense of timing and co-ordination, and fast reaction time in the children. Also, the game was made up of a series of decisive actions requiring speed, adroitness, concentration and decision making. A player had to judge when to perform the action of scooping and when to stop it to prepare to catch the *mdako*. To be able to do all this, a player, consciously or unconsciously, had to observe the law of gravity. She had to 'calculate' how high she should throw the *mdako* up in the air in order to give her enough time to scoop the stones out of the hole or move the stones back into the hole. Also she had to make certain decisions. For example, she had to decide on the most effective and shortest path for moving the stones back into the hole, whilst ensuring that she did not pick up the opponent's *mtoto*.

Without making too much of this popular game, it seems reasonable to remark that in adult life, one requires a well balanced co-ordination of the mobile parts of the body, a good sense of timing and concentration and one has to make certain decisions

(sometimes fast) in order to perform well in various day to day functions. *Mdako*, at the very least, aided rather than hindered the development of these qualities. Thus, *mdako* in a small way, helped prepare the girls for womanhood both physically *and* psychologically. They referred to one of the stones that they used in the game as *mtoto* (plural *watoto* - children). They thus equated the stones with children which itself is a reflection of the images of everyday domestic life of the society. It symbolised the role of bearing children that women play in a society. As future adults they were the future mothers. Thus, the use of the term *watoto* in reference to the stones embodied the aphorism, 'Play is anticipatory of adult life'. To an extent, *mdako* is still played today.

The pre-colonial East African young boys and girls often played spontaneous games together in the evenings. One such game, common to many tribes was 'the lazy one'. (It was known by different names in different tribes – the Rangi called it *kitoro*). The purpose of the game was for the children to outwit each other by speed and agility. To start the game an elder, or whoever was in charge, would give a signal by clapping hands once (signals varied from place to place). The players would chase each other and try and touch one another. The first player to be touched became the 'chaser'. He/she tried to touch another player who then became the chaser. At the end of the game (this was decided by the person in charge) the current chaser was branded the lazy one. He/she had to carry this burden of laziness overnight until the beginning of the next game. Obviously none of the players wished to become the lazy one.

Again without gilding the lily, certain social values were clearly inculcated in the children through such games. The 'lazy one' was an indication that society did not approve of laziness and so encouraged its young generation to be active. It also prepared the children for the challenge of defeat and showed them that defeat at times should act as a stimulant to do better next time. Any child who lost a game was encouraged to get rid of his/her laziness in the next game. Finally, the game did not discriminate between boys and girls. It therefore reinforced socialisation between them. Brotherhood and sisterhood are valued among many tribes in Tanzania.

Another form of physical activity, which also reinforced the values of brotherhood and sisterhood, that the children often amused themselves with in the evening was dancing. Writing of his experience of children's games and dances in East Africa in 1959, H. E. Lambert noted that *ukuti* was one of the most popular children's dances performed, especially on moonlight evenings.[57] *Ukuti* means the fronds of a palm tree. Although the origins of *ukuti* may be traced from the coast, it was wide spread upcountry, unsurprisingly, especially along the trade routes. The children formed themselves into a ring round the song–leader, joined hands and moved slowly around, singing, while raising and lowering their hands rhythmically. The leader sang some lines of the song and the children sang others in response. For example:

Leader: *Ukuti ukuti* (frond frond)

Others: *Wa mnazi wa mnazi* (of the palm tree, of the palm tree)

Leader: *Ukiingia upepo* (when the wind blows)

Others: *Watetema* (it rustles)

Leader: *Ukiingia upepo*

Others: *Watetema*

The children then jumped up and down and shook their shoulders in imitation of the rustling tremble of the palm fronds in the evening moonlight. Various aspects of the palm tree were sung about and imitated. This imitative play was an important part of the informal education of these children. One of its aims was to adapt the children to their physical environment, to learn what to expect from it and teach them how best to make use of it. The *ukuti* dance was an imitation of life in a predominantly agricultural country like pre-colonial East Africa (and indeed, present day Tanzania) where a good harvest depended (and to great extent still depends) on good weather. Strong winds (bad weather) would cause the flowers of the palm trees to fall before they had time to mature into coconuts, thus resulting in a bad harvest. This was one song scenario. The children thus learned in a pleasant and compelling way how closely weather and farming were linked. The *ukuti* dance also promoted social cohesion among the children, as both boys and girls, from the neighbourhood assembled in one place to sing and dance together. The *ukuti* dance can still be observed in many parts of the country today.

Another singing and dancing game of pre-colonial East Africa that the Nguu girls of the Tanga region enjoyed and which educated them about their society was the *mwendo wa mbarala.*[58] To begin the game a group of girls formed a circle, singing and clapping their hands. One girl stepped into the centre of the ring and started to dance as another girl in the circle started to sing. The others joined in the chorus, clapping their hands. The song went:

Solo: ulele wa ulele

Chorus: *Haya* (Yes)

Shabani mtu mbaya (Shabani is a bad person)

Haya (Yes)

Kanikaba shingo (He held me by the throat)

Haya (Yes)

Nalifanya kazi yangu (when I was working)

Haya (Yes)

Ndani ya mzungu waangu (at my employer's)

Haya (Yes)

Kadanganya pesa zote (He cheated me of my money)

Haya (Yes)

Anibakizia tandiko (He left me with nothing)

Haya (Yes)

The message conveyed by the words of the song is clear – there are bad people in society. As the clapping and singing quickened, the dancer danced around the circle with shuffling steps.[59] When the singing stopped, so too did the dancer. She now became the singer, the nearest girl to her became the dancer and the whole process started again. Once again these were various song scenarios reflecting life as it was lived. While dance was a form of enjoyment for the children of pre-colonial East Africa, it was also used by many tribes to educate their young. This is nowhere better illustrated than by A. P. Caplan in his article *Boys' Circumcision and Girls' Puberty Rites among the Swahili of Mafia Island, Tanzania,* on how the Pokomo of the Island of Mafia in the Lindi region effectively incorporated dance as a medium of education in

their initiation ceremonies for both boys and girls.[60] Dance accompanied almost all the various activities performed throughout the entire ceremony. It played a significant role in the teaching of *adabu* (good manners). The concept of a*dabu* had a wider social and cultural connotation than just good manners. It involved treating the initiation rite with respect and keeping its secrets, respecting parents, spouses and friends and appreciating the value of hard work. For example, references to cultivation - hoeing, digging and planting - and fishing were made through the words of some of the songs and the gestures of the body movements in some of the dances.[61] Through the songs and dances, the adults attempted to convey to the initiates the functions of the adulthood they were about to enter into. In this way the Pokomo people taught their young men and women the norms, social values and customs of their community.

Conclusion

The pluralist society of pre-colonial East Africa and present day Tanzania can be divided into four major linguistic groups – the Bantu, the Nilotic, the Cushitic and the Khoisan. The majority of the one hundred and twenty tribes of Tanzania are Bantu-speaking. The Pokomo, the Rangi, the Chagga and the Gogo belong to this group. From time immemorial, physical activity has been linked to significant cultural activities such as initiation rites, working practices and recreational pastimes, of these tribes, and indeed of many other tribes in the country.

As noted earlier, central to the initiation rites was the 'hardening' process. Physical activity played an important role in this process whereby the young boys were trained to become successful hunters and warriors. The Chagga, the Gweno and the Arusha, among others, used the rolling target game to teach their people the basics of spear throwing and archery – fundamental skills for hunting and warfare. Wrestling was used to build up stamina and strength. What is significant about this aspect of physical activity, among many tribes in the country and throughout history, is "the activity's obstinate masculinity in the warrior tradition."[62] The young Gogo, for their part, displayed masculine aggression in the competitive team game of *naga*. Playing *naga* was significant in the 'hardening' process of the young Gogo warrior, as the game involved aggression and required swiftness and physical strength.

Training for war was fundamental to survival. All societies used physical activities as military training directly and indirectly. *Naga* and the rolling target game were formal, direct forms of military training. In contrast, there were informal, indirect forms. The young men of many of the tribes of pre-colonial East Africa engaged in combat physical activities such as wrestling and stick fighting, in athletic events such as running, long jump and high jump and in recreational activities such as donkey-riding while herding their cattle in the wilderness. These activities both amused and trained the boys. The young girls of pre-colonial East Africa acquired many of their physical and social skills through rhythmic dancing and the playing of games like *mdako*. Boys and girls often enjoyed spontaneous games and dances, such as 'the lazy one' and *ukuti*, together in the evenings. It was largely through such interaction with siblings or with other children of the neighbourhood that the child first learnt about personal possessions and how to share them, and the concept of waiting and taking turns. This helped to reinforce the important values of brotherhood and sisterhood among the children. An essential consequence of children playing together, of course, was the advancement of individual cognitive development. Being with peers allows children to examine their perceptions and one's own contentions.[63]

In the history of East Africa, as elsewhere in Africa, the significance of dance should never be overlooked. As well as being a social activity, dance was an important medium of education in many of the initiation ceremonies of the tribes of pre-colonial East Africa. For example, the Pokomo people incorporated dance in their initiation ceremonies to teach *adabu* to their young men and women and to prepare them for the transition from childhood to adulthood.

Such then was the life of the pre-colonial East African before the arrival of any foreigners. The first of these foreigners to arrive were the Arabs who reached and settled in eastern Africa sometime in the eighth century. They brought with them, among other things, the religion of Islam and introduced it to the indigenous Africans. The next chapter deals with the diffusion of Islam into pre-colonial East African society and its subsequent impact on some aspects of the physical activities of that society.

Notes

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1. The term Pre-colonial East Africa is used as defined in the Prologue.
2. In the prologue I adopted the term sport as a generic term embracing all p hysical activities both in the education and culture of Tanzanian society. However, I will treat the term physical activity as a generic concept that subsumes within it elements of dance, sport and other *specific* physical activities that are intended to improve physical, mental and moral health of the pre-colonial people of East Africa.
3. J. E. G. Sutton, 'The Peopling of Tanzania', in I. N. Kimambo and A. J. Temu (eds.), A History of Tanzania, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1969, p. 1.
4. R. Yeager, Tanzania: An African Experiment, Westview Press, Dartmouth, 1989, p. 49.
5. J. E. G. Sutton, 'The Settlement of East Africa', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, p. 79.
6. See L. S. Leakey, 'Adam's Ancestors', Methuen and Co., 1953, passim. For the Millennium Man see *The Irish Times*, Tuesday, December 05, 2000.
7. M. Posnansky, 'The Prehistory of East Africa', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran, Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, p. 63.
8. Ibid., pp. 63-68.
9. See G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, The East African Coast: Selected documents from the first century to the earlier nineteenth century, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1962, Document No. 4, p. 8.
10. C. Velten, 'Prosa und Poësie der Suaheli', Berlin 1907, passim. In 1889, Velten went to German East Africa as an interpreter to the German Governor General, Von Wissmann. While in the colony Velten compiled histories of, among others, Kilwa, Pangani and Bagamoyo. See also G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, The East African Coast: Selected documents from the first to the earlier nineteenth century, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1862, Document No. 46, pp. 220 and 238.
11. J, A, Fadiman, An Oral History of Tribal Warfare: The Meru of Mount Kenya, Ohio University Press, Athens, 1981, p. 49.

12. Ibid., P.49.

13. Ibid., P. 49.

14. Ibid., P. 49

15. Ibid., p. 50.

16. Ibid., p. 50.

17. Such as *naga*.

18. A. Mazrui, The Africans: A Triple Heritage, BBC Publications, London, 1986, p. 115.

19. Ibid., p. 115.

20. Sir Richard Burton, 'The Village Life of East Africa', in R. Oliver and Catherine Oliver (eds.), Africa in the Days of Exploration, Prentice-Hall, Inc. Englewood Cliffs, 1965, pp.97-98.

21. See M. M. Hartnoll, 'Some African Pastimes', Tanganyika Notes and Records, Vol. 5, 1938, passim.

22. Ibid., p. 31.

23. Ibid., p. 31.

24. M. Mnyampala, Historia, Mila na Desturi za Wagogo wa Tanganyika, The Eagle Press, Dar es Salaam, 1954, p. 108.

25. Ibid., p. 108

26. Ibid., p. 108.

27. Ibid., p. 110.

28. Ibid., passim.

29. See L. Buchert, Education in the Development of Tanzania 1919 – 1990, Eastern African Studies, Villiers Publications, London, 1994, Chapter Six. In 1967 Tanzania adopted Socialism as the nation's ideology. Socialism and Self-Reliance became the watchwords. Socialism was considered to be an 'attitude of mind' which was present in traditional community units, the villages. Mobilisation of the rural masses was considered one of the key elements to the establishment of a self-reliant nation, in which maximum utilisation would be made of the available local resources – land and labour. The basis of the strategy was the wide expansion of communal village production units, consisting of people who were living and working together. That is, from village settlement schemes into *ujamaa* villages. Under this new scheme

traditional individual ownership of land was to be replaced by communal ownership of land.

30. See O. F. Raum, 'The Rolling Target (Hoop-and Pole) game in Africa', African Studies, Vol. 12, 1938, passim. According to Raum, the rolling target game was played in Africa, Asia, Australia and North America.

31. See O. F. Raum, 'The Rolling Target (Hoop-and Pole) game in Africa, African Studies, Vol. 12, 1938, passim.

32. Ibid., passim.

33. Ibid., p. 106.

34. Ibid., p. 107.

35. Ibid., p. 108.

36. Ibid., p. 109.

37. Ibid., p. 108.

38. See H. S. Harrison, 'A Bolas-and-Hoop game in East Africa', Man, Vol. 12, 1947, passim.

39. Dr. L. S. Leaskey was involved in archaeological research in East Africa for many years. His greatest discovery was the *Zinjanthropus* 'Man of Zanj' in 1959.

40. See H. S. Harrison, 'A Bolas-and-Hoop game in East Africa', Man, Vol. 12, 1947, p.153.

41. Ibid., p. 153.

42. Ibid., p. 153.

43. Ibid., pp. 153 – 155.

44. A. Shorter, Chiefship of Western Tanzania: A Political History of the Kimbu, Oxford University Press, 1972, p. 233.

45. Ibid., p. 233.

46. Ibid., p. 233.

47. Ibid., p. 233.

48. Ibid., p. 276.

49. Ibid., p. 313.

50. Ibid., p. 313.

51. In those days the girls remained at home engaging in other domestic activities – cooking and fetching firewood and water.

52. S. Paul, 'Wrestling in Traditional Africa' in W. Baker and J. A. Mangan (eds.), Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History, Africana Publishing Company, New York, 1987, p. 33.

53. Ibid., p. 33.

54. Ibid., p. 33.

55. See M. M. Hartnoll, 'Some African Pastimes', Tanganyika Notes and Records, Vol. 5, 1938, passim. In the 1930s, Hartnoll travelled around Tanganyika collecting information about indigenous pastimes. He reported, among others, the sedentary game of *mdako* among the Rangi girls of Kondoa. Incidentally the author comes from the area and has seen the game played as late as the 1960s.

56. See for example, N. Mandela, Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela, Abacus, London, 1995, p. 13; J. K. Nyerere, Ujamaa; Essays in Socialism, Oxford Press, 1968, pp. 48 - 49.

57. See H. E. Lambert, 'A Note on Children's Pastimes in Kenya', Swahili, Vol.30, 1959, p. 77.

58. See M. M. Hartnoll, 'Some African Pastimes', Tanganyika Notes and Records, Vol. 5, 1938, passim.

59. Ibid., passim.

60. See A. P. Caplan, 'Boys' Circumcision and Girls' Puberty Rites Among the Swahili of Mafia Island Tanzania', Africa, Vol. 46 (1), 1976, p. 24.

61. Ibid., p. 24.

62. A. Mazrui, The Africans: A Triple Heritage, BBC Publications, London, 1986, p. 115.

63. J. R. Chepyator-Thomas, 'Traditional Games of Keiyo Children: A Comparison of Pre-and Post-independent Periods in Kenya', Interchange (Toronto), Vol. 21 (2), 1990, 23.

Chapter Three

Islam and Islamic Culture: Earliest Foreign Influences on Physical Activity in Pre-colonial East Africa

3.1: Islam, Early Islamic Way of Life and Physical Activity

This chapter first traces the roots of Islamic attitudes towards physical activity during the formative years of Islam. The chapter then outlines the arrival of the Arabs [1] and Islam in eastern Africa[2] in the eighth century and examines the impact of Islamic attitudes on the indigenous physical, and other, traditions of the pre-colonial East African society. The chapter concludes with an early discussion of contemporary Islamic attitudes towards modern sport and an appraisal of their specific impact on Tanzanian sport.

Islam is the Muslim religion, revealed through the Prophet Muhammad in the seventh century, based on a belief in one God, Allah. The earliest teachings of Islam may be traced to the Prophet Muhammad's preaching at the Ukaz gatherings in his native city of Mecca.[3] However, the potent characteristics of the faith were fully developed only after the Prophet Muhammad's 'Emigration' (*Hijra*) to Madina in the year 622 A. D.[4] The second Caliph,[5] Umer Iben al-Khattab, later marked this date as the beginning of the Islamic ideology, and perhaps more importantly, the Muslim calendar.[6] The Prophet Muhammad died in 632 A. D. Within a short time of his death, Islam established itself as a strong, self-confident and proselytising faith with an unyielding, and even hostile, attitude to anything non-Islamic.[7] Less than a century after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, Islam had spread to most parts of northern Africa and southern Europe and as far as central Asia.[8] It reached eastern Africa when the Arabs arrived there in the eighth century. More on this later.

Islam is based on what are known as the Five Pillars of Islam – *Shahada, Salaah, Saum, Zakaah* and *Hajj*.[9] The first of these, *Shahada*, is the profession of faith that none is worthy of worship but Allah and that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.[10] The

second pillar, *Salaah,* is prayer. There are five prayer times a day – *Fajr, Zuhr, Asr, Maghrib* and *Isha.*[11] The time for morning prayer, *Fajr,* begins at dawn and ends at sunrise. *Zuhr* takes place at noon, *Asr* in the afternoon, *Maghrib* at dusk and *Isha* in the evening.[12] Muslims are urged to observe these times of prayer as "verily the prayer is prescribed on believers at fixed times."[13] The third pillar, *Saum* literally means to keep away or abstain from something. It entails abstaining from food and drink between dawn and sunset with the intention of worship during the month of *Ramadhani,* the twelfth month of the Muslim year.[14] The fourth pillar, *Zakaah,* is charity. It is compulsory for every Muslim to give part of his income to those in need.[15] The fifth pillar of Islam is *Hajj,* the pilgrimage. A Muslim should make a pilgrimage to Mecca once in his or her life-time, if he or she can so afford to.[16]

In his book Islam: Way of Life, P. Hitti describes the Islamic way of life in the early days as tripartite: religious, cultural and political.[17] Of course the three are intertwined. Islam, the religion, was a system of beliefs and practices, enshrined in the Qura'n,[18] initially revealed by God to the Prophet Muhammad.[19] Islam, the culture, was a compound of varied elements – ancient Semitic, Indo-Persian and classical Greek – synthesised under the caliphate and expressed primarily through the medium of the Arabic tongue.[20] As a political entity, Islam, the state,[21] was an aggregate of institutions based on Qura'nic laws.[22] In Islam, the absolute lawgiver is Allah and Muhammad is the Messenger of those laws through the divine revelations.[23] The enforcement of these laws is carried out through the Islamic jurisprudence, *sharia.* This code is said to have been founded by the Prophet Muhammad in Madina and later developed in medieval times by his successors – the caliphs.[24] Later again, this code fragmented into splinter states in western Asia, northern Africa and south-eastern Europe.[25]

The Islamic code – *sharia* – played (and still plays) an important role in the Islamic way of life.[26] It is considered an ideal public pattern for an individual's life and for binding Muslims into one community.[27] In the early Muslim world, *sharia* was regarded as the master science of all sciences. It was the most potent agent moulding the social life of Muslim people[28] in that it exerted pressure upon the private and social activities of individual Muslims. One such activity was physical activity.

In her article, *Sport in Egypt: Cultural Reflection and Contradiction of a Society*, Leila Sfeir notes, "the Prophet Muhammad was an enthusiastic advocate of the health and care of the body."[29] He was particularly keen on the physical education of the male child primarily to improve the child's health and to develop his mental and physical faculties. "Education of the children," the Prophet Muhammad argued, "should be that which takes care of the mind and body."[30] He therefore urged parents (fathers) to teach their children reading and writing, swimming and archery.[31] Indeed, he commanded that "the right of the child is one of obliging his father to teach him writing and physical activities."[32] While reading and writing were considered important for learning the Qura'n, physical activities such as swimming, were hoped to promote, *inter alia*, the health of the children. Consequently, physical activities became widespread in the *madrassah,* the educational institutions for boys, of the Middle Ages.[33]

The Prophet Muhammad was fundamentally concerned with a harmonious balance between the spiritual and the physical aspects of the being.[34] He encouraged physical activities among Muslim believers to both promote health and to act as a means of military training. He argued that a believer who was healthy and strong was better and more loved by Allah than the one who was weak.[35] The Prophet himself regularly exercised and foot-raced to improve and maintain the health of his body. In one of the *hadiths* (legends about the Prophet Muhammad that supplement the Qur'an) he is recorded to have foot-raced against his wife Aisha, thus according the practice a 'religious seal of approval'.[36] After one of the races, Aisha said, "while I was on a journey along with the Apostle of Allah, I had a race with him (the Prophet) and I outstripped him on my feet. When I became fleshy, (again) I had a race with him and he outstripped me."[37] As a result of the Prophet's example, foot-racing was extensively practised in the early days of Islam.

In many *hadiths* the Prophet Muhammad is recorded as having urged the believers to learn archery primarily as a military skill. "Archery", he advised, "is the best of your pursuits."[38] Archery, like many others, was a custom carried over from the *jahilih* (pre-Islamic) period.[39] The Prophet Muhammad ordered Muslims to prepare a strong Islamic

army and he stressed that by strength he meant archery.[40] Moreover, the Prophet emphasised that whoever learnt archery and then gave it up was guilty of disobedience to Allah's Apostle.[41] Thus, early Muslims regarded archery not only as fundamental to their army but the practise of which was an essential element of their religious duties. As a direct consequence, archery competitions were held on a regular basis during the formative years of Islam.[42] Other physical activities such as wrestling, swimming and fencing were encouraged primarily as potent means of military training.[43] Military training was important as a means of religious proselytism. Early Muslims were ordered to fight even if they did not wish to as the following makes clear.

> Sura 2:216 Fighting is obligatory for you [Muslims], though it be disliked by you; but it may be that you hate a thing although it is good for you, and love a thing although it is bad for you. Allah knows, but you know not.[44]

Early Islam stressed the importance of *jihad* (struggle - fighting for Allah's cause) and as such Islamic culture and custom were directed towards fighting non-Islamic believers with a view to converting them to Islam. Thus, physical activities were seen as serving the cause of Islam, and therefore, promoted in the new religious order.[45] However, in fact, religious pluralism was tolerated as it was said, "*jihad* is not aggression. Non-Muslims are guaranteed freedom of worship and conscience in a Qura'nically based state."[46] While some physical activities were encouraged during the formative years of Islam for educational, recreational and military purposes, Islam had reservations concerning other physical activities in the pre-Islamic period. These reservations over time, generated negative Islamic attitudes in general towards sport. More on this later. It must be made clear that sporting activities were not restricted to swimming and archery. Hunting is said to have been particularly popular among most early Islamic rulers, as this was their way of relaxing from the pressures of administrative duties.[47]

Another sport was animal racing. In early Islam, horse-racing and camel racing became important aspects of Muslim popular culture and also an important form of military training, more organised than in *jahilih* times, with new rules and specific distances.[48]

The Prophet Muhammad himself organised both camel and horse races as illustrated by the following extract from one *hadith*:

> The Prophet arranged for a horse race amongst the horses that had been made lean to take place between Al-Hafya and Thaniyat AL-Wada (names of two places) and horses which have not been made lean.... I was also amongst those who took part in that race.

and,

> The Prophet Muhammad had a she-camel called Al-Adba which could not be excelled in a race. Once a bedouin came riding a camel which surpassed it (Al-Adba) in the race. The Muslims felt it so much that the Prophet noticed their distress. He then said, "It is Allah's law that he brings down whatever rises high in the world."[49]

In pre-Islamic times, sports such as recreational horse and camel racing, were also used for gambling.[50] These sports traditionally associated with gambling were regularly denounced in the Qura'n and the Prophet Muhammad's teachings.[51] In his The Social Laws of the Qura'n, R. Roberts quotes one of the verses forbidding *maysir*,[52] or games of chance.

> Sura 2:219 They will ask thee about wine and games of chance; say, in them both is sin and profit to men, but the sin of both is greater than the profit of the same.[53]

The Prophet Muhammad was opposed to gambling. Gambling was viewed as a non-reciprocal exchange, as a form of expropriation and, above all, as a sin. Perhaps the most fundamental reason for the prohibition of *maysir* was the adverse consequences of gambling. In the pre-Islamic Arab world, gamblers often lost a substantial amount of their property. A one-time loser in gambling was motivated to persist by the hope that he might win, but this was not always the case.[54] More often than not, he ended up losing more, if not all, of his property. Some gamblers used to wager even their women folk.[55] Addicted gamblers faced the additional potential danger of incurring debts in order to continue gambling. Vanquished gamblers too developed bitterness towards the winners. Thus, gambling was an activity capable of causing a 'breach of peace' and disrupting social harmony. It bred resentment and hostility among the members of society.[56] It was, in a word, anti-social.

Maysir was also discouraged for another reason. In the Islamic faith the act of earning one's food is considered religious.[57] It is obligatory for a Muslim to earn (by working for) a living. It is an act of religious duty ordered by God.[58] The principles – speculation and chance - under which gambling operated were resented as they were considered unreligious and contradictory to God's orders. Gambling was seen as providing an opportunity for people to make profits without working. Thus, betting on horse and camel races was outlawed. This does not mean, however, that the practice of animal racing itself disappeared, but rather it was subjected to thorough scrutiny and to a process of restructuring to ensure adherence to the teachings of Islam.[59]

Whatever the urgings and examples of the Prophet Muhammad and the popularity of animal racing, the superior social position of men in the early Islamic communities, in reality, militated against their participation in both physical activities and sport. Women and children were considered to have, among other things, weaker spirituality and less developed reasoning power than men.[60] They were also more frivolous. Consequently they were considered subordinate. Muslim men interpreted physical activities, other than those associated with military training, as children's play and therefore inferior. The Arabic word for play, '*li'b*', means 'immaturity' and implies that play was an aspect of physical activity providing a kind of sensuous enjoyment.[61] It was considered hedonistic without specific purpose and as something useless.[62] Thus, playing [physical activity] was equated with immaturity. Mature Muslims were expected to ponder the seriousness of life and not engage in valueless activities.

However, play is viewed differently by others in other cultures and at other times. In his Homo Ludens: A study of the Play Element in Culture, reprinted in 1970, the distinguished historian Johan Huizinga, maintains that "play is emphatically not the opposite of seriousness. Its only opposite is the negative category, non-play".[63] According to Huizinga, "play is more than a mere physiological phenomenon or psychological reflex."[64] It is a *significant* function – that is, there is some sense to it. The element of tension in play is particularly important. "Tension means uncertainty."[65] A player wants something to 'come off'. He wants to succeed by his own exertions just

like a baby reaching for a toy wants to achieve something difficult, that is, to end the tension.[66] The formal characteristics of play may be summarised as "a free activity standing quite consciously outside 'ordinary' life,"[67] but at the same time absorbing a player considerably. In short, it has its role in social life.

Nevertheless, in general terms, Muslim men looked upon play (physical activity) as unmanly and engaging in it was considered a degradation of one's masculinity. Quoting *kitaab-al umm,* in his *Gambling in Islam,* F. Rosenthal has noted that "play is not what Muslims do, and it does not go with true [Muslim] manliness."[68] Clearly such a conceptualisation of play promoted the passive attitude toward physical activity among Muslim men, and as a result, physical activities were usually marginalised in Islamic Arabic culture. "The arts of relaxation and entertainment in the Arab world have survived in spite of Islam rather than because of it."[69]

Salaah is another 'pillar of Islam' resulting in negative Islamic attitudes towards physical activities both in the formative years of Islam and over time. Prayer is emphasised, not only as one of the five pillars of Islam, but also as one of the essential religious duties of a Muslim. A Muslim believer is obliged to attend, without fail and on time, the set of five prayers described earlier in the chapter, and as illustrated in the following verses of the Qura'n:

> Sura 5:90-1 O believers, verily, wine and games and statues and divining arrows are only an abomination of Satan's work; therefore, avoid them, that haply ye may prosper. Satan only desires to place enmity and hatred between you by wine and games, and turn you from the remembrance of God and from prayer; but will ye not desist and obey God?[70]

and,

> And when you are in safety, observe proper worship. Worship at fixed hours has been enjoined to believers.[71]

According to these verses, games, among other things, could turn one from the remembrance of God and from prayer. Thus, Islamic culture considered physical activity a potential distraction from prayers and so adopted negative attitudes towards it.

Whatever the attitudes eventually adopted, early Islam respected power, glory and wealth. This explains, *inter alia* the involvement of early Muslims in archery and horse and camel racing – warrior sports.[72] However, the emergence of Persian Sufism[73] introduced mystical elements such as contemplative mysticism and religious dervish dance, into the Islamic religion.[74] The dervishes can be described as those members of the numerous Muslim fraternities who professed poverty, were severe in self-discipline, and led an austere, often harsh and strict life.[75] The dervishes introduced frenzied dances into Islam as part of their worship,[76] but ironically such dances were contrary to the early teachings of Islam. In consequence, orthodox Muslims found dancing barely acceptable.[77] "Love songs and romantic music are just on the borderline of Islamic toleration."[78] Contemplative mysticism, with its withdrawal from the temporal world, directed man's life into paths travelling in the opposite direction to the methodical control of the whole of life found in early Islam, and thus also influenced Islamic attitudes towards physical activity [and modern sport]. As will be apparent later in the chapter, fatalism, mysticism, resignation and stoicism - all of which are alien to the spirit of modern athletic achievement - were later to become part of Islam.[79]

In summary, the Prophet Muhammad advocated exercise for both the promotion of health and as a means of military training, however, in time Islam largely turned its back on the physical. This negativism eventually became part and parcel of Islamic Arabic culture. It was this negativism that the Arab merchants brought to the eastern African peoples from the eighth century onwards.

3.2 Arabs and the Eastern African Coast in the Eighth Century: Religion, Indigenous Traditions and the Islamisation of Pre-colonial East Africa

Archaeological evidence (excavations in Bagamoyo and Kilwa[80]) and oral tradition indicate that the earliest overseas foreigners to come and settle on the coast of pre-colonial East Africa were the Arabs from Oman,[81] who came at the end of the eighth century.[82] The earliest period of probable settlement is marked by a high percentage (about thirty percent of all pottery) of imported wares.[83] Three types of imported glazed ceramics (samples of which are now preserved in the museums of Bagamoyo and

Kilwa, and the Tanzania National Museum) were found in Bagamoyo and Kilwa.[84] These excavations included ninth and tenth-century 'tin-glazed' wares from Mesopotamia, Sassanian-Islamic pottery, popular in ninth and tenth century southern Iraqi cities, and a tenth-century white Chinese porcelain bowl. The later is believed to have been brought to pre-colonial East Africa via Persian Gulf middlemen who were trading between south-west Asia and China and pre-colonial East Africa.[85] Recently, the foundations of houses, dating back to the ninth century, were excavated at the Kaole ruins[86] in Bagamoyo. These houses were built with stone, evidence of early Arab settlement as Africans did not build houses of stone.

As discussed in Chapter One, Arabs and Indians took advantage of the north-east monsoon winds between November and March to come to pre-colonial East Africa and the south-west monsoon winds between April and October to go back home. The regular north-east winds blowing over the Indian Ocean from early November of each year brought both Arab and Indian single-sailed *dhows* full of trade goods such as glass, cloth, beads, porcelain, oil and sugar to pre-colonial East Africa. In April, the wind pattern changed and became the south-west monsoon winds. These helped the traders on their voyages back home with their cargo of gold, ivory, skin and hides, iron, tortoise shells, spices and slaves. The Arabs brought with them not only goods but Islamic religion and culture. However, it was not until the thirteenth century that the serious Islamisation of the coast of pre-colonial East Africa began,[87] most probably due to the Arab acute ambition to spread Islamic religion and culture at that time.[88]

Before the arrival of the Arabs, the indigenous pre-colonial East African peoples, of course, had their own religions and had their own traditions - uniquely local phenomena.[89] For example, the Swahili people[90] had a religion based on the traditional animistic belief that the natural and supernatural worlds existed as "organic aspects of the same necessary truth."[91] This belief itself depended upon the utilisation by individuals of the socially available 'systems of significance' that are cultural constructs embodied in language, custom, art and theology.[92] Today, about twenty percent of the Tanzanian population practice animism.[93]

In *The East African Coast Until the Coming of the Portuguese,* G. Matthew utilises the writings of tenth century Arab geographers such as Ibn Hawqal, Al-Masud and Al-Idris to describe the religious practices of the coastal people of pre-colonial East Africa. All described these indigenous people as non-Muslims who worshipped, as well as a God, many kinds of totems,[94] and who had ancestral spirit cults. According to these early geographers, the coast of pre-colonial East Africa remained predominantly non-Islamic until the thirteenth century, despite the increase of Muslim trading posts and settlements there and Muslims' efforts to Islamise (sometimes by force) the *Zanji*.[95] Al-Masud once noted, "despite the fact that by the tenth century there was a dynasty of Muslim Kings and that most trade was in the hands of the Arabs, the island of Kanbalu (probably present day Zanzibar) was largely infidel."[96] In fact the Muslims (Arabs) themselves had become somewhat 'Africanised',[97] – they had intermarried with the Africans and they spoke the language of the *Zanj*.

The indigenous peoples nevertheless gradually adopted Islamic religion and culture. This Islamisation began along the coast and took place in two main phases.[98] The first phase, which lasted roughly from the tenth to the end of the thirteenth century, was marked by an initial concentration of Islamic culture in a few commercial centres. This can be evidenced by the appearance of Friday mosques in places like Kilwa and Bagamoyo in the tenth century. [99] This phase involved a process of internal change that was the result of externally introduced ideas. The second phase, which extended from the beginning of the fourteenth century to the end of the fifteenth century, was characterised by the internal intensification of the earlier changes. During this time, Islamisation itself intensified among the peoples who lived along the coast, on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba and in some centres along the slave routes in the interior, especially Tabora and Ujiji.[100] Trading and overseas contacts also intensified. The net effect was the emergence of a new, initially coastal, culture, which was somewhat different from both the indigenous and foreign ones from which it sprang. This new culture was different from the neighbouring African cultures. It was an Islamised culture imbued with Islamic custom, which slowly influenced the attitudes of the Islamised indigenous people towards, among other things, physical activity. The adoption was not an abrupt and a

total annihilation of the indigenous cultures and a beginning of an altogether new culture, but rather an evolutionary process of an interchange of cultures lasting over centuries.[101]

3.3 Islamic Culture and Pre-colonial East African Traditions: A Blend of Two Cultures

In his The Medieval Foundations of East African Islam, R. L. Pouwels argues that the pre-colonial East African Islamic tradition had ties with the previous non-Islamic African tradition.[102] He makes the statement based on two assumptions. Firstly, that what the Arabs contributed to the early coastal Islamisation was not the transfer of people, although many did come, but the introduction of a religious view that there is only one God with the Prophet Muhammad as His messenger. The second assumption was that coastal Muslims were predominately of African ancestry *both physically and culturally.*[103] Arabs often settled in previously existing African communities such as Kilwa, Pate, Lamu and Zanzibar. Pouwels notes that even where trade was carried on and where Muslims first began to appear in other towns on the coast, non-Muslim Africans continued to dominate demographically, politically and culturally.[104] Furthermore, where changes and Islamisation had occurred in the coastal towns, these came about as a result of a gradual process of development, unbroken by sudden abrupt changes, of seasonal African trade centres.[105] For these reasons it would seem wise to consider the eastern African Islamic tradition holistically - in terms of local systems and imported ideas. It can thus be argued that Tanzanian Islamic culture is a result of the interaction between indigenous traditions and Islamic Arabic culture. Its evolution is characterised by, at least, three phenomena: the enrichment and urbanisation of coastal Africans resulting from a period of significant expansion of trade; the creation of a new urban ethos founded on institutions balanced between old, local ways and new, immigrant culture traits; and a period of relatively extensive conversion of Africans to Islam as the cult of the new urban tradition.[106] In this way some elements of African culture survived and were incorporated in the whole although they were secondary to the Islamic framework.[107] Today, about thirty five percent[108] of the population of Tanzania is Muslim. Islamic symbols – mosques – form part of the architectural

features of both urban and rural areas. Possibly, the widespread and the most noticeable symbolism of Islam is the wearing of a *kanzu* (men's garment) and a cap by the indigenous people.

The section on culture in the National Museum of Tanzania in Dar es Salaam displays, among other things, certain cultural artifacts from an ordinary Swahili house. These are: a Qura'n book rest (*marufaa*), prayer beads (*tasbihi*), an Islamic cap, sandals, a woven mat (*mswala*) and a ladle made from a coconut shell. An interesting note beside these items reads. "These artifacts, which were (and are still) used in Swahili houses include types which are purely African as well as ones which follow foreign design, particularly Arabic".[109] The ladle and woven mat are of African (Swahili) origin, while the rest are of Arabic origin. Although these articles are part and parcel of the ordinary household appliances of an ordinary Swahili house, in essence their daily usage reflects and represents a cultural product resulting from many years of intercourse between indigenous traditions and Islamic culture.

To understand the cultural integration represented by these artifacts it is useful to consider them closely. The Qura'nic book rest and prayer beads are clear symbols of Islam that were 'imported' directly to pre-colonial East Africa by the Arabs. Their presence in a Swahili home indicates that members (at least some if not all) of such a house were Muslims who, most likely, practised at least some of the five pillars of Islam, described earlier in the chapter.

Other items of Arabic origin are the cap and the sandals. Muslims usually wear a cap as part of a formal costume for prayers, but over time a cap has become part of the everyday attire of a Swahili. Sandals are particularly useful for Muslims who observe the set of five prayers a day. They are appropriate footwear as they can be easily removed just before entering a mosque (Muslims do not wear shoes when praying). However, like the cap, sandals have become part of the Swahili attire irrespective of whether or not the wearer is a Muslim believer, thus reflecting the adoption by the Swahili peoples, of styles of clothing in response to the climatic conditions of the

region. Sandals are comfortable footwear for the hot and humid climate of the coast of Africa.

Woven mats are indigenous to Tanzania. Their usage reflects a mixture of indigenous traditions and Islamic culture. Traditionally, people used woven mats to lie on and sit on. They also used them to spread cereals on to dry. Muslims use woven mats to stand and sit on in mosques while praying. They are also widely used during various Islamic festivals, for example, *Idd* and *Maulid*, where they are spread on the ground for people to sit on while eating. It seems that the Islamic proselytisizers utilised already existing Tanzanian woven mats and made them part of Islamic culture by simply adding *another* use to their already existing traditional one. In this way they spread the culture of Islamic prayer without introducing Islamic prayer mats.

Another utensil whose usage captures aspects of both indigenous tradition and Islamic culture, is the ladle. A ladle, made from a coconut shell, was used, and is still used today, by the Swahili people for cooking and for serving liquid foods, in particular, porridge. Porridge is the type of food which is preferred by fasting Muslims during *Ramadhani* when breaking their fast at sunset. When the indigenous people started fasting, as part of the adoption of Islamic culture, the ladle became a useful domestic utensil for serving porridge. This kitchen utensil, in its small way, 'paved the way' for a convenient marriage between the indigenous tradition of using the ladle for serving liquid foods and the Islamic culture of fasting.

Indigenous tradition and Islamic culture also seem to have converged in the Arabic-African recreational sedentary board game of *mancala*, also popularly known in Tanzania as *bao*. In the Prologue I employed the term sport as a generic term embracing all physical activities within society and culture and covering sports, games and dance intended to improve the physical, mental and moral development of an individual. Although the sedentary game, *mancala*, can improve the mental capacity of an individual it clearly does not fulfil the conditions of the physical vigour associated with sport, games and dance. However, as will be apparent later *mancala* was (and still is) popular in both the Arab world and Tanzania as a social

activity associated with leisure, pastime and recreation.[110] It generates the 'sporting' competitiveness of tension and uncertainty.[111] In *mancala*, as in other games, in the words of Johan Huizinga, "there is always the question: 'will it come off?"[112] "The more 'difficult' the game the greater the tension in the beholders."[113] The game of *mancala* can fascinate onlookers although it is devoid of the obvious charm of 'action' games such as football. Once a game is attractive its cultural value is obvious.[114] As such *mancala* has social and cultural significance. It is for this reason that the game is considered here. I treat *mancala* as a special entity in a bid to chart the marriage between indigenous tradition and Islamic culture.

Mancala is the generic term given to a group of board-games of many different forms.[115] In some cases it is played on 'boards' marked on the ground. The different forms of *mancala* - *mancala* II, m*ancala* III and m*ancala* IV[116] - are determined by the number of rows of holes (cups) made on the board or in the ground. *Mancala* II has two rows, *mancala* III has three rows and m*ancala* IV has four rows of holes. All forms of the game involve lifting and moving 'items' from one hole to another. The term *mancala* seems to have come from the Arabic version *manqala* or *minqala* derived from the verb *naqala* which means 'to move' or 'to transfer'.[117] The earliest written mention of *mancala* appears in Arabic literature of the tenth century, but the game is undoubtedly much older[118] although the actual date of the invention of the game is hard to determine. The game is wide spread in Asia, Africa and among communities of African and Asian descent in the Americas[119]. "*Mancala* is a game that is remarkable for its peculiar distribution, which seems to mark the limits of Arab culture ...and it is generally found, in one form or another, in the countries where Arab influence has been felt."[120] *Mancala* can be found in the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, in the British Museum in London and in the British Museum of Mankind in London. A note beside one of these boards reads, "This game, believed to have originated beyond the Indian Ocean, has for long been widespread throughout East Africa."[121]

Other evidence,[122] however, suggests that various forms of the game of *mancala* existed in Africa for centuries and that it originated there at an earlier stage than it did in the

Arab world.[123] The fact that there are so many variants of the game on the African continent, indicating the longest period of in-place evolution, supports this view.[124] The aim here, however, is not to establish the origin of the game but rather to trace the social and cultural history of the game among the earliest foreigners (the Arabs) of pre-colonial East Africa and the indigenous pre-colonial East Africans with the idea of appraising the Islamic Legacy of the triple heritage of Tanzanian sport, used here in its widest sense.

Bao (*mancala* IV) was, and still is, played in Tanzania, in both urban and rural areas. It is a two-player game and consists of a 'board' with holes, and 'seeds'. The language and terms used vary from place to place and reflect the variations of the local cultures. For example, cattle keepers upcountry call the seeds 'cows' and the cup containing four or more seeds is called a 'barn' while the coastal people call this '*mtaji*' meaning capital, in the business sense of the word. The game involves 'lifting seeds' from one hole (cup) and 'sowing' them, one at a time, into other cups going clockwise (or sometimes anti-clockwise) round the rows of holes. By so doing, a player captures an opponent's seeds and stores them in his 'store'. One important move is the strategic lifting of the *mtaji*. Usually the seeds from this cup are lifted with the decisive intention of capturing (eating) as many seeds as possible of the opponent, thus weakening the opponent's position and increasing one's chances of winning. Miscalculation in moving with the *mtaji* can cost a player victory. The game ends when one player has no more seeds left on his side and thus the other player wins.

To be able to successfully transfer the seeds and capture those of the opponent's, the skills of playing *bao* undoubtedly involve elementary arithmetic - counting and calculating. A player has to pre-count his seeds and calculate his moves carefully before playing. However, the game has become so sophisticated and the speed of playing is now so fast that a player appears to have virtually no time to count or calculate before he plays. Instead a player applies accumulated experience and the 'wisdom' of playing the game for years to predetermine and predict the consequences of the moves of his opponent and his own response.

As mentioned earlier, the significance of the game to this study is historical, social and cultural. In his book A History of Board-Games Other than Chess, H. J. R. Murray suggests that, in the early days in south-west Asia, one possible use of the *mancala* board was as a primitive kind of abacus. He derives such a suggestion from the fact that the earliest boards were all discovered in the neighbourhood of building operations.[125] He believes that the boards were most likely used to calculate the workmen's wages.[126] Murray further comments that as a sedentary game, *mancala* was possibly a suitable recreation game for the builders[127] during breaks. Interestingly, in Tanzania today, *bao* is played mainly in the neighbourhood of markets, retail shops and other petty businesses - tea and coffee bars, fruit and vegetable stalls and barbers' shops - in both rural and urban areas. Wealth-related terms, such as 'capital', 'sowing seeds', 'cows' and 'barn', which are used in the game reflect the type of daily economic activities that people engage in. In a small way, the game represents one sphere of cultural convergence between pre-colonial East African indigenous culture and Islamic culture. This can be further evidenced in the photograph in Appendix 6. The photograph portrays two African men playing *bao,* being watched by (amongst others) another African. What is of note is that all three are wearing Islamic caps and that two are wearing an Islamic *kanzu* (a long white gown worn mainly by Muslim men). This scene clearly reflects present day Swahili culture - a blend of Islamic and indigenous cultures. This blend now clearly illustrates it. It is time now to look at the direct influence of Islam, initially on indigenous physical activity and later on modern sport.

3.4 Islamic Culture and Sport[128]: The Impact of Islam on Physical Activity and Modern Sport

The amount of documentary material that is available is limited and offers little evidence to state with any great precision the extent of the effect of Islamic culture on the traditional physical activities and games described in the previous chapter. While it appears that most of the traditional activities such as spear throwing, archery and team games, were unaffected, Islam did frown on dance, although it is difficult to single out which particular dances or sets of dances. Dance was a significant part of the culture of the indigenous pre-colonial East Africans. The late Stone Age pre-colonial East

Africans danced to mark successful hunts and other important events. Over the years, pre-colonial East Africans used dance at funerals, weddings and initiation ceremonies and for religious purposes. For example, they performed religious dances to ask the gods for fertility and for rain. Early Islam, as mentioned earlier, disapproved of dance, especially the frenzied dances introduced into the Islamic religion by the dervishes as part of religious worship. The Arabs, already disgusted with the dervishes' dances at home, frowned on any local dances connected with religious practices and branded them as unholy.[129] They particularly discouraged those indigenous erotic dances associated with religious rituals.

It was not until modern sport was introduced and had spread throughout mandated Tanganyikan and independent Tanzanian society that negative Islamic attitudes towards sport manifested themselves prominently. The latest Islamic attitudes towards modern sport are as a result of the accumulation of old Islamic tradition and an emerging 'new world order'. For example, many modern sports are associated with betting. People bet on football matches and horse races. As stated earlier, Islamic religious teachings condemn gambling. As Islam links many modern sports with betting, it understandably discourages Muslims from participating in them.

Undoubtedly, *Salaah* militates against participation in modern sport. As mentioned earlier, Muslims are required to attend five sets of prayers a day at fixed times. The prayer times for *Asr*, *Zuhr* and *Isha* are spread between noon and evening. Modern sport sessions normally take place in the afternoon and in the evening. As these sessions coincide with afternoon and evening prayer times, modern sport is seen as interfering with these prayers by distracting faithful Muslims from regular religious practise. This situation is not uncommon among Tanzanian Muslims, especially among regular worshippers. Without over-personalising the evidence, the author's own experience as a Muslim will, hopefully, illustrate the point. Growing up in and being part of an Islamic community, the author has observed that there are many devoted Tanzanian Muslims who strongly believe that engaging in sport is allowing oneself to be distracted [by Satan] from worshipping Allah, and therefore, to be avoided. The author's own brother is a point in case. As a regular worshipper with the title, '*Alhaj*' (one who has made the

pilgrimage to Mecca), not only does he not participate in sport himself but also strongly discourages others, especially his children and other members of the family who are under his guardianship, from doing so. He urges them to attend prayers regularly rather than engage in 'satanic activities' like sport.

Another pillar of Islam that militates against participation in modern sport is *Ramadhani*. Fasting during the month of *Ramadhani* entails complete abstinence from food and drink from dawn to sunset. The reduced amount of nourishment in the body is likely to cause high levels of dehydration, thus causing debilitation. So, in order to minimise physical exhaustion, fasting Tanzanian Muslims, like other Muslims elsewhere, refrain from exercise of any kind.

In Tanzania, unlike some Muslim countries, participation in sport is not 'officially' prohibited during prayer times, during the month of *Ramadhani* or, indeed, at any other times as Tanzania is a religiously pluralist and constitutionally secular state.[130] In practice, however, rarely are sports competitions at village, district, regional or national level organised during *Ramadhani*. Most local sports activities are 'suspended' during this month.

In the absence of constitutional jurisdiction for Islamic control of Muslims' participation in sports in Tanzania, during the month of *Ramadhani*, or indeed any other times, the general tendency of religious proselytisers is that of indoctrination by imbuing Muslims with Islamic values and beliefs. This is, in part, to raise Muslims' consciousness about the teachings on sport as stated in the Qura'n that games [sport] are an abomination of Satan's work and, therefore to be avoided (see Sura 5.90-1 cited earlier). More often than not individual Muslims, both as potential participants and spectators voluntarily abstain from sports events. Thus it may be said that one of the inhibiting effects of Islam on modern sport in Tanzania is that of restraint rather than prohibition.

Such a situation occurred in 2000, involving a prominent Tanzanian international football player. He withdrew from the National Football League Tournament (NFLT)

of that year because of the sponsorship terms between the tournament organisers and Tanzania Breweries Limited (TBL),[131] a company that produces and distributes beer in the country. Tanzania Breweries Limited agreed to sponsor the 2000 National Football League on condition that the players would wear jerseys, bearing the TBL's logo, during all matches. The player in question refused to wear the jersey and subsequently withdrew from the tournament because he felt that advertising beer was synonymous with accepting the consumption of alcohol - something he believed was contrary to Islamic teachings, and therefore unacceptable. As cited earlier, Sura 5: 90-1 of the Qura'n states "O believers, verily, wine and ... are only an abomination of Satan's work; therefore, avoid them."[132] Without making too much of this individual's symbolic protest, his withdrawal is, in no small measure, a significant manifestation of Islamic influence on Muslims' participation in modern sport in Tanzania. Incidentally, the player in question, before his protest, was earmarked for inclusion in the national squad for international competitions.[133]

Negative Islamic attitudes towards modern sport may also be understood with reference to the Qura'nic teaching of modesty whereby it speaks of being 'modest in thy bearing'.[134] The Qura'nic concept of modesty *'sitr al-aura'* (literally 'covering one's nakedness') provides the basis for the regulation of behaviour and dress code among Muslims (men and women).[135] This includes the regulation of arguably 'provocative and public displays of bodies' usually associated with the wearing of [modern] sportswear. In general terms, the Qura'nic concept of modesty applies equally to men and women, but in practice, modesty, more often than not, has been used almost exclusively to regulate attitudes to, and usages of, women's bodies.[136] The Muslim dress code requires women to cover the entire body, including arms, legs and face. The latter is achieved by the wearing of a veil. This female dress, as symbolised by the wearing of a veil, has become a potent signifier of Muslim womanhood [137] and its features have become the mode of control of Muslim female bodies, including the bodies of Tanzanian Muslim sportswomen.

Between 1995 and 2000, a controversy cropped up in the Tanzania Parliament over the Muslim dress code for female students in schools. Some members of parliament

accused the then Minister for Education and Culture of attempting to Islamise public schools by enforcing a long-standing government secular that allowed Muslim female students to wear veils in school. Undoubtedly, it was in connection with this controversy that on August 07, 1999 Tanzania's President, Benjamin Mkapa, issued the statement that "female Muslim students had the right to put on *hijab* [Muslim dress] in schools and that no one should harass them."[138] As a result, many Muslim girls now wear full Muslim dress, including a veil, to school. Arguably, such cumbersome attire must affect the girls' ability to participate in sports in schools in terms of comfort, flexibility and swiftness in performing certain exercises. In contrast, the wearing of sports outfits such as running shorts and swimming suits, by the girls is contrary to Muslim teachings. Exposing the body is unacceptable to Orthodox Muslims or modern Islamic fundamentalists.

In her book Heroines of Sport: The politics of difference and identity, published in 2000, Jennifer Hargreaves states that "in Western analyses, it is argued that Muslim culture has become a legitimation of Arab racial pride and it has increasingly taken a fundamentalist form associated with the desire to possess and practise a unique, uncompromising religious truth and tradition"[139] with the result that "discourses around fundamentalism are tied to the quest for identity, itself a response to social and political processes – notably urbanisation, political centralisation, wider markets, labour migration and other global influences."[140] There is some truth in this. Traditional Islam discourages change and emphasises calmness and stability. Thus, fundamentalists express concern about the likelihood of Western-style changes causing a shift in everything that is worthwhile and pure in Islamic culture and tradition.[141] Since modern sport exudes Westernisation, it is an inevitable target for the fundamentalists. Thus, Islamic conservatism, embodied in the Islamic search for identity and the retention of stability and tranquillity has reinforced historic negative attitudes towards modern sport among Muslims, even in Tanzania (in comparison with other African countries like Nigeria or Sudan) where traditionally a liberal version of Islam has existed.[142] However, around the middle of the 1980s, in Tanzania, Muslim preachers started delivering public lectures on religion, popularly known as *mihadhara*. Apparently, these lectures which included material on, among other things, comparative religion have been accused by

the Christian clergy of sowing seeds of discord. Consequently, the emergence of *mihadhara* has been associated with the growth of fundamentalism in the country. It remains to be seen what further effect, if any, this growth of Islamic fundamentalism will have on modern Tanzanian sport.

Conclusion

The Muslim religion, Islam, is based on what are known as the five pillars of Islam – the profession of faith, prayer, fasting, charity and pilgrimage. By the seventh century, Islam had established itself as a strong, self confident and proselytising faith with its unyielding, and even hostile, attitude to anything non-Islamic. The Islamic code – *sharia* – exerted pressure upon the private and social activities, including physical activity, of individual Muslims.

Although the Prophet Muhammad advocated participation in physical activity for the promotion of health and military training, some negative Islamic attitudes towards physical activities were generated over time. These resulted from, among other things, the discouragement of *maysir*, the interpretation of 'play' by Muslim men and the obligation of Muslims to attend a set of five prayers a day. These negative attitudes became part of Islamic Arabic culture and were introduced to the indigenous pre-colonial East Africans when the Arabs (associated with the spread of Islam in pre-colonial East Africa) reached their coast in the eighth century.

From the time of their arrival, the Arabs and the indigenous people of pre-colonial East Africa co-existed without any formal declaration of occupation by the Arabs. It was not until the thirteenth century that the serious Islamisation of pre-colonial East Africa began. This was the result of an intensification of proselytisation. Some elements of African culture survived and were incorporated in Islamic Tanzanian culture although they were secondary to the Islamic framework. This incorporation - indigenous conveyance of traditions and Islamic culture – can be seen clearly in the recreational sedentary board game of *mancala*, popularly known in Tanzania as *bao*. At the same time it must be made clear that many indigenous people were unaffected or little

effected by Islamic culture and pursued their old cultural activities – physical and non physical - into the colonial period. The Islamic influence was not widespread. It had influence but this influence was not pervasive. There was cultural co-existence as well as cultural convergence.

Where there was convergence, the indigenous traditions had no impact on the Islamic traditions and Islamic culture did not adopt any of the native cultural practices associated with physical activity. Significant negative Islamic attitudes towards physical activity did not substantially manifest themselves until the arrival of modern sport to pre-colonial East Africa in the nineteenth century, although Islam from the earliest moments, it appears, frowned on some native dances which it considered unholy.

In summary, attitudes in Islamic culture towards dance, rules of dress for men and women and religious practice resulted in negative attitudes towards modern sport among Muslims. As part of the indigenous population of what is now Tanzania was Islamised, it too developed these negative attitudes. Over time, these attitudes became deeply ingrained, in one way or another, in a good part of the indigenous African population and they influenced (and still influence) its participation in modern sport. Nevertheless, while Islam exerted and still exerts, its influence on what is now Tanzanian society, the greatest impact on the indigenous sports culture, however, came with the German colonisation of pre-colonial East Africa in the 1880s and the British mandate of Tanganyika in 1920, as will be discussed in Chapter Four and Chapter Seven respectively. German colonisation and British trusteeship resulted in the introduction of Western sports and games, the Western Legacy of the triple heritage of sport, to Tanzania. The role of Germany in the introduction and spread of Western sport is examined in the next chapter.

Notes

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1. As noted in the Prologue, the term 'Arabs' is used generically to describe collectively the overseas foreigners who came from south west Asia – the Arabian Peninsular and the Persian Gulf – to the coast of eastern Africa in the eighth century

and settled there. These Arabs were responsible for the spread of Islam in eastern Africa.

2. The term eastern Africa is used as described in the Prologue.

3. H. A. R. Gibb, Islam: A Historical Survey, Oxford University Press, 1949, p. 2. See also K. Albahouth, 'The Development of Sport in Saudi Arabia: A Sociological Study', Ph. D. Thesis, University O Warwick, 1994, p. 130.

4. H. A. R. Gibb, Islam: A Historical Survey, Oxford University Press, 1949, p. 2.

5. Caliph (Khalifan) – successor of the Prophet of Islam. Khalfan is also used as a title of the supreme head of the Muslim community in religious and political affairs. After the death of the Prophet Muhammad the following Caliphs presided as follows: Abu Baker al-Sediq (632 – 634), Umer Iben al-Khattab (634 – 644), Othman Iben Afan (644-656) and Ali Iben Abi Taleb (656 – 661). The period between 632 and 656 is also known as the orthodox period of caliphs. See K. Albahouth, 'The Development of Sport in Saudi Arabia: A Sociological Study', Ph. D. Thesis, University of Warwick, 1994, p. 141.

6 K. Albahouth, 'The Development of Sport in Saudi Arabia: A Sociological Study', Ph. D. Thesis, University of Warwick, 1994, p. 130.

7. H. A. R. Gibb, Islam: A Historical Survey, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1949, p. 2.

8. Ibid., p. 3.

9. Ibid., p. 45. See also M. I. Pirzada, Islamic Way Life of Warship: Salaah, Saum, Zakaah, Hajj, Al-Karam Publications, Eaton Hall, Retford, 1998, p. 181.

10. Ibid., p. 181.

11. Ibid., pp. 39-42.

12. Ibid., p. 41.

13. The translating Committee, The Holy Qur'an with English translation, Acar Matbaacilikyincilik Hizmetleri, Instanbul, 1996, Sura 4:103, p. 94.

14. M. I. Pirzada, Islamic Way Life of Warship: Salaah, Saum, Zakaah, Hajj, Al-Karam Publications, Eaton Hall, Retford, 1998, p. 165.

15. The translating Committee, The Holy Qur'an with English translation, Acar Matbaacilikyincilik Hizmetleri, Instanbul, 1996, Sura, 2:267, p. 44.

16. M. Ahsan, Islam: Faith and Practice, Islamic Foundation, Leicester, 1991, p. 13.

17. P. K. Hitti, Islam: Way of Life, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1969, p. 2.

18. Muslims believe that the Qur'an is a Book of Guidance and a miracle. It is considered a Book of Guidance because it was sent to direct mankind along the path of happiness and salvation, and it is considered a miracle because it was vouchsafed as a revelation to the blessed Prophet of Islam. The Arabic word 'qur'an is a verbal noun which means 'reading and reciting'. However, although it has this general meaning, the word Qur'an in the course of time came to be applied to the *Mushaf*, the entirety of the revealed text which is composed of *Suras* (Chapters) and Ayats (Verses). Thus, Muslims regard the Quran as a revelation from Heaven, cast by the Archangel Gabriel into the heart of Muhammad. It is, therefore, the Word of God, not man. The Blessed Prophet received it as a revelation, and he, in turn, recited it to his people without the least addition or subtraction. See The translating Committee, The Holy Qur'an with English translation, Acar Matbaacilikyincilik Hizmetleri, Instanbul, 1996, Sura, 2:267, pp. ix-x.

19. M. I. Pirzada, Islamic Way Life of Warship: Salaah, Saum, Zakaah, Hajj, Al-Karam Publications, Eaton Hall, Retford, 1998, p. 3.

20. Ibid., p. 3.

21. The prophet Muhammad is said to have both created the first Muslim community in Arabian social history and set the foundations for the first Islamic state with Madina as the centre of power. See K. Albahouth, The Development of Sport in Saudi Arabia: A Sociological Study, Ph. D. Thesis, University of Warwick, 1994, p. 131.

22. M. I. Pirzada, Islamic Way Life of Warship: Salaah, Saum, Zakaah, Hajj, Al-Karam Publications, Eaton Hall, Retford, 1998, p. 3.

23. Ibid., p. 5.

24. P. K. Hitti, Islam: Way of Life, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1969, p. 2.

25. M. I. Pirzada, Islamic Way Life of Warship: Salaah, Saum, Zakaah, Hajj, Al-Karam Publications, Eaton Hall, Retford, 1998, p. 3.

26. S. H. Nasr, Ideals and Realities of Islam, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1966, p. 93.

27. Ibid., p. 93.

28. See for example, S. H. Nasr, Ideals and Realities of Islam, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1966, pp. 93 - 96; H. A. R., Gibb, Islam: A Historical Survey, Oxford University Press, 1949, p. 62; F. Rahman, Islam, The University of Chicago Press, 1966, p. 100.

29. Leila Sfeir, 'Sport in Egypt: Cultural Reflection and Contradiction of a Society', in E. A. Wagner, Sport in Asia and Africa: A Comparative Handbook, Greenwood Press, 1989, p. 189.

30. Ibid., p. 189.

31. Ibid., p. 189.

32. Ibid., p. 189.

33. Ibid., p. 189.

34. Ibid., p. 189.

35. See K. Albahouth, The Development of Sport in Saudi Arabia: A Sociological Study, Ph. D. Thesis, University of Warwick, 1994, p. 134.

36. Ibid., p. 136.

37. Ibid., p. 137.

38. L. Sfeir, 'Sport in Egypt: Cultural Reflection and Contradiction of a Society', in E. A. Wagner, Sport in Asia and Africa: A Comparative Handbook, Greenwood Press, 1989, p. 189.

39. Ibid., p. 189.

40. See K. Albahouth, The Development of Sport in Saudi Arabia: A Sociological Study, Ph. D. Thesis, University of Warwick, 1994, p. 137.

41. Ibid., p. 137.

42. Ibid., p. 137.

43. L. Sfeir, 'Sport in Egypt: Cultural Reflection and Contradiction of a Society', in E. A. Wagner, Sport in Asia and Africa: A Comparative Handbook, Greenwood Press, 1989, p.189.

44. The translating Committee, The Holy Qur'an with English translation, Acar Matbaacilikyincilik Hizmetleri, Instanbul, 1996, Sura, 2:216, p.33.

45. See K. Albahouth, The Development of Sport in Saudi Arabia: A Sociological Study, Ph. D. Thesis, University of Warwick, 1994, p. 138.

46. The translating Committee, The Holy Qur'an with English translation, Acar Matbaacilikyincilik Hizmetleri, Instanbul, 1996, Sura, 2:216, p.33.

47. L. Sfeir, 'Sport in Egypt: Cultural Reflection and Contradiction of a Society' in E. A. Wagner, Sport in Asia and Africa: A Comparative Handbook, Greenwood Press, 1989, p. 189.

48. See K. Albahouth, 'The Development of Sport in Saudi Arabia: A Sociological Study', Ph. D. Thesis, University of Warwick, 1994, p. 138.

49. Ibid., p. 138.

50. Ibid., p. 132.

51. Ibid., p. 132.

52. Exactly what *maysir* was is uncertain. However, it is believed that it was a generic term used to describe games of chance based on speculation. See for example, F. Rosenthal, Gambling in Islam, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1975, p. 75; A. Mazrui, 'Africa's Triple Heritage of Play: Reflections on the Gender Gap', in W. J. Baker and J. A. Mangan, Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History, Africana Publishing Company, 1987, p. 217.

53. R. Roberts, The Social Laws of the Qura'n: Considered and Compared with those of the Hebrew and other Ancient Codes, Curzon Press, 1925, p. 114. See also The translating Committee, The Holy Qur'an with English translation, Acar Matbaacilikyincilik Hizmetleri, Instanbul, 1996, p. 33.

54. F. Rosenthal, Gambling in Islam, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1975, p. 82.

55. Ibid., p. 82.

56. Ibid., p. 83.

57. S. H. Nasr, Ideals and Realities of Islam, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1975, p. 98.

58. Ibid., 98.

59. K. Albahouth, 'The Development of Sport in Saudi Arabia: A Sociological Study', Ph. D. Thesis, University of Warwick, 1994, pp.41-42.

60. F. Rosenthal, Gambling in Islam, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1975, p. 10.

61. Ibid., p. 9.

62. Ibid., p. 13.

63. J. Huizinga, Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture, Temple Smith, London, 1970, p. 19.

64. Ibid., p.19.

65. Ibid., p. 20.

66. Ibid., p. 29.

67. Ibid., p. 29.

68. F. Rosenthal, Gambling in Islam, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1975, p. 10.

69. A. Mazrui, The Africans: A Triple Heritage, BBC Publications, London, 1986, p. 117.

70. The translating Committee, The Holy Qur'an with English translation, Acar Matbaacilikyincilik Hizmetleri, Instanbul, 1996, Sura 5:90-1 p. 122.

71. Ibid., Sura 4:103, p.94.

72. L. Sfeir, 'Sport in Egypt: Cultural Reflection and Contradiction of a Society', in E. A. Wagner, Sport in Asia and Africa: A Comparative Handbook, Greenwood Press, 1989, 189.

73. From the noun Sufi (also Sofi), an adherent of various Muslim orders or groups that aspire to a state of union with God through mystical contemplation. Sufists describe Islam as the nut with *Sharia* as its shell, *Tariqa* as its meat and *Haqiq*a as its oil (that is invisible but present everywhere). *Tariqa* contains two fundamental elements: a doctrine concerning the nature of reality (metaphysical doctrine) and a spiritual education in the stages of the way to God. *Haqiqa* is the inner core of Islam, the truth itself. See H. Daun, Childhood Learning and Adult Life: The Functions of Indigenous, Islamic and Western Education in an African Context, Studies in Comparative and International Education, No. 24, Institute of International Education, Stockholm University, 1992, pp. 41-42.

74. L. Sfeir, 'Sport in Egypt: Cultural Reflection and Contradiction of a Society', in E. A. Wagner, Sport in Asia and Africa: A Comparative Handbook, Greenwood Press, 1989, 189.

75. See Collins Cobuild English Dictionary, Harper Collins Publishers, London, 1998, p.443; The Chambers Dictionary, Chambers, Edinburgh, 1998, p. 437.

76. See for example, L. Sfeir, 'Sport in Egypt: Cultural Reflection and Contradiction of a Society', in E. A. Wagner, Sport in Asia and Africa: A Comparative Handbook, Greenwood Press, 1989, 190.

77. See for example, L. Sfeir, 'Sport in Egypt: Cultural Reflection and Contradiction of a Society', in E. A. Wagner, Sport in Asia and Africa: A Comparative Handbook, Greenwood Press, 1989, 190.

78. A. Mazrui, The Africans: A Triple Heritage, BBC Publications, London, 1986, p. 117.

79. L. Sfeir, 'Sport in Egypt: Cultural Reflection and Contradiction of a Society', in E. A. Wagner, Sport in Asia and Africa: A Comparative Handbook, Greenwood Press, 1989, 190.

80. R. L. Pouwels, 'Tenth Century Settlement of the East African Coast,' Azania, Vol. 9, 1974, p. 66. When the author visited the excavation site at the Kaole ruins in Bagamoyo in February, 1997 he was informed that plans were underway for further excavation to establish exactly when the stone houses were built.

81. It is believed that the earliest Arabs to come to the coast of eastern Africa were the Shiites from Oman on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf and were followed in the ninth century by orthodox Sunnis who supposedly founded Kilwa. See for example, R. Oliver and J. D. Fage, A Short History of Africa, Harmondsworth, 1970, pp. 97-98.

82. See for example, R. Oliver and J. D. Fage, A Short History of Africa, Harmondsworth, 1970, p. 97; R. Coupland, East Africa and Its Invaders: From the Earliest Times to the Death of Seyyid Said in 1856, Oxford, 1938 (1956), p. 19; R. Oliver and G. Mathew (eds.), History of East Africa, Vol. 1, Oxford, 1963, pp. 102 - 105; S. M. Kejeri and J. Henschel, Bagamoyo: The Beauty at the Beach, Tabora, Tanzania, 1992, p. 7; G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, The East African Coast: Selected documents from the first to the earlier nineteenth century, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1962, pp. 146 – 151.; B. Davidson, The African Genius, Boston, 1969, p. 213.

83. R. L. Pouwels, 'Tenth Century Settlement of the East African Coast,' Azania, Vol. 9, 1974, p. 66.

84. Ibid., p. 66.

85. Ibid., p. 66.

86. The author has visited the Kaole ruins several times and has seen the excavation work and the remains of the foundations of these houses. The resumption of the excavation work began in the early 1990s but when the author visited the sites in February, 1997 the work had stopped due to financial constraints.

87. R. Oliver and J. D. Fage, A Short History of Africa, Harmondsworth, 1970, p. 99.

88. Ibid., p. 99.

89. R. L. Pouwels, Horn and Crescent: Cultural Change and Traditional Islam on the East African Coast 800 - 1900, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987, p. 1; B. Davidson, The African Genius, Boston, 1969, p. 24.

90. Since the exact date of the formation of the different tribes of Tanzania is not known, the term 'Swahili people' is used to refer to the people who lived along the coast and its adjacent islands at that time. They all spoke Kiswahili. However, in modern times it applies to an amalgam of the descendants of Africans and Arabs. See for example, R. E. S. Tanner, 'The Impact of Christianity and Islam on two East African Societies', Missionaria, Vol. 20, No. 3, 1992, p. 201; A. H. J. Prins; 'The Swahili-speaking Peoples of Zanzibar and the East African Coast', International African Institute, London, 1961, p. 12. See for example, T. T. Spear, The Kenya Complex: A History of the Mijikenda Peoples 1500 - 1900, Nairobi, 1978; J. de Vere Alen, 'Swahili Culture and the Nature of East African Coast Settlement', The International Journal of African Historical Studies, Vol. xiv, 1981, pp. 306-335; H. N. Chittick, An Archaeological Reconnaissance of the Southern Somali Coast, Azania, 1969, pp. 115-130; A. Werner, 'A Swahili History of Pate', Journal of the African Society, Vol. xiv, 1915; B. Davidson, The African Genius, Boston, 1969, p. 214.

91. R. L. Pouwels. 'The Medieval Foundations of East African Islam', The International Journal of African Historical Studies, Vol. xii, 1978, p. 204; See also B. Davidson, The African Genius, Boston, 1969, pp. 111-112.

92. R. L. Pouwels. 'The Medieval Foundations of East African Islam', The International Journal of African Historical Studies, Vol. xii, 1978, p. 204. See also C. Greertz, Islam Observed: Religious Development in Morocco and Indonesia, New Haven and London, 1968, pp. 18 -19.

93. In Tanzania today the religious groups are: Christian 45%, Muslim 35%, indigenous beliefs 20%. See for example, Tanzania Culture and Society, Website: http://www.newafrica.com/, June, 2001.

94. R. L. Pouwels, 'The Medieval Foundations of East African Islam', The International Journal of African Historical Studies, Vol. xii, 1978, pp. 205 - 206.

95. G. Mathew, 'The East African Coast Until the Coming of the Portuguese', in R. Oliver and G. Mathew (eds.), A history of East Africa, Vol. 1, Oxford, 1963, p. 105.

96. Ibid., p. 106.

97. Ibid., p. 106.

98. See R. L. Pouwels, 'The Medieval Foundations of East African Islam', The International Journal of African Studies, 1978, Vol.11, 206.

99. G. S. Freemann-Grenville, The Medieval History of the Coast of Tanganyika: With special reference to recent archaeological discoveries, Akademie-Verlag GmbH, Berlin, VEB Werkdruck Gräfenhainichen, 1962, passim.

100. Ibid., p. 9.

101. See for example, R. L. Pouwels, 'The Medieval Foundations of East African Islam', The International Journal of African Historical Studies, Vol. 11, 1978, pp. 202 - 204; J. de Vere Alen, 'Swahili Culture Reconsidered: Some Historical implications of the Material Culture of the Northern Kenya Coast in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries', Azania, Vol. ix, 1974, pp. 105 - 138; See also R. Oliver and J. D. Fage, A Short History of Africa, Harmondsworth, 1970, p. 98; C. Chittick, 'The Coast before the Arrival of Portuguese', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House and Longmans, Nairobi, 1968, p. 117; B. Davidson, The African Genius, Boston, 1969, pp. 213 - 214; T. Q. Reefe, 'Gambling in Traditional Africa', in W. J. Baker and J. A. Mangan (eds), Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History, African Publishing Company, New York, 1987, p. 61.

102. R. L. Pouwels, 'The Medieval Foundations of East African Islam', The International Journal of African Historical Studies, Vol. 11, 1978, p. 204.

103. Ibid., p. 204.

104. Ibid., p. 208.

105. Ibid., p. 208.

106. Ibid., p. 206.

107. Ibid., p. 117.

108. Other religious groups include Christian 45% and animists 20%. See Tanzania Culture and Society, Website: http://www.newafrica.com, June, 2001.

109. The National Museum of Tanzania, Dar es Salaam display.

110. See for example, T. Q. Reefe, 'The Biggest Game of All: Gambling in Traditional Africa', in W. J. Baker and J. A. Mangan (eds.), Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History, Africana Publishing Company, New York, 1987, pp.47-78.

111. J. Huizinga, Homo Lundens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture, Temple Smith, London, 1970, Chapter Two.

112. Ibid., p. 68.

113. Ibid., p. 68.

114. Ibid., p. 68.

115. R. Bell and M. Cornelius, Board Games Round the World: A Resource Book for Mathematical Investigations, Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 22.

116. H. J. R. Murray, A History of Board Games Other than Chess, Oxford University Press, 1952, p. 158.

117. Ibid., p. 158. See also T. Q. Reefe, 'The Biggest Game of All: Gambling in Traditional Africa', in W. J. Baker and J. A. Mangan (eds.), Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History, Africana Publishing Company, New York, 1987. p. 51; S. Cullin, 'Mancala, the National Game of Africa', in E. M. Avedon and B. Sutton-Smith, The Study of Games, Columbia University, 1971, p. 95.

118. T. Q. Reefe, 'The Biggest Game of All: Gambling in Traditional Africa', in W. J. Baker and J. A. Mangan, Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History, Africana Publishing Company, 1987, p. 54.

119. S. Cullin, 'Mancala, The National Game of Africa', in E. M. Avedon and B. Sutton-Smith, The Study of Games, Columbia University, 1971, p. 94; E. C. Lanning, 'Rock-Cut Mweso Boards', Uganda Journal, No. 1, 1956, p. 97; H. J. R. Murray, A History of Board Games Other than Chess, Oxford University Press, 1952, p. 158.

120. S. Culin, 'Mancala, the National Game of Africa', in E. Avedon and B. Sutton-Smith, The study of Games, John Wiley & sons, Inc., New York, 1971, pp. 97-98.

121. S. Culin, 'Mancala, the National Game of Africa', in E. Avedon and B. Sutton-Smith, The study of Games, John Wiley & sons, Inc., New York, 1971, pp. 97-98.

122. See for example, R. Bell and M. Cornelius, Board-Games Round the World: A Resource Book for Mathematical Investigations, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988, p. 30. It is believed that the form of mancala IV played in East and South Africa and the stone boards found in Zimbabwe date from between AD 1400 and 1800 respectively. The earliest recorded existence of the game was mentioned in the book *De Ludis Orientalis Libro Duo* published in 1694. See also H. R. J. Murray, A History of Board Games Other than Chess, Oxford University Press, 1952, p. 194; S. Cullin, 'Mancala, the National Game of Africa', in E. M. Avedon, The Study of Games, Columbia University, 1971, p. 94; J. Blacking, 'Games and Sport in Pre-colonial African Society', in W. J. Baker and J. A. Mangan (eds.), Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History, Africana Publishing Company, New York, 1987, pp. 9 - 11; T.Q. Reefe, 'The Biggest Game of All: Gambling in Traditional Africa', in W. J. Baker and J. A. Mangan, Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History, African Publishing Company, New York, 1987, pp. 54 - 55. Reefe strongly believes that the *solo*-type of the game is an African invention and he suggests that the place of invention is the East African Highlands (where the game is very popular today). He estimates also that the development of the *solo*-type may have occurred around 700 - 500 B.C.

123. T. Q. Reefe, 'The Biggest Game of All: Gambling in Traditional Africa', in W. J. Baker and J. A. Mangan, Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History, African Publishing Company, New York, 1987, pp. 54 - 55.

124. Ibid., p. 54.

125. H. J. R. Murray, A History of Board-Games Other than Chess, Oxford University Press, 1952, p. 164.

126. Ibid., p. 164.

127. H. J. R. Murray, A History of Board-Games Other than Chess, Oxford University Press, 1952, p. 164.

128. The term sport is used here as a generic term as defined in the Prologue.

129. See for example, B. V. Madeje, 'Physical Education in Tanzania', (Unpublished), Dar es Salaam, 1981, passim; J. Nkongo, 'The Foundations of

Physical Education', (Unpublished), Institute of Education, Dar es Salaam, 1993, passim.

130. By secular state is meant a state that "guarantees an individual ... freedom of religion and deals with the individual as a citizen irrespective of his religion. It is a state that is not constitutionally connected to a particular religion nor does it seek either to promote or to interfere with religion". See A. Smith, 'The Missionary Contribution to Education (Tanganyika) to 1914', Tanganyika Notes and Records, No. 60, 1963, p. 92.

131. See *Burudani*, July 23, 2000.

132. The translating committee, The Holy Qur'an with English translation, Acar Matbaacilikyincilik Hizmetleri, Instanbul, 1996, Sura 5:90-1 p. 122.

133. See *Burudani*, July 23, 2000.

134. See The translating committee, The Holy Qura'n with English translation, Acar Matbaacilikyincilik Hizmetleri, Instanbul, 1996, Sura 24:30-1, p. 352.

135. Jennifer Hargreaves, The Heroines of Sport: The politics of difference and identity, Routledge, London, 2000, p. 52. See also Thr translating committee, The Holy Qura'n with English translation, Acar Matbaacilikyincilik Hizmetleri, Instanbul, 1996, Verse 24:30-1, p. 352.

136. J. Hargreaves, Heroines of Sport: The Politics of difference and identity, Routledge, London and New York, 2000, p. 52.

137. Ibid., p. 52.

138. See for example *The Guardian* and *Mtanzania*, Sunday, August 08, 1999 lead stories.

139. See Jennifer Hargreaves, The Heroines of Sport: The politics of difference and identity, Routledge, London, 2000, p. 48.

140. Ibid., p. 49.

141. Ibid., p. 50.

142. Ibid., p. 52.

Chapter Four

Germany and Eastern Africa: Gymnastics in Germany in the Nineteenth Century and the diffusion of German Gymnastics into German East Africa

This chapter examines the earliest Western influences on sport in Tanzania. As a prelude to this examination, it may be helpful to briefly mention some of the earliest contacts between the westerners and the peoples of eastern Africa. The end of the fifteenth century marked the opening of what has become known as the 'European Age of Discovery'.[1] Improvements in navigation and ship design, among other things, made Europe's desire to explore the world possible.[2] By the end of the fifteenth century, Spanish and Portuguese exploratory voyages had reached as far as India and the Americas. For example, Bartholomew Diaz, while attempting to find a sea route to India, reached the southernmost tip of Africa in 1487, naming it the Cape of Good Hope.[3] Christopher Columbus sailed westwards and became the first European to reach the Americas in 1492.[4] Vasco da Gama sailed around the Cape of Good Hope to India in 1498, stopping at Kilwa in what is now Tanzania, en route.[5] These early explorers were mainly commercial adventurers who sought to locate strategic points from which to control subsequent trade routes.[6] Other early remarkable explorers were Ferdinand Magellan and Sir Francis Drake.[7] In 1519, Magellan embarked from Seville in search of a spice route to the Orient. He eventually reached the South Seas in 1520 and renamed them the Pacific Ocean.[8] Drake, for his part, set sail from England in 1572 to Central America on an expedition to capture the annual silver shipment from Peru to Spain, which he intercepted in Panama in 1573. He eventually circumnavigated the world in 1580, a journey that took him byway the Americas, around the Far East and the Cape of Good Hope.

The early explorers paved the way for the establishment of European empires overseas. In the seventeenth century in eastern Africa, the Portuguese established what became known as Portuguese East Africa and, to an extent, attempted to

introduce the Christian religion to the indigenous population of its coastal city states such as Mombasa, Kilwa and Sofala.[9] The nineteenth century witnessed the arrival of European missionary-explorers to eastern Africa. These included Johann Rebman and Johann Ludwig Krapf from Germany and the best known of all the missionary-explorers, David Livingstone, from Britain.[10] In 1846, Rebman and Krapf established mission stations on the coast of Kenya[11] and in 1849 they became the first Europeans to see the snow-capped Mount Kilimanjaro near the Equator. In the 1850s and 1860s, Livingstone made extensive missionary-exploratory journeys throughout eastern Africa where he eventually died in 1873.[12] The missionaries, for their part, paved the way for the spread of Christianity, and of course, Western culture. The earliest contact between the westerners and the peoples of eastern Africa began with the arrival of the Portuguese to the region at the end of the fifteenth century.

4.1 Early European Contact with Eastern Africa: The arrival of the Portuguese in 1498

The first Portuguese fortune seekers appeared off the coast of eastern Africa at the end of the fifteenth century.[13] The Portuguese occupied this area (the land between present day Mozambique and Somalia) for about two hundred years until 1698. They competed with the Arabs for control of the trade routes (both on land and sea) of the entrepôt of eastern Africa. During this occupation, the Portuguese experienced resistance from the indigenous peoples. In December 1698, the Portuguese presence on the coast ended with the fall of Fort Jesus at Mombasa to the Omani. There are no extant records of any sports introduced by the Portuguese to eastern Africa. It can be stated, therefore, that they had no influence on the history of modern sport in Tanzania.[14] The earliest Western influence on modern Tanzanian sport came from the Germans, who reached Zanzibar in 1844.[15]

Of course, trade in eastern Africa was not stagnant between the departure of the Portuguese and the coming of the Germans. As outlined in the previous chapter, the Arabs had reached the coast sometime in the eighth century. Trade (including the slave trade) flourished between the coast and the hinterland and between eastern

Africa and south west Asia. There were three main trade routes from the coast to the interior: the central route, the southern route and the northern route.[16] The Nyamwezi of western Tanzania had been journeying with ivory through the Gogo, Luguru and Zaramo lands to the coast since the early 1700s.[17] They followed the central route from the interior to the ports of Bagamoyo and Sadani. The Arabs and the coastal people followed this route upcountry.[18] The Yao in the south dominated the southern route from the ports of Kilwa, Mikindani and Lindi to Lake Nyasa.[19] Trade also flourished in the northern part of the country from the ports of Tanga and Pangani through Chaggaland and beyond to the eastern shores of Lake Victoria.[20] The evil trade in slaves was also gaining momentum from the interior, mainly through the port of Bagamoyo, to the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba and on to south-west Asia. From the defeat of the Portuguese until the annexation of the land by the Germans in February, 1885, eastern Africa experienced the distinct cultures and activities of the Africans and the Arabs as well as a blend of both.[21]

4.2 Germany and Eastern Africa: Early Contact, Treaties and Annexation

The first German vessel, *Alph*, visited Zanzibar around 1844.[22] However, it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that Germany became more involved in the affairs of the eastern African region.[23] The Imperial Chancellor, Otto von Bismark took the decision to acquire a colony in eastern Africa on February 23, 1885.[24] The reasons underlying his decision are mixed. Germany's industrialisation and unification of 1871 might have triggered off a wish for expansion. While the former provided Germany with the material basis for overseas endeavour,[25] the latter gave the country the political power to do so. Before 1871, 'Germany' was a conglomeration of about three hundred sovereignties, ecclestical states and free cities.[26] Prussia was the strongest of them all (it was the largest and economically most important individual state with superior military machinery). The German Empire – the Second Reich - was proclaimed on January 18, 1871.[27] The new state comprised Prussia Saxony, Bavaria, Württemberg, five Grand Duchies, thirteen Duchies and the free cities of Humburg, Lubeck and Bremen. Fredrich Wilhelm I of Prussia became the Emperor and Otto Von Bismark the Chancellor.[28] The German

government, like many other governments of European powers at that time, needed overseas expansion for, among other things, sources of raw materials for home industries and for political influence. In addition, Germany suspected that Britain and France were conspiring to discriminate against German trade in West Africa.[29] In response, Germany established protectorates over South West Africa, Togo and Cameroon[30] and expanded into eastern Africa by way of compensation. Undoubtedly other European powers felt commercially and otherwise threatened by Germany's new expansion. For Britain, for example, it meant an intrusion into her commercial domination of the non-European world. Some Britons rightly feared that their new rivals might establish colonies with protective tariffs.[31] In relation to France, "German entered Africa...rather as part of a much wider design to deflect French hostility against her in Europe by *fomenting* rivalries and by creating a situation in which Germany would be the arbiter between French and British ambitions."[32] Such a situation occurred in Egypt, in 1881, when joint Anglo-French financial control broke down in the face of a revolt by the Egyptian national army.[33] Britain and France had planned to act together to destroy the leader of the revolt, but on the eve of the operation a domestic crisis prevented France from participation.[34] Thus, in 1882, Britain invaded Egypt alone and remained there, despite promises to withdraw, as the *de facto* ruler until 1914. The continued British occupation of Egypt angered France and as a consequence she embarked upon developing her formal colonies in West Africa.[35] British occupation of Egypt was only possible with the support of a majority of Egypt's creditors representation on the international *Caisse de la Dette*, and this majority was controlled by Germany.[36] There was another factor that stimulated Germany to acquire a colony in eastern Africa. German merchants had traded with eastern Africa since 1847, based on good relations with the Sultan of Zanzibar.[37] However, relations with the Sultan had deteriorated, apparently because of Germany's activities (see below) on the mainland close to the ten-mile coastal strip belonging to the Sultan.[38] The traders now needed German protection.

The German occupation of present day Tanzania commenced with the precarious treaties made by Carl Peters[39] with eleven local leaders on the mainland, close to the Sultan of Zanzibar's land, soon after he had landed in Zanzibar in November, 1884.[40]

One such treaty between Carl Peters and the local leader, Mangungo, [Sultan] of Msovero read:

> Treaty of eternal friendship: Mangungo, Sultan of Msovera in Usagara, offers all his territory with all its civil and public appurtenances to Dr. Carl Peters as the representative of the Society for German Colonisation for exclusive and universal utilisation of German colonies.[41]

Arguably, neither Mangungo nor the other leaders knew exactly what they were agreeing to when they signed these treaties, as they were illiterate.[42] By February, 1885 Germany had annexed the territory that was to be known as German East Africa.[43] The area remained under German rule until the end of World War I. In August, 1885 a German naval demonstration of firepower took place off Zanzibar, and by the end of that year Germany had acquired customs rights over Dar-es-Salaam and Pangani. These claims by Germany over the mainland were recognised almost immediately by other European powers.[44]

The swiftness of the Germans in signing one treaty after another, their demonstration of military power and their acquisition of customs rights over the area underlines Germany's intention to secure colonies in Africa. Carl Peters, for his part, showed, when he 'signed the treaties' with the local leaders, that he was primarily interested in fulfilling his own personal ambition - to carve his name in German history[45].

In 1885, the responsibility for ruling the newly acquired land was given to the *Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft* (the German East African Company).[46] Soon it became clear that the Company could not cope with this role due to financial difficulties and lack of military and diplomatic resources.[47] In addition, the coastal people revolted against German rule in 1888. The resistance began in Pangani in August, although at the beginning it had no central organisation. However two leaders, Abushiri bin Salim and Bwana Heri, soon emerged to co-ordinate the operation and so the resistance quickly spread along the coast.[48] The German government had to come to the aid of the Company and on January 01, 1891 the government replaced it as ruler of German East Africa.[49] The government established

its authority over the territory either directly through the *Bezirksamtmann* (German District Officers) or indirectly through the appointed *jumbes* (native divisional rulers) and *akidas*[50] (native village rulers). Once this administration was firmly established, the Germans embarked upon improving the communications infrastructure of the country.

A railway network was considered an important foundation for the economic, social and political development of the colony. Thus, in 1891, the government began the construction of a railway line from Tanga through the projected plantation areas of Usambara to the Kilimanjaro area.[51] Soon other lines were built. These included the Central Railway Line that ran (and still runs) right across the country from the coastal port of Dar es Salaam, through the projected plantation areas of Uluguru, over the skin and hides and wax rich Dodoma and Tabora regions to Kigoma on the shores of Lake Tanganyika.[52] With this railway network in place, goods from the hinterland could be transported to coastal ports for shipment overseas. The railway system also facilitated the administration of the country in that government officials could now reach a wide area of the country thus establishing communication between the 'centre' and the 'peripheral'.

Another area that the German government considered important for the development of German East Africa was education.[53] It believed that through education it could prepare low-ranking local administrators such as *jumbes, akidas,* clerks, tax collectors and messengers, and soldiers for service in the colonial armed forces.[54] As will be demonstrated later in the chapter, the Germans built schools and introduced formal education to the indigenous population. Gymnastics were to play an important role in the German colonial education in the country. To better understand the role of these physical activities in the education that the Germans introduced to German East Africa, it is useful to reflect on the place and significance of gymnastics, a major component of the German physical education programme, in Germany in the nineteenth century.

4.3 Gymnastics in Germany in the Nineteenth Century: *Deutsches Turnen*, Swedish Gymnastics and *Ordnungsübungen*

As noted in the Prologue, at the end of the nineteenth century, German physical education was broadly based on the ideas of Fredrick Ludwig Jahn and his *Deutsches Turnen* (German gymnastics), Hugo Rothstein and the Swedish Ling system of gymnastics and Adolph Spiess and his *Ordnungsübungen* (order exercises).[55] In addition, team games were being introduced into Germany from England at this time.

In 1803, Fredrick Jahn worked as a house tutor to Baron von Leffort in Mecklenburg.[56] While working there, Jahn experimented with various physical activities with his pupils outdoors. Using rudimentary objects such as branches of trees, he taught them to vault, climb and walk a beam.[57] In 1810, he published his *Deutsches Volkstum* (The German Way of Life) the content of which was a vigorous assertion of the superiority of everything German over everything foreign.[58] This made him a public figure. The following year, Jahn opened the first open-air gymnasium, in the Hasenheide where he was working with the Plamann Institute of Education.[59] Eventually, Jahn managed to build a *Turnhalle* (gymnastic hall) with advanced apparatus such as vaulting horses, parallel and horizontal bars and climbing ladders.[60] He regularly practised with pupils in the hall and after practice, he told them stories of German heroes and sung German songs. He prohibited all non-German foods and clothes among his pupils.[61] Undoubtedly, Jahn intended to prepare young Germans both physically and psychologically for the tasks of unifying and defending the homeland.[62] Based on *Turnen* (gymnastics) Jahn created a movement, the *Turnbewegung* (the gymnastics movement), which had political and cultural connotations. These connotations were explicit in the statement he made when launching the movement:

> Only when all [German] men of military age have become capable, through physical education, of bearing arms, have become ready for combat through weapon-training, prompt to strike through new kinds of war-games and constant alertness, and battle-keen through love of the Fatherland – only then can a people be called militarily prepared.[63]

To Jahn, "physical education was not the goal, it was a means to a national end."[64] Gymnastics served not only as a method of augmenting physical power but also as a tool for achieving political ideals. Jahn advocated a greater Germany, which he envisaged, would depend on the increased mental and moral vigour of all Germans. 'Gymnasts', he contended, "were expected to adhere to high standards of personal conduct and physical proficiency."[65]

As noted earlier, the German Empire was founded in 1871. The urban middle-class, which had been a key driving force in the unification process, was marginalised by the aristocratic elites of the powerful state of Prussia in the nation building process.[66] Thus, the democratisation of German society, which was expected to follow unification and which had been a key demand of the German middle class, did not happen.[67] "For most of the nineteenth century the *Turnbewegung* was a civic middle-class movement committed to the creation of a German nation state with a democratic and liberal constitution."[68] As a direct consequence of the failure of democratisation, during the second half of the nineteenth century, the *Turnbewegung* gradually abandoned its political cause and focused on the cultural aspects of nation building, emphasising the distinctive nature of *Deutsches Turnen.* Thus, the development of *Turnen* was accompanied by many efforts to define gymnastics as a unique and distinctive element of German tradition and culture.[69]

Jahn's motives for creating the *Turnbewegung* were both patriotic and nationalistic. He wanted "liberation from the 'French yoke' and the creation of a united Germany, free from feudal class distinctions and with a liberal constitution."[70] Jahn believed in creating physically fit and disciplined fighters to first liberate Germany from the French and then protect the Fatherland from further invasion from any front.[71] His aim was to use gymnastic exercises to prepare youths for their future military role. To promote this military aspect of physical education, Jahn himself joined the armed forces when the War of Liberation against Napoleon broke in 1813. Many *Turners* (members of the *Turnbewegung*) followed his example and also enlisted. After the defeat of the French, the *Turnbewegung* became more popular, additional *Turnvereine* (gymnastic clubs) were formed and Jahn was crowned a national hero.[72]

Eventually, Jahn's *Deutsches Turnen* became an important ingredient of the German school physical education curriculum.[73]

In the 1860s, Hugo Rothstein was the director of the *Zentralturnenstat* (The Central Gymnastic Institute) and in charge of gymnastic training for the Prussian Army. Rothstein had become acquainted with the Ling system of gymnastics in Sweden and he embraced this system to such an extent that he despised some elements of *Deutsches Turnen.*[74] The fundamental difference between *Deutsches Turnen* and the Swedish Ling system of gymnastics was that the former was based on the use of apparatus such as poles, ropes, wall ladders and horizontal and parallel bars while the latter was composed of free-standing exercises, that is, exercises without apparatus.[75] The exercises were classified as pedagogical, military, medical, and aesthetic gymnastics.[76] While the pedagogical gymnastics were intended to harmoniously develop the physical and mental capabilities of children in schools, the military ones were specifically designed to meet the needs of soldiers.[77] The medical gymnastics were designed to correct orthopedic defects (corrective exercises in contemporary terminology), and the aesthetic ones consisted of free exercises only.[78] Unlike *Deutsches Turnen,* where heavy apparatus demanded the development of upper-arm strength, the Swedish free-standing exercises emphasised the expansion of the chest and the improvement of the working of the lungs. It was this that prompted Per Henry Ling, the founder of the Ling system of gymnastics, to claim that his system had a scientific base, involving both anatomy and physiology.[79] Rothstein used both his professional capacities to exposit and propagate the Swedish Ling system of gymnastics in Germany.

Adolph Spiess, another German architect of gymnastics, considered gymnastics to be a formal pedagogical process and as such concerned with the broader education of a child.[80] He collected and analysed descriptions of the possible movements of the body that would enable large groups of pupils to use the apparatus simultaneously.[81] Spiess' methods of gymnastics came to be known as *Ordnungsübungen* (order exercises), which were designed to promote the habit of 'automatic' obedience.[82] To facilitate this Spiess developed an authoritarian system in which one teacher

commanded the whole group. He included marching in his *Ordnungsübungen* to both facilitate the movement of the pupils around the gym and to enforce discipline.

At times, the different methods of gymnastics, as advocated by the three men, clashed on principles. For example, Hugo Rothstein derided the *Deutsches Turnen* as "planless and physiologically unsound."[83] He subsequently banished horizontal and parallel bars from his gymnasia and introduced the beam and the box in their place, thus causing a row, the great *Barrenstreit* which lasted two years, between him and the followers of Jahn's methods. Eventually the Prussian Deputation of Medical Affairs intervened and pronounced in favour of the 'the rational apparatus' of the *Turnen*.[84] Rothstein's methods, however, continued to be used in the army alongside those of Jahn's.

In the 1860s, the Prussian Ministry attempted to promote Spiess' methods and made every effort to emphasise in its schools the *Ordnungsübungen* instead of Jahn's *Deutches Turnen.* Despite the efforts of the authorities, Jahn's methods were so established that they continued to be used in many schools.[85] Eventually, German gymnastics, combining the ideas of the three, became the basis for physical education programmes in German schools. Jahn's methods were suitable for physical training and the psychological strengthening of the eventual political goal of German unification, liberation and defence of the Fatherland. Rothstein's methods were physiologically suitable for the preparation of young Germans in that they included the military, medical, pedagogical and aesthetic elements embraced in the Swedish Ling system of gymnastics. Spiess' system was particularly convenient for a rote-type of training, an element essential for the inculcation of the habits of obedience and discipline.

The political unification of 1871 marked the beginning of a period of accelerated economic development in Germany. This led to increased productivity in key industries such as mining and iron and steel production, with much of the expertise in these areas coming from Britain. As a result, competitive sports and team games[86] such as football, were introduced into Germany, mainly from England.[87] This arrival

of non-German sports was met with fierce opposition not only from the members of the *Turnbewegung* but also from many of the educated middle class and some philosophers. Specifically, the *Turners* criticised the new sports as lacking an ideological basis, describing them as a set of mechanical activities, which had no deeper meaning.[88] Generally, the opponents of competitive sport argued that the new games "had no spiritual foundation, [and] had no coherent and specific set of patriotic and national ideas associated with sport."[89]

Other criticisms levelled against English sports by the *Turners* focused on the notions of competitiveness and internationalism. While in England the principle of competitiveness had had a long tradition which was applied to, *inter alia*, the industrialisation process, in Germany the idea of competition was relatively new.[90] The *Turners*, who were anxious to preserve the purity of German tradition, denounced the 'new' sports as un-German and argued that these sports encouraged elitism as they demanded high skills and encouraged international competition.[91] The *Turners* advocated mass participation in gymnastics for nationalistic ends stressing collectivism and not individualism. In fact the *Turners* were so adamant on this point that they opposed German participation in the early modern Olympic Games.[92]

In time, however, English sports grew in popularity in Germany and were greatly supported by the upper class and a "new generation which wanted fresh air and play."[93] After an initial dislike of the new sports, the German upper class became enthusiastic about them in a bid to distinguish themselves from the lower classes. Eventually they developed a profound interest in golf, tennis and other modern sports in emulation of their British equivalents.[94] Other proponents of the new games and sports argued that "they were healthier as they were played outside and not in the sticky air of gymnastic halls."[95] They maintained that such sports *were* educationally beneficial as they fostered co-operation, team spirit and self-discipline.[96] The new sports also got support from some educationalists who were convinced that they were perfect recreational extra-curricular activities. Consequently, these educationalists introduced *Spielnachmittage* (extra-curricular afternoon games) into German schools when several English games, particularly football, were played.[97]

Thus, prior to the colonisation of pre-colonial East Africa, physical education programmes in Germany broadly included elements of *Deutsches Turnen*, the Swedish Ling system of gymnastics and Spiess' *Ordnungsübungen*. As mentioned above, modern sport, mainly from England, was also being introduced into Germany at this time, but it was not yet effectively established. Underlying this emphasis was nineteenth century German patriotic nationalism and resistance to cultural diversity. Traditional forms of *Turnen* dominated the physical education curriculum in schools until the First World War and the majority of teachers at that time fully supported the position and arguments of the *Turnbewegung* against foreign sports.[98]

When the Germans annexed German East Africa they established schools such as Tanga and Mpwapwa Central Schools, discussed in the next section. It was through such schools that gymnastics was introduced into German East African society. Tanga and Mpwapwa Central Schools will shortly be considered. They are among the oldest schools in the country and offer the clearest evidence of the arrival of modern sport in Tanzania. But first a brief overview of the arrival of Western education[99] in pre-colonial East Africa which was not exclusively a German import.

4.4 Western Education in German East Africa: A Brief Overview

Precisely when Western education was first introduced into pre-colonial East Africa is not known. However, from the early 1860s onwards, several missions settled in the country and subsequently operated schools there.[100] The first missionaries were the French Holy Ghost Fathers who settled in Zanzibar in 1863 but who eventually moved their headquarters to Bagamoyo in 1868.[101] The Anglicans of the Universities Mission to Central Africa (U. M. C. A.) settled in Zanzibar in 1864 and later began work near Usambara and Masasi on the mainland. Other missionaries included the Anglicans of the Church Missionary Society (C. M. S.) who established a station at Mpwapwa in 1876 and the British Nonconformist London Missionary Society (L. M. S.) who began work in the Unyamwezi area and around Lake Tanganyika in 1878.[102] The Holy Ghost Fathers opened schools at Bagamoyo while the U. M. C. A. started

schools in the Tanga, Masasi and Nyasa areas and the C. M. S. ran schools in Mpwapwa.

In general terms, "the aim of the missions was to spread education as widely as possible and ultimately to gain converts as the missionaries were finding that all over pagan Africa the school was by far the most effective means of Christian evangelism."[103] Such an aim was clearly stated, for example, in the 1878 U. M. C. A's Occasional Papers as "the object is to train these boys to be missionaries to their own countrymen."[104] The missionaries' strategy was to mould the children to Christianity at a tender age – school age. At the beginning, however, it was difficult to attract pupils to school as most parents were distrustful of the institutions. They resorted to spreading rumours such as 'going to school is comparable to being enslaved' to discredit them.[105] To overcome this, the missionaries 'bribed' the children to attend school with sweets, biscuits, cloth and garden products.[106] Eventually they got pupils and taught them.

Successful products of the mission school systems were nearly always absorbed by the missions as teachers and catechists and occasionally as priests.[107] These early converts were sent out to open schools and churches in the surrounding villages.[108] Consequently, the early mission schools taught subjects that guaranteed the production of 'good' African missionaries. 'German' schools were no exception. For example, at Matombo School, one of the schools run by the missionaries in Bagamoyo, the following subjects were listed in the timetable.[109]

7.00 a.m. - 8.00 a.m. Church
8.00 a.m. - 9.00 a.m. Church Singing
9.00 a.m. - 10.00 a.m. Reading, Writing and Arithmetic (in German)
10.00 a.m. - 11.00 a.m. Religious Instruction
11.00 a.m. - 12.00 noon Housework

Although, fundamental subjects such as Arithmetic were included in the timetable it is clear that the mission schools' curriculum emphasised religion. The subject,

Kiswahili, although it does not appear on the class timetable, was taught and used as a medium of instruction in the schools and as a language of Christian proselytisation.[110] There is a paucity of information concerning the place of physical activities in the curriculum of the early mission schools in pre-colonial East Africa and German East Africa and so one can only assume that the missions had little effect on the history of physical activity of German East Africa.

Thus, prior to German occupation, several mission school systems, operated by the various Chuches, existed in the country.[111] The German government which took over in 1891 from the German East African Company needed literate people to fill the lowest ranks in the civil service and physically fit young men for future service in the colonial forces. As outlined above, the mission schools, the only source of formal education in the country at that time, strongly emphasised religion in their teaching. In addition, the government feared that the missionaries would keep the best trainees for themselves leaving only the less well trained for employment in the civil service. Thus, the government decided to produce its own manpower rather than rely on mission school graduates. In the early years of their administration of German East Africa, the Germans built schools and introduced an 'official school system' to operate alongside the already existing mission school systems.[112] In 1892, the German Colonial Society, in accordance with government policy, established a primary school at a place called Mkwakwani in the town of Tanga and named it Tanga Primary School[113] (Figure 4.1 the house). Another of the early schools established by the Germans was present-day Mpwapwa Secondary School (For the geographical location of the schools see Appendix 5). As R. Mazengo, the present headmaster of the school, noted[114], the registration number of the school - number six - suggests that it is one of the oldest schools in the country (see Chapter Seven). Other schools established by the Germans include Bagamoyo, Dar es Salaam, Lindi and Masasi schools.

Figure 4.1 The first building of Tanga Primary School built by the Germans around 1892. From the archives of Tanga Technical Secondary School

In May, 1895 the German government took Tanga Primary School from the German Colonial Society in order to temper education to suit its own needs. It appears at that time, that expenditure on the colony exceeded revenue.[115] This was contrary to the policies of most European colonial powers, especially following the partitioning of the continent in the late 1880s. In the opinion of these powers, an ideal colony was one which was economically self-supporting, regardless of whether or not it produced much and which progressed speedily with its economic development being undertaken by the people themselves or by European settlers or mining companies.[116] So the German colonial government in German East Africa needed to prepare, for future employment, low ranking officials such as *jumbes*, *akidas*, clerks, tax collectors and messengers and soldiers in order to keep the running costs of the administration of the country as low as possible.[117] Local servants were far cheaper to employ than expatriates.[118] For example, it was four times cheaper to employ an African scribe in the colonial Secretariat than a European one.[119] The salary of an African was estimated at 36 Rupees while that of a European was 150 Rupees, plus

housing and other fringe benefits.[120] Local servants included soldiers. As noted earlier, there was a scramble for overseas colonies among the European nations at that time. Germany had to now prepare herself both to control and defend her newly acquired colony as cheaply as possible. School seemed to be a good training ground for future soldiers.

When the government took over the administration of Tanga Primary School, it officially designated it a government school,[121] making it the first ever of its kind in the country.[122] Later other schools such as Korogwe and Vuga, were opened in the area and, together with others, they came to be known as the district schools. Tanga Primary School was given the role of administrating the district schools in the Tanga Province and thus became known as Tanga Central School. (Its name later changed to Tanga Government School and then to present-day Tanga Technical Secondary School, located about two kilometres from the town centre at a place called Makorora.) Similarly, as other schools were opened throughout the country, in each province one was nominated as the Central School with the responsibility of administering the district schools in that province.[123]

Under the government's administration, Tanga Central School quickly expanded and soon new buildings were added to the existing ones. With this expansion, the school could now take more pupils than before, including some from other provinces. These pupils from other provinces had to be accommodated in the school and so, by 1897, the school had become a recognised non-fee paying boarding school.[124] The government provided everything. The children were given accommodation, clothing and blankets, and food that they had to cook themselves.

In order to prepare its future manpower, in particular low-ranking civil servants, the German government introduced an apprenticeship programme into all government schools, including Tanga Central School. The early programme comprised seven consecutive courses lasting two years. During the first year the would-be apprentices were taught the three R's - Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. The second year was devoted to training in the specifics of administration, which included elements of

drafting letters, writing short reports, preparing receipts and acquiring knowledge of tax procedures, government regulations and German Law.[125]

In this way, Tanga Central School, like other government schools,[126] initially trained minor government officials such as *jumbes, akidas,* clerks, messengers and soldiers. Later they trained teachers and craftsmen (it is probably because of this tradition of training craftsmen that present-day Tanga Technical Secondary School is a technical one). By 1900, Tanga Central School was producing [African] teachers who soon supplemented the German teaching staff at new schools throughout the country. The school was also producing printers, bookbinders, tailors, carpenters, bricklayers and blacksmiths and thus functioned as a technical school.[127] For whatever reasons, among the technical subjects that were taught by the Germans a lot of emphasis was placed on carpentry.[128]

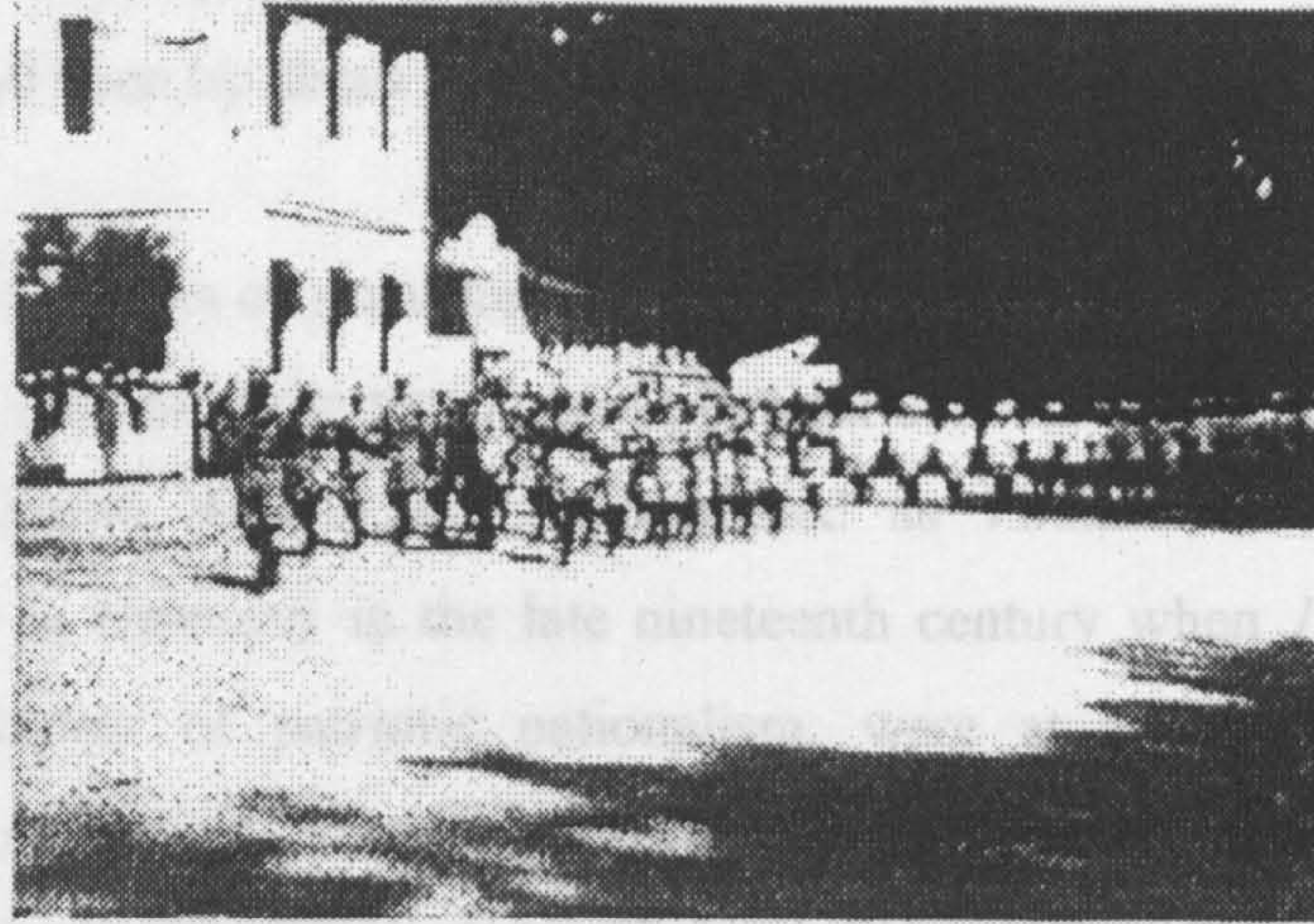
Within the education curriculum of Tanga Central School, aspects of German physical education, in particular gymnastics, played an important role. This role in Tanga Central School is examined in the next section, based on information from the school's archives, past and present, and annual headmasters' reports, and in the light of an interview with the present headmaster of the school, S. Teti.

4.5 Government Schools[129], Gymnastics and the training of African Civil Servants and Soldiers: A Case Study of Tanga Central School

Initial recruitment among the school-age children to Tanga Central School, the first school of the official government system, was difficult. According to Teti,[130] by the end of 1896, over four years after the school had been established, there were only seventy pupils enrolled although the school had the capacity to take many more.[131] As stated earlier, it appears that people were reluctant to send their children to school. In addition to anxieties over 'enslavement' mentioned earlier one further explanation for this unwillingness was fear of the unknown. Although mission schools had existed in the area for some time, in general, Western schooling was something new to many of the indigenous people. Perhaps, also, they were afraid that

their children would be 'spoiled' by the new culture - the white man's culture. Moreover, Tanga as a coastal town had had early Islamic influence. The Islamised Africans most likely, and rightly, associated formal Western education with Christianity. They considered formal education to be Christian education, and therefore, refrained from it.

Thus, the German teachers had to adopt 'tactics' to entice the children to school. Undoubtedly, they learnt them from the missionaries as they had visited the neighbouring mission schools in the area several times when they first arrived to Tanga. As noted already, in the early stages of their proselytisation, the missionaries had 'bribed' the children to attend school. The Germans organised marches, a prototype of Spiess' *Ordnungsübungen,* led by a brass band, composed of smartly dressed uniformed drummers and marchers. The band played and meandered through the streets of Tanga and the surrounding villages. As it drummed and marched through the streets, it drew the attention of the children who, no doubt, joined the marches out of curiosity. These spectacular marches usually ended up in the school grounds. As Teti put it, it was like the famous story of the 'Pied Piper of Hamlen'. He noted that the smart uniform of the brass band was particularly attractive to the children and as such very likely lured them into following it. Images such as those shown in Figures 4.2 clearly illustrate the seductive characteristics of the marches.



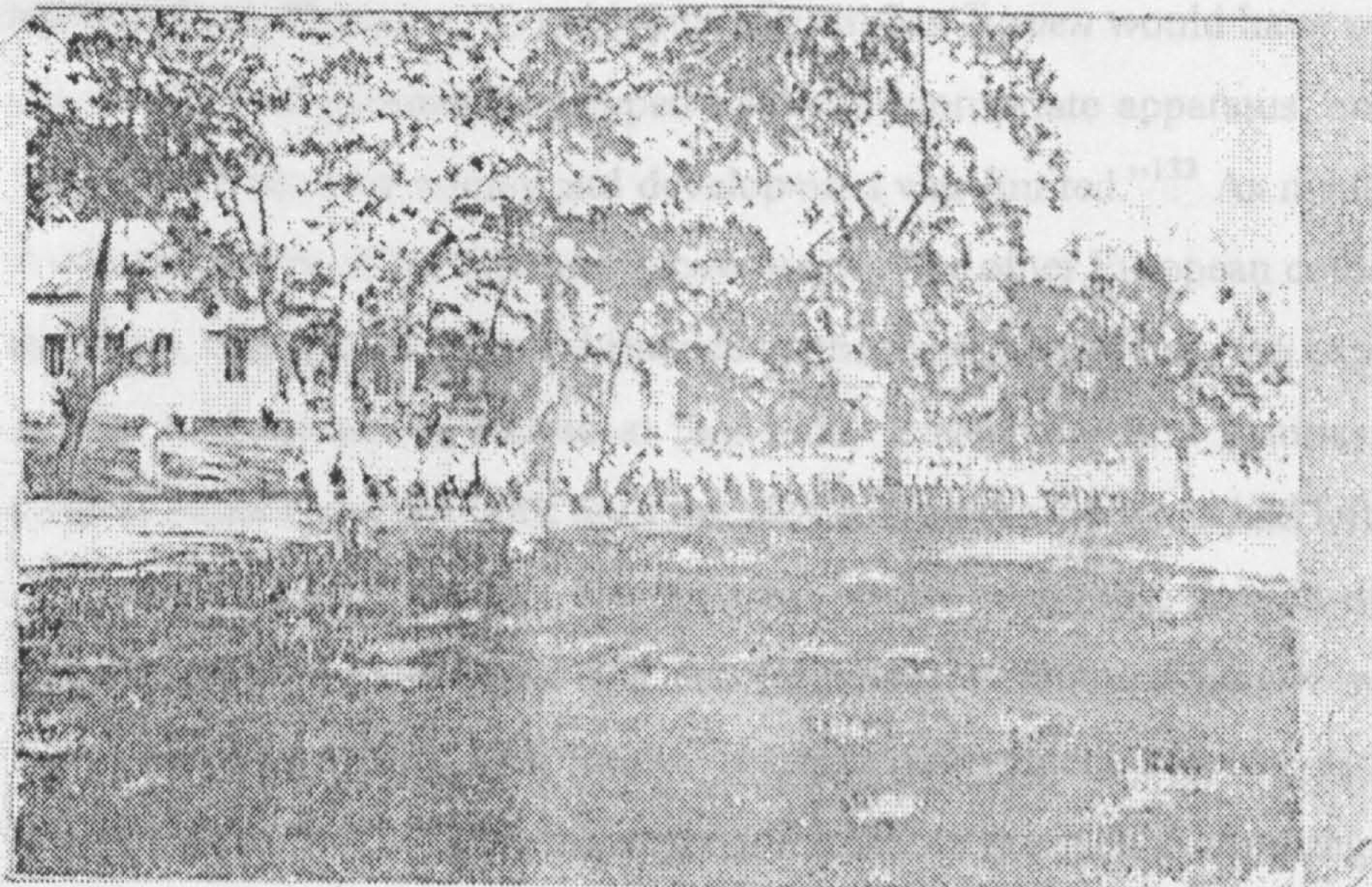


Figure 4.2 ***Above*****: A brass band leading a 'recruiting' march to Tanga Primary School ca. 1895.** ***Below*****: One of these marches through the streets of the town of Tanga. From the archives of Tanga Technical Secondary School.**

According to Teti, the marches made such a profound impression on the children that when they were later asked to join the school many of them were eager to do so. Often the children 'put pressure' on their parents to send them to school especially when they saw that other children who had joined earlier were included in the band

and were wearing the smart uniform. Consequently, by 1897, the enrolment of the school had risen by about twenty two percent.

With the question of recruitment 'solved', the teachers now turned their attention to teaching, including the teaching of physical education. The first German teachers to Tanga Central School had been trained as *Volksschulehrer*[132] (primary school teachers) in Germany in the late nineteenth century when *Deutsches Turnen,* with their elements of patriotic nationalism, were at the heart of German culture. Traditional forms of *Turnen,* alongside the methods of Rothstein and Spiess, formed an important component of the physical education curriculum of Germany at that time. Naturally, these teachers took this German pride in gymnastics with them to Tanga Central School, and indeed other schools in the colony, and were keen to teach it there. However, to teach pure *Deutsches Turnen* would have necessitated the construction of gymnasia equipped with the appropriate apparatus, and "the colony was always short of money and development was limited."[133] As made clear earlier, it was the policy of the Germany government, like other European colonial powers at that time, that colonies should finance themselves. It was thus, too expensive for the colony to construct gymnasia at that time. Indeed, the first gymnasium at Tanga Central School was not built until the 1920s, after the Germans had left German East Africa (see Chapter Seven). Nevertheless, at the beginning, aspects of the Swedish Ling system of gymnastics and the [German] *Ordnungsübungen* were taught in Tanga Central School, and indeed in other government schools, as evidenced by Figure 4.3. In the photograph pupils of the school are seen performing free-standing exercises in an orderly manner.

The inclusion of gymnastics with apparatus, a legacy from the Germans, in most secondary schools' and teacher training colleges' physical education programmes[134] in Tanzania today suggest that more than likely, despite financial obstacles, such gymnastics were taught in schools like Tanga Central School during German occupation. Hard evidence, in the form of photographs or such like, of the existence of these activities is hard to find, perhaps due to the fact that Tanga Central School moved premises three times. Also the Germans either took with them or destroyed

most documents, both civil and military, when it became clear that they were losing control of German East Africa.[135] However, the fact that these forms of gymnastics, which are clearly of German origin, are taught today, indicates that they were taught in schools during the German occupation. In all likelihood, the German colonial teachers, like Jahn himself in the early days of *Deutsches Turnen,* would have had to improvise the necessary apparatus.

As mentioned above, the pupils of Tanga Central School practised free-standing exercises. The German educationalists used these exercises, in the form of daily morning marches, led by a brass band, similar to the early recruitment marches, very probably, to 'keep school alive' for the children. The marches were followed by morning school parades, which marked the beginning of the school day. Outlining the routines of Tanga School during German colonisation, the present headmaster, S. Teti stated that the Germans made school parades compulsory for the pupils. Before the pupils entered classes in the morning they paraded in front of the school in front of the German flag. Usually these parades were accompanied by salutes of allegiance to the German Empire. As already noted, obedience and discipline were central to instruction in physical education in Germany in the nineteenth century. It is not surprising, therefore, as Teti has pointed out, that it was usual practice for the German government schools to employ sergeant majors whose responsibility, among other things, was to lead the morning parades and maintain overall discipline in the school. As can be seen in Figure 4.3, pupils performed free-standing exercises (drill) outside the school buildings under the instruction of the sergeant major (dressed in military boots and military costume). As shown in the photographic evidence, the pupils had to follow the instruction of these sergeant majors and conform to the whole system of drill. In obeying these orders, throughout the duration of the period of instruction, the system of German gymnastics developed and promoted in pupils conformity, 'automatic' obedience and discipline. By implication, these exercises were ideal means for preparing dutiful *jumbes, akidas*, clerks, tax collectors, messengers and soldiers. In the long run these exercises were instrumental in conditioning the natives to conform to German rule. But, as will become apparent

later in the chapter, this 'conformity' had its own social, cultural and political intrigues with many civil ramifications – discontent, resentment and resistance.

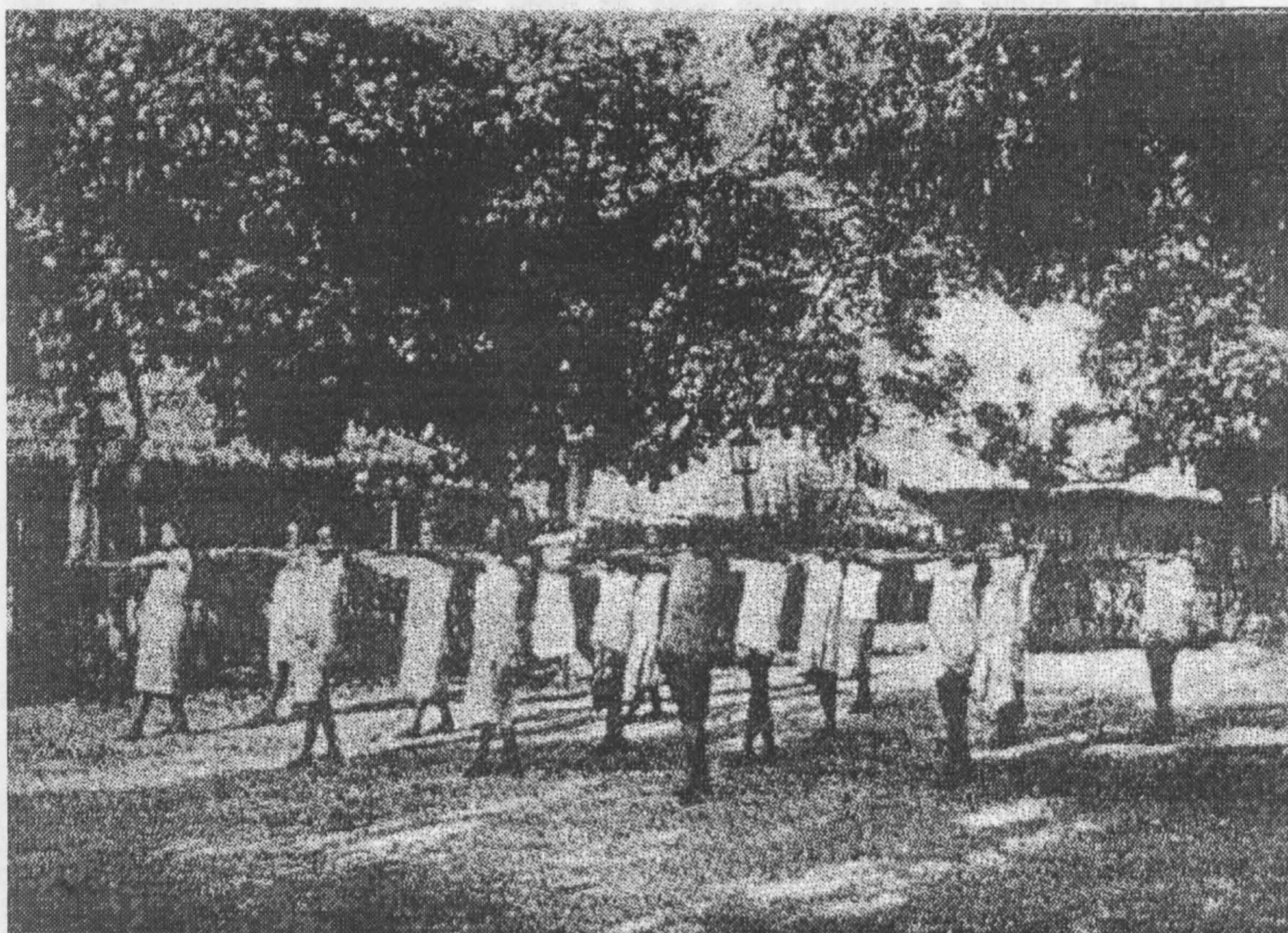


Figure 4.3 Pupils drilling (free-standing exercises) at Tanga Central School ca. 1905 - the introduction of German gymnastics into German East Africa. From the archives of Tanga Technical Secondary School.

According to Teti, the Germans also organised various athletic exercises such as running, jumping, sack races, tug of war competitions and swimming. The spectacles of such 'British' competitions, Teti emphasised, had a tremendous impact on the pupils as they provided them with an opportunity to show their athletics prowess, and kept them interested in school life – the original intention, of course, in the mid-Victorian English public school. German teachers closely supervised these competitions. This close supervision was probably meant to control both the activities and the pupils.

The competitions also provided meeting places between the colonial officials and the local community and as such they may be considered agents of socialisation. Tug of war competitions, in particular, seem to have been events in which the local community was directly involved. The scenes captured by the photographer in Appendix 7 show an 'official', probably appointed from amongst the local community (as distinguished by his clothes and the wearing of a turban on his head – a mixture of indigenous and Islamic attire, common to the Tanga area) in one such competition during the annual Parent's Day celebration.

Most likely, a similar physical education programme operated at other government schools, including Mpwapwa Central School. According to Mazengo, before World War I, the Germans established what was then known as Mpwapwa Military School. The exact date of its establishment is not known. Apparently, as already stated, the Germans either took with them or destroyed most documents, both civil and military, when it became clear that they were losing control of German East Africa at the end the war.[136]

It is worth noting the location of the original school and the building material used. The school was built about three kilometres from the main town of Mpwapwa. It was strategically situated in a ravine surrounded by hills on all sides except for one 'entrance' leading to the town. The buildings (which remain intact today) were built of stone. The school, in short, was a potential military installation.

Because of the actions of the Germans at the end of the war - taking with them or destroying documents - not very much primary evidence, in the form of the curriculum of the school, is available. However, as its name suggests, physical activities must have formed the backbone of the 'physical education' curriculum of Mpwapwa Military School. It was clearly used for the early preparation of soldiers.[137] The school was also used to train low-ranked government servants such as clerks, tax collectors, *jumbes, akidas* and messengers.

As already made very clear, the later nineteenth century *Turnen* emphasised gymnastic exercises as a unique and distinctive element of German tradition and culture. Next to the German language, it became a key element in the construction of Germanness[138] - epitomising a nationalism resonant with strength, power, control and confidence.[139] This is reflected nowhere better than in the gymnastics that the Germans introduced into German East Africa. The exercises were intended to shape the bodies and minds of the African children (young men) for, among other things, future government employment. They inculcated in the pupils habits of obedience, loyalty and submission. In other words, they prepared physically strong, mentally subordinate and morally subservient youths. These qualities were pre-requisites, for example, for an *akida* who would travel his administrative area urging people to plant cotton, or for a tax collector who would go from door to door collecting dues for his master, and for messengers who would carry messages between colonial masters and the *jumbes* and *akidas*, and between them and the general public.

Central to the existence of Mpwapwa military school was the training of soldiers for inclusion in the colonial armed forces. It was the militaristic regimes of Jahn's, Rothstein's and Spiess' gymnastics that were to mould the African into a useful soldier capable of defending the German empire. Because the instruction during the school parades and drills was supervised by military personnel, under a military code of practice, they 'drilled' physical proficiency in the African youths from a tender age. These exercises also developed in the youths characteristics of discipline, obedience, alertness and conformity thus grooming them for future effective inclusion in the colonial forces. German East African African soldiers fought in the front-line in World War I on the side of the Germans.

Long route marches to and from the battle fields clearly entailed comprehensive physical preparation and required discipline and obedience. During these marches, African soldiers and carriers, like many others who were at the front at that time, had to transport essential supplies, most of which they carried on their heads. Consequently, African soldiers, therefore, required extensive as well as intensive

endurance and all round physical training, a training that began at tender age, at school.

While the German system of gymnastics introduced into German East Africa, was functional in the training of low-ranking civil servants and soldiers, it also had an impact on society at large. This crucial issue is discussed below in the light of the diffusion of the German system of formal exercise into German East African society, the impact of German acculturation on the indigenous people and the social and cultural consequences for Tanzanian society.

4.6 German System of Gymnastics: Impact on and Consequences for Tanzanian Society.

The diffusion of the German system of gymnastics into German East African society initially took place in educational institutions such as those discussed earlier. As an educational institution involving the Germans (administrators and educationalists) on the one hand and the Africans (pupils and parents) on the other, school provided a focal point for German and African cultures to meet. The Germans introduced Western education, which was a new cultural experience, to the local cultures of the areas. Through 'bribes' the Germans managed to 'lure' the indigenous people into this education, despite their initial scepticism in sending their children to school. Gradually this new culture spread into the indigenous cultures.

As already discussed, the main purpose of the early mission school system was to bring Christianity to the native people. Although Islam, as discussed in the previous chapter, had been introduced into eastern Africa by the Arabs in the eighth century, the majority of the local population of German East Africa were not Islamised. Certainly the process of converting the indigenous people to Christianity and its ultimate results interfered with the traditional ways of the people. Those who were converted abandoned their traditional religion, referred to contemptuously as paganism by the missionaries. Whether or not Christianity was the *true* religion and the so-called paganism a *false* one, is a discussion outside the scope of this study.

Due to the fact that the missionaries provided education for would-be African proselytisers, only a few natives attended mission schools. Thus, the mission school system of education initially benefited very few Africans. In addition, even the few who went through the system instrumentally gained very little as the teaching was confined mostly to religious fervour. As such it can be argued that this early evangelical mission education, except for the spread of Christianity, was not beneficial to the majority of the indigenous population. It selected and segregated. It had one 'noble' mission - the spread of Christianity.

However, I do not intend to belittle the work done in education by the missionaries, neither do I mean to condemn mission education as a mere agent for the spread of Christianity. It was much more than that. It is a matter of consensus that mission education and the missionaries in general, played an important role in laying down the foundation for education in Africa. They 'set the wheel' of modern African education in motion. They provided the infrastructure - knowledge, expertise, learning facilities, buildings and a learning environment - for the future modern education of the indigenous population.

The government schools provided a type of education that was also limited. As noted earlier, the primary goal of the government school system was to train minor African officials for service in the colonial government. This also implies that only a few - the necessary few - were educated, leaving the larger masses 'illiterate'. Needless to say, the few who did receive formal education under the government system of education had very little to be proud of as the initial curriculum was geared towards specific training of subordinate staff. In training they were taught to obey and carry out orders from above. They learnt to wait for and comply with commands. This type of education did not, in any way, help these indigenous people to be independent thinkers - to think as 'educated' people. Indeed, the subjugating colonial education eroded the ability of the indigenous people to govern themselves as they had done prior to German occupation.

Nevertheless, whatever their shortcomings, early schools such as Tanga Central School, provided the opportunity for cultural integration between Western and indigenous cultures. They created an environment for association between German and African. The Germans regularly invited parents to the school for various social gatherings. The most popular of these gatherings were Parents' Day celebrations (Appendix 8) which were held annually, usually at the end of the school year. During these gatherings a certain degree of interaction took place between teachers (who were mostly Germans) and parents. German and African sat together, conversed with one another, and took part in the various activities of the day together.

On occasions such as Parents' Day, the school organised displays in school gymnastics and athletic competitions. German and African 'together' watched these parades and competitions. Here exercise served as an agent of socialisation and as such it provided an opportunity for cultural interaction. In addition, by watching these exercises the local population learned the 'German way of life' – order, obedience and discipline as well as power, control and confidence. However, while the school was creating this new environment for socialisation and acculturation, it can also be reasonably argued that at the same time the traditional institutions, such as initiation ceremonies, were losing their exclusive role as 'traditional rendezvous' for socialisation.

As pointed out earlier, one of the prime goals of the German government school system was to develop in the children its interpretation of the characteristics of obedience, tidiness, punctuality and duty.[140] These goals were reflected in the political and cultural symbolism embodied in late nineteenth century German gymnastic ideology. This, as already discussed, combined the ideas and ideals of its principal architects - Ludwig Jahn, Hugo Rothstein and Adolph Spiess. Ambitious advocates of greater Germany such as Jahn, at that time saw the political power of Germany depending on the increased mental as well as moral vigour of all Germans. According to Jahn, this goal could be achieved through gymnastic training. He believed that gymnasts were expected to adhere to high standards of personal conduct. When Germany annexed German East Africa and established schools there,

it introduced German gymnastics into the schools. This may be seen as contributing to political and cultural control through gymnastics by imbuing the native population with desirable Germanic 'qualities'.

Undoubtedly, the Germans intentionally used formal exercise to achieve political domination and cultural subordination. The exercises established a master/servant relationship between the Germans and Africans. In this relationship the master (the German) 'became' a superior human being while the servant (the African) was 'seen' as an inferior one. Instruction in gymnastics and gymnastic exercises themselves promoted a sense of subjection through compliance with the orders issued during training. As is substantially documented in many works dealing with German imperialism in German East Africa[141], it was the master/servant relationship that sowed seeds of discontent and anti-German resentment among the indigenous population. This tension eventually culminated in open confrontations between German and African. Examples of such confrontations and their aftermath are the well-documented armed resistance of the Bwana Heri in 1888, of the Hehe in 1891 and of the Maji Maji in 1905.[142] It is estimated that the Maji Maji uprising alone cost the lives of between 250,000 and 300,000 Africans.[143] Monuments such as those portrayed in Appendix 9 place on record the cruel consequences of these confrontations. They are solemn reminders of brutal German rule in German East Africa. Imperial Germany ruthlessly crushed any nationalistic resistance. It summarily killed Africans who opposed its oppressive rule.

By extension, the Germans also used formal exercise, to a greater extent, as a means of training obedient servants for service in the colonial government. They used gymnastics in schools to develop in youths physical and mental fitness. The 'best' of these youths later as adults served in the lower ranks of the civil service and as soldiers. This 'new means' of preparing youths for adulthood certainly interfered with the traditional ways of passing on from one generation to the next the important values of indigenous society. The youths were now taught to merely comply with and obey imperial orders in contrast to the previous process of learning how to

behave in society through the traditional initiation ceremonies, in preparation for decision making roles.

In the traditional societies, as discussed in Chapter Two, athletic exercises such as running and throwing, were used, *inter alia*, as a means of establishing leadership potential among peers. The Germans transformed these exercises into organised competitions. However, the ultimate goals of these competitions were not the same as those of the traditional societies. These competitions served as sources of seduction into formal schooling, while their end results facilitated the selection of 'suitable candidates' for, among other things, inclusion in the colonial armed forces. Although up to a point competitive physical exercises can be seen as having the same value in both the traditional African and modern German contexts, the traditional purposes of these activities were more comprehensive, rounded and mature.

It was through the inculcation of German moral imperatives, in which exercise played an important role, that the German culture of gymnastics was introduced into German East African society. In this process the German system of gymnastics – at least for a select elite - gradually displaced the indigenous African exercise system. Whereas the training of a gymnast in Germany would have meant inculcating nationalist pride, dignity and self belief the training of an African with the same instruments advanced the displacement of traditional indigenous confidence. For a long time, even after the Germans and their imperial moral imperatives had left the country, gymnastics continued to be the major component of the physical education curriculum in Tanzanian schools. The author, himself, remembers experiencing this curriculum in college as late as the mid 1970s until modernisation replaced imperialism as the moral mandate.

Conclusion

In summary, it can be said, that pre-colonial East Africa first came into contact with Europeans as early as the end of the fifteenth century. Among the first Europeans to come to the coast of pre-colonial East Africa were the Portuguese who reached there

in 1498. Even though they remained there for almost two hundred years, there is no trace of any Portuguese influence on Tanzanian sport.

Although, several European missions introduced Western education into pre-colonial East Africa in the 1860s, they also seem to have had little effect on the history of Tanzanian sport. It appears that the first Western influence on Tanzanian sport came from the Germans, who colonised the country in 1884, naming it German East Africa. The German government introduced an official system of education into German East Africa, to operate alongside the already existing mission school system. Faced with the initial reluctance of the indigenous people to send their children to school, the Germans cleverly used marches to lure the children into school. The early recruiting crusades of marches and the later gymnastic exercises and athletics competitions were attractive to the children and thus kept them interested in school life.

The German system of gymnastics, based on traditional *Deutsches Turnen,* the Swedish Ling system of gymnastics and the *Ordnungsübungen*, was taught in schools like Tanga and Mpwapwa Central Schools. These gymnastics played an important part in the training of lower-ranking civil servants for service in the colonial government and soldiers for inclusion in the colonial forces, the initial and major task of the school system. Jahn's, Rothstein's and Spiess' concepts of gymnastics all played a crucial role in the early stages of this preparation. The elements that dominated this training in their concepts were obedience, discipline and conformity.

In the context of producing obedient servants, the German system of gymnastics served as a means of ensuring dominance and difference - politically, socially and culturally. In essence, it was cultural imperialism for political ends and as such had a substantial impact on German East African society and hugely influenced the history of sport in Tanzania.

With the outbreak of World War I, Germany's days in German East Africa were numbered. Germany was finally defeated in 1918 and soon after the League of Nations entrusted Britain with the administration of the territory. The British were also to have a significant, probably the most significant, impact on the sporting traditions of Tanzania. This impact is discussed directly in Chapter Seven. Chapters Five and Six respectively, deal with the emergence of team games in the British Public Schools and the role of drill in the British Elementary Schools. Both developments were crucial for the eventual evolution of modern sport in Tanzania.

Notes

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1. The Guinness History Fact Book, Guinness Publishing Ltd., London, 1994, P. 23.
2. Ibid., p. 23. It is said that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Europeans, particularly the Portuguese and the Spaniards, took the lead embarking on ambitious voyages overseas. Inspired by religious zeal and desire for riches, explorers such as Christopher Columbus and Ferdinand Magellan, paved the way for large Portuguese and Spanish empires overseas.
3. R. Castleden, The Concise Encyclopedia of World History, Parragon Books Service Ltd., Bristol, 1994, pp. 235-280.
4. Ibid., pp. 235-280.
5. Ibid., p. 280.
6. The Guinness History Fact Book, Guinness Publishing Ltd., London, 1994, P. 23.
7. R. Castleden, The Concise Encyclopedia of World History, Parragon Books Service Ltd., Bristol, 1994, pp. 235-280.
8. Ibid., pp. 251-252.
9. G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, 1973, Chronology of African History, Oxford University Press, London, p. 81.
10. B. Davidson, *et al*, The Growth of African Civilisation: East and Central Africa to the late Nineteenth Century, Longmans, Nairobi, 1967, p. 170.
11. J. E. Otiende, *et al*, Education and Development in Kenya: A Historical Perspective, Oxford University Press, Nairobi, 1992, p. 41.

12. B. Davidson, *et al*, The Growth of African Civilisation: East and Central Africa to the late Nineteenth Century, Longmans, Nairobi, 1967, p. 170.

13. G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, 1973, Chronology of African History, Oxford University Press, London, p. 81.

14. By modern sport is meant essentially Western games and sports.

15. J. M. Gray, 'Zanzibar and the Coastal Belt 1840 – 1884' in R. Oliver and G. Mathew (eds.), Oxford Press, London, 1963, p. 229.

16. See N. R. Bennett, 'Arab Impact', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, p. 216.

17. Ibid., pp.216-217.

18. Ibid., pp.216-217.

19. Ibid., pp.216-217.

20. Ibid., pp.216-217.

21. Ibid., pp.216-217.

22. J. M. Gray, 'Zanzibar and the Coastal Belt 1840 – 1884' in R. Oliver and G. Mathew (eds.), Oxford Press, London, 1963, p. 229.

23. J. Iliffe, "Tanzania Under German and British Rule" in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran, Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House and Longmans, Nairobi, 1968, p. 290.

24. J. Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, African Studies Series No. 25, Cambridge University Press, 1979, p. 88.

25. Ibid., p. 88.

26. D. V. Van Dalen and B. L. Bennett, A World History of Physical Education: Culture, Philosophy, Comparative, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1971, p. 216.

27. R. Castleden, The Concise Encyclopedia of World History: Every Major Events from 38000 B. C. to the Present Day, Parragon, Bristol, 1995, p.466.

28. Ibid., p. 466.

29. J. Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika: African Studies Series No. 25, Cambridge University Press, 1979, pp. 89-90.

30. Ibid., p. 89.

31. Ibid., p. 88.

32. R. Oliver and J. Fage, A Short History of Africa, Penguin Books, Third edition, Harmondsworth, 1970, p. 185.

33. Ibid., p. 185.

34. Ibid., p. 185.

35. Ibid., p. 185.

36. For a detailed discussion of this see R. Oliver and J. Fage A Short History of Africa, Penguin Books, Third edition, Harmondsworth, 1970, Chapter Sixteen.

37. J. Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, African Studies Series No. 25, Cambridge University Press, 1979, p. 88.

38. Ibid., p. 88.

39. Ibid., pp. 89-90.

40. J. Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika: African Study Series 25, Cambridge University Press, 1979, p. 88; J. Iliffe, 'Tanzania Under German and British Rule' in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran, Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East Africa Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, p. 290; R. Oliver and J. D. Fage, A Short History of Africa, Harmondsworth, 1970, p. 187.

41. S. M. Kejeri and J. Henschel, Bagamoyo: The Beauty at the Beach, Tabora, Tanzania, n.d., p. 24.

42. R. Oliver and J. Fage write, "Carl Peters and his associates had obtained dubious treateis from bemused 'chiefs' in the course of a single expedition lasting a few weeks." See R. Oliver and J. D. Fage, A Short History of Africa, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1970, p. 187.

43. J. Iliffe, 'Tanzania Under German and British Rule'. in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran, Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House and Longmans, Nairobi, 1968, p. 290.

44. R. Oliver and J. D. Fage, A Short History of Africa, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1970, p. 187.

45. J. Koponen, Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mailand Tanzania, 1884 - 1914. Raamattutalo, Helsinki, 1994, pp 56-57.

46. The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Africa, 1981, Cambridge University Press, London, p. 144.

47. J. Iliffe, 'Tanzania Under German and British Rule', in A. Ogot and J. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, 290.

48. Ibid., p. 291.

49. Ibid., p. 291.

50. For a discussion of direct and indirect rule and their consequences in German East Africa and Tanganyika see, J. Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, African Studies Series No 25, Cambridge Press, 1979, pp. 318-341.

51. J. Iliffe, 'Tanzania under German and British Rule', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, p. 294. See also C. Ehrlich, 'Economic and Social Developments before Independence', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, p. 336.

52. J. Iliffe, 'Tanzania under German and British Rule', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, p. 294. See also C. Ehrlich, 'Economic and Social Developments before Independence', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, p. 336.

53. V. Harlow (ed.), History of East Africa: Germany East Africa 1884-1918, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1965, p. 145. Harlow writes, "On the coast the Muslims had their own 'Qura'nic schools' in which pupils were taught to read and write Swahili in Arabic character. The administration realised that some Africans would have to become proficient both in Swahili (in Latin characters) and in arithmetic so that they could become clerks in local government offices, on the railways and on plantations."

54. See V. Harlow (ed.), History of East Africa: Germany East Africa 1884-1918, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1965, p. 145.

55. J. G. Dixon, 'Prussia, Politics and Physical Education' in P. C. McIntosh, *et al*, Landmarks in the History of Physical Education, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, Boston and Henley, 1981, passim.

56. Ibid., p. 119.

57. Ibid., p. 120.

58. Ibid., p. 119.

59. Ibid., p. 120.

60. R. Singer (ed.), Physical Education: Foundations, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1976, p. 68.

61. Ibid., p. 68.

62. Ibid., p. 68.

63. J. G. Dixon, 'Prussia, Politics and Physical Education' in P. C. McIntosh, *et al*, Landmarks in the History of Physical Education, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, Boston and Henley, 1981, p. 121.

64. Ibid. p. 206.

65. Ibid. p. 209.

66. U. Merkel, 'The Hidden Social and Political History of the German Football Association (Dfb), 1900 – 50', in Soccer and Society, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Summer 2000), p. 168.

67. Ibid., p. 168.

68. Ibid., p 168.

69. Ibid., p.168.

70. J. G. Dixon, 'Prussia, Politics and Physical Education' in P. C. McIntosh, *et al*, Landmarks in the History of Physical Education, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, Boston and Henley, 1981, p. 122.

71. Germany fought numerous wars, against, among other nations, France before and during the reign of Napoleon Bornapate. In addition, at one time France occupied Germany.

72. J. G. Dixon, 'Prussia, Politics and Physical Education' in P. C. McIntosh, *et al*, Landmarks in the History of Physical Education, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, Boston and Henley, 1981, p. 209.

73. R. Singer (ed.), Physical Education: Foundations, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1976, p. 68.

74. J. G. Dixon, 'Prussia, Politics and Physical Education' in P. C. McIntosh, *et al*, Landmarks in the History of Physical Education, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, Boston and Henley, 1981, p. 132.

75. P. C. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800, Bell and Hyman, London, 1968, p.11.

76. The Gymnastic Free Exercise of P. H. Ling: A Systematized Course without Apparatus, Groombridge & Sons, London, 1943, p. 1.

77. R. Singer (ed.), Physical Education: Foundations, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1976, p. 69.

78. The Gymnastic Free Exercise of P. H. Ling: A Systematized Course without Apparatus, Groombridge & Sons, London, 1943, p. 1.

79. R. Singer (ed.), Physical Education: Foundations, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1976, p. 69.

80. J. G. Dixon, 'Prussia, Politics and Physical Education' in P. C. McIntosh, *et al*, Landmarks in the History of Physical Education, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, Boston and Henley, 1981, p. 133.

81. R. Singer (ed.), Physical Education: Foundations, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1976, p. 68.

82. J. G. Dixon, 'Prussia, Politics and Physical Education' in P. C. McIntosh, *et al*, Landmarks in the History of Physical Education, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, Boston and Henley, 1981, p. 133.

83. Ibid., p. 132.

84. Ibid., p. 132.

85. Ibid., p. 133.

86. For the discussion of the emergence and development of team games in Britain in the nineteenth century see Chapter Five.

87. U. Merkel, 'The Hidden Social and Political History of the German Football Association (Dfb), 1900 – 50', in Soccer and Society, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Summer 2000), p. 168.

88. Ibid., p. 170.

89. Ibid., p. 170.

90. Ibid., p. 171.

91. J. G. Dixon, 'Prussia, Politics and Physical Education' in P. C. McIntosh, *et al*, Landmarks in the History of Physical Education, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, Boston and Henley, 1981, p. 134.

92. D. B. Van Dalen and B. L. Bennett, A World History of Physical Education: Cultural, Philosophical, Comparative, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1971, 216.

93. J. G. Dixon, 'Prussia, Politics and Physical Education' in P. C. McIntosh, *et al*, Landmarks in the History of Physical Education, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, Boston and Henley, 1981, p. 134.

94. U. Merkel, 'The Hidden Social and Political History of the German Football Association (Dfb), 1900 – 50', in Soccer and Society, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Summer 2000), p. 171.

95. Ibid., p. 171.

96. Ibid., p. 171.

97. Ibid., p. 171.

98. Ibid., p. 171.

99. The exciting debate on the concept of Western education is outside the scope of this study. The term 'Western education' is used here to distinguish between indigenous education, which was informal, Islamic education, which was literal involving the reading and writing in Arabic in order to read the Qur'an, and formal education introduced generally by the westerners – missionaries, governments and other western agencies.

100. A. Smith, 'The Missionary Contribution to Education (Tanganyika) to 1914, Tanganyika Notes and Records, No. 60, 1963, passim.

101. J. Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, African Studies Series No. 25, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1979, p. 84.

102. Ibid., p. 84.

103.. See G. Hornsby, 'German Educational Achievement in East Africa', Tanganyika Notes and Records, Vol. 2, 1964, p. 83. See also R. Oliver and J. D. Fage, A Short History of Africa, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, England, 1962, p. 204.

104. U. M. C. A. Occasional Papers, 1878, p. 21. See also See G. Hornsby, 'German Educational Achievement in East Africa', Tanganyika Notes and Records, Dar es Salaam, 1964, p. 83.

105. W. O. Henderrson, 'German East Africa 1884 – 1918', in V. Harlow (ed.), History of East Africa, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1965, p. 203.

106. Ibid., p. 203.

107. G. Hornsby, 'German Educational Achievement in East Africa', Tanganyika Notes and Records, Dar es Salaam, 1964, p. 83.

108. R. Oliver and J. D. Fage, A Short History of Africa, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, England, 1962, p. 204.

109. G. Hornsby, 'German Educational Achievement in East Africa', Tanganyika Notes and Records, Dar es Salaam Printers, 1964, p. 87.

110. Ibid., p.88.

111. A. Smith, 'The Missionary Contribution to Education (Tanganyika) to 1914, Tanganyika Notes and Records, No. 60, 1963, p.92.

112. G. Hornsby, 'German Educational Achievement in East Africa', Tanganyika Notes and Records, Dar es Salaam, 1964, p. 83.

113. G. Hornsby, A Brief History of Tanga School up to 1914, Government Printers, Dar es Salaam, Nos. 58 and 59, 1962, p. 148.

114. Information obtained from an interview with the headmaster of the school, Richard Mazengo, on February 18th, 1997.

115. G. Hornsby, 'German Educational Achievement in East Africa', Tanganyika Notes and Records, Vol. 2, Government Printers, Dar es Salaam, 1964, p. 83.

116. R. Oliver and J. D. Fage, A Short History of Africa, (3rd ed.), Penguin Books,, Harmondsworh, 1970, p. 196.

117. G. Hornsby, 'German Educational Achievement in East Africa', Tanganyika Notes and Records, Vol. 2, Government Printers, Dar es Salaam, 1964, p. 83.

118. Ibid. p. 90.

119. Ibid., p. 90.

120. Ibid., p. 90.

121. G. Hornsby, A Brief History of Tanga School up to 1914, Government Printers, Dar es Salaam, 1962, p. 148.

122. Ibid., p. 148.

123. G. Hornsby, 'German Educational Achievement in East Africa', Tanganyika Notes and Records, Vol. 2, Government Printers, Dar es Salaam, 1964, p. 83.

124. G. Hornsby, <u>A Brief History of Tanga School up to 1914</u>, Nos. 58 and 59, Government Printers, Dar es Salaam, 1962, p. 149.

125. G. Hornsby, 'German Educational Achievement in East Africa', Tanganyika Notes and Records, Vol. 2, Government Printers, Dar es Salaam, 1964, p. 90.

126. By 1906 there were six main government schools – Tanga, Bagamoyo, Dar es Salaam, Pangani, Lindi and Kilwa. Mpwapwa was a military school.

127. G. Hornsby, <u>A Brief History of Tanga School up to 1914</u>, Government Printers, Dar es Salaam, 1962, p. 148.

128. Ibid., p. 148.

129. A 'government school', in contrast to a 'mission school', was a school established (or otherwise acquired) by the government and owned and run by the government.

130. Most of the information utilised here was collected during fieldwork at Tanga School in February, 1997. The sources included an interview with the Headmaster of the school S. Teti, a collection of photographs preserved in the school, especially those which were prepared for the centenary of the school and a summary of the speech that was given to mark that occasion.

131. Information obtained from S. M. Teti, the present headmaster of the school, during an interview on February 26, 1997.

132. G. Hornsby, 'German Educational Achievement in East Africa', Tanganyika Notes and Records, Vol. 2, Government Printers, Dar es Salaam, 1964, p. 85.

133. Ibid., p. 85.

134. See for example, 'Proposal for a Secondary School Physical Education Programme', Dar es Salaam, n.d. In this proposal the following elements are included: Gymnastics - Free-Standing Exercise, Tumbling, Vaulting, Parallel bars, Horizontal bars and Balancing. See also Mpwapwa Teacher Training College: An Introduction to Physical education, Mpwapwa, n.d., in which the same elements are included.

135. Information obtained during an interview with S. Teti, the headmaster of Tanga Technical Secondary School, in February, 1997.

136. Information obtained during an interview with Richard Mazengo, the headmaster of Mpwapwa Secondary School, in February, 1997.

137. Information obtained during an interview with the headmaster of the school on February 18th, 1997.

138. U. Merkel, 'The Hidden Social and Political History of the German Football Association (Dfb), 1900-50' in Soccer and Society, Vol. 1, No. 2, (Summer 2000), p. 169.

139. J. A. Mangan (ed.), Shaping the Superman: Fascist Body as Political Icon – Aryan Fascism, Frank Cass, London, 1999, back cover.

140. G. Hornsby, 'German Educational Achievement in East Africa', Tanganyika Notes and Records, Vol. 2, Government Printers, Dar es Salaam, 1964, p. 90.

141. See, for example, R. Oliver and J. D. Fage, A Short History of Africa, Harmondsworth, 1970 (3rd ed.), pp.181 - 196; J. Iliffe, 'Tanzanian under German and British Rule', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, p. 290; J. Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, Cambridge University Press, 1979, p. 292: Sultan Machemba wrote Major Wissmann, the commander of the German troops sent to put down these nationalistic resistances in 1899, 'I have listened to your words... but I can find no reason why I should obey you - I would rather die first...I am Sultan here in my land. You are a sultan there in yours...I will not come to you, and if you are strong enough, then come and fetch me'.

142. J. Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika: African Series No. 25, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1979, p.200.

143.Ibid., p.200.

Chapter Five

Public Schools in Britain in the Nineteenth Century: The Emergence of Team Games and the Development of the Educational Ideology of Athleticism

As mentioned in the proceeding chapter Germany was defeated in World War I and subsequently lost her colonies in Africa. By virtue of her significant presence in the eastern African region at the end of the war, Britain was given a mandate by the League of Nations to administer the defunct German East Africa, which she renamed Tanganyika. Under the terms of the mandate, Britain was to prepare the country for independence. One area that Britain was to improve was the education of the indigenous Tanganyikans. As will be illustrated in Chapter Seven, Britain pursued a policy of adaptive education in the country. It was through the medium of education that British team games were to enter Tanganyikan schools and society at large. Team games were the essential elements of the English educational ideology of Athleticism.[1] This chapter examines the growth and consolidation of this ideology in the British public schools in the nineteenth century. This therefore now receives attention.

Consideration of the emergence of modern team games in the English, and then other British, public schools after 1850 gives us not only an historical but also a conceptual basis for discussing, exploring and examining the impact of the British administration of Tanganyika on sport, in Tanganyika and later in Tanzania. The two are historically and causally related. Unquestionably, this emergence is a relevant starting point. As will be argued in due course, it was on the foundation of this 'pillar' of a modern sports revolution – the global diffusion of organised team games - that modern sport in Tanzania was later to be constructed. In this connection it is of value to briefly describe the conditions in the public schools in Britain before 1850. This will throw light on the circumstances that gave rise to the idea of organised games in these schools. This, in turn, will set the stage for a consideration of the development of the ideology of Athleticism and an analysis of its influence on contemporary sport in Tanzania. The conditions in public schools before 1850 are therefore briefly described below.

5.1 Conditions in British Public Schools Before 1850

The often appalling conditions in British public schools before 1850 have been described in the strongest terms by J. A. Mangan as too frequently "hell on earth - brutal, harsh and cruel."[2] Of particular relevance here is the fact that there was no organised 'outlet', within the school curriculum or as an extra-curricular activity, for the boys' natural inclination for physical activity.[3] Outside the classroom they were unsupervised and this allowed delinquent behaviour. They often committed irresponsible and destructive acts. It is recorded that in more than one school, pupils raided neighbouring farmers, terrorised them, beat them up and stole their fowl and sheep.[4] Furthermore, the unpleasant conditions in the schools ensured that from time to time the boys rose up in revolt. In the face of such violence the local soldiery had to be called in to quell the unrest. In short, too often on too many occasions, too many British upper-class boys were out of control. Overwhelming evidence[5] reveals that the pre-1850 British public school system was a world of its own - frequently a nasty world.

The mythological image of the British upper class school system of this period is one of tranquillity, decency and order.[6] Such an image is symbolised above all by Eton College. It was believed to produce the 'perfect' English gentlemen - well mannered, well behaved and well spoken. The reality of mid-Victorian times was that too frequently the public school product was tough and undisciplined.

Thus the picture is painted of public school life before 1850. Conditions were harsh, the boys had liberty to roam over the local countryside where they often caused trouble - and organised games were as yet unknown. As such, there was always the danger of a breach of peace in the schools.

In his acclaimed monograph, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School, Mangan[7] singled out the year 1851 as a turning point in the history of the British public school. In his view, this year marked the beginning of a revolution in

the history of these schools. This revolution paved the way for team games to become a powerful instrument of character training. Its roots can be traced to Marlborough College in late October, 1851.

5.2 Marlborough College, George Edward Lynch Cotton and Organised Games after 1850

Marlborough College was officially inaugurated on August 20, 1843.[8] The Reverend Mathew Wilkinson, a former lecturer of Clare Hall (later Clare College, Cambridge) was appointed its first headmaster.

In its eagerness to attract as many pupils as possible, Marlborough set and kept its fees comparatively low.[9] This encouraged middle class clergymen of moderate means to send their sons to the school. When the school was established, a total of two hundred pupils were enrolled, but by 1848 this number had soared to about five hundred. This was described as 'too fast' an increase and later on, it posed organisational difficulties for the school.[10] The majority of the first two hundred boys came from the west of England. Many of them had already attended similar schools while others were fresh from home. All had to undergo the process of resettling and this was characterised by a roughness that distinguished the school throughout its early years.[11] At Marlborough the boys slept together in large unpartitioned dormitories and ate together in one large dining room. More often than not there was not enough food and as a result, on many occasions the boys went hungry.[12] Worse still, this seething mass was frequently agitated by ferocious beatings. One former Marlburian has described the common scenes and the beatings in the following words: "at frequent intervals and upon slight provocation the formidable frails leapt from their luring-places and descended upon the backs of the trembling culprits."[13]

Before 1850 at Marlborough College, except for the traditional leap-frog and other localised games such as fly-the-garte and peg-top, there were no organised team games or activities.[14] A. G. Bradley (himself the headmaster of the school between 1858 and 1870) lamented that the founders of the school did not make any provision

for such activities. It seems that the founders did not consider them important enough to include in the school curriculum.[15] Except for attempts at cricket, the boys possessed few opportunities for organising regular school games among themselves, nor did they receive much help in this direction from the school and its masters.[16] Bradley believed that because of this, activities such as team games and athletics, had difficulty in making headway at Marlborough.[17]

The boys were, however, as mentioned earlier, allowed a great deal of freedom to ramble. They often exploited this freedom and used to 'escape' and 'invade' the town, where they got drunk, became quarrelsome and antagonised the inhabitants. They had also brought with them the crude sporting instinct of their west country homes. In their rambles they turned into squirrel- hunters, rat-catchers and poachers of poultry. One former Marlburian humorously remarked years later, "in those days if an old woman's cat died suddenly in Devizes, its fate was attributed to the diabolic machinations of the college boys."[18] The early Marlburians did not seem to be bothered by the absence of organised games - no doubt due to their background and earlier experiences where organised games were unknown. The majority were country-bred. Team games and their virtues were of secondary importance to them.[19] Most likely, because of the 'wild' home background of the boys, the lack of supervision and the absence of systematic organised physical activities, there was always a potential for rebellious violence at pre-1850 Marlborough. One such rebellion happened in late October, 1851. Arguably, it was to change the British public school system permanently.

The primary causes of the rebellion were described by the later headmaster, A. G. Bradley, then a teacher at Marlborough, as "merely the fruition of the insubordination that for a long period had been growing and ripening."[20] The school had become demoralised. The presence of one Mr. Pevior, the gate-keeper, added fuel to the already burning fire of discontent. The boys were perpetually outraged by the responsibilities devolved upon him. He was supposed, among other things, to report in a book such trivia as bad language, or breaches of morals and discipline that

came to his notice. It is said that he did this with more zeal than tact, and as such "his hand was against every man and every man's hand was against him."[21]

One late October evening in 1851, an attack of a more serious nature than usual was made on the Peviar stronghold. The matter was reported and the 'culprits' - in this case the whole school - were punished. They were confined to their classrooms indefinitely.[22] This so infuriated the boys that they went berserk - they smashed school windows and pelted and hissed at every master who attempted to keep order. They attacked the headmaster, set the court ablaze with fireworks and almost 'blew up' the school.

In the course of the unrest one significant thing happened - the 'ring leader' was expelled. The expelled boy was a prefect and he happened to be a popular figure among the boys. In their eyes his expulsion was unjust. As he was being driven away, the entire school broke out of the gates in a mass and followed him, shouting and cheering with wild enthusiasm. Oddly, the town folk also joined in sympathy. As a result the school authority was almost paralysed. The revolution had begun. As usual the local soldiery was called in to contain the unrest, but this time it was too late. Serious damage to both property and reputation had already been done. This revolution was to go down in Marlborough history as the worst of them all. [23]

Two major conclusions may be drawn in connection with this 'great rebellion' (as it was known) at Marlborough. Firstly, it was to be the last of such violent revolts in the school (although there were minor outbreaks later). Secondly, Rev. M. Wilkinson, the headmaster, was 'forced' to resign.[24]

Recalling Wilkinson's administration in 1893, A. G. Bradley and colleagues described him as an excellent scholar, a disciplinarian and a man of the most amiable and kindly disposition, but whose good work has been obscured by the difficulties of a single day at the school.[25] Nevertheless, Bradley and his colleagues were not happy with some aspects of his administration. They noted a tendency towards autocracy, which they complained, tended to sap the sense of responsibility in his subordinates.

This, they concluded, "worsened the situation at the school and often led to the riots and violence that befell Marlborough".[26] Eventually, of course, it contributed to Wilkinson's own 'downfall' and disappearance from the school.

In 1852, George Edward Lynch Cotton replaced Wilkinson as headmaster.[27] Cotton serendipitously was to change not only the history of Marlborough but also the history and role of sport in society in Britain and in its empire. This change, in turn, was to have a huge influence on world sport. The impact of this change on sport in contemporary Tanzania is discussed in Chapter Eight. It is now time to turn briefly to the career of Cotton at Marlborough.

Cotton was educated at Westminster School and Trinity College, Cambridge and had taught at Rugby. He was one of the 'apostles' of Thomas Arnold.[28] (Others, to mention but a few, were the reformists C. J. Vaughan of Harrow, A. G. Butler of Haileybury, J. Percival of Clifton and H. Hart of Sedbergh.) At Rugby, Cotton had been profoundly influenced by Arnold's moral and religious stance.[29] Equipped with disciplinary skills and creativity Cotton went to Marlborough College and inherited a school with a large, disorganised and turbulent community.[30] Undoubtedly, his priority was to gain control over this volatile batch of boys which, for some years, had terrorised the neighbourhood and bullied the staff.

Cotton set out to regenerate the school. In June, 1953 he prepared a 'Circular to Parents' in which he argued for improved cultural amenities, a reformed syllabus and *organised team games*.[31] This circular was not only a cornerstone for organisational reform, but also fundamental to the evolution of Athleticism. It constituted a statement of intent to include games as part of the formal curriculum.[32] In fact, "it marked a turning point in the development of public school education" at large.[33] "It was the epitaph to unsupervised leisure."[34] As part of the organisational reform, Cotton transformed the prefect system by enlarging its functions and investing more powers and responsibilities in the sixth formers.[35] He strongly believed that they should be the 'governors' of the school, thus making the school 'govern itself'. As it turned out this method proved to be effective. Accompanying this transformation

was the creation of the 'house system' whereby the school was divided into a number of units, called 'houses'. Each house was allocated a housemaster who had overall charge, and a prefect who supervised the daily schedules – rising, studying, retiring and dining - and the social and extra-curricular activities of the house.[36]

Concomitant with the creation of the house system was the formal organisation of team games such as cricket and football. It was this that was to have the greatest effect on the school. In games, Cotton recognised the antidote to most of the disciplinary troubles that had been the cause of so many problems at Marlborough.[37] He, therefore, aimed at not only popularising school games but also establishing them on a proper and permanent basis. To stimulate participation and ensure continuity, Cotton remodelled the rules of the school Cricket Club. He introduced, among other changes, a membership subscription from all pupils. Cricket became firmly established at the school with the result that the Marlburians of the early days of organised team games reported numerous internal contests. Football competitions also were organised regularly between houses, in which all members of the house participated either as players or spectators. The boys now had organised outlets for their natural inclination for physical activity. Chief among the cricket competitions was the annual match between what were known in the school as the 'Old House' and the 'New House'.[38] This match evoked an enormous amount of enthusiasm. Ranked second in importance was the match between the School and the Common Room - the Masters' Eleven.[39] Besides these two contests, there were various other matches, such as the Sixth Form versus the School, and even eccentric rivalries such as the 'North' versus the 'South', 'Tall' versus 'Short' and 'Dark' hair versus 'Fair'.[40]

The crucial relationship between the house system and team games was that the former was important for the growth of the latter. The comparatively small size of the houses meant that almost everyone had to play in the house matches at various levels. Gradually the house system became part and parcel of competitive school life. All members of the house were involved in these internal house battles either physically as players or emotionally as spectators. However, 'the house - feeling' did

not fully develop until later. When it did, the great rivalry among the houses, which lasted for many years, showed itself fiercely in cricket and football contests.[41] Through this constant repetition of house games, a value system was assimilated, emotions were stimulated and for many, pleasant experiences were accumulated.[42] This particular innovation by Cotton was a powerful method of 'system maintenance' in which dominant values were stressed and discontent reduced. It also promoted acceptance of school life and provided meaningful reminiscences for adulthood.[43]

By late 1850s, elsewhere, the use of organised games essentially as means of social control but also for the training of character in the public schools was in progress. It was part of an organisational, disciplinary and curricular reform. A brief look at Harrow under Charles Vaughan and Loretto under Hely Hutchinson Almond will suffice to make the point.

5.3 Harrow and Loretto and Organised Games

Under the headship of Charles Vaughan, Harrow Philathletic Club was established at Harrow in 1853. It aimed at promoting among the members of the school an increased interest in games and other manly exercises.[44] A club Prospectus, in some ways resembling George Cotton's 'Circular to Parents', was subsequently printed which aimed at encouraging recreational games for the maintenance of order and discipline in the school.[45] The Prospectus expressed concern about a general apathy and want of spirit and a considerable lack of interest in games. To ensure the promotion of, and to raise the level of enthusiasm for, various games, the Prospectus urged members to make pecuniary contributions and to collect subscriptions for games prizes. It also endorsed house matches and the construction of a gymnasium. Vaughan argued that through a sports club it was possible to disseminate stronger feelings of interest in manly exercises and amusements than had previously existed in the school.[46] As Mangan has observed, "this was an accurate prediction. In later decades the Philathletic Club was to be a body of enormous influence, prestige and power."[47] Its members, comprising thirty boys elected from the fifth and sixth forms,

a '*corps d'elite*', organised, coerced and flattered the bulk of the school into a system of regimented games. As such it was both a significant instrument of institutional innovation, and a means of establishing order and discipline. It was to be widely imitated.[48]

At Loretto School, compulsory participation in organised games as part of the acclaimed ambition of promulgating good health came about due entirely to its headmaster Hely Hutchinson Almond. He wished to establish a 'balanced' curriculum for both intellectual and physical development.[49] The legendary maxim *mens sana in corpore sano* – a healthy mind in a healthy body – was at forefront of his mind and influenced his pedagogical decisions. He proposed and implemented a timetable that devoted some forty two percent of active[50] hours to 'intellectual' development and over twenty one percent to physical activity. This timetable, with physical education as a compulsory component, came into operation in 1870. However this arrangement was somewhat contradictory, not least to Almond's self-proclaimed aim of education for individuality.[51] But that is a different story.

Between 1860 and 1930 at Marlborough, Harrow and Loretto, in the words of Mangan, "an assortment of headmasters, masters, old boys and pupils wove around their games and playing fields a sometimes attractive, frequently naive and occasionally ridiculous web of romance and chivalry."[52] Often this was woven through published prose, verse and articles in school magazines, and in school and house songs. These verbal symbols of ideological commitment embedded in various sources may be described as "the rhetoric of cohesion, of sexual identity, of patriotism and above all, of morality."[53] Messages of loyalty, masculinity, chauvinism and decency were unmistakably obvious and occur repeatedly.[54] As a direct consequence of this the public school system appeared to develop symbols of an athletic nature that promoted manly values not only among members of the same school but also across schools.

Headmasters and assistant masters lost no time in attempting to establish and consolidate this manliness. It was clearly depicted and echoed in the messages

contained in the various verses of the traditional school songs of many schools.[55] An example of such inspirational reiteration of symbolism is the Loretto school song 'The Old Red Coat' which attempted to rouse institutional patriotism.[56] Other examples from Loretto were 'Going Strong' and 'Go Like Blazes' which aimed at propagating the virtues of loyalty and fellowship. The boys were reminded to be 'always on the ball', to 'carry every maul' and always to 'go strong' all the way[57] - the expected behaviour of a Lorettonian. In short, in the words of Mangan, "sporting prosody was a noticeable feature of Victorian and Edwardian upper-class Britain."[58] Organised team games became a powerful source of sporting lyrics, which provided messages for appropriate masculinity. Mangan has argued that the verbal symbolism of Athleticism, in these terms, was a highly successful agent of socialisation, of social control and of social cohesion both in public schools and in the society at large. This symbolism assisted in the development of individual role, collective habits and an institutional value system. It both created and reflected an ethos. It constituted a set of symbols for believing and acting.[59] While the verbal symbolism of Athleticism was promoting such qualities participation in organised games was viewed as central to the character building and leadership training of public school boys.

5.4 Public School, Character Building and Leadership Training

A public school education then ostensibly trained a boy's character and taught him leadership. The underlying assumption was that public school life was adult life in the making and that a school was an anteroom where all the essential values of society were learned.[60] The values and qualities determining leadership and character were inculcated through the medium of the school syllabus, the house and prefect systems but arguably above all, through organised team games.

A prefect, as leader of a house, exercised power. Other members of the house learnt to obey. The belief was that the leaders came to learn that responsibility to govern was an inextricable part of power and privilege while the followers came to rely on the safety and security of being responsibly led. In this way, it was believed, that the

two attitudes became embedded in the consciousness of every boy and that an atmosphere was created which was characterised by responsible dominance and deference. The wider implications were that with this subscription, boys were prepared for a life that was male-led, authoritarian and confident.[61]

Although analysts[62] of the prefectorial system have accused it of social snobbery and authoritarianism, its existence and ease of operation contributed to order and it was, therefore, functional.[63] As mentioned earlier, a prefect supervised the daily schedules and the social and extra-curricular activities of the house. A prefect might have been feared or resented, as well as admired and envied, but he was clearly important and valuable. He ran the house and the boys' lives on and off pitches. Such an experience may be considered evidence enough that a boy had acquired leadership skills.

The public schools also, and above all, specialised in character training. The process of character building and the associated moral glorification of games became practically inseparable.[64] "Games became the wheel round which the moral values turned. It was a genuinely and extensively held belief that they inspired virtue, they developed manliness, they formed character."[65] Games came to occupy such a high position in British society, that the late Victorian era saw the elevation of the game of cricket by the middle classes to the status of a moral discipline.[66] They made the game compulsory for their children. It is well documented[67] that they did so because they valued competence in the game and they respected what this came to signify more than they valued intellectual accomplishment.[68]

The middle classes saw games as a means through which they could 'dominate' the upper classes.[69] Coincidentally, public schools and ancient universities provided the forum where the moral outlook of the dissenting middle classes and the athletic instincts of the upper class met.[70] The games field provided a 'neutral ground' where the different tendencies of ethical commitment of the two opposing classes converged. "The middle classes with a strong tendency to serious ethical commitment 'colonised' the upper classes in the late Victorian society."[71] Not surprisingly, cricket became a symbol *par excellence* cementing moral obligations.

To a young Briton, therefore, sportsmanship was not only symbolic of moral proficiency but also it was an instrument of civilisation. It was as important to him as was British law, religion and education for 'civilising',[72] both himself – and his colonial subordinates.

In the late Victorian era, therefore, the concept of character took the form of an organising principle both in its metropolitan and imperial usage. It became "a highly charged term of portentous significance."[73] This is reflected in its widespread occurrence and its frequent use in imperial contexts. An attempt must be made to find the connection between the late Victorian obsession with the concept of character and the widespread support for the empire. At the turn of the century, British society is said to have been obsessed with 'character' and imperialism. Late Victorians are said to have been "committed to the empire primarily because of the close association that it came to have with the inculcation, demonstration and transmission of valued 'Anglo-Saxon' qualities embodied in the concept of 'character'."[74] Ample evidence[75] points to the fact that the inculcation of these 'nationalistic' qualities was attempted on both metropolitan and colonial playing fields. Sport, therefore, played an important role in imperial socialisation. The 'frontline practitioners' were those who were destined to be the leaders of the empire by virtue of their position in elite society. It was in response to the middle and late Victorian obsession with character and the subsequent adoption of sport as a means of fostering it that the influential educational ideology of Athleticism evolved beyond its initial purpose as an instrument of control.[76]

In the context of the empire, Athleticism was significant. It was a vital element of British imperialism.[77] At the core of the British moral commitment to imperialism lay the 'civilising' mission of the British. Sport became a symbol of personal perfection representing and, at the same time, propagating both imperial solidarity and imperial superiority. It epitomised moral norms that exemplified and explained imperial ambition and achievement.[78]

Participation in sport served too as a significant manifestation of community.[79] In the British Empire, sportsmen and sports fields formed an alliance of agents and agencies of this bonding process.[80] Through this process by virtue of domination, control and contact, cultural links were established between Great Britain, dominions and colonies.[81] This, in turn, significantly affected the nature of indigenous cultures, political relationships and subordinates' perceptions of superiors and vice versa.[82] This point will be discussed more fully in Chapter Eight in connection with British cultural imperialism in Tanganyika and the 'hang-over' of that imperialism in later Tanzania.

In summary, the late Victorian public schools provided the locations for the training of the character of their boys and their leadership skills for the eventual construction, sustenance and maintenance of the empire at home and abroad. The 'Ancient Universities' of Oxford and Cambridge provided the link between these schools and the empire.

5.5 Oxbridge: The link between the Empire and the Public Schools

'Oxbridge' was literally a bridge between the public schools and the empire. Increasingly, in the second half of the nineteenth century, as the pupils of these schools became students at the ancient universities, they took with them the new sporting habits of their schools. As a direct consequence, traditional university student recreations such as gambling and horseracing declined in popularity.[83] "A love for physical exercise and body training became a common feature of the students' life."[84] One result of this was that, to an extent, expensive immoral pastimes were reduced. Another was that "a successful games player at school flourished in the same way at the university."[85] On completion of university studies, 'blues'[86] returned to schools as assistant masters to set another generation of devotees along the same route, thus a cycle of schoolboy sportsman, university sportsman and schoolmaster sportsman was created.[87] Mangan has noted that after 1850, 'Oxbridge' was, therefore, "the matrix from which athletic young men spread through the public school system, carrying back into it an unadulterated enthusiasm

for games and for physical and moral well-being,"[88] which in turn was carried forward again to the universities and beyond with the result that a stream of games playing public schoolboys was on tap for service in the empire.

In '*Imperial Administration and Athletic Imperative: The Case of the District Officer in Africa*', the distinguished imperial historian, Anthony Kirk-Greene has written that for almost a century, between the 1850s and the 1950s, but certainly up to 1939, performance in sport was an important asset for a career in the colonial service.[89] Success in sport at school and 'Oxbridge' furnished the common denominator between country gentry, city profession and, at the overseas level, colonial squirearchy.[90] It was also believed to partly provide the caste mark of a gentleman - one who could be relied upon.[91] Not only this, but in colonial careers in which the specific attributes of initiative, reliability, determination and leadership - all the elements of 'guts and go' sport - were at a premium, success in sport had the edge as an instrument of provision and propagation.[92]

Kirk-Greene's analysis embraces metropolitan's social history as much as it does imperial administration. The athletic public school and university product - a committed sportsman and a modest leader - was more suitable as a candidate for city chambers or club than for an up country post overseas.[93] Nevertheless, the robust product of the public school and university served the empire in large numbers in various capacities. It is useful in this connection to examine the significance of the conspicuous role of Athleticism in Britain's later recruitment of African administrators.

5.6 The Acquisition of the Caste Mark: Imperial Administrators and Athleticism

Kirk-Greene has identified two prototypes in British social history linked to athletic ability and the recruitment of British imperial administrators. One was the mid-Victorian and Edwardian public school, the nursery of Britain's men on the imperial spot - training cohorts of gentlemen fit to administer the empire.[94] The other was the

lofty reputation of those public schools derived from the code of muscular Christianity.[95] Kirk-Greene has further noted that "the two prototypes, fused together, portray an image of a youthful imperial administrator ruling his black or brown subjects with the same manifestation of benign yet autocratic paternalism."[96] This novel administrator ruled the empire with the same instant and unquestioning authority as he did in his public school days when he was school prefect or captain of cricket or football.[97] The experience of public school prefectship and team captaincy may be related to the practice of 'indirect rule' as the art of governing native races.[98]

In consequence, the role of a District Officer was likened to that of the housemaster while that of a local chief and his advisers was equated with that of prefects. The chief's subjects, it was believed, represented the 'lower school'.[99] Jeffrey Richards has described relationships in the imperial system - between masters and servants, officers and men - "as imitations of the headmaster-pupil relationship of the old school."[100] And imperial rule was merely a continuation of this relationship. "For many of them", he added, "their school life was the most important part of their lives, and for many it ran through their later lives."[101]

This certainly was the view of one of the main architects of the doctrine of 'indirect rule' and renowned African proconsul of the twentieth century, Fredrick (later Lord) Lugard.[102] He once commended the public schools for producing the class that made and maintained the British Empire. "These schools", he stressed, "have produced an English gentleman with an almost passionate conception of fair play, of protection of the weak, and of playing the game. They have trained his leadership skills – how to exercise personal initiative and how to command and obey."[103]

Just how important was athletic ability to a colonial administrator and to those he administered? Kirk-Greene has made the following remarkable observation in this regard:

> Nowhere in the structure of any of Britain's public professions, not even schoolmastering, is the link between Athleticism and acceptability clearer than in the search for the model imperial administrator. The best type of colonial administration would be

> found among those with a recognised record of above-average athletic success at school and university.[104]

The assumption was that "the success of a District Officer [in Africa] depended on his possessing 'character'."[105] Character was developed, tested and proved by participation in team games, which in turn, were an important and integral part of the British public school and the ancient universities' way of life.[106] Arguably, the best example of the direct link between athletic ability and acceptability for an overseas career was the famous Sudan Political Service.

5.7 Colonial Office and the Recruitment of Colonial Servants

In the early stages of the colonial service in Africa generally, the colonial officials came largely from the military. A large number of adventurous ex-officials are known to have filled up the colonial service, at least for the first decade of the 1900s.[107] They came from among the officers who had served in the Boer War. In this phase, the administration of African colonies is said to have been rudimentary and was left to the initiative of individual officers. It was a time of 'off the cuff' decision making.[108] Kirk-Greene has described this period as an era of 'pacification', a time for action first and administrative philosophy a long way second.[109]

However, the military source soon diminished mainly due to the fact that the establishment itself had been stretched to its limits. In addition, unfamiliar diseases and the hard conditions of the tropical climate had taken a heavy toll.[110] Henceforward, the ancient universities became almost the sole source of potential colonial civil servants. An informal liaison had already developed between the colonial office and the ancient universities. Now this liaison had to be revamped to meet the new needs. The establishment of the Oxford University Appointments Committee had come about in 1893. Ralph Furse[111] was its first secretary. This formally established an information network, which was known as the Oxford-Colonial Office-Africa connection.[112] Under this new scheme the number of university graduates from Oxford and Cambridge seeking colonial service

appointments grew steadily in the early 1900s.[113] This made the two universities the principal formal training centres for colonial civil servants.

At the turn of the century, Britain acquired more Tropical African colonies. These included Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda and the Tanganyika Territory. This necessitated the creation of a separate Tropical Africa Service to meet the increased demand for administrators. Later, in the middle of the twentieth century, when recruitment for the empire was at its peak, the Tropical Africa region alone required over seventy per cent of the total number of recruits of the time. South East Asia was served by about fifteen percent.[114] Another fifteen percent was enough to serve the rest of the world. During this early twentieth century phase, more dynamic and intellectual administrators were preferred to the former 'action men' - the military. Universities provided them. By 1910, Oxford was providing administration for the Sudan. Almost at the same time Cambridge was involved in the promotion of West African languages which led in turn to direct recruitment from there. However, not only 'Oxbridge' was involved in recruitment. At London's Imperial Institute special training courses were arranged while Edinburgh University and Trinity College in Dublin now produced a steady supply of graduates for the African civil services.[115]

The whole system of recruiting colonial servants is reported to have changed dramatically after World War I.[116] Significant changes took place in the qualification criteria. They were widened.[117] Having been an officer in the army was no longer an advantage. It was just one among other qualifications. Other changes involved the selection of civil servants from the Dominions to administer the colonies. At first recruits came from Canada and later from South Africa.[118] The universities of Oxford and Cambridge brought about other changes. They agreed to organise pre-service courses for the Tropical African Service cadets selected by the Colonial Office.[119] From now until its closure in 1966 the Colonial Office mostly recruited its colonial servants from Oxford and Cambridge universities.[120]

Without doubt, the process of recruiting colonial servants at the turn of the century owes much to the special relationship that existed between the Colonial Office and

the public schools and the ancient universities. The importance of the British public schools to the colonial services is best expressed by the words of the legendary recruiting secretary, Ralph Furse. He has declared, "as to the public schools they are vital: we could not have run the show without them. In Britain the public schools train character and teach leadership. They are the basic conditioner."[121] The belief was that public schools were a spiritual child of the tradition of chivalry. Chivalry was believed to be one of the qualities of a responsible colonial official, for his work was more than just that of a civil servant. His unique responsibility comprised guiding and protecting native races in primitive societies. He was the bearer of civilisation and the custodian of a sacred trust.[122] So the importance of the public school as a source of recruits to the colonial office was paramount. Furse saw university as a perfect place where there was time enough to think and talk for a few years before going out to *rule* (emphasis added) the world.[123] In his opinion university was the right place for intellectual development.[124]

The colonial office, at least in Furse's view, had to be sure that each applicant had demonstrated convincingly in adolescence and early manhood a genuine concern for the less fortunate. Furse's faith in the value of the public schools to the English leadership class was, in this regard, idealistic, absolute, instinctive and practical.[125] Furse and his staff are known to have maintained constant contact with masters of at least fifty schools.[126] This was, undoubtedly to ensure a continuous relationship between the colonial office and public schools. Furse himself is said to have frequently visited these schools in order to get to know their staff better. This was important in relating the products of individual schools to the needs of the colonies. Marborough College, in particular, is said to have had a strong tradition of overseas service.[127] Moreover, Furse is believed to have valued the opinion of the masters and dons he knew personally more than any formal statements from those he did not know.

To Furse, the best indication that an applicant might make a good colonial servant was the item 'school prefect' or even better 'Head Prefect' on his curriculum vitae. In Furse's view, the prefect's position in the public school system and the position of

a colonial administrator were similar. Both required 'character'. However, it was not quite as simple as this. As noted earlier in the chapter, the concept of 'character' went hand in hand with the growth of team games.[128] Logically, therefore, athletic ability was by no means an unimportant career asset. Robert Heussler analysed an entire year's submissions in colonial files and found that almost all-successful candidates had sport in their curriculum vitae.[129] All showed that they had participated (and excelled) in sport at school and at university. 'Captain of Rugby Football' or the 'School Shooting Seven' appeared again and again. Heussler was of the opinion that in some cases 'brilliant', especially academic, applicants were deliberately avoided and athletes sought.[130] From such findings, it is clear that, in general terms, athletic distinction added weight to the application of an aspiring colonial civil servant.

Analysts[131] of the process of recruitment point to one ambiguity – the lack of formal guidance regarding the definite variables under the summative criterion of 'character'. This was no problem. Evaluation is believed to have been based on the judgement of individual members of the Colonial Service Appointment Board (CSAB). The board relied on its members' 'feelings' that a candidate possessed or did not possess the quintessential qualities of responsibility, initiative and integrity.[132] Their 'feelings' were uncomplicated. One writer has wondered "just how did a young man in search of a career in the imperial service acquire his seemingly indispensable qualification of 'having character'?[133] The answer to this crucial question, the writer has suggested, was by playing games, by having made, and best of all, having led the school eleven or college fifteen or by having led a house.[134] Academic achievement, as noted above, it seems, mattered less in the eyes of the selectors. In a succinct comment, he noted that "a good second and a blue summed up the academic and athletic requirements of a civil servant."[135]

As mentioned earlier, there was pragmatism as well as idealism at work. The Colonial Office seems to have insisted on sound physical proficiency for a very good reason. Conditions in the colonies were expected to be tough. A harsh tropical climate, an unfamiliar environment and often 'hostile and savage people' called for

the kind of prior training that could be accomplished through toughening athletic exercises. It is not surprising that the Colonial Office asked for athletic distinction in the forms that were filled in by the aspiring civil servants for Africa. Or that schoolmasters' flimsy recommendations such as "tall, light hair, slim but well built"; or dons' endorsements such as "a very good athlete, a fourth honours degree, but made a good impression and is, I think, really up to the East African standard,"[136] usually sufficed for selection. Thus, the products of the British public schools and the ancient universities, who were sent out to administer the dominions, colonies and mandated territories of the British Empire, including Tanganyika, were able sportsmen in the interest of efficient administration.

5.8 Case Study: Athletic Imperative and the Sudan Political Service

The Sudan Political Service comprised a group of three hundred and ninety-three men recruited between 1899 and 1952 to administer the Sudan.[137] The origins of the service lay in the British reoccupation of the Sudan at the end of the nineteenth century.[138] After the defeat of the Sudanese forces in September 1898, Lord Herbert Kitchener was appointed governor-general. Lord Kitchener and his team of lieutenants are believed to have appealed for the establishment of a new administration for the Sudan. The need arose as a response to one major problem – incompetent and corrupt control. Egypt, which was under the 'protection' of Britain, had conquered the country earlier in the century. Egyptian troops had played a major role in the defeat of the Mahdists[139] but the Egyptian rule of the Sudan was considered corrupt and inefficient.[140] Britain, therefore, could not accept it. At the same time Britain could not annex the Sudan directly, as doing so would arouse resentment in Europe. Yet the control of the upper waters of the Nile (the life-blood of Egypt) by a foreign power was unthinkable.[141] A political solution to the problem was to be found in what came to be known as the Condominium Agreement of 1899 into which the rights and interests of Great Britain and Egypt merged.[142] Under this agreement the chief administrator of the Sudan was to be the British Governor-General. He was the supreme military and civil commander.[143]

Initially, the administrators – provincial[144] governors and inspectors – of the 'new' Sudan were recruited from the British military officers stationed in Egypt. However, Lord Cromer – the British Governor-General – is understood to have been sceptical about the arrangement. He was only too aware of the fact that the War Office could recall the British officers at any time, thus jeopardising continuity of service. A few months later, Lord Cromer was proved right. A good number of officers were recalled at the outbreak of the Boer War.[145] He had other reasons to be uneasy about the British officers. He was of the view that the officers knew very little of the language and customs of the people. They, therefore, relied too heavily on their Egyptian subordinates.[146] Finally, he claimed that the strict discipline of the army made the officers inflexible and, therefore, unsuitable administrators.[147]

Lord Cromer, therefore, advocated the idea of recruiting civilian administrators from the public schools and universities. He set about recruiting "active young men, endowed with good health, high character, and fair abilities from Oxford and Cambridge, the appendages of the public school system."[148] In this way, the Sudan Political Service was created.[149]

According to Mangan, recruiters looked for three things: an honours degree, character and athletic distinction. And "athletic distinction", he has stressed, "was especially valued."[150] A member of the Selection Board, which interviewed candidates for the Sudan Political Service admitted that "the board attached considerable importance to the athletic records of the individual candidates."[151] The belief was that such an record was an indication of not only physical fitness but also of personality, initiative and capacity for judgement and control of subordinates,[152] all indispensable qualities of an administrator. Kirk-Greene, by way of confirmation of the tendency to recruit the athletic, for his part, has observed, "because of its transparent emphasis on the recruitment of what was believed to represent the epitome of British imperial leadership among the men-on-the-spot - modest honours graduates with high capacity for organised games - the Sudan came to earn the sobriquet of 'the land of Blacks ruled by Blues'."[153]

Both Mangan and Kirk-Greene have illustrated that athletic ability was a highly valued asset in the selection of the members of the Sudan Political Service. The rationale behind this was that the service was considered to be more than just a colonial service. "It offered a physically demanding job, in which the young District Commissioner spent most of his time travelling, usually on foot, and working long hours in a demanding and debilitating climate."[154] The belief was that candidates who had excelled in games (those who possessed sound athletic prowess) were more likely to cope with such 'harsh' working conditions.

In his examination of the relationship between athletic ability and the recruitment of the Sudan Political Service, Kirk-Greene found that about two thirds of the members of the service appointed in 1902, 1909 and 1913 had excelled in games. They were all 'blues'.[155] As many as a half of those appointed in 1906, 1914, 1925, 1934 and 1939 were 'blues' and so was a good three quarters of the 1932 intake.[156] In summary, Kirk-Greene has demonstrated that about thirty percent of the entire cohort of the graduate officials who served in the Sudan between 1899 and 1956 were 'blues'.[157] He concluded by observing that for a service to number ninety three 'blues' among its three hundred and ten[158] graduates is overwhelming evidence of the importance attached to athletic prowess in the recruitment of not only the Sudan Political Service but also of other services in, especially, Africa. No other service can point to such a record.[159] Others too without 'blues' were sound sportsmen at school and university.

However, this is not to say that athletic prowess was the sole qualification for entry into the Sudan Political Service, nor does it mean that athletic excellence was synonymous with intellectual limitation.[160] Nevertheless, the Sudan Political Service exemplified a service in which athletic ability played a significant role in the recruitment of its members. Other groups of colonial servants, many of whom were also sports enthusiasts, who served the empire were the military, the missionaries and the educationalists.

5.9 Soldiers, Missionaries and Educationalists

In his contribution to Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History edited by W. J. Baker and J. A. Mangan, A. Clayton notes that invariably "soldiers. ... have attached a high importance to sport."[161] There was an obvious reason for this. By the very nature of his work - involving long route marches, carrying heavy loads and combat - a soldier needed sports activities in his general training schedule. Unquestionably, such activities were useful in developing robust qualities such as endurance, agility and physical power in the form of welcome change from direct military training. According to Clayton, particular attention was paid to a regiment's sporting achievements. The success of its sports teams was an important factor.[162] It drew together individual soldiers into a unit team. An important point to note here is what Clayton called "the association of sport with the concept of manliness and the capacity of games to cultivate moral and social values."[163] Manliness was considered to contain the provision that "the fittest would survive."[164] Although Clayton was referring to "manliness as a useful outlet and an energy-consuming substitute for young empire defenders,"[165] it was also a means of preparing the soldiers to serve under tough conditions in Africa.

Furthermore, manliness was to be donated to Africa as part of the colonial mission[166] through the games field. Other imperial agents from the same 'mould' were the imperial missionaries and educationalists. The early years of the twentieth century witnessed a large increase of Christian missionary societies in the British Isles. It added to the list of the nineteenth century missionary societies - English Baptists, the London Missionary Society and the Church Missionary Society. The Oxford Missions, Cambridge Missions and Dublin Missions emerged at this time.[167] Mangan has found the perfect words to describe the nineteenth century missionary work. He wrote, "the Christian missionaries symbolised God in *action*. Their skills were practical as well as spiritual: medicine, agriculture, handicrafts and printing were typical accomplishments, but teaching was a special commitment linked closely to preaching."[168]

According to Mangan, the beginning of the nineteenth century witnessed the growth of a general awareness among the missionaries of a colonial imperative. To the missionaries evangelisation was a direct command of God.[169] And this, was a sufficient mandate for a Western Christian to 'civilise' the East,[170] and indeed, the rest of the world. The widely held belief was that any Western man was considered to be superior. He was wise and good, he was the leader, and could remain so, perhaps forever.[171] Members of other races could share in this wisdom only if they were westernised.[172] A Western man believed that the race to which he belonged was the noblest, and that the civilisation and ideals for which this race stood for were the highest.[173] In the words of one commentator, Western man was convinced that his ideals were so meritorious that the entire world would accept them.[174] Many missionaries seemed to have subscribed to this conviction. In pursuit of converts, across the world they became the bearers of conversion, but also promoters of trade, advocates of imperialism, creators of imperial boundaries and well-meaning philanthropists who won admiration irrespective of their doctrinal affiliations.[175] Above all, they became educators – through preaching and teaching.

It must be noted, however, that for much of the nineteenth century the upper classes of Victorian Britain were seldom noted for their missionary fervour.[176] It took determined campaigns by zealous missionary societies, such as the Church Missionary Society to attract the upper class-members of the public schools and ancient universities to missionary work.[177] Luckily, by virtue of their upbringing and aptitude, many of the members of these institutions fully fitted the image of the muscular Christian.[178] Consequently, "the growth of the games cult in public school and ancient universities went hand in hand with the exploitation of athletic ability for religious purposes within the Evangelical Movement."[179] A striking example of such exploitation was the coverage given to the Cambridge Seven[180] by the religious newspapers of the time.[181] Religious journalists enthusiastically portrayed those men as "a striking testimony to the power of Christ to draw to himself ... all that is noblest in strength and finest in culture."[182] They were, therefore, symbols of evangelicalism and they reflected not only social respectability but also reassuring masculinity.[183] Arguably, it was in the context of such superiority, encapsulated in

this image of Christian masculinity, and with a mission to civilise the rest of the world, that missionaries took, for example, cricket to the peoples of Melanesia and soccer to the Bantu[184] of Tanganyika.

As touched on above, missionary work was comprised substantially of teaching. In most parts of Africa it was carried out in collaboration with imperialism. That is, within the framework of colonial educational policy. The essentials of British colonial educational policy for Africa are understood to have been formulated by Lord Lugard.[185] In his famous publication The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa published in 1922, Lugard had stated the primary purpose of educating an African as "the formation of character."[186] To this end, Lugard proposed two distinctive ways: government control over all schools (regardless of whether or not they were government-aided)[187] and the schools themselves should be suitably organised internally.[188]

Lugard is said to have suggested various means of implementing his basic objective within the schools themselves. The typical product of a period public school, he is understood to have advocated the use of expatriate staff, residential accommodation, school prefects and the encouragement of games.[189] For Lugard the ideal school for the Africans was a boarding school – modelled on the English public school. The boarding school, he proclaimed "should approximate to the model of an English public school in its internal organisation in regard to school-houses, dormitories, class and living rooms, playgrounds, ... and roll-calls."[190] Through this, Lugard argued, "the African schoolboys would learn to be 'less self-centred', would take pride in the corporate body of which they were members - the school, house and games team."[191] Eventually, they would become efficient, loyal, reliable and contented.[192] Lugard's unshakeable stance is believed to have evolved around his conviction that morally the native was inferior.[193] In his judgement, education was above all, a means of moral improvement and an effective instrument of moral training.[194]

Lugard also argued for a proper method of recruiting overseas schoolmasters. In his opinion, only the 'right' staff should be selected.[195] Evidence[196] clearly points to the fact that it was those who had excelled in games and were sports enthusiasts, who stood a better chance of selection. They had the 'right attributes'.

In short, the foremost implementers of Lugard's 'policy' in Africa were the educationalists - education administrators but especially teachers. Their recruitment owed everything to the widely held mythology among the late Victorians that "they had something to offer the world, something that would improve the natives of a colony."[197]

In Africa, therefore, the Victorian educationalists were understandably concerned with the moral education of the natives.[198] As made clear earlier, the Victorians' own moral education was often shaped by experiences on the playing fields of the school system and ancient universities. Unsurprisingly therefore, there is ample evidence[199] to link the adolescent public school values of both the missionaries and the colonial educationalists with their practices in Africa. As for the administrators, more often than not they behaved like schoolmasters treating the natives as 'school pupils'. The fact that virtually all these imperialists played games and participated in sports gave them a similarity of outlook that was clearly reflected in their handling of educational matters. The *esprit de corps*, which bolstered for example, the provincial polo team, was equally applicable in organising education among government and mission schools.

At home, the late Victorians came to possess an image of manhood encapsulated in the ideal qualities of the gentleman: perseverance, endurance, honesty, godliness, purity and courage, and collectively valued 'character' gained on the playing fields.[200] Overseas, therefore, character building was believed to be effective only when it utilised metropolitan machinery and methods like boarding schools, the house system, housemasters and games.[201] Such was the extent of the insular conviction and attitude of the colonial educational administrators and teachers who travelled to the empire in the latter part of the nineteenth century.[202] It seems almost

redundant to note again but it is important to make it clear yet again that most were, of course, the products of the public schools and the ancient universities which used, *inter alia*, team games as a medium for moral indoctrination. Thus, as we shall see in the later chapters, this indoctrination was part of the 'cultural package' of British imperialism, aimed at dispensing the ideals of an upper-class education throughout the empire[203] in the interest of moral elevation, imperial bonding and the creation of a stable imperial civilisation.

Conclusion

The often appalling conditions in the British public schools before 1850 and the indisciplined behaviour of the boys led to the emergence and subsequent growth of the hugely influential educational ideology of Athleticism during the second half of the nineteenth century. These schools were to be the locations for the training of the character of the boys and the development, mainly on playing fields, of their leadership skills for the eventual construction, sustenance and maintenance of the empire. The 'ancient universities' of Oxford and Cambridge, to a considerable extent, now positions of Athleticism too, provided the link between these schools and the empire. Thus, the late nineteenth century, the era of European world supremacy, British imperialism was, among other things, a dominant idea with intellectual, technical and cultural facets,[204] with sport unsurprisingly as a major ingredient.

It is important to stress that at this time sport was widely considered a significant ingredient in British imperial culture at home and abroad. "It formed a distinct, persistent and significant cluster of cultural traits that possessed a coherent structure and definite purpose."[205] Of course, sport had many cultural functions, but above all, it was a means of propagating imperial sentiments among the imperialists.[206] In '*Britain's chief Export: Imperial Sport as a Moral Metaphor, Political Symbol and Cultural Bond*', Mangan has described the *genus Britannicus* as a committed sportsman whose moral commitment formed an integral part of his 'civilising' purpose,[207] with sport "the more pleasant part of this melioration purpose."[208] According to Mangan, the British games fields provided (through the medium of the

public school system and the ancient universities) "a meeting place for the moral outlook of the dissenting middle classes and the athletic instincts of the aristocracy."[209] This gave rise to increased an enthusiasm in sport to an extent that the middle classes elevated the game of cricket to the status of a moral discipline.[210] As such the Victorians are said to have made cricket compulsory for their children, apparently in recognition of its potential as a hegemonic medium.[211] Cricket, then, became the symbol *par excellence* of imperial solidarity and superiority.[212] A Briton of that time, "in his imperial role – a man of firm duty, confident ambition, moral intention and applied athletics - ... might appropriately be labelled *homo ludens imperiosus.*"[213]

To a great extent, sport culturally acted as a umbilical bond for imperialists abroad. More than this, it became a political metaphor that both exemplified and explained the ethical union of late Victorian society abroad.[214] Cricket, therefore, which the late Victorians believed to be the greatest game in the world, was expected to be played wherever the Union Jack unfurled, and it had no small place in cementing the ties that bonded together every part of the empire.[215] "Cricket was thought to express imperial ideals and the concept of cultural bond better than any other sport."[216]

When only two rather than twenty-two men were available there had to be flexibility. As playing cricket was impossible with such a number, many colonial administrators in the empire turned to another popular British game – tennis. For example, two British officers, stationed at the remote town of Utete, the headquarters of the Rufiji Division of the Dar es Salaam Province in Tanganyika, looked to tennis to alleviate the boredom and isolation they were experiencing. On returning to Dar es Salaam from a visit to Utete in 1926, the governor of the Tanganyika Territory, Sir Donald Cameron, wrote a letter to the Colonial Office in London apparently asking, on behalf of the officers, for money to build a tennis court at Utete. The reason for this was to provide the two officers with a recreational activity. The letter read:

> Sir,
>
> I have the honour to inform you that during my visit to Utete ...the District Officer represented to me the need for a tennis court at the station. ...The station is isolated ... and there are only two European

> officers stationed there. ...The climate and living conditions, as I can testify from my own experience, are very trying and regular physical exercise is essential to combat the inevitable feeling of prolonged residence there. ...I strongly recommend that I be authorised to expend a sum not exceeding £ 100 in the building of a cement tennis court at Utete.[217]

A month later came the reply and it stated:

> ...In reply I am to request you to inform Mr. Secretary Amery that in the very special circumstances My Lords give Their covering sanctions for this expenditure which can, They note, be met from savings.[218]

The governor's message was clear in purpose and action. Here were two European officers on the brink of collapse from the trying conditions of isolation and boredom. The game of tennis was thought to be the 'appropriate cure' for what the governor called the "inevitable feeling of acute depression resulting from a prolonged residence in isolation."[219] Certainly the two officers were going to play the game of tennis for recreational purposes, but it was more than just that. It was a means of bonding - a way of 'keeping in touch'. It exemplified perfectly the cultural ties that existed through sport among the imperial administrators at various levels of the empire.

With this consideration of role of sport in the British imperial culture, and its relationship to the middle classes, public schools and ancient universities, the stage has now been almost set to consider British imperialism in Tanganyika and cultural implications of this imperialism on sport in later Tanzania. Introducing the volume The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society published in 1992, its editor, J. A. Mangan, described the task of analysing the nature of the purposes, processes and significance of sport as a form of cultural association, as a complex one.[220] It is complex because the phenomenon manifests itself in various forms: intentional and unintentional, direct and indirect, accidental and incidental, formal and informal.[221] This complexity is fully appreciated here. Chapter Seven examines the intentional, unintentional and accidental associations by way of assimilation, diffusion and adaptation of British sport into Tanganyika and its cultural impact on later Tanzania. But first, a discussion on the role of drill and the adaptation of public school

Athleticism in the British elementary and grammar schools at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century is necessary to comprehend in full the influence of the nineteenth century British preoccupation with sport as an imperial tool. These manifestations also had their impact on imperial Tanganyika and independent Tanzania.

Notes

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1 In what is widely recognised as the most authoritative study of Athleticism, it is described as: "Physical exercise ...taken, considerably and compulsorily ... that it was a highly effective means of inculcating valuable instrumental and impressive educational goals: physical and moral courage, loyalty and co-operation, the capacity to act fairly and take defeat well, the ability to command and obey." See J. A. Mangan (ed.), Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender, The European Sports History Review, Vol. 1, Frank Cass, London, 1999, p. 72. See also Chapter Six.

2 J. A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981, p. 18.

3 Ibid., p.18.

4 Ibid., Chapter One.

5 See for example, J. Garthorne-Hardy, The Public School Phenomenon, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1977, passim. See also J. A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981, passim.

6 J. A. Mangan, The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal, Viking, Harmondsworth, 1986, Chapter Two.

7 J. A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology, Cambridge University Press, 1981, Chapter One.

8 J. Garthorne-Hardy, The Public School Phenomenon, Hodder and Stoughton,

London, 1977, p. 103.

9 Ibid., p. 100.

10 Ibid., p. 103.

11 Ibid., p. 103.

12 Ibid., p. 103.

13 See A. G. Bradley, *et all*, A History of Marlborough College During the Fifty Years: From its foundation to the present time, John Murray, London, 1893, p. 71.

14 Ibid., p. 218.

15 Ibid., p. 103.

16 Ibid., p. 228.

17 Ibid., p. 77.

18 Ibid., p. 78.

19 Ibid., p. 77.

20 Ibid., p. 127.

21 Ibid., p. 127.

22 Ibid., p. 128.

23 See for example, A. G. Bradley, *et al*, A History of Marlborough College During Fifty Years: From its foundation to the present time, John Murray, London, 1893, passim.

24 There exists controversy regarding the nature and extent of the revolution and its contribution to Wilkinson's resignation. In recognizing what happened - acts of vandalism and indisciplined behaviour - and the consequences of it, it may well be argued that the rebellion may have been instrumental in prompting Wilkinson's resignation. As Mangan has put it "it may well have been the proverbial last straw". See J. A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology, Cambridge Universty Press, Cambridge, 1981., p. 18.

25 A. G. Bradley *at al*, A History of Marlborough College During Fifty years: From its foundation to the present time, John Murray, London, 1893, p.65.

26 Ibid., p. 65.

27 J. A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology, Cambridge University

Press, Cambridge, 1981, p. 18.

28 J. Garthorne-Hardy, The Public School Phenomenon, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1977, p. 78. The name Thomas Arnold appears in many books and publications in connection with the building of the concept of character in the Victorian Public Schools. For a discussion on Dr. Thomas Arnold and his innovation at Rugby see J.Garthorne-Hardy, The Public Phenomenon, Hodder and Stoughton, London, pp. 70 - 78 also T. W. Bomford, Thomas Arnold, London, 1960.

29 For a discussion of this educational ideology see J. A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology, Cambridge University Press, 1981, pp.13 - 68.

30 J. Garthorne-Hardy, The Public School Phenomenon, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1977, p. 78.

31 J. A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology, Cambridge University Press, 1981, p.23.

32 Ibid., p.23.

33 Ibid., p.23.

34 Ibid., p.23.

35 J. R. de S. Honey, Tom Brown's Universe: The Development of the Public School in the 19th Century, Millington Books Ltd., London, 1977, p. 104.

36 A. G. Bradley, *et al*, A History of Marlborough College During Fifty Years: From its foundation to the present time, John Murray, London, 1893, p. 141.

37 A. G. Bradley, *et al*, A History of Marlborough College During Fifty Years: From its foundation to the present time, John Murray, London, 1893, p. 139.

38 Ibid., p. 151.

39 Ibid., p. 233.

40 Ibid., p. 233.

41 Ibid., p. 151.

42 J. A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981, p. 28.

43 Ibid., p. 28.

44 Ibid., p. 28.

45 Ibid., p. 29.

46 Ibid., p. 29.

47 Ibid., p. 29.

48 Ibid., p. 29.

49 Ibid., p. 77.

50 Active hours here refers to total hours spent not in sleep. See J. A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981, p. 77. Almond's ideal timetable (and which he implemented) included ten hours of sleep with the remaining fourteen hours (referred to here as active hours) spent on study (6), meals (1.5), free (1), drawing or singing (1), prayers (0.5) gym (0.5), games (2.5) and leisure (1).

51 J. A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981, p. 77.

52 Ibid., p. 181.

53 Ibid., p. 182.

54 Ibid., p. 182.

55 For a detailed presentation of the songs of various schools of the Victorian and Edwardian public schools and their symbolic rituals see J.A.Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981.

56 J. A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981, p. 190.

57 Ibid., p. 190.

58 Ibid., p. 196.

59 Ibid., p. 206.

60 R. Heussler, Yesterday's Rulers: The Making of the British Colonial Service, Syracuse University Press, 1963, p. 90.

61 Ibid., p.90.

62 For detailed discussion of this see R. Heussler, Yesterday's Rulers: The Making of the British Colonial Service, Syracuse University Press, 1963, pp. 92-95; Sea also J. A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981, p. 190.

63 See R. Heussler, Yesterday's Rulers: The Making of the British Colonial Service, Syracuse University Press, 1963, p. 83.

64 R. Wilkinson, The Prefects: British Leadership and a Public School Tradition: A Comparative Study in the Making of Rulers, Oxford University Press, 1964, p.30.

65 J. A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Education Ideology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge1981, p. 9.

66 J. A. Mangan (ed.), The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society, Frank Cass, London, 1992, p. 2.

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Chapter Six

Physical Education in State and Private Schools in Britain in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries: Elementary Schools and Other Schools

In the preceding chapter it was important to examine the emergence and development of organised games in the nineteenth century English public schools. The reason was to set the scene for a later discussion on the diffusion of adapted Athleticism into the British mandated territory of Tanganyika. For the same reason it is now necessary to consider the provision of physical activities in Britain in the nineteenth century in elementary schools, in preparatory schools, in boys' grammar schools and in girls' private and state schools. Pupils of these schools, as in the case of the public schools, included future twentieth-century colonial educationalists in the colonies and the equivalent territories. The school experience of these colonial educators certainly influenced the type of physical activities they provided in schools in the occupied lands. Some of these experiences crucially involved physical activities typical of the boys' public schools which provided the bulk of imperial administrators and teachers. The influence on the educational history of Tanganyika, later Tanzania, of the British in general will be traced, in due course, in later chapters.

6.1 Elementary Schools in the Nineteenth Century in Britain: An Overview

It is difficult to generalise about *British* elementary education, and its physical activities in the nineteenth century. This is because each individual nation within the British Isles had its own peculiarities. For example, Wales shared the same legislation as England, but had its own cultural traditions.[1] The systems in Scotland and Ireland, though developing along similar lines to the larger English and Welsh system, had their law, organisation and ways of interpreting education. In the thesis, reference will be made to the English system only, in the following brief discussion on the provision of elementary education in nineteenth century Britain. The

discussion will be relatively brief because the intention is not to research the provision of nineteenth century and early twentieth century elementary education in Britain. Such an examination would require its own complete study, indeed a different one from this study in purpose, extent and direction. The quest here is rather to establish which elements made up the physical training programmes in English elementary schools at that time and their purpose, and to relate these elements to the provision of physical education in elementary, and indeed other, schools in the mandated territory of Tanganyika.

The year 1870, of course, is a key date in the history of elementary education in England. The Education Act of 1870 made elementary education universally compulsory. This, in turn, had far-reaching consequences on physical activities at that level. Prior to that year, elementary education in England was "dominated by religious organisations."[2] For instance, in 1860, the Church of England's National Society owned about nine-tenths of elementary schools and enrolled about three-quarters of all schoolchildren.[3] However, nonconformists or other religious sectarian groups, who did not want their children to go to the Church of England schools, set up their own schools. There were also non-sectarian voluntary societies, such as the Royal Lancastrian Institution (later known as the British and Foreign School Society) which provided elementary education for the working class.[4] Founded in 1808, this Institution was the first of a variety of voluntary educational societies, through which working-class children received education.[5]

The Government appears to have been reluctant to get involved in the provision of elementary education. "Conflict between the Church and Nonconformist schools was an important factor in delaying ... state participation in education."[6] Sectarian rivalries would have presented a formidable obstacle had the British government attempted to fully intervene.[7] However, some state aid to religious bodies for building schools began in 1833, when "the British government decided that annual grants of twenty thousand pounds should be paid to denominal schools."[8] Subsequently, the government continually provided grants to these bodies, as the educational facilities required by the country to provide the necessary education to

meet demands such as the increased child population were now quite beyond the resources of the voluntary societies.[9]

In England, the campaign for non-sectarian or state education commenced as early as the mid-1820s, but gained significant momentum in the 1860s.[10] Campaigners, such as the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge and the National Educational League, "feared that as Britain was on the verge of population explosion, it must, therefore, be on the verge of revolution."[11] They argued that secular education of the masses was the way to avert catastrophy, and 'useful knowledge' - of which political economy was to be a major component - should provide the basis for children's education.[12] The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge was anxious to introduce political economy into the elementary school curriculum in order that the working class might learn their role in an industrial society.[13] The society seemed to have been greatly and directly influenced by Richard Whateley's booklet *Easy Lessons on Money Matters*, published in 1833.[14] Extracts from this booklet were read widely by several generations of school children in Britain.[15] Another reformatory organisation, the National Education League, for its part, had one main objective, the establishment of a system to secure the education of every child in the country.[16] The League suggested that this could be achieved through the creation of local authorities, which would be responsible for establishing schools where necessary.[17] Teachers, who had been struggling for years to work through a biblical syllabus, also saw the need for a wider education.[18] Probably the turning point in the campaign for non-sectarian education was when the voluntary societies themselves came to accept the idea of a secularised curriculum. In 1839, the British and Foreign School Society gave way to its critics and published its first secular reader as a companion text to Scripture Lessons.[19]

Despite the changes in the school curriculum, these changes were not matched by marked developments in the monitorial system, but that is a different story. However, one point must be made. In Education: Elementary Education 1780 - 1900, J. M. Goldstrom writes, "despite the expansion of educational facilities over the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s, and adjustments in the curriculum at about this time, the monitorial

system lingered on."[20] By a monitorial system, Goldstrom was referring to what the influential and widely read philosopher, Herbert Spencer, termed "the mechanical, rote-learning methods of utilitarian education."[21] The traditions of the monitorial system, which was disappearing in the 1850s but traditions of which still lingered on, allowed teachers little freedom in teaching.[22] Class-teaching is said to have been more of an interrogation rather than a systematic inculcation of a culture of perceptions and values. The system of class interrogation was ridiculed by many, including Herbert Spencer himself, who led a movement to replace rote learning with something more meaningful to the child.[23] Generally speaking, Spencer's critique captures the early critical thinking about the narrowness of the elementary school curriculum of nineteenth century England.

When religious organisations began to establish charity schools for children of the poor in about 1780, religious instruction dominated the curriculum of these elementary schools.[24] This instruction was designed to "condition the children for their humble position in life as servants and labourers."[25] Reading matter used in the charity schools was the Bible, catechisms, sermons and school readers of stern moral tone.[26] As one writer put it "there were virtually no other educational opportunities for poor children in the eighteenth century."[27] Nevertheless, with the government's involvement from 1833, some developments, at least in the numbers at school if not in curriculum content, could be noted. The combined efforts of church and government had made it possible for many children to receive at least a little daily schooling in the Church of England schools.[28]

After years of effort and agitation[29], elementary education in England eventually became universally compulsory after the Educational Act of 1870.[30] However, in Targeting Schools: Drill, Militarism and Imperialism, Alan Penn notes that that Elementary Education Act was a compromise measure.[31] The Act "did not create a new national system, nor a completely compulsory system, nor a free system."[32] What the Act did was accept the principles of voluntary efforts, of school fees and of private endowments. Nevertheless, the Educational Act of 1870 made provision for the creation of local authorities, known as School Boards, which were to be

responsible for the organisation and administration of elementary education in their respective areas.[33] One component of this education was physical education.

In the introduction to his seminal monograph, Physical Education in England Since 1800, Peter McIntosh distinguishes between two distinctive traditions of physical education in England in the nineteenth century - one for public schools, and the other for elementary schools. However, to cater for a complete social composition - the boys *and* girls of the upper, middle and lower classes - Jonathan May[34] adds to the above two traditions, a third - the provision of physical education in girls' schools.

McIntosh wrote, "in public schools 'organised games' began to appear early in the nineteenth century ... and they were regarded as a powerful force in the education of the sons of the middle and upper classes."[35] As is well known, eventually, these games "became a feature of all public schools, old and new, great and small."[36] According to McIntosh, the physical education programmes of elementary schools in the greater part of the nineteenth century in England comprised a variety of physical exercises, springing from several roots - military drill, callisthenics and gymnastics.[37] From these early mixed physical exercises a system of physical education known as Physical Training evolved which, according to McIntosh, was widely adopted in the elementary schools by the end of the nineteenth century. In girls' secondary schools, May says, there was a more comprehensive system of games, gymnastics and drill.[38] More on this later. However, it is useful at this point to briefly consider physical activities in elementary schools before 1870 as a prelude to a discussion of physical training after the milestone Educational Act of 1870.

6.2 Physical Education[39] in Elementary Schools in England before 1870

Gymnastics and drill were the major components of physical education in elementary schools before 1870.[40] Originating from Germany, the gymnastics approach derived from the educational theories of Jean-Jacque Rousseau and his disciples.[41] On the practical side, however, it was Basedow's Philanthropinum, founded at Dessau in 1774, which was to become the foundation stone of a system of gymnastics suitable

for schoolchildren.[42] Johann Bernhadt Basedow led an educational movement, which proposed, among other things, physical education. The avowed aim of the Philanthropinum at Dessau was to "develop a healthy and well-exercised mind and a pure conscience in a healthy and well-exercised body."[43] This inaugural school physical education consisted of instruction in the four 'knightly exercises' of dancing, fencing, riding and vaulting.[44] As time went by, various physical educators at the school modified the exercises to suit even younger children. At the same time, Basedow's Philanthropinum experience was being imitated elsewhere. Probably the most significant imitator was Johann Christoph Guts Muths. He took over as physical education teacher at a school called Schenpfenthal in 1786.[45] He "not only developed and systematised the work of his predecessors but he was also the first practising teacher to publish manuals of physical education."[46] *Gymnastik für die Jugend* appeared in 1793, followed subsequently by many other similar publications. Within a few years versions of *Gymnastik für die Jugend* appeared in several countries in Europe, and in America.[47] The first English edition was published in 1800 in two volumes, one being a plea for gymnastics and the second one being a practical manual. In his work, Guts Muths included a wide range of physical activities such as jumping, running, throwing, wrestling, climbing, dancing, walking, military exercises and swimming.[48]

According to McIntosh, the influence of Guts Muths' work in England is not easy to assess. However, Guts Muths must have made a favourable impression on the armed forces because in 1822, P. H. Clias, an officer of the Swiss Army and one of Guts Muths' disciples, was appointed to organise courses of gymnastics at military and naval establishments in England.[49]

Another system of gymnastics that was making an impact in Europe in the nineteenth century, and prior to the Education Act of 1870 in England, was Ling's Swedish gymnastics. Initiated and developed by a Swede, Per Henry Ling in 1814, the system was classified into educational, medical, military and aesthetic gymnastics.[50] The fundamental difference between the German and Swedish systems of gymnastics was that the former was based on the use of apparatus - pole and ropes as well as

horizontal and parallel bars - while the latter composed mostly free-standing exercises without apparatus.[51]

The Swedish system of gymnastics was first brought to England by John Govart In De Betou in 1838.[52] But it was in the 1850s through the indefatigable efforts of the physician, Mathias Roth, that the Swedish system was introduced into the elementary curriculum.[53] Roth took into consideration the importance of the knowledge of anatomy and physiology. For this reason, he considered the Swedish system of gymnastics as appropriate not only for schoolchildren but also for healthy and robust soldiers and civilians.[54] Roth called his approach 'rational gymnastics'. By rational gymnastics, Roth was referring to Ling's therapeutical gymnastics anchored on what was known as free exercises, a name derived from the fact that they were executed without the help of technical apparatus.

However, gymnastics were not unknown in England in earlier centuries. One of the earliest written treatises on vaulting was that of William Stokes which was published in London as early as 1652.[55] Nevertheless, the gymnastic systems which appear to have found favour in the nineteenth century were derived from either the German or Swedish systems.[56] Towards the end of that century the Swedish system predominated and formed the basis of the system which was later sponsored by the medical department of the Board of Education.[57]

Drill[58] - military and otherwise - was another component of physical training of elementary schools before 1870. It appears that a military type of drill *dominated* the physical training curriculum of these schools for the most part of the nineteenth century.[59] It is useful to note in passing, however, that the history of the presence of the military type of drill in schools in England goes back to, at least, the time of the Napoleonic wars of 1793 – 1815.[60] It was associated with the use of the word 'fit' introduced and used by surgeons to describe the men who were returning to duty from the Napoleonic wars.[61] Those who were passed for duty were thus described as 'fit for service'.[62] The growth of the concept of 'physical fitness' started receiving wide popularity both in military and civilian life at that time. The growth of physical

fitness regimes in the army then coincided with positive schemes to 'toughen' recruits through athletic exercise.[63]

After the Educational Act of 1870, drill was officially introduced into the curriculum of Board Schools in 1871.[64] This drill is highly relevant to this study, as it was drill - military and otherwise - that was to have significant influence on school physical education in Tanganyika and later Tanzania. Drill in English education after 1870 is now, therefore, discussed below.

6.3 Drill in Elementary Schools between 1871 and 1906: An Aspect of Military Training and an Integral Part of Physical Education

Drill was officially sanctioned, by way of legislation, in the curriculum of English Board schools in 1871.[65] As a direct result of the amendment of the Code "attendance at drill under a competent instructor, for not more than two hours a week, and twenty weeks in the year could be counted as school attendance for grant purposes."[66] Military drill now became an acceptable practice in many of the nation's elementary schools between 1870 and 1875.[67] In making this point it is necessary to correct the argument that drill was a minor, straightforward aspect of elementary education.

The issue of military drill in schools was not straightforward. It was a controversial issue. When military drill was introduced to elementary schools, for example, there was much anti-militarism, particularly among the trade unions and committed individuals.[68] One major criticism[69] of drill, and military drill in particular, centred upon the people who delivered it. These were largely (with some exceptions[70]) non-commissioned officers who were 'rough and ready', to say the least. These ex-drill sergeants used to bellow at young children in an inappropriate manner behaving in exactly the same way as they would have done on the barracks square when drilling enlisted men. Many educationalists felt that these men were entirely the wrong kind of people to be involved with children. Recent[71] research, incidentally, clearly reveals full extent of the highly controversial nature of military drill in schools, the

considerable debate it provoked and the strong beliefs expressed by those for and against.

In theory, the drill which was sanctioned in Board schools in 1871, was designed as a disciplinary measure and was supposed to cultivate in boys the habits of sharp obedience, smartness, order and cleanliness.[72] It is alleged that the problem of indiscipline among the children in urban areas was a major one. In schools in large cities, with their huge classes of children drawn from homes where dirt, disorder and illiteracy were common, the problem was not so much at first to give instruction as to establish conditions in which instruction could be given.[73] McIntosh compared the reasons underlying the official recognition of drill in elementary schools in 1871 with the sanctioning of organised games in public schools in the 1850s. He noted that "it was the need for better discipline in public schools that led Cotton and other Arnoldian headmasters to sanction organised games. It was the same need that encouraged the introduction of drill and physical exercises into elementary schools."[74]

In practice, however, the official recognition of drill, particularly military drill, at that time appears to have been a preparatory measure taken probably in response to the lessons that were learned from the Franco-Prussian War of 1870.[75] Anne Bloomfield estimated about fifteen thousand *Turners*[76], arguably an offspring of the military type of drill in schools in Germany and the National Gymnastic Association (*Turnverein*), had fought in that war with full vigour and patriotism.[77] As discussed in Chapter Four, Germany had introduced this type of drill into her physical education curriculum at the beginning of the 1800s through the initiatives and efforts of Johann Fredrich Ludwig Jahn and compatriots.[78] The National Gymnastic Association, in addition, provided thorough training in gymnastic exercises for the whole population over the years.[79]

Anne Bloomfield supports McIntosh's point of view that military considerations were partly responsible for the strong military flavour of the regulations of 1871.[80] She quotes J. O. Springham who has argued that commercial as well as naval rivalry

between Britain and Germany might have inspired noblemen such as Reginald Brabazon, twelfth Earl of Meath, to advocate military drill in elementary schools in England at the end of the nineteenth century.[81] Lord Meath put an emphasis on aspects of militarism and patriotism. He was both impressed and startled by the German training methods, in which self-defence and conquest were associated with physical prowess and efficiency.[82] A Prussian army general was once quoted as saying, "we have not vanquished the Austrians, we have outmatched them,"[83] a clear and direct reference to physical supremacy. Referring to Germany's defeat of France and apparently to emphasise the importance of military drill in elementary schools, Meath reminded, "perhaps it will be necessary for us to undergo some such national humiliation as the French had experienced."[84] Meath believed that military drill, apart from enhancing sound physical prowess, had value in teaching prompt obedience and alertness of mind and body,[85] all essential qualities for an effective performance at the front during war.

Probably the most outspoken advocate of military drill was the commercially oriented Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Commerce and Manufactures in Great Britain, (also referred to as the Society of Arts), founded in 1754.[86] The Society of Arts had earlier concerned itself with the Poor Law District Schools, where drill was introduced primarily to combat the indiscipline of the children attending those schools.[87] Following some initial beneficial effects of the drill programmes - the promotion of displays - the Society of Arts expanded its sights to embrace other elementary schools, especially after the establishment of the School Boards in 1870.[88] The majority of members of the Society of Arts used the rising costs of the military establishment as a basis for their argument in favour of military drill. They maintained that if 'a more efficient military organisation' - involving making drill an essential component of the curriculum in boys' schools and employing military pensioners as instructors - was achieved, it would save the country a lot of money.[89] It appears that the Society of Arts wanted a commercially competitive and militarily powerful nation capable of defending its commercial interests, when necessary. No wonder that the trade unionists were not keen on

military drill, as arguably they saw it as an exploitation of young boys in the interests of the commercial sector.

There are grounds to suggest that the official recognition of military drill in the curriculum of elementary schools in 1871 was an attempt to aid military preparation. In the first instance, in March 1871, attempts were made in the House of Commons to render drill compulsory for boys over the age of eighteen.[90] The prime mover of the resolution drew attention to the fact that such provisions had already been attempted in continental countries such as Switzerland.[91] Such provisions, the initiator maintained, underlined the importance of military drill as an aid to national defence. In the debates that followed in the House of Lords, such as that of April 1875, almost all the contributors were in agreement that military drill in the nation's elementary schools was necessary to diffuse a military spirit among the people.[92] To this end the "debate drew attention to the general concern of the ruling classes that the common people should be prepared from early age for an orderly and compliant role in society, and be ready to participate in the defence of that society as occasion might demand."[93] Secondly, physical education was taught to boys only.[94] Naturally these were the potential candidates for future service in the armed forces. In addition, the Education Department made special arrangements with the War Office in which the latter supplied the former with drill sergeants at a reasonable rate of sixpence a day and a penny a mile marching money.[95] The London School Board[96] provides a good example of the implementation of this policy. The Board appointed a Regimental Major as Drill Master who was responsible for organising courses in drill for serving teachers.[97] On successful completion of the course these teachers were sent to teach military drill in Board Schools.[98] This not only ensured a continued delivery of this type of drill and guaranteed a steady supply of teachers trained in physical education, particularly in drill, but also underpins the apparent importance attached to drill at the time for military preparation.

The number of schools that included military drill in their curriculum of physical education increased steadily during the years that followed the Education Act of 1870.[99] For example, in 1872 there were nine hundred and twenty six such schools

but by 1880 the number had risen to one thousand two hundred and seventy seven.[100] Bloomfield makes the point that some headmasters may have felt pressurised into this. "Nevertheless," Bloomfield accepts, "[military] drill became an accepted and acceptable part of British formal education."[101]

What this drill meant in terms of the pupil's experience left much to be desired. The type of exercises, which were included in this drill, were described by E. G. Holland, who was at school in 1877, "as unbearably boring."[102] The exercises consisted of command-type of instructions - attention, stand at ease, eyes right, eyes left, about turn, left turn, right turn, and the like. Undoubtedly the repetition was monotonous and certainly the concept of physical training was narrow. Criticising this drill on the grounds of its narrowness, the physician, Mathias Roth, argued that it put heavy emphasis on the inculcation of qualities of discipline - habits of obedience, smartness, order and cleanliness.[103] Archibald MacLaren, for his part objected to it on the basis of the physical immaturity of the boys.[104] He recommended that drill, especially the military kind, should be given only to older boys above the age of fourteen. However, in the eyes of the ruling class it was the 'right type of education' for the lower classes, as drill would teach obedience and conformity. And by extension, such an early introduction to military training might not only prepare the boys but also encourage them to become Volunteers or to join the militia or the army upon leaving school. One discussant had put it optimistically that "if instruction began when the child was five and half or six years of age, by the time he reached ten he would be ready to practice with a light rifle,"[105] and certainly with heavy and more sophisticated weapons later on.

Opposition to military drill gained pace and was voiced in Parliament and School Board Meetings.[106] The earliest significant step towards the 'demilitarisation of physical education' and the formulation of a systematic physical education programme in elementary schools came from the School Board for London. Initially, however, it involved only girls.[107] On the initiative of some interested individual members of the Board such as Mrs. Westlake, a member of the School Board for Marylebone, in 1878 a Swedish 'expert', Miss Concordia Lofving, was appointed as

'Lady Superintendent of Physical Education'.[108] Lofving introduced Swedish Gymnastics first to the girls' schools of the School Board for London, and then to its departments.[109] Although her re-appointment was opposed in 1880 and 1881 the impact of her work from the first appointment was already showing. "Within a year of her appointment there had been applications from over six hundred schoolmistresses for her courses."[110] Miss Lofving resigned in 1881 and Miss Martina Bergman was appointed, in spite of opposition within the School Board.[111] The Board only agreed to the adoption of the Swedish system for boys in 1883 on condition that "the military drill required by the New Code of the Education Department in the case of boys be not interfered with,"[112] and for a time the Swedish system existed in parallel for girls and boys.[113]

Girls in the London Board schools continued with the Swedish system after the departure of Madame Bergman in 1888 but physical education for boys took a different course following the death that year of the Board's Drill Instructor, Regimental Major Sheffield. The Board made two significant appointments.[114] A Swede, Allan Broman was appointed Organising Master of Exercise in Boys' Departments and Thomas Chesterton was designated superintendent of what came to be known as an 'English System of Physical Education'.[115] Two years later Broman's post was abolished leaving the English system fully installed. According to Chesterton, the English system was an eclectic mix of drill from various continental systems and was designed to counteract the effects of school life rather than constitute a preparatory military training.[116] Nevertheless, despite the rhetorical semanticism, in practice the English system still consisted of military drill.

On other School Boards similar efforts were being made to introduce physical education. In 1880 a 'system of physical exercises' was introduced into the Board Schools in Birmingham, but a significant innovation came in 1886 when the Board made provision for twenty minutes a day to be devoted to physical exercises.[117] This, however, needed an extension of school hours as the Education Department code of regulations did not allow it to count as school 'attendance'. Soon Manchester, Liverpool, Bristol and many others followed the examples of London and

Birmingham.[118] It was the beginning of a 'revolution' in physical education in elementary schools.

The Cross Commission was appointed in 1886 to review the state of elementary education since the enactment of the Education Act of 1870.[119] This commission gave physical education a significant impetus. The commission was impressed by the evidence which was brought before it on physical training. The report showed that both teachers and the military authorities called for the inclusion of 'some system of physical exercises in elementary education', and in its report the commission made a recommendation to the same effect.[120] In addition, the commission suggested that the systems already put into operation by the War Office, by the Birmingham School Board and by the London School Board might be more widely adopted.[121] As a direct consequence, in 1890, the Education Department formerly 'recognised' physical exercises[122] as well as drill, but *still* relied heavily on military handbooks together with MacLaren's *System of Physical Education* republished in 1895.[123] Recognition made physical education eligible for a grant as a subject of instruction, effective from 1895.[124] It was also made clear that schools, which did not include physical exercises in their curriculum, would not receive such a grant.[125] This acted as an enticement and an inducement to schools to provide physical education. This was a significant gain, in terms of status, for the subject.

While a commission and several education authorities recommended necessary change, in addition, as McIntosh has noted, "contemporary writers did not shut their eyes to this situation."[126] School inspectors, also, were concerned and made several recommendations, which were only implemented long afterwards. Medical examination of school children, the provision of gymnastic apparatus and the inclusion of organised games in the curriculum were among the recommendations that came from the inspectorate. The inspectors argued that "military drill, callisthenic exercises with clubs and dumbbells were not enough."[127] Some schoolteachers of physical education, for their part, thought that the recommendations of the Commission did not go far enough. Thus teachers in London took the initiative of encouraging their pupils to play some games. As one writer put

it, "the teachers were struck by the contrast between the bored faces of children at drill and the 'happy joyous delight' that they showed when at play in the yard."[128] The teachers, from time to time, arranged games against neighbouring schools in the parks or on the nearest available ground. They also organised school clubs for football, cricket and other sports.[129] This was a significant step towards organised games in elementary schools at the turn of the nineteenth century in England. It was based on this enthusiastic and devoted work of teachers outside school hours, that the South London Schools' Football Association was founded in 1885.[130] Other School Boards followed suit almost spontaneously, and eventually the organisation of school games by teachers became a national movement.[131] Nonetheless, Swedish drill and physical exercises remained the official components of the curriculum of physical education in elementary schools and the criteria for receiving government grants prior to 1906.[132]

The general view is that, from their inception in 1871, the programmes of physical education for elementary schools consisted of physical training, exercise and drill. In reality, the concept of physical training was a narrow one. In fact, it was military drill in spite of attempts by a few individuals to broaden the programmes.[133] The official introduction of drill into the curriculum of Board Schools in 1871 practically excluded other forms of physical activities. Peter McIntosh was of the opinion that the initial exclusion was most likely due to the widely held social view that games were most suitable for the children of the middle and the upper classes and that drill was most suitable for the children of the working class.[134] The basis for this was a belief that there should be "one type of physical education for the ruling class and a different one for the masses."[135] Team games were expected to teach the sons of the ruling class principles of leadership and character as playing games involved fair play, decision making, co-operation and teamwork. Drill, on the other hand, was to teach the sons of the masses to obey orders and conform.[136]

It was not until 1900 that the newly constituted Board of Education began to recognise games as a suitable alternative to Swedish drill.[137] Influential officials who believed in the educational values of games had been appointed to the Board. Among

these officials was Robert Morant, who became Permanent Secretary of the Board of Education. He was "as keen on the physical welfare and physical development of children as he was on administrative tidiness."[138] In the preface of the New Code of Regulations for Elementary Schools in 1904, he wrote, "the purpose of the Public Elementary School is to form and strengthen the character and to develop the intelligence of the children entrusted to it."[139] "The school", Morant added, "must afford the children every opportunity for the development of their bodies, not only by training them in the appropriate physical exercises and encouraging them in organised games, but also by instructing them in the working of some of the simpler laws of health."[140] He concluded by advising that "the corporate life of the school, especially in the playground, should develop that instinct for fair play and for loyalty to one another which is the germ for a wider sense of honour in later life."[141] Morant's action seemed to have inspired a new official attitude to elementary education. His statements of intent are clear indications that the Board of Education was now changing its attitude towards programmes of physical education in the elementary school. By the turn of the nineteenth century, the government appears to have succumbed to the pressure from those opposed to military drill. Nevertheless, it should not be overlooked that military drill had had a good run in English elementary education, that it had attracted the attention of politicians, national and local, ideologues and educationalists and had become a national issue.

According to McIntosh, the man directly responsible for putting the Board of Education's view into practice was A. P. Graves, His Majesty's Inspector (H. M. I.). In his article in the *Contemporary Review* in 1904, Graves had "deplored the way in which school playgrounds were so little used and called for the introduction of games in elementary schools."[142] As a direct consequence, "in 1906 organised games, namely cricket, hockey and football were introduced in school hours,"[143] thus the Board of Education officially allowed games into the physical education curriculum of English elementary schools. However, Graves' argument that playgrounds were under-utilised as a reason for the introduction of games appears to have been misleading. The crucial point was that the Board had accepted that discipline, *esprit de corps,* and fair play could be acquired by all children through the games field,[144]

with the result that a new conception of the content of elementary education had become *de rigueur*. [145] Ironically, even though the Board now officially allowed games as an alternative to physical exercises in elementary schools, "the hard realities of the situation prevented a very large number of children from benefiting from this innovation of policy."[146] For some time to come elementary schools were still denied funds to help them construct sports facilities such as playing fields and the like.

6.4 Games in English Elementary Schools after 1906: An Integral Part of Physical Education

Athleticism, the ideological force behind the new elementary school games, is comprehensively defined as:

> Physical exercise... taken, considerably and compulsory, in the sincere belief of many, however romantic, misplaced or myopic, that it was a highly effective means of inculcating valuable instrumental and impressive educational goals: physical and moral courage, loyalty and co-operation, the capacity to act fairly and take defeat well, the ability to command and obey.[147]

In the elementary schools, as in the public schools, in late Victorian and Edwardian England, games, of course, had various functions, including those of control, amusement and fitness.[148] However, it is emphasised that the primary official educational purpose of games at that time was moral - the inculcation of the qualities encompassed in the above definition.[149] As an ideology, Athleticism, as has been noted earlier, was "born and nurtured in public schools."[150] When team games were introduced into public schools in the 1850s, as mentioned above, they were used initially as a means of controlling upper and middle-class boys.[151] Once control had been achieved, Athleticism evolved into an educational rationale to sustain imperial masculinity.[152] Now Athleticism in a modified form, was to raise moral standards in the elementary school.

The spread of games in elementary schools seems to have gone through certain broad phases. The first phase involved the sporadic playing of team games supervised by interested teachers. This phase is characterised by what Mangan and Hickey have labelled as "the pioneering efforts of a number of influential headmasters (and teachers) who acted as proselytisers."[153] The second phase saw the expansion of these efforts and their organisation. Simultaneous with both phases, but particularly the second phase, was the growth of a muted rhetoric which, reinforced by a measure of government support after 1906, sustained the ideology of adapted Athleticism.[154] All phases culminated in the final phase that "produced the official recognition and legitimisation of the ideology (of Athleticism) through the inclusion of games playing in the formal curriculum."[155]

The type of Athleticism,[156] which was introduced into the elementary education system at the turn of the nineteenth century, was one then which strongly embraced a belief in the moral value of team games. The introduction of Athleticism to elementary education was state pedagogical policy – a policy developed and produced by state officials who themselves were products of public schools.[157] The Board of Education advocated that teacher-training colleges adopt this public school ideology and so the products of these institutions left their colleges imbued with a sense of the moral value of games.[158] These teachers "took this moral conviction into the elementary schools."[159]

Nevertheless, for obvious reasons - lack of facilities - Athleticism, as an ideology, did not have the same powerful impact in elementary schools as it had in public schools. There was also a fundamental difference between what games meant to the boys in elementary schools and what it meant to those in public schools. 'A clumsy verse' about sport appeared in one of the magazines of one London elementary school, the central theme of which was how to beat an opponent by 'artful' means and win useful prizes, such as a marble clock or a nice little watch and chain.[160] "Such sentiments were not normally found in the doggerel in public school magazines in which 'fair play' was celebrated."[161] Mangan and Hickey argue that if

anything the verse illustrated, at least in one regard, the difference between Athleticism in these 'two camps'.[162]

What seems apparent from the evidence available is that to some working class children at least, artfully won victories resulting in practical prizes were highly valued. To these children even token prizes were valuable, especially when they were functional. Nonetheless, whatever the interpretative differences regarding the ideology, games now officially formed part of the physical education curriculum of elementary schools as well as the public schools in England at the beginning of the twentieth century.[163]

The development of physical education in elementary schools in the late Victorian and Edwardian Britain could not be better described than by the following quotation:

> By the time of the First World War, physical education in English elementary schools had undergone a radical transformation. Originally introduced into the school timetable as military drill and intended as a means of instilling discipline, drill had moved first towards a 'non-military' variety and finally, been assimilated in the early twentieth century, into a physical education programme reflecting a holistic view of education. In particular, team games, which were not allowed originally in the curriculum or in school time, saw their significance reassessed until they were formally introduced into the curriculum in 1906.[164]

This model was transported to the empire, including Tanganyika.

6.5 Drill Displays and Dance in Elementary Schools: The Inculcation of Imperial Virtues at Home and Abroad

Concomitant with the existence of drill and games in elementary schools was the veneration of drill displays. In '*Drill and Dances as Symbols of Imperialism*', Anne Bloomfield has noted that drill, aesthetically performed as a public spectacle by [school] children, was used to create an imperial mentality in Britain at the turn of the nineteenth century.[165] Physical formations of imperial symbols such as flags [the

Union Jack] was one effective method that was used to provide memorable picturesque performances. Usually, the children were attired in the appropriate colours and were arranged in such a way that they formed a living Union Jack by establishing the designs of the flag in sequential order, culminating in the colourful representation of the flag.[166] More imaginative teachers included a wide range of spectacular configurations in these drill displays. Often these teachers taught the children to perform patterns of known patriotic emblems such as the rose of England, the thistle of Scotland and even the shamrock of Ireland.[167] Other symbolic gestures included the display of British naval supremacy which was represented by the display of the marine emblem of the anchor. Christianity was represented by images of the crucifix. The belief was, that through such displays, it was possible to kindle and reinforce the spirit of nationalism, patriotism and, hopefully, Christianity.[168]

The teaching of drill for the purpose of display appears to have been progressive. Initially children were taught graded exercises, moving from the simplest configurations to more complicated figures.[169] Usually pupils would form a single line and then evolve into many lines, with each child being allocated a number as required. Throughout the entire performance children obeyed the teacher's commands and strictly followed marked lines on the playground in order to achieve precision.[170]

At the time it was considered that there were physical and mental qualities to be gained through the teaching of display drills. From the onset, the objective of marching was to cultivate co-ordination - of step, style and rhythmic movement while maintaining good bodily carriage and discipline.[171] The physical repetition and conformity of design was expected to match a mental frame of mind. The belief was that as the pupils learned their drill so their faithfulness towards the empire would develop. In short, "harmony of thought and deeds was to culminate in an imperial ideal."[172]

The purpose of such displays then was to generate interest among the children with the view of promoting imperial allegiance by assimilating the image and the message

of the British Empire. These displays became common place during the Empire Day[173] celebrations and as such they were common ingredients of the Empire Day Movement.[174] Drill effectively assembled and dispersed large numbers of children in school playgrounds in powerful ceremonial displays, which combined national sentiment and the results of effective teaching.[175] Often drill formations were performed to tunes of familiar dance suites, well-known folk music and famous military-style marches.[176] In this way, the importance of British imperialism was conveyed and it was possible to further the cause of the Empire through the veneration and perpetuation of honourable British traditions and privileges.[177] Accompanying the drill displays were the recurring rituals of flag-raising ceremonies, which were also believed to be a useful means of promoting allegiance to the British flag. Through these rituals, it was argued, such qualities as duty, responsibility and self-sacrifice could be inculcated, thus teaching the children their duty to their country and to their God.[178]

Numerous instances of imperial celebration through drill displays and flag-raising ceremonies occurred throughout the empire in the years that preceded the Great War.[179] "They symbolised both the inculcation and reception of the message of the empire."[180] The expectation was that such spectacularly organised festivals would provide imperial affinity between British citizens at home and colonial servants abroad. These festivals were considered instrumental in creating and strengthening the nationalistic ties between these subjects as it was felt that they were an outward sign of inner beliefs - honouring the flag, the country and endorsing the empire.[181]

Thus, for hegemonic reasons - imperialism through assimilation, indoctrination and adaptation - the Empire Day ideas, ideals and practices were exported to the dominions, colonies and protectorates. Empire Day, essentially a children's festival, has its place in imperial history. It was celebrated first in the Dominion of Canada in 1904 and then spread to other countries within the empire.[182] In 1905, for example, the history of Great Britain and her imperial superiority was impressed upon the school children of Melbourne, Australia, while over a thousand children are said to have attended an open-air patriotic concert in Gibraltar in 1905, presided by the

Governor there.[183] In Tanganyika, these celebrations formed the biggest single annual event for primary schoolchildren, during the British mandate of the country (1919 - 1961). The spread and the impact of these celebrations on Tanzanian society are discussed more fully in the later chapters.

Complementing drill was dance. Bloomfield has written that, "the Board of Education's *The Syllabus of Physical Exercise for Elementary Schools, 1909* introduced dance steps into their curriculum and stressed the importance of emotional and aesthetic expression embodied in beautiful form of motion."[184] The Board stated, "the Board desire that all lessons in physical exercises in Elementary Schools should be *thoroughly enjoyed by the children.* It has been thought well not to modify some of the usual Swedish combinations ...but to introduce dancing steps into many of the lessons."[185] The Board believed that, if appropriately taught, many of the free movements accompanying dancing steps would benefit the children.[186] The Board based its action on experiences. It was claimed that that method had actually worked where such exercises had been introduced.[187]

Three[188] basic types of folk-dance forms - the morris, the sword and the country-dance - were thus investigated for possible inclusion in the curriculum. Folk-dance was to be revived wherever necessary and to be venerated. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, more often than not, drill formations were performed to the tunes from dance suites,[189] thus providing the nexus between drill and dance movements. "Dancing", Bloomfield observed, "was, therefore, regarded as being a stimulus for the imagination, exhilarating to both mind and body."[190] It was expected that dance would extend the custom established by the drill displays since it embodied national sentiment. Commenting on the revival of the folk-dance movement of the early 1900s, the man behind it, Cecil Sharp stressed, "the movement, no doubt, for its objective the quickening of the national spirit, will most likely be one of its immediate and most beneficial effects."[191]

In Bloomfield's opinion, the folk-dances, within the context of the school curriculum, were effective devices for conveying and displaying the folk culture

which was traditionally and predominantly rural.[192] She further noted that folk-dances expressed and displayed cultural traits and values that lay deeper than mere physical activity. Eventually, this culture was re-established in urban areas throughout the country, thus not only establishing a link with urban and rural areas but also between past and present.[193] To facilitate implementation, a policy was devised for the publication of dancing manuals and for the provision of practical dance courses.[194]

Teachers and pupils enthusiastically received the folk-dance revival. They found in it expression and release of innocent joy.[195] Outside the school system, folk dance became a popular pursuit for youth clubs, recreational groups and play centres. In the wider context, dance assisted in the establishment of national identity and it is claimed to have permeated almost all classes of society.[196]

Folk-dance was also used as a medium of imperial cultural indoctrination. Bloomfield has observed, "the children's thoughts understandably became diffused when traditional dances occurred in imperial festivals, but for the organisers it was a careful manipulation and extension of both feeling and form - a broadening of context that served to consolidate a specific cultural genre."[197] Dance was then used by educators as a means of not only reviving a past tradition, but also as a means of promoting imperial idealism. Thus, traditional cultural idiom was to be taken beyond the geographical confines of Great Britain into the wide arena of the empire,[198] including the British mandated territory of Tanganyika. It was part and parcel of the 'civilising' process!

6.5 Preparatory Schools: Public Schools Feeders and the Public School Games Cult

In his monograph, The Rise of the English Prep Schools Donald Leinster-Mackay writes, "in the nineteenth century the adjective 'preparatory' was used interchangeably with private."[199] This could be interpreted as saying that a private school of the 1830s was a preparatory school or at least a 'quasi-preparatory' school,

that is a school that prepares young boys for entry into the 'great' or 'public' schools. However, this is misleading, as many private schools did not necessarily prepare boys for public schools. Preparatory schools were what they were called. They prepared boys for the public schools.

Preparatory schools had diverse origins. Originally, public schools used to take pupils from as early an age as eight. At Rugby, Thomas Arnold was averse to the presence of very young boys in his school. He was one of the first to realise that small boys of eight or nine, who had traditionally begun their education in schools with senior boys, fared better when segregated.[200] It is no accident, therefore, that in 1837, when Arnold abolished Form I at Rugby, Lieutenant Malden opened a preparatory school on the Isle of Wight (where Arnold himself was born), a school which was later to be recognised as the first official English preparatory school.[201]

Other, preparatory schools were selected by public schools' assistant masters. They established schools often linked to their former public schools. Boys were sent on in large numbers to the master's former schools.[202] The rise in the number of public schools in the later part of the nineteenth century increased the demand for more preparatory schools,[203] and a preparatory school system was the eventual outcome.

By the end of the nineteenth century preparatory schools were imitating the public schools and taking an increasing interest in the value of the sports fields. For example at Eaton House School, games were taken so seriously that one of the assistant masters personally supervised football and all boys were expected to play.[204] At Elmley, games were regarded as the criterion of ultimate failure or success.[205] Commenting on his old school, Elmley, Sir Gerald Tyrwhitt-Wilson, Fourteenth Baron Berners, wrote: "At Elmley you were made to feel that organised games were the touchstone of character [because of] the eternal obsession of games."[206]

Games epitomised 'Muscular Christianity' in many preparatory schools. At St. Andrew's Eastbourne, the headmaster, the Rev. E. L. Browne, gave sermons which

were frequently illustrated by similes drawn from cricket.[207] "He is reputed to have preached a sermon, which explained the difficult concept of the Trinity, by the splendid analogy: 'three stumps, one wicket.'"[208] This preoccupation was reinforced by the school magazine which devoted much space to match reports.

Leinster-Mackay has observed perceptively that, "certainly such 'cult' devotion was evidence of the preparatory schools' pursuit of excellence... and this was even stronger than in public schools."[209] This cult of Athleticism, eventually, as rampant in the preparatory as in the public schools, filled schools magazines with reports of matches and critical comment."[210] Thus, for something like sixty years, football and cricket were treated by many preparatory schools as if they were religious exercises.[211]

The 'cult' of Athleticism in preparatory schools did not go unchallenged. Early critics included school headmasters, such as Edward Thring, himself a product of the preparatory school at Ilminster and later renowned headmaster of Uppingham Public School. Thring advocated the promotion of individual ability for boys who were not good at team games. By the 1920s, such critical sentiments were gaining momentum and the 'true' place of games in preparatory schools was being sought. In his book, *The Master and His Boys*, Stanley S. Harris, the headmaster of St. Ronan's, Hawkhurst, and chairman of the AHPS, pointed to the 'false value' that had been put on games. Alternatively, he recommended four objectives and suggested that if more emphasis was put on the first three, then a distorted and pernicious view of the fourth would be less likely.[212] The four objectives (in order) were: recreation for mind and body; physical development; training of character; and promotion of healthy competition and ambition.[213] By the 1930s, the 'cult' of Athleticism in preparatory schools was less and new and differing emphases were emerging, namely the emphasis on individual development and a search for a suitable term to describe physical activity in schools. While the virtues of outdoor activities such as scouting, were being assessed as suitable alternatives for individual development, the term 'physical education' was becoming fashionable and was eventually to replace 'physical training'. Physical education was thought to be the responsibility of a

teacher as distinct from Physical Training, which was the responsibility of a drill sergeant.[214] (In those days it was commonplace for schools to employ ex-drill sergeants to take charge of physical training). However, the hegemony of organised games and Athleticism in preparatory schools continued in spite of the new developments,[215] but more commonly it went in tandem with other outdoor activities. The reasons for the preservation of its hegemonic status are not difficult to discern - the training of character and leadership. The headmaster of Wolborough Hill School once observed: "the boy who learns to play for his side at school will do good work for his country as a man."[216] Undoubtedly, this was a philosophy which was fundamental in public schools, and this, in a way, 'conditioned' preparatory schools to provide education which was 'preparatory' for public schools.

A knowledge of preparatory school allows an understanding of the educational idealism middle class imperialists took to Tanganyika. In effect there was no escaping (if escaping was desired) the impact of Athleticism subsequent to the introduction of its proselytisers in empire and their preparatory schools.

6.6 Grammar Schools: Public School Games Cult and the Acquisition of a Caste Mark

The preparatory school was not alone in its imitation of its educational superiority institution. "The evolution of the grammar school in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century involved, in large measure, imitation of its upper class superiors and segregation from its working class inferiors."[217] This involved the adoption of institutional instruments of cohesion, control and status, proven in the public schools. Games and games fields were, therefore, the ambitious symbols of this emulation, as well as instruments of distancing and a means to social success. There were sound reasons for this.

At the turn of the nineteenth century in Britain, "technological competence in an industrial era was less valued than an image of gentility in a strongly hierarchical social system."[218] In schools, this was reflected in the efforts made by the

headmasters of that time to assimilate and implement philathletic public school values.[219] This coincided with the government's desire to extend the public school ideal of education into state secondary schools. The government, it appears, modelled its ideal education on the mid-nineteenth century games-oriented public school rather than on the late eighteenth century technologically oriented dissenter academy.[220]

As Mangan has noted, "the mid-nineteenth century was a time of educational stocktaking."[221] For example, between 1860 and 1870 alone, three commissions probed the condition of English schools. While the Newcastle Commission looked at the state of popular education, the Clarendon Commission reported on 'public schools', and the Taunton Commission dealt with the state of the remainder of the schools.[222]

Appointed in 1864, the Taunton Commission reported in 1868 that the standards of grammar schools were generally low.[223] The work of the commissioners helped to revitalise these schools. For example, the legislation that was enacted under various schemes provided, among other things, revenue that sustained grammar schools.[224] This revenue was vital for the development of facilities like the games fields. As a direct consequence, the availability of games fields in these schools allowed a games ethic to develop there. This ethic was essentially "a subscription to the belief that important expressive and instrumental qualities could be promoted through team games."[225]

One grammar school, which attempted to attain these virtues in the name of Athleticism, was Bristol. "Its history epitomises much of the history of English grammar schools. ...It offers an example of a great and traditional English contribution to education."[226] Other schools either followed suit or were simultaneously busy in pursuit of acceptability and respectability.[227] The following account, therefore, should not be seen as simply a story of a school or a mere chronological account of the different stages of its development, but rather as the documentation of an era of a significant educational revolution in English grammar

schools. It was a revolution in which Athleticism played an important part. The grammar schools followed where the public schools led, and developed a new kind of education in which activities outside the classroom had a major part to play.[228] These grammar schools were trend-setters, both educationally and socially,[229] for one good reason – they wished to attract the middle classes and thus they needed to imitate the practices of the public schools.[230]

Bristol Grammar School in Southern England went through a period of turbulence between 1860 and 1883, which included the reign of the games-unenthusiastic headmaster, John William Caldicott. Caldicott believed that his school could succeed without playing fields, and therefore, neglected increasingly fashionable trends.[231] He pursued classics to the exclusion of most other things. To Caldicott, university honours were all that mattered. Although Caldcott was much admired at Bristol and his period was described as a 'Golden Age',[232] he failed to 'read' the trend of the times and his school did not achieve an invaluable public school image.

Under Robert Leighton, Caldicott's successor, Bristol experienced what have been described as 'twenty-three disastrous years of headship' between 1883 and 1905.[233] When costs exceeded revenue he curiously choose to ignore playing fields. Playing fields attracted upper class pupils who were one good source of income. By taking this stringent measure, he failed to attract these clients and this reduced income even further.[234] Oddly, earlier in his career at the school, Leighton had attempted to improve the status of games. He made games compulsory for every pupil and imposed a games subscription. All was to little avail as he himself eventually "lacked commitment to these imperatives."[235] However, it is only fair to note that both Caldicott and Leighton led the school at difficult times when sources of income were limited and more often than not expenditure exceeded income.

It was not until 1906, when the keen games enthusiast Cyril Norwood took charge, that things changed significantly at Bristol Grammar School. It must be noted, however, that it was a good time for grammar schools and Norwood took full advantage of this. The Board of Education Regulations for Secondary Schools now

allowed an increased grant for a small percentage of free places.[236] Furthermore, the state now supported secondary education and had embarked on the expansion of higher education. This meant more educational opportunities for middle class clients.

Norwood implemented a wide range of reforms involving raising the status of the school (a porter was given a smart uniform), improving standards by introducing a stiffer entrance examination, and boosting the morale of the staff by increasing their salaries.[237] Above all, he improved the image of the school by adopting the major attractions of the public school system - houses, inter-house competitions and matches between staff and boys - and a cadet-corps, which was directly under his control.[238]

Norwood's efforts seemed to have been rewarded almost immediately. Within two years numbers had risen sharply and thus more space and facilities were required. Again to Norwood's great advantage, the Governors now decided to make money available for the purchase of new, and the improvement of existing, facilities including playing fields. Five new courts were built, a rifle range was constructed and a gymnasium was erected. Mangan has commented, "many public schools would have envied both the list of benefactors and the playing facilities the school had now acquired."[239] In 1916, Norwood was invited to become Master of Marlborough College. In his farewell speech, he claimed, "the whole spirit of the school is changed, and its whole status lifted and established on a higher level."[240] And in the words of John Honey, "the school, in fact, had now squeezed into the favourable ranks of public schools."[241] Norwood not only did Bristol Grammar School proud; he did himself proud. He went on to become the headmaster of Harrow. Both he and his grammar school succeeded in transforming their image.

Another school worth mentioning is Ripon Grammar School in Northern England. In order to establish itself among the upper social echelons, it joined the 'crusade' to acquire the new public schools games ethos. At Ripon, it all began in 1879 with the appointment of A. B. Haslam as headmaster.[242] Haslam was considered a public school diffusionist in the classic mould.[243] He received his public school education at

Rugby where he was Head Boy and Captain of Football. Until the appointment of Haslam as headmaster, Ripon was a day school, a status that denied it possibilities to generate income. Haslam's immediate challenge was to create a new image for the school. He chose, as his priority, to improve the social image of the school in order to attract boarders, the much-needed source of revenue. Haslam's actions, in whatever he did or intended to do, aimed at "impressing the whole being."[244] This was in line with the educational fashion of the day. It was a fashion that involved radical changes in educational philosophy, practice, and resources,[245] and in which the public schools led the way. Haslam understood the 'rules of the game', played within these rules, and thus Ripon flourished under his leadership. Indeed it became so successful that some applicants were turned away.[246] Sadly Haslam did not stay long enough to 'enjoy the fruits of his labour'. He had to resign in 1890 over an alleged adultery.

Haslam's successor, William Fausset, educated at St. Peter's York, Balliol, Oxford, and one time master of Fettes, is accused of undoing what Haslam had done. In what Mangan called "a bold departure," Fausset introduced commercial classes in place of the firmly established classical curriculum.[247] In so doing, he compromised the image of the school, which resulted in an increase in the number of day boys while many boarders left. As a direct consequence the school "grew more numerous and more penurious."[248] Fausset had to resign in 1895 and was replaced by C. Swinton-Bland.

Swinton-Bland remained as headmaster for the next twenty-four years and did not repeat Fausset's mistakes. He kept the school small and he revived and developed what Haslam had begun. 'Building on Haslam's foundation', a school magazine was established in 1891, followed closely by the formation of the Old Boy Association. Adequate playing fields were constructed, a new pavilion was built in 1892 and five courts were added in 1895.[249] Under Swinton-Bland, games flourished as an integral part of school life. By the turn of the nineteenth century, Ripon had "resolved its dilemma regarding its clientele, and aspired quite clearly to public school status."[250] "In many of its institutional arrangements, in its broad educational philosophy, and

its social values, its image was at one with the public schools."[251] The school had earned itself a caste mark.

What becomes apparent from the brief outline of the histories of the two grammar schools is that, in their pursuit of acceptability and respectability, they were keen to and succeeded in introducing specific instruments of institutional organisation and publicity, which were *de rigueur* in the public school system.[252] As a result, they met the expectations and won the confidence of the middle classes. The aspiration of the middle classes was to imitate the philistine action of their social superiors,[253] whose obsession with games was now apparent. The middle classes wanted image as much as substance and cricket pitches as much as classics. It may well be said that the absorption by the English grammar schools of the influential public school games ethic at the turn of the nineteenth century comprised an educational mini-revolution.[254] This revolution involved, and resulted in, significant changes in the educational philosophy, practice and resources of these schools. In turn, these changes helped the schools acquire, and share, at least partially, the prestigious position enjoyed by the public schools.

The significance of this mini-revolution for Tanzania was that few British imperial educators from whatever middle class school-system were unresponsive to, and unfamiliar with the games-ethic as an integral part of an educational philosophy and practice. It is little wonder, therefore, that Tanzania was the recipient of British educational ideology of Athleticism or that the ideology has had such a lasting impact on its educational system.

6.7 Physical Education in Girls' Private and State Schools: Gymnastics, Games and the Invention of Netball

In the earlier part of the nineteenth century, English middle class families educated their daughters at home, but in the later part of the century, some sent them to private schools.[255] These girls reached a very low level of intellectual attainment. Even social accomplishments such as needlework, music and deportment were badly

taught.[256] The Taunton Commission, which set out in 1868 to examine girls' and boys' schools, was strongly critical of the middle class female educational system.[257]

Following the report of the Taunton Commission, parliament passed the 'Endowed Schools Act' in 1869, which stated, "provision shall be made, as far as conveniently may be, for extending to girls the benefits of endowments."[258] As a direct consequence many sister schools to existing boys' schools were founded while other schools were started as commercial ventures along the lines of the boy's proprietary schools.[259] The latter group joined together to form what came to be known as the Girls' Public Day School Trust.[260] Simultaneously, other girls schools were founded as boarding schools and were modelled on the boys' public schools.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, influential critics like Herbert Spencer, strongly attacked the then misconceived ideal of femininity and condemned, in particular, the lack of physical education in the general education of girls.[261] In 1859, he alleged:

> We have a vague suspicion that to produce a robust physique is thought undesirable, ...that the rude health and abundant vigour are considered somewhat plebeian, ...that a certain delicacy of strength not competent to sustain more than a mile or two's walk, an appetite fastidious and easily satisfied joined with that timidity which commonly accompanies feebleness, are held more ladylike.[262]

Spencer's point was simple and straightforward. He argued: "why, if sporting behaviour among boys did not prevent their growing into gentlemen, play among girls should prevent their becoming ladies?"[263] At about the same time, two pioneers of girls' education, Frances Mary Buss and Dorothea Beale took initiatives towards improving girls' education. Earlier, Buss had started her own school, which later developed into the North London Collegiate School. In 1858, Beale had been appointed headmistress of Cheltenham Ladies College where she remained as principal for half a century.[264]

Buss and Beale may be considered early feminists. Both believed that girls were capable of as great an intellectual achievement as boys and claimed that their schools were the counterparts of boys' schools.[265] One problem though confronted these pioneer women – which type of physical education should the girls receive? The two women solved the problem, at least initially, by making callisthenics compulsory.[266]

During the period between 1885 and the end of the nineteenth century, marked developments in physical education in girls' schools took place.[267] Some pioneer schools, such as St. Leonard's founded at St. Andrews in Scotland in 1877[268] under the Girls' Public Day School Trust, were open to a middle-class clientele. St. Leonard's was the first school for girls to adopt many features of the boys' public schools, including a house system, a prefect system and organised games.[269] As McIntosh has observed, "soon other schools on similar lines were founded in England and so something of the Public School cult of games found its way into girls' schools."[270] Undoubtedly, this was an important milestone in the development of physical education in girls' schools in Britain. However, a major problem for the promoters of games for girls was which dress code to adopt.[271] The problem of an appropriate outfit was later solved at Bergman-Osterberg College.

Despite the efforts made by individual schools such as St. Leonard's, there remained a significant difference between physical education at boys' schools and at girls' schools. Boys' schools tended to regard games as the cornerstone of physical education, while girls' schools did not.[272] Many school headmistresses[273] realised that games by themselves were not an end, but a means to an end. They needed to be supplemented by careful observation of the child's physical development. Attention was paid to systematic muscular training in the gymnasium in preparation for outdoor games.[274] In some schools, one to two gymnastic lessons per week became the norm and were supervised by the gymnastic mistresses who carefully noted the girls' physical development and gave corrective exercises where necessary.[275]

The advancement of physical education activities in girls' schools, towards the end of the nineteenth century, called for teachers with the necessary qualifications. "It

was to meet just such a need that Martina (later Madame) Bergman founded her physical training college in 1885."[276] Bergman-Osterberg Physical Training College, as it was later called, was the first residential college for training specialist female teachers in physical education.[277] Towards the end of the nineteenth century, other colleges for training women specialists were founded. In time gymnastics became an element in the physical education programme for girls in Tanzanian schools.

Pioneers of the Bergman-Osterberg College may be proud of two significant achievements in the early years of the college: the design of the gym tunic, which became almost universally adopted by girls and women for games; and the development of the game of netball from the American game of basketball.[278] Both are also integral parts of Tanzania's physical education for girls.

In 1891, James Naismith invented basketball for young men at Springfield, Massachusetts, in an American Young Missionary Christian Association (Y.M.C.A.) Training School[279] The game was first introduced to England in 1895, at Madame Osterberg's College of Physical Training.[280] It soon became known as women's basketball and was played indoors. Initially, the goals were made of two wastepaper baskets hung on a wall at each end of the hall. Each time a goal was scored the referee had to climb up a ladder and retrieve the ball. Some people thought it was amusing, others found it boring and a waste of time. Eventually, the students of Madame Osterberg's College of Physical Training modified the game significantly. They introduced rings, a larger ball and divided the ground into three equal playing parts, known as thirds of the court.[281] And, for the first time, in 1897, these students played the game outdoors.[282] It was from this that the modern game of netball evolved. The first ever recorded rules of the game were published in 1901 in England.[283] However, it was not until the 1960s, that an international code of play for netball was introduced.[284] As Bergman-Osterberg's pioneering institution was replicated, many female teachers of physical education, qualified to teach netball, were produced. Some of these teachers took the game of netball to the state elementary schools.[285] In this way, netball was eventually accessible to the working

class, although it was invented by middle class women, and initially played, organised and promoted by them.

From such humble beginnings, teachers, members of the religious teaching orders, and administrators, introduced the game to other parts of the empire (the colonies and their equivalent). Today, netball is the most popular game for girls and women in Tanzania. It is the major component of girls' school physical education. It is the sport for women - solely administered by women. Lately, it seems to have become a means of 'androgynous' socialisation between boys and girls in schools. More on this in later chapters.

Conclusion

A sizeable proportion of this chapter has dealt with elementary education and in particular, the education of boys. It is well known that in late nineteenth century England, education was divided into distinct traditions – the elite education of the middle classes and the elementary education of the masses.

Before considering elementary education in relation to adopted physical activities, a brief reminder that middle class elite education included the preparatory school – the feeder school to the public school. Hardly surprisingly, the preparatory school adopted lock, stock and barrel the values of the public school. Thus the educational imperialist was subjected in his impressionable years to a socialisation into games-playing that had a marked impact on the educational system of empire.

For a long time religious organisations, especially the Church of England, took responsibility for providing elementary education in England. While the government contributed financially from the 1830s, it was not until 1870, that it took greater control over elementary education by declaring it compulsory. Physical exercises, in the form of drill, callisthenics and gymnastics dominated the physical education curriculum of elementary schools as a means of inculcating among the children of the lower classes, it has been argued, the values of obedience and conformity. After

the Elementary Education Act of 1870, the teaching of military drill became a widely accepted practice in the nation's elementary schools.[286] Since military drill now counted for attendance purposes, and hence was eligible for grants, it enjoyed a distinct advantage over ordinary drill, which was not so privileged.[287] But by the turn of the nineteenth century, however, the government had responded to the pressure exerted on it by the various groups opposed to military drill in elementary schools. For reasons presented earlier - the health and the age of the child, and the provision of holistic education - this opposition demanded that military drill be reduced in the elementary school curriculum. This pressure in conjunction with influential attitudes held by public school educational administrators led to the official introduction, in 1906, of team games into the curriculum of elementary schools. However, the need to prepare the nation's youth to serve the imperial cause and to protect Britain against her potential enemies, still remained. The outbreak of the Boer War at the end of the nineteenth century, was a clear reminder of this need, and this was a good reason why military drill remained an important aspect of the physical education curriculum of elementary schools for some time after 1906.[288] In time, the gymnastic and drill tradition in the British elementary school was taken, by the imperialist, to Tanganyika.

Among the powerful manifestations of imperialism were drill displays. Highly expressive displays of massed drill parades usually 'coloured' celebrations, such as Empire Day, both at home and abroad. The artistic and aesthetic features of drill were attractive ingredients of imperial propaganda in schools and outside schools. With the addition of dance and flag-raising ceremonies, drill displays became a powerful means of assimilating imperial values at home and abroad including Tanganyika.

In the male-dominated society of the time, in which masculinity, with its concomitant qualities of bravery, honour, moral courage, glory and above all, *esprit de corps*, was enshrined in team games, there was little incentive for games in girls' schools. From a male point of view, delicacy not strength was considered ladylike, and a muscular physique was deemed undesirable in a woman. However, with

powerful campaigns such as those waged by pioneers of physical education for girls like Madame Bergman-Osterberg, games finally found their way into girls' schools. And, as the role of British women as mothers of an imperial race came to be recognised, more and more attention was directed to the education of girls and their physical well-being. The invention of netball in girls' teacher training colleges at the turn of the nineteenth century was probably the most significant development in the history of team games in girls' schools. Played, organised and promoted solely by women, eventually netball found its way to the British colonies and the equivalent territories, including Tanganyika, mainly through teachers and members of religious societies.

Arguably, the history of the provision of physical education in British schools in the nineteenth and early twentieth century is a history of class division. For most of the nineteenth century, it was characterised by the exclusion of team games in elementary schools. Nevertheless, games were eventually included in the physical education curriculum of these schools. The expedient saying that 'if you cannot beat them, join them' seemed to have been the intelligent strategy adopted by some of grammar schools of the late Victorian era. These schools thus wisely chose to strenuously develop elements of conspicuous consumption - games – even at the expense of scientific and technological development. Games were the type of activities outside the classroom that gave the nineteenth century public schools status and were symbols of idealism, power and prestige. Thus many grammar schools adopted them.

The outcome of developments in elementary schools and grammar schools, preparatory schools and girls schools, was that by the early twentieth century, games drill and gymnastics for a greater or lesser extent, had become an integral part of the physical education programmes of almost all types of schools in Britain. They were expected to cultivate discipline in pupils, to promote *espirit de corps* and to train character and inevitably, given the education of the imperialist, they arrived in Tanganyika. The next chapter examines how the twentieth century colonial

educationalists brought these activities and values associated with them to the pupils of the distant lands of the empire such as the Tanganyika Territory.

Notes

1 G. Sutherland, 'Elementary Education in the Nineteenth Century', The Historical Association of London, 1971, p. 3.

2 D. Rubinstein, 'School Attendance in London 1870 – 1904', A Social History, Occasional Papers in Economic and Social History, No. 1, University of Hull, 1969, p. 1.

3 Ibid., p. 1.

4 J. M. Goldstrom, Education: Elementary Education 1780 - 1900, David and Charles, Newton and Abbot, 1972, p. 44.

5 Ibd., p. 44.

6 D. Rubinstein, 'School Attendance in London 1870 – 1904', A Social History, Occasional Papers in Economic and Social History, No. 1, University of Hull, 1969, 1.

7 J. M. Goldstrom, Education: Elementary Education 1780 - 1900, David and Charles, Newton and Abbot, 1972, p. 62.

8 Ibid., p. 103.

9 Ibid., p. 140.

10 Ibid., p. 62.

11 Ibid., p. 62.

12 Ibid., p. 62.

13 Ibid., p. 83.

14 Ibid., p. 83.

15 Ibid., p. 83.

16 Ibid., p. 141.

17 Ibid., p. 141.

18 Ibid., p. 62.

19 See J. M. Goldstrom, Education: Elementary Education 1780 - 1900, David and Charles, Newton and Abbot, 1972, p. 92.

20 Ibid., p. 103.

21 Ibid., p. 103.

22 Ibid., p. 118.

23 Ibid., p. 118.

24 Ibid., p. 11.

25 Ibid., p. 12.

26 Ibid., p. 12.

27 Ibid., p. 12.

28 Ibid., p. 103.

29 See, for example, F. Adams, History of the Elementary School Contest in England; The Struggle for National Education, The Harvester Press, 1972; G. Sutherland, Policy-Making in Elementary Education 1870-1895, Oxford University Press, 1973; F. Smith, A History of English Elementary Education 1760-1902, University of London Press, 1931; D. Rubinstein, 'School Attendance in London 1870-1904: A Social History', Occasional Papers in Economic and Social History, No. 1, University of Hull, 1969; A. Penn, Targeting Schools: Drill, Militarism and Imperialism, Woburn Press, London, 1999.

30 F. Smith, A History of English Elementary Education 1760-1902, London University Press, 1931, Chapter IX.

31 A. Penn, Targeting Schools: Drill, Militarism and Imperialism, Woburn Press, London, 1999, p. 10.

32 Ibid., p. 10.

33 Ibid., p. 10.

34 J. May, 'Physical Education', in R. Whitfield (ed.), Disciplines of the Curriculum, McGraw-Hill, Maidenhead, England, 1971, p.200.

35 P. C. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800, Bell and Hyman, London, 1968, p. 11.

36 Ibid., p. 11.

37 Ibid., p. 11.

38 J. May, 'Physical Education', in R. Whitfield (ed.), Disciplines of the Curriculum,

McGraw-Hill, Maidenhead, England, 1971, p.200.

39 The term 'physical education' is used loosely to describe the type of physical activities engaged in by elementary schoolchildren before 1870. These activities seem to have included drill and gymnastic exercises. Also see note no. 1.

40 P. C. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800, Bell and Hyman, London, 1968, p. 77.

41 Ibid., p. 77.

42 Ibid., p. 77.

43 J. G. Dixon, 'Prussia, Politics and Physical Education', in P. McIntosh, *et al,* Landmarks in the History of Physical Education, Poutledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1981, p. 115.

44 P. C. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800, Bell and Hyman, London, 1968, p. 77.

45 Ibid., p. 77.

46 Ibid., p. 77.

47 Ibid., p. 77.

48 Ibid., p. 79.

49 Ibid., p. 80.

50 Ibid., p. 98.

51 Ibid., p. 11.

52 Ibid., p. 98.

53 Ibid., p. 98.

54 Ibid., p. 98.

55 Ibid., p. 11.

56 Ibid., p. 11.

57 Ibid., p. 11.

58 The term 'drill' had a vague meaning even when used by Her Majesty's Inspectors. Alan Penn wrote, "military drill followed the recommendations set by the *Field Exercise Book* (1870) published by the War Office, but 'ordinary' drill was less clearly defined. The term relied, to some extent, on the Rev. C. H. Parez, who defined it as comprising a few arm exercises and simple extension movements", see A. Penn, Targeting Schools: Drill, Militarism and Imperialism, Woburn Press,

London, 1999, p. 30.

59 J. A. Mangan and C. Hickey, 'English Elementary Education Revisited and Revised: Drill and Athleticism at Tandem', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender, The European Sports History Review, Vol.1, Frank Cass, London, 1999, p. 69.

60 It is believed that the Napoleonic wars directed attention as never before towards the need for physical fitness among the masses. See P. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800, Bell and Hyman, London, 1968, p. 79.

61 T. Hearl, 'Fighting Fit: Some Military Initiatives in Physical Education in Britain, 1800 - 1860', in 'The Fitness of the Nation - Physical and Health Education in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', Proceedings of the 1982 Annual Conference of the History of Education Society of Great Britain, Leicester, 1983, p. 46.

62 Ibid., p. 46.

63 Ibid., p. 46.

64 J. A. Mangan and C. Hickey, 'English Elementary Education Revisited and Revised: Drill and Athleticism in Tandem', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender, The European Sports History Review, Vol. 1, Frank Cass, London, 1999, p. 66.

65 See Report of the Committee of Council on Education (CCE), 1870, in England and Wales, (C.-406-I), New Code, Article, 24, p.cix, cit. in J. A. Mangan and C. Hickey, 'English Elementary Education Revisited and Revised: Drill and Athleticism in Tandem', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender, The European Sports History Review, Vol. 1, Frank Cass, London, 1999, p. 26.

66 A. Penn, Targeting Schools: Drill, Militarism and Imperialism, Woburn Press, London, 1999, p. 19.

67 Ibid., p. 19.

68 See A. Penn, Targeting Schools: Drill, Militarism and Imperialism, Woburn Press, London, 1999, Chapter Ten.

69 I am thankful to Dr. Frank Galligan for e-mailing me this information. Dr. Galligan has just completed a doctorate dissertation dealing with the question of military drill in schools in Britain in the nineteenth century.

70 In his investigation in his most recent doctoral dissertation entitled 'The History

of Gymnastic Activity in the West Midlands, with special reference to Birmingham, From 1865 to 1918: With an Analysis of Military Influences, Secular and Religious Innovation and Educational Developments', Frank Galligan found exceptions to this general situation in Birmingham, where the school board there had programmes in place as early as 1880, with virtually no military influence. Galligan concludes that this was largely due to the presence of the Birmingham Athletic Club, founded in 1886, which worked with the school board and both provided instructors and trained the Board's teachers. Another school board with an enlightened approach was the London school board. Although in both Birmingham and London the work might have appeared 'militaristic', it was delivered by civilians. Other exceptions were the public schools which could afford to be 'choosy' in whom they employed. Often instructors there were either hand-picked men possessing at least some sense of decorum and propriety, or (as was the case at Cheltenham College) the senior instructor was an officer, who then employed assistants known to be of 'slightly better social quality'.

71 For earlier studies on the issue see P. C. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800. London, 1968, passim. For the most recent revisionistic research, see J. A. Mangan and C. Hickey, 'English Elementary Education Revisited and Revised: Drill and Athleticism in Tandem', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender, The European Sports History Review, Vol. 1, Frank Cass, London, 1999; A. Penn, Targeting Schools: Drill, Militarism and Imperialism, Woburn Press, London, 1999; J. A. Mangan and C. Hickey, 'Athleticism in the service of the Proletariat: Preparation for the Elementary School and the Extension of Middle Class Manliness, (Forthcoming), F. Galligan, 'The History of Gymnastic Activity in the West Midlands, with Special Reference to Birmingham from 1865 to 1918: With an Analysis of Military Influence, Secular and Religious Innovation and Educational Developments' (Forthcoming).

72 J. A. Mangan and C. Hickey, 'English Elementary Education Revisited and Revised: Drill and Athleticism at Tandem' in J. A. Mangan (ed.), Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender, The European Sports History Review, Vol.1, Frank Cass, London, 1999, p. 69.

73 P. C. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800, Bell and Hyman,

London, 1968, p. 119.

74 Ibid., p. 119.

75 J. A. Mangan and C. Hickey, 'English Elementary Education Revisited and Revised: Drill and Athleticism at Tandem' in J. A. Mangan (ed.), Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender, The European Sports History Review, Vol.1, Frank Cass, London, 1999, p. 69.

76 See Chapter Four.

77 Anne Bloomfield, 'Drill and Dances as Symbols of Imperialism', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism, Manchester University Press, 1990, p. 81.

78 J. G. Dixon, 'Prussia, Politics and Physical Education' in P. McIntosh, *et al*, Landmarks in the History of Physical Education, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1981, passim. See also Chapter Four.

79 A. Penn, Targeting Schools: Drill, Militarism and Imperialism, Woburn Press, London, 199, p. 71.

80 P. C. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800, Bell and Hyman, London, 1968, p. 108.

81 Anne Bloomfield, 'Drill and Dances as Symbols of Imperialism', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism, Manchester University Press, 1990, p. 82.

82 Ibid., p. 81.

83 M. D. Roth, 'On the Neglect of Physical Education and Hygiene by Parliament and the Education Department', London, 1879, cit. in P. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800, Bell and Hyman, London, 1968, p. 108.

84 A. Penn, Targeting Schools: Drill, Militarism and Imperialism, Woburn Press, London, 1999, p. 71.

85 Ibid., p. 71.

86 Ibid., p. 43.

87 Ibid., p. 43.

88 Ibid., p.50.

89 Ibid., p. 43.

90 Ibid., p. 20.

91 Ibid., p. 20.

92 Ibid., p. 28.

93 Ibid., p. 28.

94 J. A. Mangan and C. Hickey, 'English Elementary Education Revisited and Revised: Drill and Athleticism at Tandem', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender, The European Sports History Review, Vol.1, Frank Cass, London, 1999, p. 66.

95 Ibid., p. 66.

96 The Education Act of 1870, referred to as the Forster Education Act, made provision for the establishment of local school boards throughout England and Wales. These were responsible for the organisation of elementary education in their respective areas. The schools which were established by these boards were known as Board Schools. Both the school boards and the Boards Schools are said to have emerged all over the country within a short space of time, see P. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800, Bell and Hynman, London p. 111.

97 J. A. Mangan and C. Hickey, 'English Elementary Education Revisited and Revised: Drill and Athleticism at Tandem', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender, The European Sports History Review, Vol.1, Frank Cass, London, 1999, p. 69.

98 Ibid., p. 69.

[99] P. C. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800, Bell and Hyman, London, 1968, p. 111.

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[101] Anne Bloomfield, 'Drill and Dances as Symbols of Imperialism', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism, Manchester University Press, 1990, p. 81.

[102] P. C. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800, Bell and Hyman, London, 1968, p. 110.

[103] Ibid., p. 111.

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[105] A. Penn, Targeting Schools: Drill, Militarism and Imperialism, Woburn Press, London, 1999, p. 43.

[106] P. C. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800, Bell and Hyman, London, 1968, p. 113.

[107] Ibid., p. 113.

[108] *Minutes of the School Board for London*, 18 December 1878, cit. in P. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800, Bell and Hyman, London, 1968, p. 113.

[109] P. C. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800, Bell and Hyman, London, 1968, p. 114.

[110] Ibid., p. 114.

[111] Ibid., p. 114.

[112] Ibid., p. 114.

[113] Ibid., p. 114.

[114] Ibid., p. 114.

[115] Ibid., p. 114.

[116] Ibid., p. 114.

[117] See P. C. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800, Bell and Hyman, London, 1968, p. 117.

[118] P. C. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800, Bell and Hyman, London, 1968, p. 117.

[119] Ibid., p. 117.

[120] Ibid., p. 117.

[121] Ibid., p. 117.

[122] Alan Penn admits that the terms Physical Education, Physical Instruction, Physical Training, Physical Exercises and Drill were confusedly used by many contemporaries in the late nineteenth century. The terms were freely used and often interchanged, making it necessary for the reader to seek contextual clues to qualify their meaning. See, A. Penn, Targeting Schools: Drill, Militarism and Imperialism, Woburn Press, London, 1999, p. 29.

[123] P. C. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800, Bell and Hyman, London, 1968, p. 118.

[124] Ibid., p. 118.

[125] Ibid., p. 118.

[126] Ibid., p. 120.

[127] Ibid., p. 121.

[128] Ibid., p. 121.

[129] Ibid., p. 121.

[130] Ibid., p. 121.

[131] Ibid., p. 121.

[132] Ibid., p. 121.

[133] Ibid., p. 113.

[134] Cit. in J. A. Mangan and C. Hickey, 'English Elementary Education Revisited and Revised: Drill and Athleticism in Tandem', in J. A. Mangan (ed.) Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender, Frank Cass, London, 1999, p. 66.

[135] J. A. Mangan and C. Hickey, 'English Elementary Education Revisited and Revised: Drill and Athleticism in Tandem', in J. A. Mangan (ed.) Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender, Frank Cass, London, 1999, p. 66.

[136] Ibid., p. 66.

[137] P. C. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800, Bell and Hyman, 1968, p. 123.

[138] Ibid., p. 145.

[139] Ibid., p. 146.

[140] Ibid., p. 146.

[141] Ibid., p. 146.

[142] J. A. Mangan and C. Hickey, 'English Elementary Education Revisited and Revised: Drill and Athleticism in Tandem', in J. A. Mangan (ed.) Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender, Frank Cass, London, 1999, p. 68.

[143] Ibid., p. 68.

[144] P. C. McIntosh, 'Games and Gymnastics for Two Nations in One', in P. C. McIntosh (ed.) Landmark in the History of Physical Education, London, 1981, quoted in J. A. Mangan and C. Hickey, 'English Elementary Education Revisited and Revised: Drill and Athleticism in Tandem', in J. A. Mangan (ed.) Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender, Frank Cass, London, 1999, p. 68.

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[148] J. A. Mangan and C. Hickey, 'English Elementary Education Revisited and Revised: Drill and Athleticism in Tandem', in J. A. Mangan (ed.) Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender, Frank Cass, London, 1999, p. 72.

[149] Ibid., p. 72.

[150] Ibid., p. 71.

[151] Ibid., p. 73.

[152] Ibid., p. 73. See also J. A. Mangan, The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal, Viking Books Lt., Harmondsworth, London, 1986, passim.

[153] J. A. Mangan and C. Hickey, 'English Elementary Education Revisited and Revised: Drill and Athleticism in Tandem', in J. A. Mangan (ed.) Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender, Frank Cass, London, 1999, p. 74.

[154] Ibid., p. 74.

[155] Ibid., p. 74.

[156] See J. A. Mangan and C. Hickey, 'English Elementary Education Revisited and Revised: Drill and Athleticism in Tandem', in J. A. Mangan (ed.) Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender, Frank Cass, London, 1999, pp. 63-91; P. C. McIntosh, 'Games and Gymnastics for Two Nations in One', in P. C. McIntosh (ed.), Landmark in the History of Physical Education, London, 1981, pp. 185-217; P. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800, London, 1968, passim.

[157] See J. A. Mangan and C. Hickey, 'English Elementary Education Revisited and Revised: Drill and Athleticism in Tandem', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender, Frank Cass, London, 1999, p. 72.

[158] J. A. Mangan and C. Hickey, 'English Elementary Education Revisited and Revised: Drill and Athleticism in Tandem', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender, Frank Cass, London, 1999, p. 72.

[159] Ibid., p. 72.

[160] J. A. Mangan and C. Hickey, 'English Elementary Education Revisited and Revised: Drill and Athleticism in Tandem', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender, Frank Cass, London, 1999, p. 84.

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[165] Anne Bloomfield, 'Drill and Dances as Symbols of Imperialism', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism, Manchester University Press, 1990, p. 74.

[166] Ibid., p. 75.

[167] Ibid., p. 82.

[168] Ibid., p. 82.

[169] Ibid., p. 82.

[170] Ibid., p. 82.

[171] Ibid., p. 82.

[172] Ibid., p. 82.

[173] Empire Day, held annually on 24 May, is the birthday of Queen Victoria. The message of Empire Day was to convey the importance of British imperialism and to further the cause of the empire through the veneration and perpetuation of honourable British traditions and privileges. See Anne Bloomfield, 'Drill and Dances as Symbols of Imperialism', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism, Manchester University Press, 1990, p. 74.

[174] The Empire Day Movement, apparently inspired by the Japanese 'bushido' - a code of honour extolling the virtues of loyalty, patriotism and obedience - was started in 1902 by Reginald, twelfth Earl of Meath. See Anne Bloomfield, 'Drill and Dances as Symbols of Imperialism', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism, Manchester University Press, 1990, p. 74.

[175] Anne Bloomfield, 'Drill and Dances as Symbols of Imperialism', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism, Manchester University Press, 1990, p. 82.

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[189] Ibid., p. 82.

[190] Ibid., p. 84.

[191] Anne Bloomfield 'Drill and Dances as Symbols of Imperialism', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism, Manchester University Press, 1990, p. 84.

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[220] Ibid., p. 313.

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[270] P. C. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800, Bell and Hyman, London, 1968, p. 131.

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[273] For example, the headmistress of Roedean believed that the moral value of games, which was accepted as truism in boys' schools should have similar respect in girls' schools. She paid particular attention to the fact that games were considered a means of training character in boys' schools, which, she argued, was lacking in girls' schools. See P. C. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800, Bell and Hyman, London, 1968, p. 132.

[274] P. C. McIntosh, Physical Education in England Since 1800, Bell and Hyman, London, 1968, p. 132.

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Chapter Seven

Western Influences on Sport in Tanzania: British Middle Class Educationalists, Missionaries and the Diffusion of Adapted Athleticism

Dissemination, diffusion and assimilation are keywords which may usefully describe the process of both the intentional and unintentional spread of the British games culture into Tanganyikan society in the 1920s and 1930s. This culture permeated the traditional culture of the indigenous people by means of schools, sports clubs and imperial society. To begin to understand this process it is helpful at this point to look initially at the British administration of Tanganyika responsible for this important manifestation of British cultural imperialism.

7.1 British Mandate of the Tanganyika Territory

Britain took over the administration of the defunct German East Africa at the end of World War I. She shared common boundaries with other colonial powers in the region: Belgium in the west and Portugal in the south. Obviously, the name 'German East Africa' did not suit the new master and thus the name 'Tanganyika Territory'[1] was adopted when the country was formally mandated to Britain.[2] This mandate gave Britain two widely encompassing responsibilities: full powers of legislation and administration, and responsibility to promote the material welfare and social progress of the indigenous inhabitants towards self-government.[3] Sir Horace Archer Byatt[4] was appointed as Administrator of this new territory on January 31, 1919.[5]

The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English defines *mandate* as 'the power given to a country to govern another country or region'.[6] Generally speaking, the status of a mandated territory entailed overseeing the political, economic and cultural advancement of the country. Britain was expected to guide Tanganyika towards

independence. In contrast with other forms of occupation by European nations of other parts of the world at that time, Tanganyika was not a formal colony. A *colony* is a country or an area settled and controlled by people from another country, sometimes by force.[7]

As will be argued in this chapter, this responsibility as a trustee nation, in contrast to a 'legitimate' coloniser, influenced the way Britain, through indirect rule, passively prepared Tanganyika for independence.[8] This was nowhere else more evident than in its social and cultural development. Before the arrival of Sir Donald Cameron[9] as Governor in 1925, the British government followed a system of 'direct rule'[10] similar to that of its German predecessor.[11] The German colonial government had divided the country into convenient administrative districts. In each district the government built well-fortified and garrisoned headquarters. At each headquarters was stationed a government officer - often from the army. The districts were again subdivided and over each subdivision was placed an *akida* (native village ruler), who was imported from distant tribe.[12] The belief was that because he did not have local family claims, he would more likely use his powers impartially.

Cameron introduced a new system, popularly known as indirect rule, which had been developed (and practised) by Lord Lugard[13] and Charles Temple in other parts of Africa. Temple defined *indirect rule* as

> a system of administration by which European influence is brought to bear on the native indirectly, through his chiefs, and not directly through European officers. The European keeps himself a good deal in the background, and leaves the mass of the native individuals to understand that the orders which come to them emanate from their chief rather than from the all-pervading white man.[14]

This definition, unsurprisingly, contained a crucial point of the doctrine, namely "the direction of European rule and influence to the ordinary population through their own chiefs."[15] Under the auspices of indirect rule, Sir Donald Cameron embarked on a series

of major political and social changes in the country. He commenced his reorganisation by abolishing the *akida*[16] system introduced by the Germans. Oral evidence indicates that before the coming of the Germans and British colonialists, the indigenous people had their traditional rulers. In most cases these were tribal headmen or 'rain-makers', and they were called differently in different tribes. The Chagga called their leader *Mangi*, the Masai called theirs *Laibon* while the Waha called their political leader *Abami*. Cameron traced the heirs of the former native rulers[17] (prior to German occupation) and appointed them as chiefs.[18] He also re-examined former tribal boundaries[19] and made the districts conform, as far as possible, to them.

Cameron advocated indirect rule in Tanganyika, to avoid, among other things and if at all possible, political agitation. To him, indirect rule was a potent political tool through which traditional leadership and other forms of authority of African communities could be secured as instruments of colonial rule. Moreover, he believed that the status given to the native chiefs would help rein in any potential political agitators.

Indirect rule had an explicit relationship with education. Cameron argued that once educated, a reasonable proportion of Africans would have a bigger say in the administration of their country in the future.[20] He was of the opinion that if Africans took part in indirect rule, as a means of developing leadership skills, then they would share simultaneously in the rule of their country.[21] Cameron was concerned that if the Africans were simply trained to adopt the European form of administration, then it would be necessary to 'Europeanise' the whole country which, given its rudimentary state, would take a very long time. In view of Cameron's position, it is useful at this point to consider British education in Tanganyika.

7.2 British Education in Tanganyika

The British administration in Tanganyika implemented what became to be known as adaptive education.[22] The notion of adaptive education was understood to imply that the natives should be guided to natural individual growth rather than simply being given formal instruction.[23] Conversely, the metropolitan institutions were expected to adjust to the local political and social organisations.[24] They were to create a group of educated Africans who, at the same time, would be rooted in their own culture.[25] Such an approach was in line with the recommendation embraced by the committee appointed by the Colonial Office to deal with the education of the natives of Tropical Africa, the Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical Africa (ACNE).[26] This committee met regularly (monthly) and issued general instructions - memoranda and reports - to the Governors and Directors of Education Departments in the colonies.

ACNE was the central organ which dealt with all matters of African education policy in London.[27] It drew representatives from the Colonial Office and experts from English universities, political parties and missionary societies. Governors of the colonies and Directors of Education, while on leave in London, also attended the meetings of the committee. Thus, there was close contact between the Colonial Office and the educational institutions. Ideally, the inclusion of missionaries on the committee was to help narrow the rivalry gap, at least in the area of the curriculum, between the government and mission schools regarding the provision of education in the colonies. The attendance by the Governors and Directors undoubtedly facilitated a 'two-way' information network between the colonies and the Colonial Office. The Governors and Directors kept the Colonial Office informed about the affairs of both the government and the mission schools in Africa while the Colonial Office updated them on current educational policies.

The educational policy of the British Government for Tanganyika was an offspring of the *White Paper on Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa* of 1925, which stated:

> Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitude, occupation and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution. Its aim should be to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life, whatever it may be, and to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through... the training of the people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of true ideal of citizenship and service.[28]

In many respects, this policy reflected many of the principles of indirect rule It was in keeping with the ideals of trusteeship affirmed by the British. The notion of adaptation is clearly reflected in the two major objectives put forward by this memorandum. Firstly education should be adapted to the mentality and the needs of the natives. Secondly, education should conserve that which is good in native social life.[29]

There were two types of formal schools, government and mission, in Tanganyika. Following the recommendation of the Phelps-Stoke's Commission of 1924 and the subsequent memorandum of 1925, the aims of education in government schools in the country were presented in very broad terms as providing basic education. The primary intention was to prepare low-ranking officials to 'help' in the administration of the territory.[30] Mission schools, for their part, emphasised Christianity as the basis of education and stressed evangelism.[31] The purpose was to produce evangelists, either priests or teachers, from the pupils. Christianity was ultimately to be brought to the people of Africa by the Africans themselves.[32]

The Phelps-Stokes Commission recommended mutual collaboration between the two systems in all areas. This led to the Agreement of 1925 between the Colonial Office and the missionaries regarding the planning of African education.[33] Under this agreement,

mission schools were assured support for a continued emphasis on Christianity and were also promised government financial support. The government, for its part, reserved the right to control the general direction of educational policy and to administer the inspection procedures for all schools.[34]

Shortly after the arrival of Sir Donald Cameron as Governor of Tanganyika in 1925, a conference of government officials and missionaries was held in Dar es Salaam. A programme of close co-operation evolved from this conference and it led to the establishment of an Advisory Committee on Education. Agreement on a unified curriculum between government and mission schools was reached.[35] It must be noted, however, that even when the government syllabus was followed, interpretation and implementation of this curriculum depended largely on many other factors such as the availability of resources, both human and financial.[36]

Government and mission schools may have differed in the primary aims of educating an African, but in practice they had one thing in common: they were the agencies and channels through which Western cultural values penetrated the cultures of the indigenous
people of Africa. The agents of this dissemination were the colonial educationalists.

Cecil Julian Tyndale-Biscoe was a colonial educationalist and cultural innovator of some significance whose contribution to the cultural history of Tanganyika is examined in the pages that follow. However, this should not be understood merely as a story of one man but rather as an intensive and extensive contextual documentation of significant changes in the social and cultural history of the country involving educational reforms and cultural transformation through the dissemination, assimilation, diffusion and adaptation of British games and drill.

Cecil Julian was born on October 14, 1895 the second of three sons of Cecil Earle Tyndale-Biscoe.[37] His father, a man of deep religious upbringing, was a Victorian moral imperialist who fully embraced late nineteenth century Western ethnocentricism and was a consequent symbol of forceful cultural hegemony.[38] He had gone to Kashmir five years before Julian was born where he ran a Church Missionary Society school in the predominantly Muslim Srinagar. This determined, courageous and, whenever necessary, ruthless proselytisizer successfully, but forcefully, introduced the alleged Victorian public school and university moral virtues of Athleticism to the Kashimiris.[39] Cecil Earle Tyndale-Biscoe's character and entire career in Kashmir are comprehensively described in the following succinct words of J. A. Mangan:

> Tyndale-Biscoe is a cultural diffusionist of great interest and not of a little importance. He took the physical activities of the English public school and ancient university, wrapped them in a packaging of moral certitude and introduced them successfully to a culture whose religious, social and sexual mores ran directly contrary to much of what he represented and advocated.[40]

Sport was one of the vital ingredients of Cecil Earle Tyndale-Biscoe's educational philosophy. He introduced boxing to fight immorality and social injustice. On learning that sodomy was rampant in Srinagar, he decided that a skilful boxer could effectively defend himself against a potential molester. He was certain that pain (inflicted by a powerful fist) was perfect medicine for a lustful sodomite.[41] Therefore, boxing became an important component of the Church Missionary Society school curriculum. The young Kashmir was taught this noble art with the idea that one day he might need it to defend himself and his virtue. He went much further, in fact, introducing team games as a means of general moral improvement.[42]

How far Cecil Julian Tyndale-Biscoe's philosophy of education was influenced by his father can only be a matter of speculation. However, evidence that he may have borrowed some of his father's ideas, such as that of 'preventive boxing' in Srinagar, can

be identified from one of his early attempts to promote good temper among the boys at Tanga Central School. This point is discussed more fully later in the chapter.

It appears that Julian spent only his childhood years with his family. At the age of nine,[43] Cecil Julian Tyndale-Biscoe entered Trinity College, Glenalmond while his family was still in Kashmir.[44] He then went on to Trent College in 1907[45] and became an undergraduate of Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1913. It is reasonable to suggest that as he spent so many years away from his family as a boarder, much of his later thinking was influenced as much by his public school life as by his family background. This life began at Glenalmond College in 1904.

7.3 Cecil Julian Tyndale-Biscoe's Early Schooling: Glenalmond and Trent College

Inaugurated in May 1847, Glenalmond Colege was one of several schools which were started between 1840 and 1865 in Britain and Ireland with the idea of making boarding education accessible to the children of the middle class who could not afford the fees of the older and more expensive schools such as Eton, Winchester and Rugby.[46] It was one of the three schools[47] founded contemporaneously by Churchmen for this purpose in Scotland. The school was divided into Senior and Junior Schools. The Junior School was a Preparatory School. Academically, the Senior School was divided into the Classical Side, the Modern Side and the Army and Navy Classes.[48] The Classical Side taught Divinity, Latin and Greek, History, Mathematics and English. The Modern Side offered subjects that prepared the boys for later scientific professions and for direct employment. As the name suggests, the Army and Navy Classes prepared the boys for entry into the army, the navy and other public services.[49]

Two years before Tyndale-Biscoe entered the school, Glenalmond College had obtained a new headmaster, a distinguished academician and sportsman, Archibald Richard Frith Hyslop, who replaced John Huntley Skrine.[50] Canon Hyslop had been an assistant

master at Harrow before he moved to Glenalmond. He was educated at St. Paul's, London where he won the Carus Greek Testament Prize, was second in the Porson (Greek Verse) Prize and received an 'honourable mention' in the examination for the Chancellors' Classical Medals.[51]

As a sportsman at St. Paul's, Hyslop played mostly cricket.[52] In his last year he was Captain of the school and Captain of cricket. At Glenalmond, Canon Hyslop enjoyed playing golf and occasionally played cricket. He is believed to have been instrumental in encouraging games at Glenalmond College.[53] In the early years of the existence of the school, organised games were not practical partly because of the small number of boys and the fact that the school was only in its earliest stages of establishment.[54] Significant development came about in the 1860s with the building of a cricket ground in 1863.[55] It is recorded[56] that under Hyslop's leadership the standard of playing games improved considerably. Notably, the standard of cricket is said to have risen remarkably from 1903, golf became popular in the school around that time and by 1910 the college was deemed to have one of the best schools rugby football teams – at least in Scotland. A writer in *The Times* described the Glenalmond XV of the time generously as "probably the best public school team on the island" following a series of remarkable victories over Merchiston (19-3), Fettes (38-0) and Watson's (19-8).[57]

It appears that the selection of Canon Hyslop to succeed Skrine was a carefully calculated decision aimed at taking Glenalmond from strength to greater strength. "Under Dr. Skrine, Glenalmond had prospered as never before",[58] but it was time for him to go. "For their new Warden, the Council wisely turned to another famous public school, Harrow."[59] With other 'departments' - finance, admission and quality of teaching - looking relatively good, Hyslop had the time and the means to concentrate on games. In the wider context Canon Hyslop's efforts to improve games at Glenalmond, a middle-class public school, may be seen as an ambitious move by the school to reach the standards of upper-class public schools with a view to emulating their philosophy of

Athleticism[60] - necessary at the time for a school to prosper.[61] As it turned out, by 1910 Glenalmond had secured an admirable position in rugby.

It was in this kind of environment, where middle class public schools were imitating their betters by improving the standards of playing games, that Tyndale-Biscoe spent his first four years of schooling at Glenalmond at the turn of the twentieth century. Arguably, a similar environment existed at Trent College, where he spent a further six years. How far Tyndale-Biscoe's early educational experience influenced his activities in Tanganyika in later years is discussed later in the chapter. In 1913, Tyndale-Biscoe went from Trent College to Jesus College, Cambridge.

7.4 Cecil Julian Tyndale-Biscoe, Jesus College and the Games Ethos in Victorian and Edwardian Cambridge

Tyndale-Biscoe had been at Jesus College for just a year when the war broke out in 1914. Like many others of his age, he volunteered to fight. He was at the front from September 1914 to August 1919.[62] According to the University of Cambridge War List, he served in the Royal Field Artillery and attained the rank of Staff Lieutenant.[63] He re-entered the university in October 1919 and in 1923 he graduated with a B. A. in Geography.[64]

Rugby, athletics, cricket and soccer are the sports mostly described in the Jesus College's magazine (Chanticleer) for the Michaelmas Term of 1919.[65] The magazine devotes much space to the revival of these sports after a period of neglect during the war years, when there were few students at the college.[66] There is no reference relating to Tyndale-Biscoe and sport in this magazine, not indeed in the college's archival records.[67] He does not even appear in the printed history of the college boat club.[68] It appears, therefore, that Tyndale-Biscoe did not significantly shine in any sport at Jesus

College. However, he was in an educational and university culture in which sport played an integral and important part.

In *'Lamentable Barbarians and Pitiful Sheep: Rhetoric of Protest and Pleasure in Late Victorian and Edwardian 'Oxbridge'*, J. A. Mangan wrote "between approximately 1875 and 1914 there was a new and heady fashion abroad in the ancient universities. River and games field had moved close to the centre of collegiate life.'"[69] Mangan further noted that "river and games field stood as symbols of the period values of an upper-middle-class educational system and culture. They represented contradictory and powerful social forces: moral idealism, class conspicuous consumption, sensible utilitarianism, circumscribed hedonism, class insulation and unconscious and defiant quixotry."[70]

As touched upon in Chapter Five, the 'Oxbridge' sporting life was, in a way, an extension of public school life. J. A. Mangan has Mark Pattison, the Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford once remarked "for many at Oxford and Cambridge, the colleges were boarding schools in which the element of rowing was taught to the youth."[71] The point Pattison was making sardonically was that the only slight difference between public schools and ancient universities, as far as sport was concerned, was that at most public schools the boys played mostly team games - cricket, hockey, football. At university, in addition to team games, the young men took up rowing. The two- river and games field - formed the twin sporting life of Oxbridge. "It was a sporting life centred not so much on horses and hounds as around the river and the cricket pitch and the football field."[72] It is recorded that at Oxford the activities on the river and playing field became so urgent that certain adjustments had to be made in the college timetable to accommodate this new 'mania'. For example, dinner hour had to be moved from three o'clock to four o'clock and then to five and even later.[73] The morning lectures usually scheduled to end at one were seriously affected by cricket matches which were now scheduled to begin at twelve noon.[74]

Mangan described collegiate life at Cambridge during the second half of Victoria's reign as that of "idle years of cricket, fives, rackets and billiards, when work weighed lightly on the conscience and the river and the games field engrossed many students."[75] In short, there were a few bookworms, the majority were oasmen and there were a minority who attempted both, and all three types are said to have persisted throughout the Victorian and Edwardian eras.[76]

More often than not, reading men went for long walks together in the country exchanging views as they walked. To them this companionship was a perfect way of sharing ideas and part of university training.[77] As one might expect, the reading men despised the oarsmen. There were those, however, who managed to do both. Generally speaking, they seemed to have held a balance between brains and brawn and are said to have combined intellectual achievement with athletic success. At the other extreme were the non-reading men who preferred the experience of strenuous exercise, through rowing and playing games.[78]

The Cambridge collegiate life of the 1920s was in many respects similar to that of the late nineteenth century. The sports enthusiasm of the late nineteenth century could still be felt in the 1920s. For example, Walter Leaf, an undergraduate of Trinity College in 1870, "found himself admitted into two quite different college sets: the rowing men and the reading men."[79] Almost half a century later, T. C. Worsley found himself in an almost similar environment. He described the Cambridge of 1926 as having "an absolute division between athletes and aesthetes."[80] However, it must be noted that not all the colleges of Cambridge embraced what may be referred to as 'the public school athletocracies.' King's College could be described as 'the intellectual college *par excellence'* - an institution devoted to education, religion, learning and research.[81] It is alleged that King's College had little time for the type of public school youths whose bias was sport at the expense of academic subjects. "Yet, even in this rarefied

atmosphere of intellectual endeavour the crude excesses of the hearty were not unknown.'[82]

In contrast, Jesus College may be portrayed as the haven of hearties and an ardent centre of sport. The sport 'mania' of Jesus College can be grasped from reminiscences of one of its undergraduates, B. H. Stewart. Stewart, a student of Jesus College between 1893 and 1896 wrote of his memoirs in his notebook as follows:

> To anyone who should pick up this little booklet ...I feel under an obligation to state that it is concerned mainly with sport—touching lightly on cricket, football, running, swimming, rowing, gymnastics, golf, tennis and boxing with chess, billiards and cards thrown in.[83]

He is said to have undergone the obligatory period of 'compulsory rowing' as a fresher, become an enthusiastic but indifferent cricketer, won a worthy 'blue' at soccer and become an efficient President of Jesus College Athletic Club.[84] Clearly Stewart's degree of contentment at the University could substantially be measured in terms of athletic achievement as "he took full advantage of the opportunities available in the most sporting college in Cambridge."[85] There were many of Stewart's description at that time in Jesus College.

It is informative at this point to look back at the forces behind the athletic success of Jesus College. Available evidence shows that it began with the appointment of two former assistant masters of Lancing College, H. A. Morgan and E. H. Morgan (unrelated), who embraced the idea of Athleticism in all its forms. The two Morgans have been described as "typical athletic pedagogues of the period. Both were able, enthusiastic and committed athletes."[86] They were appointed Tutor and Fellow respectively of the college in 1864.[87] The number of undergraduates admitted to the college is said to have been dwindling away considerably prior to their appointment. However, an immediate upsurge[88] is said to have occurred from 1864, largely due to

their interests and efforts. According to Arthur Gray, himself a Master between 1912 and 1940, the college expanded remarkably in the 1870s, quickly moving from sixth to third largest, after Trinity and St. John's, and the fame of Jesus oarsmen was the main reason for this expansion.[89] Through the efforts and encouragement of the two Morgans the college is said to have sprung into athletic prominence in the decade of the 1870s. In 1875, Jesus College attained the proud position of Head of the River, a position it was to maintain for the next eleven years.[90]

Nearly half a century of Tutor Morgan's work at Jesus College can be summarised in the following quote:

> He filled it with undergraduates, and then endowed it with a soul - a soul of energy and patriotism. He gave to one and all a just cause of pride in their college, and warmed their courage at the fire of his own enthusiasm. In all sports... he took the keen and intimate interest of one who had practised them. For half a century he encouraged the College boat by his voice and presence; he watched its rise and fall upon the river with the stern enthusiasm of a general watching his army in the field, and his enthusiasm was rewarded by so long a list of victories as has been never claimed by any other College in the world.[91]

It appears that Morgan selected his students according to his own values and often in his own image. He loved rowing for moral as well as sensual reasons. And he is said to have preferred communal loyalty to individual glorification. Morgan stressed, "athletics were too much for self-glorification ...and boating was ideal for the honour of the college and the University."[92] His subscription to such principles is clearly illustrated by his own rowing career with the college. He had rowed for the college for ten years and coached the college boats for many years after that.[93] In addition, Morgan is remembered as having worked with the university cricket, athletic, football and many other clubs, thus ensuring that college perfectly fitted the description "the most sporting college in Cambridge[94]" during the Victorian and Edwardian eras.

In *'Oars and the Man: Pleasure and Purpose in Victorian and Edwardian Cambridge'* Mangan found the perfect words to describe Jesus College at the turn of the nineteenth century in relation to Athleticism and the kind of public school and ancient university products of the time who served the empire at home and abroad. He stated simply, "in the light of the evidence available it is reasonable to conclude that during the Victorian and Edwardian epochs, Jesus College subscribed to the Athleticism ideology as completely as the public schools."[95] In turn, this ideology transformed the seemingly parochial indulgences of Jesusian undergraduates into a set of ethical actions with broader political, social and educational purposes.[96] It was this ideology, above all else, which the British product of public school and ancient university took to every corner of the empire. It served the school teachers, missionaries and administrators well in their efforts to train the child at home and 'the child-like' native in the colonies.[97]

Cecil Julian Tyndale-Biscoe was one such teacher. However, as noted earlier in the chapter he does not even appear in the printed history of the college boat club.[98] Nor is there any special mention of him in the academic honours of the college. It would be thus quite reasonable to consider him as an ordinary undergraduate who attended a college whose reputation in sport was very high by any standards. Possibly he was one of those who found a balance between the brains and the brawn. Nevertheless, it is wholly reasonable to suggest he was influenced by the predominant ethos there. As we shall soon see he was a colonial educationalist whose role in shaping the education of the 'native' Tanganyikan should not be underestimated and sport was one of his innovations and central to his educational philosophy. Tyndale-Biscoe entered the colonial service as an education administrator in the Tanganyika Territory in 1924 and served in various capacities in the Education Department for many years.[99] His contribution to the introduction and dissemination of modern games in Tanganyika is now discussed in the following pages.

7.5 Cecil Julian Tyndale-Biscoe and the Attempted Replication of the British Public School System: The Introduction and Dissemination of Team Games at Tanga Central School and District Schools

Tyndale-Biscoe arrived in Tanganyika in late December,[100] 1924. On arrival, he was posted to Tanga Central[101] School as headmaster. In this capacity, he was also directly responsible for the administration of [fourteen] other schools in the province, administratively known as District Schools. When Tyndale-Biscoe took over Tanga Central School it was already a secondary school[102] (it had became so in 1905 making it the first secondary school in the country) but it maintained a primary school stream and its central role of administering the District Schools. In addition it operated a teacher-training wing and trained boys as apprentices.

It is evident from Tyndale-Biscoe's first annual report that from the start of his career in Tanganyika he was primarily concerned with the fundamental question of discipline. It was on this often contentious issue that he wrote an article, probably his first as an educational administrator in the country, entitled *Discipline in Education*.[103] He ambitiously sought[104] its publication both in Britain and in Tanganyika. It appears to have been his intention to 'provoke' a response, to get others to express their opinions and to offer suggestions on the subject, and hopefully, reach a consensus on the whole question of discipline in education.

Tyndale-Biscoe appears to have been against any type of discipline that restricted an individual's aspirations, exploration and advancement. Above all, he disapproved of anything that curtailed individual thinking. He was particularly concerned with the crushing effect that even well formed public opinion might have on the imagination, which he considered an important ingredient in developing individuality. He was firmly of the opinion that any type of discipline that killed a boy's imagination and thus discouraged individuality was not worth it.

In the article, Tyndale-Biscoe began by first attempting to clarify the interrelationship between discipline and education. He specifically spoke of discipline, as applied to education in public schools, as essentially a process calculated to subjugate the will of the pupil to the will of others. In his opinion this was achieved by two fundamental means either the threat of punishment or the strength of public opinion.[105] To him, this kind of discipline although benevolent, was tyranny. Nevertheless, he appreciated that such discipline had actually standardised the conscience and outlook of a public school boy and so produced a pleasing type of boy.[106]

However, he saw the relationship between the education of the African schoolboy and the creation of his standard conscienceness differently to that relationship in the education of the British schoolboy. He considered the general outlook of 'backward' races such as the native Africans to be far below standard. He believed that the African had yet to be 'civilised', and for him, in particular, he argued, "public school discipline was valuable."[107] It was more benevolent than tyrannical. In his article, undoubtedly, Tyndale-Biscoe, intentionally or unintentionally, was laying down the cornerstone for colonial education in the territory, based on the British public school system.

When he took over Tanga Central School, Tyndale-Biscoe discovered that although the boys came from the immediate neighbourhood, they represented over forty different tribes. The highest representation came from the Digo with a hundred and fifteen members, followed by the Bondei with fifty members and the Segeju with forty. A few of the remaining tribes had between ten and twenty members while the majority had under ten.[108] On average, the school had about three hundred and fifty pupils with an average daily attendance of three hundred and twenty.[109] This amorphous mass posed administrative problems not unlike those experienced at Marlborough before 1851.

Tyndale-Biscoe decided to divide the school into smaller manageable units, apparently based on the British public school house system. At first he thought of dividing the boys along tribal lines. However, he appreciated that the mass was too heterogeneous and so decided to divide it arbitrarily. Eight boys were, therefore, selected as prefects and were assigned a house each. The other boys were distributed to the houses. In this way, eight houses were formed, each with between forty and fifty members. Each house was named after an animal and had its own distinctive colour. The duties of these newly appointed prefects were stated as maintaining discipline, and picking teams from, and drilling the boys, of their respective houses.[110]

At first glance, the introduction of the house system at Tanga Central School might be seen as merely an innovation of a new headmaster of wanting to stamp his authority on his own institution - 'tailoring his suit according to his size'. However, it was much more. Almost certainly it constituted a completely new, significant and effective change to the administrative structure of the school. It was thus a major educational reform. The house system and the accompanying prefectships had not existed before at Tanga Central School, nor indeed at any other school in Tanganyika. This was then the first time the system was introduced to the school and it marked the beginning of the house system in schools throughout Tanganyika. Its structure was clearly based on the British public school system with its mechanisms, rituals and symbols of social control – the house, the housemaster and the prefects. This system is diagrammatically illustrated in Figure 7.1. It may well be said that the system laid the foundation stone for an imperial education, established a basis for control and represented the beginning of the dissemination of an educational ideology. The house system, as noted in Chapter Five, was an effective method of controlling the British school boarder. Certainly Tyndale-Biscoe needed this kind of system to control the diverse community of boys in his custody. It clearly worked. Today all schools in Tanzania are still divided into houses, an acceptable legacy of British imperialism.

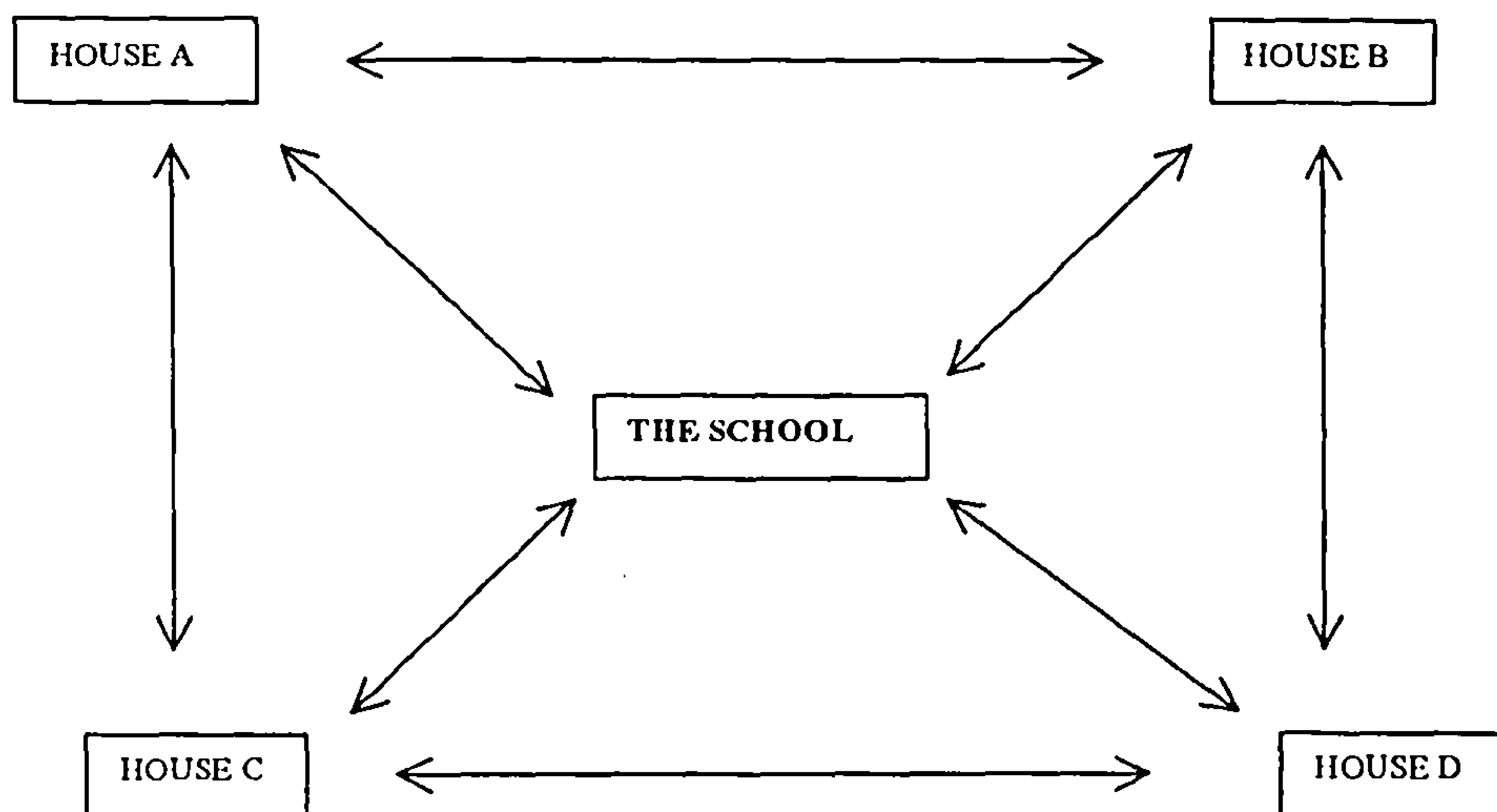


Figure 7.1 The house system.

Tyndale-Biscoe was pleased with the initial success of his innovations. The prefects learnt not only to drill smartly themselves, but also to drill the boys of their respective houses.[111] "These prefects are becoming real leaders", he declared, "and the other boys are beginning to look up to them as such."[112] Unquestionably, he would have considered this as a step in the right direction towards character building and the inculcation of a sense of responsibility, competence, confidence and obedience.

He next attempted to inculcate democratic principles into the boys. This was an important political aspect of the prefect system. Initially the headmaster had selected the prefects. He had chosen them from the older boys in the senior classes. Their exodus, of course, was inevitable on completion of their studies. New ones now had to be appointed. According to Tyndale-Biscoe's second annual report,[113] this was an important moment as far as the civic education of the pupils was concerned. As indirect rule was being introduced into Tanganyika, he considered it advisable to adopt a similar policy in the school, so that the boys would come to understand their government better. Consequently, each house held its own election to fill the position of one head prefect, referred to as *Jumbe*, and two monitors or *Wasimamizi*.[114] These elected prefects, as

before, were responsible for all discipline outside the classroom. In addition, a court consisting of three *jumbes* was appointed to judge cases and decide punishments. It sat everyday. It is interesting to note the qualities of the elected boys. Tyndale-Biscoe was reportedly astounded by the coincidence of the type of the boys who were elected and the particular ones he himself had singled out as possible prefects. It was the athletically excellent older boys who were elected!

The election of the prefects in Tanga Central School in 1926 may have been influenced, and was probably stimulated, by the introduction of indirect rule in Tanganyika, nevertheless, it was certainly the first 'Parliament' of its kind in the school system in the country. As such, its place in the history of democracy in Tanzania is not unimportant. Today Tanga Secondary School, an offspring of Tanga Central School, still elects its prefects.[115] Events like those captured in Figure 7.2 clearly reflect preparation for later civil life. The 'Speaker' of the 'School Parliament' carries the symbol of democracy in front of his parliament (Appendix 10) (above), while the 'School Parliament' is seen in session (below).

Figure 7.2 The 'Speaker' of the 'School Parliament': Tanga Secondary School. From the archives of Tanga Technical Secondary School.

Games was the next item on Tyndale-Biscoe's list of innovations. Tyndale-Biscoe introduced team games to Tanga Central School in 1925.[116] The school records show that football was the first game to be introduced. With the introduction of Houses, inter-

house matches were played regularly on the only playground that the school possessed. A Football Challenge Shield was made in the school workshops for this competition. This was the first ever trophy to be possessed by the school,[117] a symbol of the beginning of a 'competitive and victorious school life'. The legacy of that shield still holds fast today. Appendix 11 shows a recent (1994) winner of this shield, *Simba* House.

The school did not have enough playing fields. This not only posed a challenge to the popularisation of football in the school but also hampered the introduction of other games. Luckily, the Railway Sports Club[118] was impressed by the new developments at the school and allowed its ground to be used by the school. The shortage of school playing fields was further eased when the Senior Commissioner allocated more land to the school. More playing fields were constructed within the school compound. With the opening of these new playing fields, more boys could now play games as an extra-curricular activity after classroom work.

Information is sketchy about when, and which, other team games and sports were introduced at Tanga Central School. However, running and jumping are reported to have taken place in the afternoons while swimming races (in the sea) were held from time to time. It seems the introduction of sport into Tanga Central School and, arguably into the country at a later stage, was sporadic and gradual. One thing is clear. Boxing had an early role to play at Tanga Central School.

7.6 Boxing at Tanga Central School: Cultivation of Good Manners

On arrival at Tanga Central School, Tyndale-Biscoe discovered that the older, bigger boys often bullied the young boys and would hit them sometimes for no reason at all. This was unacceptable social behaviour. He decided to introduce boxing, using 'bouts' to punish the boys who misbehaved in this way. His aim was to cultivate in the boys a

sense of mutual respect between big and small and a concern for others. The 'rule of the game' was that when a big boy hit a smaller boy and was 'convicted of the crime' he was made to fight one his own size. There were always volunteers to take him on. Such purposely-devised contents were meant to discourage the boys from bullying. The fights were conducted with attention to good manners. By and large, such staged fights invariably ended with the greatest goodwill between those concerned. Apart from these 'remedial bouts', it appears that boxing was an extra-curricular activity as "small boxing displays were held from time to time."[119] Occasional bouts were also arranged, whenever necessary, to 'teach' the boys to control their tempers.

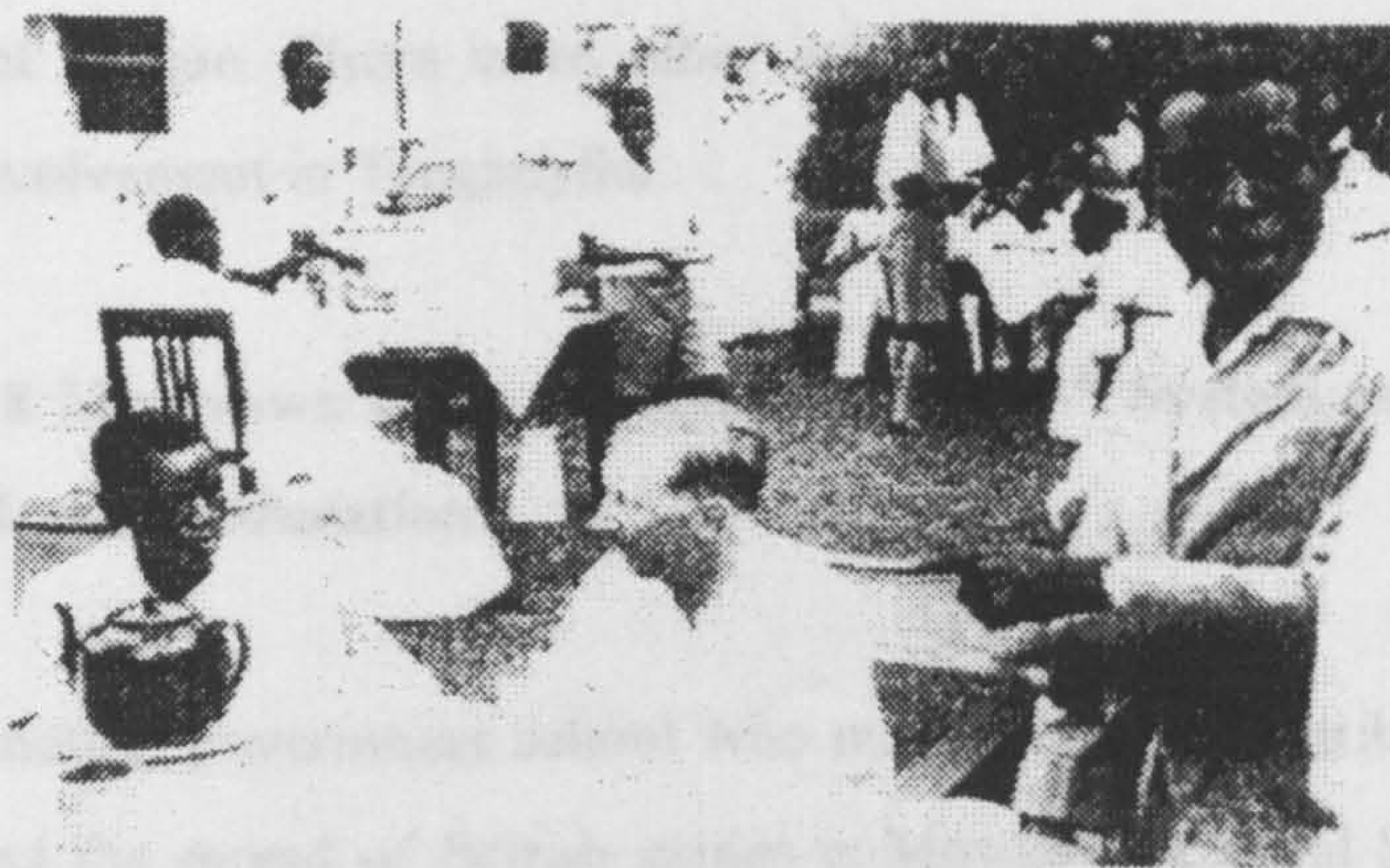
About thirty years earlier, Tyndale-Biscoe's father, Cecil Earle Tyndale-Biscoe, had made boxing an important component of the C.M.S. school curriculum in Srinagar in an attempt to train the boys in defensive skills in order to resist homosexual attack. The appearance of boxing in the 'boxing rings' of Tanga Central School in the early 1920s as a form of control and deterrence suggests that Tyndale-Biscoe may have borrowed his father's idea of using both sport for ameliorative and compassionate, and disciplinary purposes.

7.7 Drill at Tanga and District Schools: Assimilation of an Element of Military Preparation

In his first annual report in 1925,[120] Tyndale-Biscoe expressed his disapproval of the German parade type of drill. He preferred a programme of comprehensive and all-round physical exercise. To implement this change and to ensure its retention, from time to time, Tyndale-Biscoe personally took and trained squads of prefects so that they, in turn, could train the other boys. In addition, he also asked the Physical Training Officer of the Royal Navy (H.M.S. Cairo) stationed at Tanga, to drill the boys. Tyndale-Biscoe also often organised an in-service training scheme for the district schools' masters. Usually, this training was held at the central school and was supervised by Tyndale-Biscoe

himself. Physical drill was a compulsory course on the programme and one had to successfully pass it in order to graduate. No doubt this was to ensure a steady stream of teachers trained in physical education and arguably a reflection of the emphasis put on drill. To his satisfaction, this arrangement worked well. As a result the general physical condition of the boys is said to have improved considerably. Eventually, drill, in its new form, was firmly established at the schools and it became "an important item in the training of the boys."[121] To ensure maximum effectiveness and, presumably to give it a military flavour, drill was placed under the supervision of a sergeant major. Almost all government schools employed sergeant majors as drill instructors.[122] These were either former or serving soldiers of the King's African Rifles, popularly known as the K.A.Rs.

Finally, one interesting aspect of Tyndale-Biscoe's reforms at Tanga Central School worth mentioning here is the formation of the Old Boys' Club.[123] Its main purposes were to provide a meeting place for past pupils so that they could maintain the friendships they had formed, mostly through sport, at school and to ensure that they remained influenced by factors which might otherwise have faded upon leaving school. Another purpose was to provide somewhere where past pupils could bring their troubles, the motto of the club being *Kufanya Bidii na Kusaidia Wenzetu* - Endeavour and Mutual Help.[124] The main activities of the club were games, in particular, football.[125] Interestingly, Tyndale-Biscoe himself, returned to the school, in 1946, as an honorary member of the Old Boys' Club, not to solve his problems, but as Director of Education, that is, a 'solver' of many of the educational problems in the country. In Figure 7.3, he can be seen enjoying a cup of tea with the prefects and members of staff.



Tea-party for Staff and Prefects,
visit of Director of Education,
Mr. Tyndale-Biscoe, November, 1946.

Figure 7.3: Cecil Tyndale-Biscoe on a visit to Tanga Secondary School. From the archives of Tanga Technical Secondary School.

It is interesting to note that the form and the purpose of the club were almost similar to those of the O.G. Club[126] of Glenalmond, the middle class public school that Tyndale-Biscoe had attended in Scotland in the early 1900s. The Glenalmond club, formed in 1877, looked after the interests and welfare of the former pupils of the school. One way of achieving this goal was by raising funds, whenever possible, to provide for university scholarships for the members.[127] Common to both clubs is the motive behind their formation: a declaration of intent of continued moral and, whenever possible, material support for the old boys of the schools. Surely, Tyndale-Biscoe must have had the Glenalmond model at the back of his mind when he initiated *Kufanya Bidii na Kusaidia Wenzetu* at Tanga Central School and appear to reveal that Tyndale-Biscoe's influence on Tanga Central School was in many respects based on his early experience as an English public schoolboy at the turn of the twentieth century. Tanga Central School was

not unique. There were other influential schools during the early period of British involvement in Tanganyika.

7.8 Mpwapwa Central School, the *Kaka*[128] System and the Training of Teachers of Physical Education

Another government school who made a unique contribution to Tanganyikan education and the spread of British games is Mpwapwa Central School. Richard Mazengo,[129] the present headmaster of present-day Mpwapwa Secondary School (an outgrowth of the original Mpwapwa Central School,[130]) below describes the significance of this school in the history of colonial education and the social and cultural history of Tanzania.

According to Mazengo, the Germans started a military training school at Mpwapwa sometime before World War I. The exact date is not known. As mentioned in Chapter Four, the Germans also used the school as a centre for training local tax collectors, messengers and clerks[131] and to co-ordinate education in other schools in the province. In 1920, the British converted it to a primary school and added a separate stream for training apprentices. The British colonial government also used Mpwapwa as a base for co-ordinating education in the Tanganyika Territory and as such it was the first 'centre of operation' of British imperial education in the country. R. Caldwell, the headmaster of the school at that time, was appointed the first British Education Co-ordinator in 1923. The office of the Education Co-ordinator was moved to the capital, Dar es Salaam, in 1926.[132]

Parallel to providing basic education, from 1926, the school also trained Second Grade (Elementary) teachers. In 1937, it became a secondary school. From that year, it started to enrol the sons of chiefs from all over the country in order to train them as native administrators. Because of its nation-wide catchment area, with pupils coming not only

from different provinces but also from different tribes within the provinces, the school's population was heterogeneous.

What was special about Mpwapwa Central School was the way in which this diverse population was organised into suitable administrative units. The school comprised boys of all ages. It is interesting to note[133] that almost spontaneously, the younger boys grouped themselves under the wing of the older boys, the majority of whom were student teachers, and whom they called *kaka* (elder brother). Of course not all of the student teachers had this honour paid to them. Nevertheless, there were enough of them who manifested themselves as capable elder brothers. The school authority seized on this in order to introduce a new system, by which the pupils were grouped into smaller units, which they called *jamaa* (traditional societies). But for some cogent reason of their own, the boys insisted on calling these units, 'teams'. Mazengo quoted Caldwell who described the system as a 'self-evolved organisation'. In his own words, Caldwell said, "we let them have their way in the question of terminology: the principle meant more to us."[134] Thus, 'teams'[135] were created at the school and were led by *kakas*, the equivalent of prefects in other schools.

The responsibility of the *kaka* was the usual organising and supervising of the day to day activities outside the classroom of his 'team' and maintaining overall discipline. According to Mazengo each 'team' was collectively responsible for the welfare of its members. For example, the 'team' took care of any of its members who were sick. This meant that no sick boy was at the mercy of a hired orderly, but was in the 'caring hands of his family'. Both the student teachers and primary pupils acted and interacted as one family. This was unique to Mpwapwa Central School.

The *kaka* system may be described as characteristically African in the sense that it upheld some of the indigenous family values, in particular, the respect given to an elder brother. This family-like relationship promoted among the boys useful virtues such as

mutual respect, responsible leadership and co-operative obedience. These were important ingredients in establishing 'law' and order in the school. As the then headmaster, R. Caldwell, acknowledged in his annual report of 1926, "the *kaka* organisation has been an immense help in securing discipline."[136]

Games seem to have occupied a low profile in the lives of the pupils at Mpwapwa Central School, notably in its early years. Drill, supervised by a Sergeant Major, was the major physical activity in the school. Early records[137] of the school indicate that there was only one school football team which practised twice a week and played against a European staff team once a week. Occasional matches were also arranged between the school team and the Veterinary Quarantine.[138] There is little evidence of inter-team sport competitions. The possibility of generating the feelings of solidarity, belonging and devotion - *esprit de corps* - inherent in most internal sports battles, through the house-system was impractical at Mpwapwa. There was no house system. Instead, such values were fostered through the 'teams'. As noted above, the relationship between the members of the team manifested itself as a family of older and younger brothers.

The headmaster's annual report of 1925 indicates that, once a week, all student teachers were given lessons on physiology and on the theory and the principles of physical training. They also had practical sessions with squads of younger pupils. These student teachers were made aware of the rationale behind physical exercises and how the body functioned under different physical exertions. This was a significant pedagogical development in physical education and sport at the school and in the country at large. This was the first time, in the Tanganyikan colonial education system, that the theory and practice of physical exercise was taught to students and was practised by the students.[139] As such, Mpwapwa Central School may be considered as the 'nucleus' of the pedagogics of physical education in colonial Tanganyika and later Tanzania.[140]

The special features of Mpwapwa Central School described above underline the uniqueness of the school - in approaches and aims - in educating the African. It became the foundation of adapted Athleticism, both practical and theoretical, in Tanganyika, as the school not only trained teachers of physical education and sport but also taught the theory and practice of sport - crucial elements for the growth and sustainability of games and sports. This was how the values of the hugely influential ideology of Athleticism spread to different schools in the country. Graduate teachers of physical education from Mpwapwa were sent to the district schools in the Central Province,[141] and later to other schools in the country. These indigenous teachers as well as the colonial educationalists, took the new games and their values with them and preached and practised them wherever they went.

7.9 Mission Schools, Mission Education and Dissemination of Evangelical Athleticism

While missionaries may rightly be considered pioneers of formal education in Tanganyika, they were also agents of the diffusion of Western cultural values into Tanganyikan society. The mission schools themselves were agencies of evangelical Athleticism. Mission education, through team games and sport offered the pupils opportunities to become 'muscular Christian' preachers, catechists, teachers and leaders.

By the end of the first decade of British rule, there were over sixteen[142] different Christian denominations from several European nations operating throughout Tanganyika. The majority of these sects were involved in the provision of education to the indigenous population. Sometimes it became economically difficult for individual churches to operate schools by themselves. This was more apparent at secondary level where greater resources were required. Shared responsibility seemed to be a sensible option and so different churches agreed to pool their resources and operate schools jointly. For example, the situation in the case of the Alliance School, Dodoma[143] where

the Anglican and Lutheran Churches of central Tanganyika formed an alliance in the 1940s,[144] (for the geographical location of the school see Appendix 5).

Originally the school began as a Church Missionary Society (C. M. S.) school at a place called Handali, about fifty kilometres south of the town of Dodoma in central Tanzania. The exact date of its establishment is not known. However, in 1926, when the school was moved to Kikuyu Village, about three kilometres west of the town, this date was adopted as its official founding day and it became known as Kikuyu School.[145] It was also then upgraded to a secondary school. In 1944, it was renamed the Alliance School, Dodoma. It is certainly one of the oldest mission secondary schools in the country.[146]

The author had the opportunity of interviewing one of its main early headmasters the Rev. Alex Dick,[147] now retired and living in Britain. Dick was headmaster of the school between 1957 and 1967. Many of the contemporary physical features of the school - buildings, playing fields and pavilion - owe their existence to the initiative of this man. Coincidentally, the author himself attended this school in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

7.10 Learning, Exercising and Worshipping at Alliance School, Dodoma

On the school badge- a crucifix supported by a triangular frame, a bible and a sheep, all surrounded by the shape of a shield – the following words were inscribed: '*Ilinde Amana*' - 'Guard the Trust' (Appendix 12). The face of this emblem abstractly symbolises the tripartite aim of missionary education in Tanganyika – *Christianity* (the crucifix and the triangle – three persons in the one God), *indoctrination* (the lost sheep) through *education* (the bible). The evangelical words - guard the trust – emanating from the apex of the triangle, symbolically demonstrate how the missionaries controlled the education of the natives. Education was to be provided only on the basis of accepting Christianity first. It was common place to see boys convert from the Islam religion, and even discard their original Muslim names and adopt Christian ones, in order to attend

mission schools. As Dick said "in those days boys chose to go to a mission school knowing too well that this meant compulsory chapel."[148]

The main aim of education at the Alliance School was clearly stated in the school's records, namely, "to allow the boy to develop his body, mindand soul for the glory of God."[149] To this end, the boys were encouraged, among other things, to exercise, to think and to worship God.[150] The school's pamphlet, *Ilinde Amana,* publicised many examples of physical exercises. Activities such as those depicted in Appendix 13 by the photographer of the pamphlet, portray evangelical Athleticism in progress. In the photographs, there are two boys 'battling in the air' for a ball, two other boys deeply engrossed in 'brainstorming' game of chess, while others seem to be waiting their turn.

The Alliance School operated a similar house system, with the accompanying inter-house competitions, to the one described earlier at Tanga Central School. Since participation in sport was a fundamental means of Christian proselytism, games were useful ingredients of the evangelical extra-curricular programme and were supervised directly by the school Chaplain, who did everything he could to improve the sports facilities at the school,[151] and controlled not only games but also scouting.[152] Thanks to his efforts, a modern running track, football pitches and tennis courts were constructed. By the late 1960s, the school had the most modern (by local standards of that time) sports complex in the province. The running track was covered with tamac with accurately measured lanes marked permanently with white paint. Inside the track was an elegant football pitch with provisions for such athletic field events as jumps and throws. A spectator pavilion was on one side of the pitch. Such landmarks, which still stand today, may be considered as symbols of evangelical Athleticism. Almost daily, after class, various sports took place on these playing fields. Football was dominant. Inter-house football competitions, once established, were central aspects of 'house rivalry'. The competitions, far from being recreational pursuits and a means of keeping fit, were

significant instruments of moral training, inculcating the spirit of togetherness in pursuit of Christian brotherhood.

The playing fields at the Alliance School may also be seen as manifestations of the means with which the indigenous physical culture was transformed. For example, the measured football pitches and 'ruled' running tracks were transformed landscapes as compared to the unmarked pitches, usually cleared *shambas* (farms) or any open spaces, where the game of *naga*[153] was traditionally played by the indigenous people. Such transformed landscapes may be seen as powerful evangelical strategies involving mastery of space. The playing fields were local symbols of the 'physical transformation' of the evangelical realm and part of Christian proselytism by persuasive means. The belief was that as the boys involved themselves more and more in the new culture of games so their faith towards Christianity would develop.

What was true of the Alliance School was, undoubtedly, true of other mission schools in Tanganyika.[154] These mission schools were significant agencies in the assimilation of British games.

Throughout the preceding pages, the discussion has focused on the diffusion of British games in boys' schools. This is by no means meant to belittle the importance of sport in girls' schools. Unfortunately, records on the provision of physical activities for girls, at all levels, for the period under discussion, are hazy and so it is hard to say for sure when and how games came to girls' schools. Furthermore, in the early days of the introduction of formal education into Tanganyika, girls' education was fraught with difficulties. A major problem was the attitude of the parents towards formal education for their daughters. Many parents were reluctant to let their daughters leave home for school, as they considered the girl's place to be at home from where she would get married, often at a very early age. In addition, girls were regarded as by no means the intellectual equals of boys[155] and, therefore, there was no point in sending them to school. Such

prejudices resulted in those girls that did manage to enter the formal education system doing so much later than the boys.

Mission schools provided the earliest opportunity for those girls that did attend school as churches were encouraged to open separate girls' sections.[156] The types of physical activities emphasised in girls' schools, which were run by missionaries, depended on the nationality or denomination that ran that particular school. For example, those schools that were run by Swedish missionaries mostly taught Swedish gymnastics while foreign dance was the common activity offered in catholic schools.[157]

In government schools, girls played netball. As there were few girls attending school before 1930,[158] one can assume that netball was probably introduced into girls' schools some time in the late 1930s or early 1940s. Eventually, it became an integral part of the physical education programme and the main extra-curricular activity for girls. Today, netball is the main game for girls in schools, and for girls and women outside schools. It is organised, managed and promoted by women. Girls' schools or coeducational schools are incomplete without a netball pitch. Goal posts such as those presented in Appendix 14 are evidence of the presence of the game in the country and are a constant reminder of the British accepted and acceptable cultural legacy of female games.

It is perhaps worth mentioning an interesting modern aspect of netball that the author encountered during fieldwork in February, 1997. Appendix 15shows a netball game at Mpwapwa Primary School, involving both boys and girls, something unthinkable in the past.[159] Since its inception in the 1930s and 1940s, netball had been a game exclusively for girls and women. To see boys playing what was considered for decades a female game, is a significant development in the socialisation of boys and girls. It remains to be seen, however, if this can contribute towards inculcating in both girls and boys values and attitudes appropriate to an androgynous Tanzanian society in the twenty-first century.

Conclusion: Dissemination and Diffusion of an Educational Ideology of Athleticism

Acceptance, assimilation, diffusion and adaptation are key words which usefully may describe the process of educational provision and the cultural interaction between the indigenous people of Tanganyika and the British during the latter's mandate of the former. This process involved the introduction of British games in schools by colonial and missionary educationalists. Slowly but surely, the school population and Tanganyikan society adopted the values of this education and the virtues of games. Certainly, the schools were the main channels through which games readily diffused, at least initially, as schools were organised institutions with a potentially receptive population.

Educational policy implementers, such as Tyndale-Biscoe, clearly represent a group of colonial educationalists who influenced the education system of Tanganyika beyond the expectations of the imperialists. As a product of the British middle-class public school system and the University of Cambridge, Tyndale-Biscoe took with him the ethics of public school Athleticism, the purposes of elementary school drill and a university-reinforced enthusiasm for sport and successfully introduced these things to the people of Tanganyika.

Tyndale-Biscoe took over a school consisting of different tribes with different customs and manners. With the institution of houses and the formation of house teams, the boys now had at least one important thing in common, a house team whose performance was expected to be the concern of every member. The house was united around its teams. A new institutional loyalty was engendered. A fresh sense of identity was established.

At Tanga Central School, and indeed in many other schools, football, in particular, became an important part of the everyday life of the boys. The photographs in Appendix 16 not only show the boys engrossed in the game but also the progression of the game at the school. Initially it was played informally – barefooted and without jerseys. Eventually it became more formal with the players kitted out in jerseys and football boots. Football marked the climax of different celebrations such as Empire Day, Speech Day and Parents' Day. The inter-house matches brought the heterogeneous members of the respective houses together on the playing fields with primarily one purpose - to cheer on their house teams. The social cohesion created in this manner should not be underestimated. Through the constant repetition of inter-house competitions, a value system was assimilated, emotions stimulated and for many, pleasant experiences were accumulated.[160] Undoubtedly, these competitions promoted acceptance of school life and provided pleasant reminiscences in adulthood.

Inter-house competitions also attracted the surrounding community to the playing fields. The playing fields provided the meeting place between the new events in the school and the curiosity of the indigenous population. The local community began to learn about the new game, football, through such contacts. The wider dissemination of the game now became a reality. In his annual report in 1925,[161] Tyndale-Biscoe wrote "eventually the people around the area started playing football,"[162] Football matches between the school and town teams were arranged from time to time.

Football was certainly used as a medium of 'character training'. Mutual co-operation and trust between Europeans and Africans were qualities that Tyndale-Biscoe considered important and which he hoped he could achieve through football. As Cotton and other English headmasters had appealed to parents and old boys, Tyndale-Biscoe appealed to the generosity of the British residents. He invited them to contribute to a school games fund to provide the boys with football kits and sports gear.[163] The appeal was hugely successful. It is recorded that almost all British residents responded and,

beyond all expectations, a large number of subscriptions resulted.[164] This gesture is said to have greatly impressed the boys and made them all the keener to be 'gentlemen'. In turn, there were encouraging reports that the boys were increasingly co-operative - carrying books, retrieving broken-down motor cycles and bringing in lost articles - without looking for reward – backsheesh.[165] Clearly delighted with the outcome Tyndale-Biscoe noted, "the spirit on the part of British residents and the boys has been one of the most cheering factors in the work here."[166] Thus, the playing fields provided 'a meeting place' for the boys, the indigenous population and the Europeans. An opportunity for harmonious co-existence between the Europeans and Africans seemed to be on the horizon. Games were a medium not merely of social control but of social cohesion.

There is little extant evidence to suggest that Tyndale-Biscoe imposed football on Tanga Central School like his father's forceful implementation of football in Kashimir some thirty years earlier.[167] However, the introduction of football there certainly provided the school with a means to closely monitor the movements of the boys by establishing and maintaining control over them. After classroom work the boys now played football. This meant that outside the classroom the boys were now supervised, leaving them with little time to be idle. This enhanced discipline in the school. In *Discipline in Education*, Tyndale-Biscoe had indicated that there was a need to raise the standard of the African, that is, to establish and maintain some degree of discipline. As a direct consequence, the introduction of football at Tanga Central School may be seen as a calculated means of maintaining this discipline, not unlike Cotton's innovations at Marlborough in the early 1850s.

At face value, the introduction of football at Tanga Central School may be regarded as merely one item in a whole package of public school type innovations by the new headmaster. But it was more than this. Certainly this was the first time football was played in a Tanganyikan school. As such, its place in the history of the school (and

Tanzania) is significant. In terms of modernisation, a new and modern game had been brought to the notice of the pupils and to the attention of the indigenous population. In terms of cultural imperialism, it was the beginning of the dissemination of the theory and practice of team games in schools and in the country at large. And it was more. It marked the commencement of the diffusion of the British culture of sport throughout the country. Today in Tanzania, schools are incomplete without football pitches. They are common landmarks in schools all over the country. They are surely the perpetual remnants and constant reminders of British imperialism in contemporary Tanzania.

Today football is played in almost every corner of the country. Indisputably, the most popular game in the world, it is the most popular game in Tanzania. Young boys improvise balls in the absence of resources to purchase 'real balls' in order to play the game. They bind pieces of cloth, plastic bags, rags and the like firmly together, make them round and compact, and kick them as 'footballs'. 'Balls' made in this way are common throughout the country. Boys come together on the streets, or in any open space in both urban and rural areas, improvise such balls and play *chandimu.*[168] The measure of the importance of football is that it was a Western imperial importation, became an integral part of an independent culture and fused past and present into a contemporary 'global' culture which, with other things, links Tanzania with the modern culture of the 'global village'.

As far as other activities are concerned, one important point may be made. In the teaching of drill, the seemingly close co-operation between the schools and other government departments in the latter's direct teaching of drill was significant. Physical training officers from the District Officer's office, the Police and the Royal Navy often took the boys for drill, over and above that taught by the ex-K.A.Rs. in the schools. This involvement of various government departments in the training of the boys may be considered as a collective effort to produce compliant and disciplined citizens, with drill as a potent means through which this goal could be achieved.

Possibly the deep involvement of the armed forces and the fact that drill was closely and directly organised and carried out by military personnel meant more. When Tyndale-Biscoe began his innovations at Tanga Central School in 1925 only seven years had elapsed since the ending of the Great War in which he himself took part, memories of the war were still fresh in the minds of many people. A lasting peace was uncertain. As it happened, there were only two decades of relative peace between the Great War, after which the former German East Africa was mandated to Britain, and the outbreak of World War II. The newly acquired territory had to be protected. Tyndale-Biscoe's emphasis on drill and the extent of support he received, notably from the armed forces, clearly reflected and replicated the late nineteenth century British phase of including drill in elementary schools for, *inter alia*, early military training. African youths were to be prepared for possible future conscription into the imperial army. In *Physical Education in Tanzania*, B. V. Madeje has observed, "drill was meant to prepare African youths for inclusion in the imperial forces and many government schools in the country actually employed sergeant majors from the 1930s to ensure, above all, military training for the boys."[169] This action was not all that different from the action of the London School Board over half a century earlier, when it appointed a Regimental Sergeant Major as its Drill Master.

In summary, Tyndale-Biscoe brought about significant changes at Tanga Central School and the other district schools. As illustrated earlier in the chapter the major changes included the institutionalisation of the house system, the introduction of team games and the restructuring of the parade type of drill into a more comprehensive drill. In this way, he firmly established the traditions of the English public and elementary schools in the Tanganyika Territory. These changes encapsulated a shift in the imperial culture of the country – from German to British. The changes were reflected in the introduction of team games and the shift in emphasis in drill, which in turn reflect changes in imperial

emphasis. These changes also symbolise the differences in German and British imperial approaches to colonial education.

The historical importance of Tanga Central School in the education system of Tanganyika and later Tanzania cannot be underestimated. It began as an experimental school under the Germans in the 1890s. Germany directed education throughout German East Africa via the school's first master, who was also the first Director of Education in the colony[170]. As such it was a Teutonic imperial instrument of change. Then, in turn, Tyndale-Biscoe was a major instrument of change at the school during the subsequent British occupation of the country. He began experimenting with some elements of the British public and elementary school system in the 1920s. In time this was a success. Tanga Central School came to be a model for many schools in British imperial Tanganyika. In short, it was the imperial matrix for German and then British educational implementation.

Mpwapwa Central School and the Alliance School, Dodoma both contributed to the growth and sustainability of the educational ideology of Athleticism in an adapted form in schools in Tanganyika. It was at Mpwapwa, that the theory and practice of physical education and sport was first taught in the country. For decades, the teacher training wing of Mpwapwa school produced, among others, physical education and sport teachers who were eventually sent all over the country to spread British games and their values. Another significant point about Mpwapwa Central School was the unique way in which its diverse population organised itself into the *kaka* system described earlier in the chapter – a kind of indigenous 'house system'.

It was written of the mission school, the Alliance School, in 1968:

> The spirit of boys at the Alliance School regarding sports is better than at many secondary schools in Tanzania. We have two football pitches and a running track. These areas are occupied nearly every afternoon in season,

> and as the number of pupils here is over 500, the demand for more grounds is clear.[171]

Such statements of assertion may be linked directly to what Mangan termed the "process of [imperial] cultural diffusion in which the nineteenth-century knights errant of Christian chivalry played a large part."[172] "To them", Mangan, noted further, "games were much more than mere entertainment for leisure hours. They were a significant instrument of moral training."[173] This is evidenced by the close involvement of the Chaplain at the Alliance School in the provision of physical equipment, the supervision of outdoor activities and the overall encouragement of sports at the school. A secular emphasis may have now replaced a religious emphasis in Tanzanian schools, and citizenship as an object may have replaced Christianity, but the means of indoctrination and inclusion are the same – and they were British in origin.

Two further points must be made. In their essay '*English Elementary Education Revisited and Revised: Drill and Athleticism in Tandem, in Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender*' published in 1999, J. A. Mangan and C. Hickey wrote of an 'adapted Athleticism' as characteristic of at least some English elementary schools in the late Victorian and Edwardian period.[174] Tanganyika provided an illustration of yet another form - an imperial form, of adapted Athleticism. No doubt in time, inquiry will produce others and the sophisticated nature of ideological innovation, response and adaptation associated with the influential ideology will be further revealed.

Finally, in his introduction to the Cass edition of *Athleticism*,[175] J. A. Mangan remarks that the book constitutes among other things, part of the recordof the contribution of the British middle classes to the evolution of modern global sport. This study of Tanzania is also part of the record of an essentially British middle class contribution to the evolution of world sport (and soccer) through the medium of formal educational commitment. The impact of these British changes on the sporting customs of contemporary Tanzania is the theme of the next chapter.

Notes

1. Many names were suggested and 'Tanganyika' was unanimously endorsed. One can only speculate as to the meaning of the word 'Tanganyika'. However, 'Tanga' is the name of one of the oldest towns in the country and the word 'nyika' means plains in Kiswahili. The land behind Tanga is composed of plains. Historian J. Iliffe suggests that it seems that when the Europeans came they referred to this land as the 'plains behind Tanga' and so in order to make the territory sound indigenous they called it 'Tanga-nyika', hence the name Tanganyika. See J. Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, African Studies Series No. 25, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1979, p. 247.

2. J. Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, African Studies Series No 25, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1979, p. 247.

3. Ibid., p. p. 247.

4. In 1917 General Smuts (the commander of the British troops that defeated the German troops in Tanganyika in the Great War) appointed Sir Horace Byatt as administrator of the defunct German East Africa. See Official Gazette, Published Under the Authority of His Honour the Administrator, Vol.1, No.1, Dar es Salaam, June 24, 1919, Public Record Office Reference CO.737/1.

5. Official Gazette, Published Under the Authority of His Honour the Administrator, Vol.1, No.1, Dar es Salaam, June 24, 1919, Public Record Office Reference CO.737/1.

6. J. Crowther (ed.), Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 713.

7. See A. S. Hornby, Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 221.

8. Extensive literature on the British administration of Tanganyika which highlight the clear differences between the attitude of British administrators to, for example, Kenya - which was a 'formal' British Colony and to Tanganyika - which was a Mandate Territory, is available. For a detailed discussion of this point see for example, J. Iliffe, A

Modern History of Tanganyika, African Studies Series No. 25, Cambridge University Press, 1979, Cambridge, passim; R. Oliver and D. Fage A Short History of Africa, 1977, Chapter Eighteen.

9. Sir Donald Cameron had served in Nigeria for seventeen years prior to his appointment as governor of the Tanganyika Territory. See J. Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, African Studies Series No. 25, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1979, p. 321.

10. E. Percy, P. Nunn and D. Wilson (eds.), The Year Book of Education, 1935, University of London Institute of Education, London, 1935, p. 823.

11. Ibid., p. 823.

12. See E. Percy, P. Nunn and D. Wilson, The Year Book of Education, 1935, The University of London Institute of Education, Evans Brothers Ltd., London, 1935, p. 821

13. Lord Lugard and Charles Temple devised the policy of indirect rule as an expedient method of governing Nigeria at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century.

14. S. Sivonen, White-Collar or Hoe Handle: African Education Under British Colonial Policy, 1920 – 1945, Suomen Historiallinen Seura, Helsinki, Gummerus Kirjapaino Oy, Saavijarvi, 1995, p. 38.

15. See S. Sivonen, White Collar or Hoe Handle: African Education Under British Educational Policy 1920-1945, Suomen Historiallinen Seura, Helsinki, Gummerus Kirjapaino Oy, Saavijarvi, 1995, p. 38.

16. During the German occupation the administrative units of districts were subdivided and placed under the *akidas*, who were imported from distant tribes. See E. Percy, P. Nunn and D. Wilson (eds.), The Year Book of Education, 1935, University of London Institute of Education, Evans Brothers Ltd., London, 1935, p. 821.

17. See E. Percy, P. Nunn and D. Wilson (eds.), The Year Book of Education, 1935, University of London Institute of Education, Evans Brothers Ltd., London, 1935, p. 823.

18. Ibid., p. 823.

19. Under German rule these boundaries were determined on the grounds of accessibility and for communication and military strategy, rather than by tribal groups. See E. Percy, P. Nunn and D. Wilson (eds.), The Year Book of Education, 1935, University of London Institute of Education, Evans Brothers Ltd., London, 1935, p. 821.

20. S. Sivonen, White Collar or Hoe Handle: African Education Under British Educational Policy 1920 - 1945, Suomen Historiallinen Seura, Helsinki, Gummerus Kirjapaino Oy, Saavijarvi, 1995, p.39.

21. Ibid., p. 39.

22. For detailed discussion of this see J. Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, African Studies Series, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1979, p. 339.

23. S. Sivonen, White Collar or Hoe Handle: African Education Under British Educational Policy 1920 - 1945, Suomen Historiallinen Seura, Helsinki, Gummerus Kirjapaino Oy, Saavijarvi, 1995, p.39.

24. R. Clignet and P. Foster, 'French and British Colonial Education in Africa', Comparative Education Review, Vol. 4. October, 1964, p. 185.

25. Ibid., p. 185.

26 E. Percy, P. Nunn and D. Wilson (eds.),The Year Book of Education, 1935, The University of London Institute of Education, Evans Brothers Ltd., London, 1935, p.824.

27. S. Sivonen, White Collar or Hoe Handle: African Education Under British Educational Policy 1920-1945, Suomen Historiallinen Seura, Helsinki, Gummerus Kirjapaino Oy, Saavijarvi, 1995, p. 20.

28. E. Percy, P. Nunn and D. Wilson (eds.),The Year Book of Education, 1935, The University of London Institute of Education, Evans Brothers Ltd., London, 1935, p.824.

29. Ibid., p.824.

30 See the *White Paper* of 1925, Command Paper No. 2374, cit. in E. Percy, P. Nunn and D. Wilson (eds.), The Year Book of Education, 1935, The University of London Institute of Education, Evans Brothers Ltd., London, 1935, p.824.

31. S. Sivonen, White Collar or Hoe Handle: African Education Under British Educational Policy 1920-1945, Suomen Historiallinen Seura, Helsinki, Gummerus Kirjapaino Oy, Saavijarvi, 1995, p.39.

32. Ibid., p. 39.

33. Ibid., p.83.

34. Ibid., p.83.

35. See the *White Paper* of 1925, Command Paper No. 2374, cit. in E. Percy, P. Nunn and D. Wilson (eds.), The Year Book of Education, 1935, The University of London Institute of Education, Evans Brothers, London, 1935, p.824.

36. E. Percy, P. Nunn and D. Wilson (eds.),The Year Book of Education, 1935, The University of London Institute of Education, Evans Brothers, London, 1935, p.826.

37. The others were Harold L'Estrange, born in 1892, and Eric Dallas, born in 1901. All three received their university education at Cambridge, as did their father. They all worked and lived abroad for the most part of their lives. Correspondence Letter to the author/archivist Jesus College Archives, University of Cambridge of August 06, 1998.

38. J. A. Mangan, The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal, Frank Cass, London, 1998, p. 178.

39. For detailed discussion appraisal of Tyndale-Biscoe's work in Kashmir, see J. A. Mangan, The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal, Frank Cass, London, 1998, pp. 177-192.

40. J. A. Mangan, The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal, Frank Cass, London, 1998, p. 178.

41. Ibid., p. 178.

42. Ibid., pp. 177-192.

43. It appears that Cecil Julian joined the Junior School as Glenalmond at that time was receiving boys of a similar age for preparation for Senior School. See G. St. Quintin, The History of Glenalmond: The Story of a Hundred Years T. and A. Constable Ltd., Edinburgh, 1956, p. 158.

44. Cecil Earle Tyndale-Biscoe remained in Kashmir until 1947.

45. Register Col.3.2, 1919, Jesus College Archives, University of Cambridge, correspondence letter researcher Jesus College archives of August 06, 1998.

46. G. St. Quintin, The History of Glenalmond: The Story of a Hundred Years, T. and A. Constable Ltd. Edinburgh, 1956, p. 1.

47. The other two in the trinity were Radley in England and St. Columba's, Rathfarnham in Ireland. All three were among those started between 1840 and 1865. See G. St. Quintin, The History of Glenalmond: The Story of a Hundred Years, T. and A. Constable Ltd., Edinburgh, 1956, p. 1.

48. G. St. Quintin, The History of Glenalmond: The Story of a Hundred Years, T. and A. Constable Ltd. Edinburgh, 1956, p. 158.

49. Ibid., p. 159.

50. Ibid., p. 157.

51. Ibid., p. 157.

52. Ibid., p. 157.

53. Ibid., p. 158.

54. Ibid., p. 22.

55. Ibid., p. 59.

56. Ibid., p. 158.

57. Ibid., p. 158.

58. Ibid., p. 158.

59. Dr. Skrine had been an assistant master at Uppingham for fourteen years before he took up the headship of Glenalmond. See G. St. Quintin, The History of Glenalmond: The Story of a Hundred Years, T. and A. Constable Ltd., Edinburgh, 1956, p. 123.

60. For a more complete discussion of this see J. A. Mangan, 'Imitating Their Betters and Disassociating From Their Inferiors: Grammar Schools and the Games Ethic in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries, Proceeding of the Annual Conference, History of Education and Society of Great Britain, December, 1982, passim.

61. See J. A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Ideology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981, pp.22-42.

62. E-mail correspondence between the researcher and Jesus College, July 21, 1998.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

69. J. A. Mangan, 'Lamentable Barbarians and Pitiful Sheep: Rhetoric of Protest and Pleasure in Late Victorian and Edwardian 'Oxbridge'', Victorian Studies: A Quarterly Journal of the Humanities, Arts and Sciences, Indiana University, Vol.34, No.4, 1991, pp. 473-474.

70. Ibid., p. 474.

71. Cit. in J. A. Mangan, 'Oars and the Man: Pleasure in Victorian and Edwardian Cambridge, in History of Higher Education Annual, University of Buffalo, Vol. Four, 1984, 54.

72. J. A. Mangan, 'Oars and the Man: Pleasure in Victorian and Edwardian Cambridge', in History of Higher Education Annual, University of Buffalo, Vol. Four, 1984, p. 54.

73. Ibid., p. 54.

74. Ibid., p. 54.

75. Ibid., p. 54.

76. Ibid., p. 55.

77. Ibid., p. 55.

78. Ibid., pp. 56-57.

79. Ibid., pp. 56.

80. Ibid., p. 57.

81. Ibid., p. 57.

82. Ibid., p. 57.

83. B. H. Stewart, Reminiscences, 1945, n. p., cit. in J. A. Mangan, 'Oars and the Man: Pleasure in Victorian and Edwardian Cambridge, in History of Higher Education Annual, University of Buffalo, Vol. Four, 1984, p. 59.

84. J. A. Mangan, 'Oars and the Man: Pleasure in Victorian and Edwardian Cambridge', in History of Higher Education Annual, University of Buffalo, Vol. Four, 1984, p. 59.

85. B. H. Stewart, Reminiscences, 1945, cit. in J. A. Mangan, 'Oars and the Man: Pleasure in Victorian and Edwardian Cambridge, in History of Higher Education Annual, University of Buffalo, Vol. Four, 1984, p. 59.

86. J. A. Mangan, 'Oars and the Man: Pleasure in Victorian and Edwardian Cambridge', in History of Higher Education Annual, University of Buffalo, Vol. Four, 1984, p. 60.

87. Ibid., p. 74.

88. It is alleged that when George J. E. Corrie became master in 1849, Jesus College had fifty six undergraduates and was eleventh in size. Admission is said to have fallen considerably since then. But by 1869, five year after Morgan had been appointed Tutor, numbers had increased to a hundred and the college was sixth in size, rising to third place shortly. See J. A. Mangan, 'Oars and the Man: Pleasure in Victorian and Edwardian Cambridge, in History of Higher Education Annual, University of Buffalo, Vol. Four, 1984, p. 60.

89. J. A. Mangan, 'Oars and the Man: Pleasure in Victorian and Edwardian Cambridge', in History of Higher Education Annual, University of Buffalo, Vol. Four, 1984, 61.

90. A. Gray, A History of Jesus College, London, 1902, cit. in J. A. Mangan, 'Oars and the Man: Pleasure in Victorian and Edwardian Cambridge, in History of Higher Education Annual, University of Buffalo, Vol. Four, 1984, p. 60.

91. Blackwood's Magazine, No. 192, October, 1912, cit. in J. A. Mangan, 'Oars and the Man: Pleasure in Victorian and Edwardian Cambridge', in History of Higher Education Annual, University of Buffalo, Vol. Four, 1984, pp. 6263.

92. J. A. Mangan, 'Oars and the Man: Pleasure in Victorian and Edwardian Cambridge', in History of Higher Education Annual, University of Buffalo, Vol. Four, 1984, p. 63.

93. J. A. Mangan, 'Oars and the Man: Pleasure in Victorian and Edwardian Cambridge', in History of Higher Education Annual, University of Buffalo, Vol. Four, 1984, p. 63.

94. Ibid., p. 65.

95. Ibid., p. 70.

96. Ibid., p. 69.

97. Ibid., p. 68.

98. E-mail correspondence between the author and Jesus College, Cambridge University, July 21, 1998.

99. Archival records show that Cecil Julian Tyndale-Biscoe was superintendent of education between 1927 and 1932; Director of Education from 1932 to1953 and that he worked as a private correspondent between 1933 and 1948.

100. Report by Mr. C. J. Tyndale-Biscoe, on Tanga and District Schools, 1925, Public Record Office, Ref. CO 736/4.

101. As a central school, Tanga Central School was the centre for the administration of other schools and educational matters in Tanga Province. Headmasters of central schools in various provinces in the country were at the same time superintendents of education in their respective provinces. During the German occupation, the first headmaster of Tanga Central School was also the Director of Education of German East Africa.

102. G. Hornsby, A Brief History of Tanga School Up to 1914, TanganyikaNotes and Records, 1962.

103. C. J. Tyndale-Biscoe, 'Discipline in Education' (Unpublished), 1925, Tanzania National Archives, Ref. No. 47/P/8.

104. The said article was first sent to the Director of Education in the territory for approval. The Director of Education agreed it should be published and sent it to the Colonial Office in London seeking approval on his [Biscoe's] behalf to do so. What happened next to the article is not clear.

105. C. J. Tyndale-Biscoe, 'Discipline in Education', (Unpublished), 1925, Tanzania National Archives, Ref. No. 47/P/8.

106. C. J. Tyndale-Biscoe considered, perhaps subjectively, that where the individual outlook was below standard, discipline undoubtedly did good, but where the standard was reached it was a bar to further improvement, and where the outlook was higher than standard its action was definitely retrograding.

107.C. J. Tyndale-Biscoe, 'Discipline in Education', National Archives of Tanzania, Ref. No.47/P/8, 1925.

108. Annual Report by C. J. Tyndale-Biscoe, on Tanga and District Schools, 1925, Public Record Office, Ref. No. CO. 736/4.

109. Annual Report by C. J. Tyndale-Biscoe, on Tanga School and District Schools, 1925, Public Record Office, Ref. No. CO. 736/4.

110. Annual Report by C. J. Tyndale-Biscoe, on Tanga School and District Schools, 1925, Public Record Office, Ref. No. CO. 736/4.

111. Annual Report by C. J. Tyndale-Biscoe, on Tanga and District School, 1925, Public Record Office, Ref. No. CO. 736/4.

112. Annual Report by C. J. Tyndale-Biscoe, on Tanga and District School, 1925, Public Record Office, Ref. No. CO. 736/4.

113. Annual Report by C.J. Tyndale-Biscoe on Tanga and District Schools. 1926, CO Ref: No.736/5.

114. Annual Report by C. J. TydaleBiscoe on Tanga and District Schools, 1926, CO. Ref. No. 736/5.

115. This was revealed by the present headmaster of the school during an interview with the researcher in February, 1997.

116. Annual Report by C. J. TyndaleBiscoe, on Tanga and District School, 1925, Public Record Office, Ref. No. CO. 736/4.Regular football matches began with the institution of the house system in early 1925.

117. Annual Report by C. J. Tyndale-Biscoe on Tanga and District Schools, Tanga, 1925, Public Record Office, Ref. No. CO. 736/4.

118. At the beginning it was a White Only Club.

119. Annual Report by C. J. Tyndale-Biscoe on Tanga and District Schools, Tanga, 1925, Public Record Office, Ref. No. CO. 736/4.

120. Ibid.

121. Ibid.

122. For example Tanga Central School appointed an ex-K.A.R. Sergeant Ramadhani Dakuni as Drill Instructor from 1934. Others were Sergeant Chimazi Kapulu, Old Moshi Government School; Sergeant Adam Chilwa, Nyakato Central School and Sergeant Pyoka Mayenda, Malangali Government School.

123. Annual Report by C. J. Tyndale-Biscoe on Tanga and District Schools, Tanga, 1926, Public Record Office, Ref. No. CO. 736/5.

124. Ibid.

125. Ibid.

126. O. G. was an agreed form of a name, which could mean Old Glenalmond, Old Glenalmondian or Old Glenalmonder. The club was formed in 1877 to 'keep alive' the interests and welfare of former pupils of Glenalmond.

127. G. St. Quintin, The History of Glenalmond: The Story of a Hundred Years, T. & Constable, Ltd., Edinburgh, 1956, p. 93.

128. A *kaka* is the Kiswahili word for elder brother. It is common in the customs of most tribes in Tanzania that a young boy or girl calls an elder boy *kaka*, symbolic of mutual respect, regardless of whether they are related or not.

129. The author had an opportunity to interview the headmaster in February, 1997.

130. Some selected government schools, at least one school in every administrative province, were entrusted with the administration of a number of other schools in the districts of the respective province. Such selected schools carried the title 'Central Schools' and the other schools were known as District Schools. See Chapter Four.

131 See also J. Iliffe, 'Tanzania Under German and British Rule', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, p. 298.

132. Annual Report on Mpwapwa Central and District Schools by R. Caldwell, 1926, Public Record Office, Ref. No. CO. 736/5.

133. Ibid.

134. R. Mazengo, during the interview with the author. See also Annual Report on Mpwapwa Central and District Schools by R. Caldwell, 1926, Public Record Office, Ref. No. CO. 736/5.

135 The records are not clear whether each 'team' had its own 'house' or all pupils slept in one dormitory.

136. Annual Report on Mpwapwa Central and District Schools by R. Caldwell, 1926, Public Record Office, Ref. No. CO. 736/5.

137. Ibid.

138. Ibid.

139. The author had an opportunity to interview the headmaster in February 1997; See also Report on Mpwapwa Central and District Schools by R. Caldwell, 1926, Public Record Office, Ref. No. CO. 736/5.

140. Ministry of Education, 'Teaching in Tanzania: The Expatriate Teacher's Guide to Schools and Colleges in Tanzania', Dar es Salaam, 1965, pp. 40-41.

141. The country was divided into several administrative provinces: The Eastern Province, The Northern Province, The Central Province, The Western Province, The Lake Province, The Southern Highlands Province and the Southern Province.

142. 'Mission Schools', Public Record Office, CO. 736/14. These denominations were: Universities' Mission for Central Africa (Church of England), Church Missionary Society (Church of England), The Bielefeld (Lutheran) Mission, Church of Scotland Missionary Society, United Free Church of Scotland (Livingstonia Mission), London Missionary Society, Seventh Day Adventists, Lutheran Evangelical Mission, African Inland Church, Moravian Mission, Wesleyan Methodist, White Fathers (Tanganyika Vicariate), Fathers of the Holy Ghost, The Swiss Capucin Fathers, Swiss Benedictine Fathers Uznach, and Italian Fathers.

143. Following the Arusha Declaration of 1967, the political declaration that spelt out the ideology of Tanzania - Socialist-Oriented - Education for Self-Reliance was adopted as the overall educational policy of the country. One of its ambitious aims was to make education more Tanzanian. Nationalisation of, among others, mission schools was one first step towards this end. Alliance School, Dodoma was nationalised and subsequently renamed Mazengo Secondary School, The name still holds today.

144. 'Ilinde Amana', Alliance School, Dodoma, n. d., p. 1.

145. See, Alliance Echoes, Alliance School, Dodoma, 1968, p. 2; See also 'Ilinde Amana', Alliance School, Dodoma, n. d., p. 1.

146. See 'Ilinde Amana', Alliance School, Dodoma, n. d., p. 1.

147. The researcher had the opportunity to interview Rev.Alex H. Dick at his home in Devon in October, 1997.

148. A. H. Dick, 'The Development of Education in Pre-Independence Africa': A Paper prepared for the Oxford Development Project for the Oxford Colonial Records Development Project: Education, 1981.

149. 'Ilinde Amana', Alliance School, Dodoma, n. d., p. 1.

150. Ibid.

151. A. H. Dick, 'Annual Report of the Principal for the Year 1961', The Alliance Secondary School, 1961.

152. Ibid.

153. See Chapter Two.

154 By way of example, Minaki, Bihawana and Nyakato Secondary Schools. See Mission Schools, Ref: Public Record Office, Co 736/4.

155. E. Percy, P. Nunn and D. Wilson, (eds.), The Year Book of Education 1935, University of London Institute of Education, Evans brother Ltd., London, 1935, p.828.

156. Ibid., p.828.

157. J. Nkongo, 'The History of Physical Education in Tanzania', (Unpublished), 1979.

158. The earliest government girls' schools were established in the late 1920s and they included Tabora and Malangali. See E. Percy, P. Nunn and D. Wilson, (eds.),The Year Book of Education 1935, University of London Institute of Education, Evans Brothers Ltd., London, 1935, p.828.

159. For example when the author attended a co-educational school in the 1960s, netball was played separately by girls and boys.

160. J. A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981.

161. Annual Report by C. J. Tyndale-Biscoe on Tanga and District Schools, Tanga, 1925, Public Record Office, Ref. No. CO. 736/4.

162. Ibid.

163. Annual Report by C. J. Tyndale-Biscoe on Tanga and District Schools, Tanga, 1926, Public Record Office, Ref. No. CO. 736/5.

164. Ibid.

165. Ibid.

166. Ibid.

167. For detailed discussion of character building in Kashmir, see Tyndale-Biscoe: An Autobiography, London, c.1950, Chapter Ten.

168. *Chandimu* is a 'football game' played mainly by young boys in the same way as real football. The type of 'balls' that these boys normally use are improvised- made from rugs, or even fruits of some plants. The number of players may vary depending on the number present as will the duration of the game.

169. B. V. Madeje, 'Physical Education in Tanzania', (Unpublished), Institute of Education, Dar es Salaam, 1981.

170. R.H. Harris, 'Education in East Africa: The German System Outlined', The Empire Review, Vol. 20 (117), 1910, p. 185.

171. The Alliance Echoes, The Alliance School, Dodoma, 1968, p. 2.

172. J. A. Mangan, The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal, Frank Cass, London, 1998, p. 191.

173. Ibid., p. 191.

174. J. A. Mangan and C. Hickey, 'English Elementary Education Revisited and Revised: Drill and Athleticism in Tandem', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), Sport in Europe: Politics, Class and Gender, Frank Cass, London, 1999, pp.63-91.

175. J. A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1981, pp.1-9.

Chapter Eight

Modern Sport in Independent Tanzania: Agents and Agencies of Cultural Diffusion and the Use of Adapted Sport in the Process of Modernisation

The preceding chapter discussed the English middle class colonial educationalists and missionaries who brought adapted Athleticism to schools in Tanganyika. While the two groups may rightly be considered the main agents of the diffusion of this hugely influential Victorian and Edwardian educational ideology, government and mission schools may be regarded as the main agencies. Outside the school system, colonial administrators and the armed forces were also actively involved in the popularisation of British games and sports for much the same reasons.

8.1 Colonial Administrators, Armed Forces and Dissemination of British Games in Tanganyika

There is a consensus among historians of sport that colonial agents introduced sport to Africa both for the natives and for themselves.[1] In Tanganyika, district and other administrative officers around the country needed regular physical exercise, essentially to combat what the then Governor of the territory, Sir Donald Cameron, once called "the inevitable feeling of acute depression resulting from a prolonged residence in isolated areas."[2] Most districts were not easily accessible due to the size of the country, almost four times the size of Great Britain, a rudimentary communication system and primitive means of transportation. As mentioned in Chapter Five, the job of an Administrative Officer in the districts was described as physically demanding as he had to spend most of his time trekking, usually on foot, and working long hours in a demanding and debilitating climate.[3]

In the 1920s, two European Officers faced this depressing isolation at the Headquarters of Utete District in the Dar es Salaam Province. The two officers sought solace in sport. When the Governor visited their district in January 1926, they

asked him to construct a tennis court at their station[4]. The request was understandable and the rationale behind it sound. On returning to the capital, the Governor asked the Colonial Office for money for the construction of a tennis court at Utete. The Colonial Office acted swiftly and passed the matter on to the Treasury. It is interesting to note the almost instantaneous reply from the Treasury Chambers. The reply read, "in reply I am to request you to inform the Secretary Amery that in the *very special circumstances* (emphasis added) My Lords give Their covering sanction for this expenditure which can, They note, be met from savings"[5]. Within a short time, to the delight of the two officers, the tennis court was built, at a cost of about one hundred pounds.

There were social as well as physical implications to the game for the indigenous people of Utete and Tanganyika at large. First and foremost, the introduction of tennis at Utete may be considered one of the earliest moments of the diffusion of the Western culture of modern games into that part of Tanganyika. Secondly, the natural open landscape had been transformed into a measured exclusive area. Over and above the actual demarcation of the court itself, a fence was erected around the court to stop the ball from flying far away, to keep the court tidy, to separate players from onlookers and possibly to deter trespassers. How the indigenous local people reacted to these 'new physical boundaries', which also created social distances, remains a matter of speculation. One thing though, may be asserted - these people must have felt that a 'European zone' had been created separating them from their white rulers, both racially and socially.

Furthermore, the peculiarity of the game, especially its attire, (usually a white T-shirt, white shorts, white socks and white shoes), must have made an impression on the people of Utete. In those days it was common for a colonial master to wear a white short-sleeved shirt, white shorts, white stockings (with a number of pens tucked into them), and a pair of black, shiny leather shoes. It was not unreasonable for the local people to equate the game of tennis with the master, after all the players involved were the two European officials. The game of tennis thus manifested itself

in Utete, indeed later in Tanganyika, as a white man's game or more specifically, the game of the master.

In Tanganyika, and later Tanzania, tennis remained a culture-specific sport, in that it was played solely among the Europeans, for quite some time. However, it later attracted African elites who had been trained in the West, thus becoming, to an extent, westernised. To play tennis in those days (indeed even until very recently), immersion inWestern culture was necessary, to the extent of changing one's lifestyle and race affiliation. In short, tennis stratified society along the lines of race and education. Today in Tanzania, tennis courts are found mostly on the premises of tourist hotels, universities, and some teacher training colleges, thus demonstrating a contemporary association with Western tourists and Tanzanian elites.

Administrators have not been the exclusive means of the transplantation of modern sport. The armed forces were also agents of the spread of British games in Tanganyika in the 1920s. As discussed earlier in the preceding chapter, the military and the police were very much involved in the promotion of physical activities in Tanga and the district schools in the 1920s. They were engaged in the teaching of drill, as it was commonplace for government schools in the country to employ ex-soldiers as drill instructors. At about the same time in the Dar es Salaam area, military and police officers were busy promoting football. A Major King, for example, was instrumental in the formation of the Dar es Salaam [Football] League in the early 1920s.[6] Through his efforts, the League, comprising Europeans only, was formed in 1921, and in that year for the first time, competitive football was played in Dar es Salaam. The league not only introduced the new game to the indigenous people, but also is said to have aroused their curiosity and subsequent enthusiasm for football.

The Commissioner of Police, Percy F. Browne, for his part, presented a handsome challenge cup, the Percy Browne Cup, to the League in 1929.[7] This was the first real impetus to the game and it was from this time that the Africans in general began to take a significant interest in football, both as players and spectators. Other interested

individuals, particularly businessmen, followed the example of the Commissioner of Police, and presented a series of cups. These included the Kassum Cup, presented by Kassum Sunderji in 1931, the Higginson Cup, donated by J. E. Higginson in 1932 and the Sunlight Cup introduced by Messrs. Lever Bros. in 1937.[8] The Sunlight Cup is legendary in Tanzania and is discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

8.2 Sports Clubs, League and Cups and Diffusion of Modern Sport in the Tanganyika Territory

Any examination of modern sport in Tanzania must be principally concerned with football. No other single game approaches its popularity and importance. Although the term 'Sports Club' may appear inclusive enough to cover many types of sport, the major activity of the majority of sports clubs in Tanzania is football. Therefore, in the following pages when reference is made to sport, it is essentially a reference to football in the form of soccer.

In 1922, an historic match was played between the Gymkhana XI, an all-European team and the King's African Rifles (K. A. R.) XI, an all-African military team managed by white officers[9]. This was the first ever football match between the Europeans and the indigenous people.[10] It was an important milestone in the development of football in the country. Records[11] reveal that between 1922 and 1928, the K.A.R. took on a significant role in local football, in that they actively helped form and organise local teams and arranged regular matches between themselves and these newly formed teams. Local teams which were formed at that included, among others, Gerezani United, Old Boys (see below) and Lancaster.[12] As more and more local teams emerged it became necessary to reorganise the Dar es Salaam League. A new football organisation - the Dar es Salaam Association Football League - was formed in 1929[13]. It catered for all, including both European and African teams. This was the first time that Europeans and Africans appeared to be 'equal' - observing the same rules and regulations, at least theoretically, under the one governing body. It may be said that football created an environment conducive

to socialisation (strictly in the narrowest sense of the word) between the Europeans and the Africans.

As mentioned earlier, the League received considerable impetus in 1929, when a handsome challenge cup was presented to it by the then Commissioner of Police, Mr. Percy F. Browne[14]. This brought a new importance and attractiveness to the game of football. In one development, the newly formed inferior African teams amalgamated to form one strong team. It called itself Old Boys[15] and joined the League in 1930. Interestingly, the formation of this team received assistance from the Education Department, which was eager to give an opportunity to Africans to enter the competition with one good team rather than with a number of 'weak' teams[16]. Incidentally, Cecil Julian Tyndale-Biscoe, the man behind the introduction of British games into schools in the early 1920s as discussed in Chapter Seven, was the director of the Education Department at that time. This may have been coincidental, but his role in this matter is an indication of the important part that the key members of the colonial English middle class played in the spread of the British culture of games well beyond the confinement of educational institutions.

From 1930 onwards, numerous and different kinds of clubs began to emerge. These included ethnically oriented ones such as the Arabs Sports Club, the Goans Sports Club and the Sudanese Sports Club and nationalistic ones such as the Young Africans Sports Club.[17] Other clubs were institutional, like the Railway Sports Club, the Police Sports Club, the King's African Rifles Sports Club and the Government Secondary School Sports Club. Later, imitative clubs such as Sunderland and Lancaster, taking their names from British clubs that the emulators knew, were formed. All these clubs were based in Dar es Salaam. So, for the first decade, the dissemination of football through sports clubs was concentrated in the Dar es Salaam area. This was not surprising. Rule number 2(a) of the Dar es Salaam Association Football League exclusively stated "the purpose of the League is to encourage and promote the game of association football in the area of Dar es Salaam"[18]. It was not until 1937, that promotion of the game outside the Dar es Salaam area began. In this year, the Messrs Lever Bros. presented the Sunlight Cup for a nation-wide

competition. This was the first ever cup to be competed for by teams (wherever they existed) from all over the country. However, the various competitions in existence took a more definite course in 1945,[19] when the Tanganyika Football Association was formed and became responsible for promoting the game of football throughout Tanganyika. The Association received substantial support from the government by way of policy that assisted the League and encouraged the Africans to play football. With the government's support and the efforts of individual football enthusiasts, football "became the leading attraction and drew members of all communities."[20] As one European was to observe some years later "soccer (football) which has completely captivated the Africans and has many Indian followers, is played throughout the country."[21]

It appears that, in 1937, sport (football) took on a new dimension – commercialism - with the donation of the Sunlight Cup. Sunlight was a household brand name of soap, used for both laundry and personal bathing, which came on the market around that time. The Messrs Lever Bros. Company made and marketed it. Undoubtedly, the donation of the cup was aimed at advertising the soap and is a clear indication of the early attempts by the business community to take advantage of the emergence of modern sport in the country. For many years, until the late 1960s, when the Taifa Cup replaced it, the Sunlight Cup remained the all-Tanganyika football cup. The researcher remembers, as a young boy, how each match was broadcasted live in the 1960s, and how enthusiasts were 'glued' to their radios between 4.00 p.m. and 6.00 p.m. on each match day. As a matter of fact, through the media at that time - mainly the radio[22] - many people, even in the remotest parts of the country, knew of the Sunlight Cup and sunlight soap in the early days of the competitions, but did not necessarily know of the game of football. As a direct consequence of this powerful medium and the power of advertising, people were 'lured' into buying and using sunlight soap, and more importantly, they were, consciously or unconsciously, drawn into the game of football.

Popularisation of football upcountry came about firstly with the introduction of the Sunlight Cup in 1937 and later with the formation of the Football Association of Tanganyika in 1945. Slowly, but surely, the British culture of games eased itself into Tanganyikan culture and was eventually assimilated into the sporting traditions of its society. Then at a later date, the indigenous people used adapted modern sport for, among other things, political purposes both during colonialism and after independence.

8.3 Modern Sport and Politics in Tanzania[23]: Sports Clubs and Political Parties

In his *'Our Former Colonial Master: The Diffusion of Sports and the Question of Cultural Imperialism'*, A. Guttmann writes, "Although Peter Rummelt and other critics of the destruction of indigenous African sports by the European colonial powers are unquestionably right about the suppression of indigenous sports, they have probably not done enough to acknowledge the ways in which Africans have adapted modern sports to their own needs."[24] These have been no other than the essential needs related to the politics of colonial Tanganyika and independent Tanzania. It is well known that during colonialism, especially during the years of the struggle for independence, through fear of political agitation, the colonial government restricted public rallies and similar large group gatherings by the indigenous population. Sports gatherings, however, were unaffected, and as such sports clubs' meetings provided 'secure' venues for members of (sometimes underground) political parties to discuss liberation strategies. In the mid 1950s, the Young Africans Sports Club of Dar es Salaam provided such 'cover up' forums for members of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) to hold political meetings.[25] Eventually, TANU led Tanganyika to independence. For the obvious reason - the 'secret' nature of the meetings - the minutes of such meetings are hard to find. However, some points may be considered about the relationship between the Young Africans Sports Club and TANU in order to demonstrate how the indigenous people used adapted sport to achieve political goals.

The history of Young Africans goes back to the mid 1920s when Africans began to take real interest in football, following the formation of the Dar es Salaam League. It was about this time that the club was formed. Records are hazy on the exact date of its formation. There are many different stories told about the origin of the club. However, the most authentic one goes back to 1926.[26] Sometime that year, a group of youths gathered in a 'playing field' at a place called *Jangwani* and formed a football team, which they called *Jangwani*.[27]. When they started, these boys did not have even the most basic equipment such as the football itself. Instead they banded rags together to 'make' a ball. As mentioned already, rags are still used today by children in place of footballs, in the less wealthy areas of the country.

The club adopted different names at different times. In 1926, it started as *Jangwani* Club, later it changed its name to Navigation Sports Club,[28] then to *Taliana* Sports Club, and then to New Youngs Sports Club. In 1935, the Young Africans Sports Club was born, which changed its name to *Yanga* Sports Club later. While the club was still called New Youngs, a number of players are said to have left it and formed what is believed to have been the nucleus of the present *Simba* (formerly Sunderland) Sports Club. Keen observers of the evolution of football in the country consider this split to be the beginning of the sporting rivalry which now exists between the present two football giants in the country, *Yanga* (formerly Young Africans Sports Club) and *Simba*.

In the 1930s, on the Island of Zanzibar, the *Wananchi* Sports Club was formed. The exact date of its formation is not known. W*ananchi* is the Swahili for citizens. The club had close historical links with the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP)[29], the party that formed the revolutionary government on the Isles following the popular political revolution of January 11-12, 1964.[30] Indeed, *Wananchi* and ASP became so close that *Wananchi* was ASP - in order to join *Wananchi* one had to join the ASP.[31] The interdependent co-operation between the two dates back to the 1930s, the formative years of nationalist movements on the Isles, with *Wananchi* providing a façade behind which the ASP discussed political issues.[32]

In 1937, a sporting relationship began between the Young Africans Sports Club and the *Wananchi* Sports Club. The relationship developed into what came to be known as 'Cultural Exchanges' between Dar es Salaam and Zanzibar. These exchanges involved alternate annual sports visits during the Easter Holidays and *Idd* celebrations. Initially, these visits were bilateral and involved mainly football teams. Over time, the activities expanded and included not only other sports but also other sports groups, thus acquiring a wider cultural dimension and so establishing popular annual cultural festivals between the Isles and the mainland. These festivals reached their political height in the mid 1970s, apparently due to the renewed call and impressive rhetoric by the Party to give sport the 'same status' as other development projects. I will return to this point shortly. It was also seen as one way of strengthening the political union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Today these festivals are legendary.

The bilateral relationship between the Young Africans and the *Wananchi* Sports Clubs had far-reaching and significant political implications. In 1970, Young Africans announced that the club would build a clubhouse at *Jangwani*. It is intriguing to note how the scheme was 'politically handled' by the leaders of TANU, and particularly by those of the ASP, thus illustrating the political significance of the club in the politics of the country. The Zanzibar Revolutionary Council, the supreme legislative body of Zanzibar, approved a contribution of two million Tanzanian shillings from the *Wananchi* Sports Club towards the project. This amount covered half of the total cost of building the clubhouse. Over and above this significant contribution, the top political leadership of the Isles' Revolutionary Council embarked on numerous fund-raising campaigns to help Young Africans build the clubhouse. Appendix 17 clearly sets out the connection between Young Africans and *Wananchi* and the ASP and TANU. The photographs show the then secretary-general of the ASP starting the construction of the Young Africans' clubhouse, and the first President of Tanzania, who was also the president of TANU, inspecting the finished product.

Surely, the financial contribution by the ASP towards the construction of the Young Africans' clubhouse and the involvement of the top leadership of the ASP and TANU in the welfare of the club may justifiably be interpreted as the country's political will to promote sport. But it was more than that. Both sports clubs had played an important role in the activities of the two political parties in their struggle for independence for their respective countries. It is thus fair, to state that the involvement of the top leadership of the country in the affairs of the two sports clubs was aimed at bonding to them, for further use, the affiliates who had been useful for them in the past. After all participants and spectators were potential voters who could be subjected to political indoctrination. One immediate result was the expansion and consolidation of the parties in terms of numbers of members. For example, all members of *Wananchi* were automatically members of the ASP on the Isles. Correspondingly, the majority of the members of the Young Africans Sports Club were members of the ruling party, TANU, on mainland Tanzania.[33] Undoubtedly, it was because of such an inseparable historical coexistence between the two sports clubs and nationalist movements that sport was considered an important tool for modernisation. It was seen as a medium for communicating national policies to the masses and a means of helping to validate the changing values in society in independent Tanzania.

In independent Tanzania, therefore, modern sport has been used in various policy implementations. However, the extent to which sport might effectively serve as a tool for policy implementation, of course, depends largely on the degree of state control of the sport itself. "The greater the regime's control of sports, the greater their potential use in policy implementation."[34] Attempts have been made to gain this control and they have been incorporated into major policy changes.

8.4 Modern Sport and Contemporary Tanzania: Policy Changes and the Use of Sport in Policy Implementation

Two major policy changes occurred in 1965 and 1967, which were milestones in national development. They involved the overhaul of the country's political system,

which in turn, profoundly affected all other systems. In July 1965, mainland[35] Tanzania declared that it had become a one-party state and that TANU, the ruling party, was the only political party allowed in the country.[36] For the next quarter of a century, TANU enjoyed absolute supremacy and directed all major political, social, economic and educational policies in the country. In its general conference, held at Arusha, January 26 – 29, 1967,[37] TANU decided that Tanzania would pursue socialism. This was a crucial policy change for the country. What became known as the Arusha Declaration was proclaimed on February 5, 1967. The essence of this declaration was a commitment to the principles of socialism and self-reliance, which became the keystones for all future developments. The Arusha Declaration gave the TANU government much greater control over many aspects of society, including sport, in order to facilitate socialist development.

The most comprehensive attempts to bring sport under government control, in line with the Arusha Declaration, were contained in two major pieces of legislation, enacted between 1967 and 1971. The National Sports Council Act, No. 12 of 1967, established the National Sports Council (NSC) to oversee all sports activities in the country.[38] Article 4.1 (a) of the Act reads, "the function of the Council shall be to develop, promote and *control* all forms of amateur sports on a national basis;..." and article 4.1 (c) states, "the function of the Council shall be to *approve* international and national sports competitions and festivals organised by national and other associations."[39] It is clear from the two clauses that the TANU government was determined not only to monitor the development of sport in the country, but also to exercise control over all external sports contacts.

The NSC (Amendment) Act, No. 6 of 1971, gave the NSC even more control over sports organisations.[40] It gave the Council responsibility for the registration of all sports organisations in the country and empowered it to dissolve any of them at any time if necessary. An important point worth noting here is the politically formulated "Grounds for refusing Registration."[41] Article 12 (a) of this Act states, "the Registrar shall refuse to register a sports association... if he is satisfied that such association is a branch of or is affiliated to or connected with, any organisation or group of a

political nature, other than the [TANU] Party, or any organ of the Party or the Afro-Shirazi Party or any organ of that Party."[42] The apparent intention of the government to 'affiliate' sports organisations to the only two political parties allowed in the country is not difficult to discern.

Another intention of the NSC Act of 1971 was to give the government greater control over both sports organisations and sportsmen in order to mould disciplined sportsmen, and by extension, disciplined socialist Tanzanians. Launching the Act, the Minister of Sports declared, "we will be able to discipline them now. We could not do so before because we were legally tied up. We asked some associations to make some changes in their administration but they refused. They knew there was nothing we could do."[43] Such statements of authority are clear indications of the government's intentions to establish total control over sports activities in the country.

There are several basic assumptions that can be made about the government's keenness to control sport. At the outset of independence, the new government recognised the importance of, oddly, foreign games in the conservation of national culture.[44] In addition, there was the TANU government's anxiety to establish control over all sections of the population in their bid to cultivate the new social values and attitudes embedded in the country's newly declared 'socialist path' to national development. Control over a dynamic force, such as the enthusiasts of a popular sport like football, was an important political step towards establishing control over one influential section of the population. It was felt that, despite the establishment of the NSC to strengthen the organisational links between the government and sport, control over some sports organisations, particularly of football, was slipping, and thus undermining effective policy implementation due to these organisations' 'indiscipline'.

Discipline may be defined as "the acceptance of, or submission to, authority and control."[45] For individuals this is tantamount to organisational control at group level. Certainly, the presence of 'indiscipline' indicates the inability of authority to control behaviour and such control is crucial for the implementation of most policies,

especially the then newly instituted Tanzanian policy of socialism and self-reliance. A brief reflection on some major events, which occurred in late 1960s and early 1970s, involving the Football Association of Tanzania (FAT) and the government will help illustrate the point.

In 1967, the TANU government alleged that the FAT was, among other things, incompetent, inefficient and incapable of managing its funds, in what the Party newspaper described as the 'chaotic affairs' of the Association.[46] Later, the government took the drastic measure of sacking the entire FAT leadership and appointing a care-taker Committee. Other corrective measures included the fine 'screening' of aspirants for the various posts in the FAT in future elections in order to bring about, what one influential politician called, "Party superiority in sports… to make the Party strong enough to be in a position to issue orders to [sports] clubs."[47] The 'screening' process required first and foremost that the candidate had to be a member of TANU or one of the organisations affiliated to it.

The TANU government was also concerned, in the 1960s and 1970s, about the intensity of feeling for football which was seen as turning "sports rivalry into hostility and sports hooliganism, thus interfering with the discipline of citizens."[48] For example, in 1968, the opening match of the National Football League between the country's two most popular teams, Young Africans and Sunderland, had to be abandoned in the early minutes of the game because of fighting. The players, egged on by the spectators, challenged the referee's authority and attacked him.[49] The incident was blamed on lack of discipline on the part of the players and the spectators as well as on the failure of the FAT to control the players. This incident, and indeed similar ones that followed, were strongly condemned by the party and the government. They lamented that "indiscipline has taken the place of soccer rules and that abuses, indifference and blows have taken the place of the language of football players."[50]

In an editorial about the incident in its newspapers in January 1971, the government argued that the achievement of national interests was being hindered by the absence

of discipline. "This," the statement charged, "has reduced *Tanzania's major and popular sport* to a disgraceful shambles, and made the gate-paying spectators one of the *most exploited* members of the community." [51] The editorial further charged that the FAT, because of its inefficiency, had brought the *national game* to its lowest ebb, and had allowed football teams to behave like spoiled and over-indulged *prima donnas*,[52] apparently over petty jealousness and local rivalries, which have too often ousted *national interests*. (Emphases are added here to draw attention to aspects of adaptation and the use of sport in policy implementation).

Other important domestic policy objectives, which Tanzania sought to achieve through adapted modern sports, were the building of national unity and the inculcation of communal attitudes. Notably, since the Arusha Declaration of 1967, Tanzania's primary objective had been the promotion of communal attitudes and the suppression of individualism.[53] That is, groups were to come before individuals in any acquisition of wealth or status. Sports competitions and sports clubs were seen as ways of bringing people together and, therefore, had the capacity to build new bonds between people through joint participation in competitions and joint membership in clubs. Sport, through team work and efforts, was seen as having the potential to create national unity between rural and urban areas, between the people from the mainland and the Isles and among the different sections of the population.

Undoubtedly, it was with such objectives in mind that in its fifteenth annual conference, held in Dar es Salaam from September 18 - 29, 1971, TANU passed a resolution that required the government apparatus to engage in the development of sport at grassroots level. At national level, all sports organisations that existed by then were reorganised and new ones were formed. Sub-councils were established at regional, district and divisional level to co-ordinate, promote and control all forms of [amateur[54]] sports in their respective areas. And, in its sixteenth conference of 1973, TANU adopted yet another resolution that elevated sport to the status of 'an important sector in the life of the nation'. Thus, sport was to be assigned the same status as other developmental projects. Consequently, the resolution called upon all

government departments and parastatal organisations to promote sport in their respective places.

Following this call by the Party, a kind of sports 'pandemic' swept the country. Numerous organisational initiatives were taken by both the central government and its departments and the parastatal organisations to promote sport extensively at all levels.

The central government, through the administrative hierarchy of the NSC, directed all the regional, district and divisional administrative units to mobilise people into sports activities in their areas. It also appointed regional and district sports officers to ensure implementation. In response, the wards, the divisions, the districts and the regions hurriedly and ambitiously began to organise sports groups, mainly football teams, but without the necessary infrastructure - basic equipment and expertise. The different Ministries and parastatal organisations, for their part, co-operated and together they founded the Inter-Ministerial and Parastatal National Games Championships. Today these Games attract and bring together large numbers of sportsmen and sportswomen from all over the country.

However, although sport had the potential to enhance national integration and promote unity, it was also capable of producing division. The following example illustrates the point that although membership in sports clubs may unite people, it often does so at a sub-national group level, which may distract members from allegiance to the nation. The internal club controversy, the Young African crisis of 1975-76, must certainly have posed a problem for the propagation of national loyalties.[55] The calamity began with the club's defeat in an international match in mid-1975. The team's coach, who was a Zairian national, firstly blamed the defeat on the players' lack of discipline. He then attacked the club's executive and accused them of misappropriating club funds, which he claimed, had deprived the players of the necessary resources for adequate preparation. As a direct consequence of his allegations, a dispute erupted, factions developed and the players refused to play any further matches, including those arranged by the Party to celebrate some national

events. This infuriated the TANU government. As the crisis deepened the police were called in and they suspended the club's meetings indefinitely and dismissed the club officials. But the crisis continued. Eventually, the government issued a statement charging two of the officials with the serious offence of conspiracy against the TANU government. The statement claimed that 'foreign subversive elements' were using the crisis to divide people and that the two officials were actually agents of those foreign elements.[56] The two officials, however, were not formerly prosecuted, but were banned from participating further in sports affairs.

The Young Africans crisis was an extreme case. However, it offers us an opportunity to examine the government's legitimacy in attempting to gain control over sport. Following the Young Africans dispute, a series of legal measures were taken. In the first instance, the government issued a directive dismissing, with immediate effect, the Young Africans' coach. Then it ordered the expulsion of the Guinean coach of the other most popular club in the country, Sunderland Sports Club. Finally, in an unprecedented move, the government banned all foreigners from coaching, claiming that they were the source of the controversies in sport in the country and that they were foreign elements who wanted to use sport to destabilise the country.[57] The government also issued directives requiring all clubs to show patriotism and nationalism. It recommended that clubs with foreign names should adopt indigenous ones in order to conform with the nation's pledge to promote nationalistic sentiments in its bid to create a new, independent and socialist Tanzania. The Young Africans Sports Club and Sunderland Sports Club responded almost immediately and changed their names to *Yanga* Sports Club and *Simba* Sports Club respectively. Many other clubs, which had foreign names, followed suit and acquired indigenous names. Whether this was done voluntarily or under pressure of the threat of dissolution is hard to know. Today, the majority of the sports clubs in the country bear indigenous names.

It is not only at home but also abroad that Tanzanian sport has been enmeshed in politics. Tanzania has regularly used the tool of denying her athletes participation in international competitions as a means of implementing foreign policy. As one

observer has noted, "Tanzania used this control with some considerable skill."[58] Many examples may be given in this regard, but perhaps the most important one was that which involved the isolation of the then white minority regimes in Southern Africa (South Africa and Rhodesia) in the 1960s and 1970s. To this end, Tanzania used, but not exclusively, boycotts or threats of boycotts of the Olympic Games.

Tanzania participated in the Olympic Games, as an independent country, for the first time in 1964. South Africa was excluded from these Olympics but Rhodesia participated under the British flag. Undoubtedly, because Tanzania was a newcomer to this arena, she did not play any significant role in the exclusion of South Africa then, but was to play a significant role in her exclusion from the Olympics that followed.

Tanzania's position on South Africa's participation in the 1968 Mexico Olympics is contained in the TANU statement of May, 1967:

> As long as South Africa adheres to its principle of apartheid in sport, it cannot be allowed to take part in international tournaments... Because South Africa insists on categorising some sportsmen as human athletes and others as sub-human, she should not be allowed to pollute the Olympic atmosphere ... It must be hoped that other members will be persuaded to this line of thinking so that pressure against South Africa's obnoxious policy of apartheid may gain further momentum.[59]

In February, 1968 the International Olympic Committee (IOC) decided to allow South Africa participate in the Mexico Olympics. Tanzania reacted strongly and took the lead in challenging the IOC's decision. She accused the IOC of double standards and of what the government's newspaper called "European racialism."[60] Consequently, Tanzania withdrew her application for participation, but reapplied some months later when the IOC reversed its decision and excluded South Africa from the Games. Tanzania did then participate in the 1968 Olympics. Then the Mexican government, apparently basing its decision on the United Nation's resolution on Rhodesia, successfully and legally barred Rhodesia from their Olympics.[61]

Rhodesia sought admission to the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich, under the '1964 conditions' when she was allowed to participate in that year's Tokyo Olympics under the British flag. But in 1965, under the leadership of a whiteman, Ian Smith, Rhodesia had unilaterally declared independence from Britain under what was known as 'the 1965 Unilateral Declaration of Independence' (UDI). Rhodesia's decision to now participate as a British colony was interpreted by the IOC and some African countries as a repudiation of the declaration and, therefore, to be encouraged. The IOC decided to admit Rhodesia to the Games and the leadership of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (SCSA) – the co-ordinating body for sport in Africa - concurred. This sparked yet another strong objection from Tanzania. She accused the SCSA of failing to adhere to the decision of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and denounced the IOC for countenancing racism, and subsequently withdrew from participation.[62] Some African countries joined the Tanzanian-led boycott of the Games. Others did not. Eventually, the then Secretary General of the United Nations intervened and pointed out to the German government that the admission of Rhodesia to the Games would violate the United Nations' resolution on Rhodesia. Just a few days before the Games were to start, the IOC reversed its decision and barred Rhodesia. The author remembers,[63] as a participant, how quickly Tanzania had to send her team to Munich, how difficult the journey was (it took over 36 hours – Dar es Salaam-Nairobi-London-Dusseldorf by air; Dusseldorf-Cologne by train; Cologne-Munich by air) and the devastating effects all this had on the performance of the Tanzanian athletes at the Games. For example, some of the boxers had to weigh in at 05.00 a.m., having only arrived in Munich at 01.00 a.m. that morning, for competition that evening. Although many of them had fasted throughout the journey, some failed to meet the weight requirements in their respective categories and thus were disqualified without ever reaching the ring. Those that did qualify to fight were so tired and weak that not one of them managed to progress to the second round.

In short, Tanzania sought to actively cut off sports contacts with South Africa and Rhodesia in order to speed the conclusion of the minority white rule. "The isolation

of South Africa and Rhodesia required only the negative ability to block participation, and the TANU government was able to exercise such control."[64] Tanzania played an important role in keeping these regimes from participation in the Olympics. Her relative success in the implementation of the policy of isolating South Africa and Rhodesia was not due to the quality of the athletes that the government threatened to withdraw, but rather the skill with which Tanzania managed to gain support from, and built solidarity with, other countries.[65]

In 1976, Tanzania led the boycott, mostly by African countries, of the Montreal Olympics over New Zealand's participation in the Games. The New Zealand's National Party government 'sanctioned' sporting ties with apartheid South Africa, and this was unacceptable to many African countries.

Tanzania has been positive as well as negative in linking sport with international politics. The country has also used modern sport in her attempts to propagate the idea of Pan-Africanism and harmonise unity among independent African countries. In theory, regional sports competitions such as the East and Central Africa Challenge Cup, the All Africa Cup of Nations and the All Africa Games, in which Tanzania was a prominent and enthusiastic member, may be considered forums for bringing Africans together in harmony. In reality, however, what was happening on the sports fields – involving both players and spectators – was largely independent of the kind of political relations that politicians sought to establish. More often than not, for example, competitions on the football pitches created frictions that rendered African unity an illusion. Numerous examples of such frictions exist but are far too many and too complicated for examination in this study. However, two examples may be mentioned in passing.

A major protest resulted from the African Cup match in Cairo in October 1974 between Sunderland of Tanzania and Mehalla of Egypt when Sunderland alleged that its players had been threatened with knives and pistols during the match. The prime target was Sunderland's goalkeeper, who was considered one of the best goalkeepers on the continent, and who, some Egyptians thought, "narrowed the chances of

Mehalla to advance in the tournament.[66]" It took some time before the 'political tension,' that resulted from this incident, between Tanzania and Egypt was 'cleared' in an Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit.

Perhaps the most illustrative example, however, involved a football match, in 1975, between the Young Africans Sports Club and a visiting team from Mozambique. The two countries were very close politically and had just initiated sports contacts following Mozambique's independence in July 1975. The match was intended to mark the inauguration of such cultural contacts but unfortunately the game had to be abandoned before time because of fighting. The incident, which cast doubt on any further matches between the two countries, prompted the government's *The Daily News* to observe that "for African countries...sports bring us closer together, but how could things go so wrong between such close countries?[67]" As it turned out, very few matches were played between the two countries for some years after.

It is clear from the above that Tanzania has adopted and adapted modern sport to her own needs – among them implementation of both domestic and foreign policy objectives. Effective use of sport for policy implementation has required control. This has had positive and negative aspects – attempts to patriotically mould the behaviour of individuals and the attempts to block individuals and organisations from engaging in sports activities.[68] The TANU government has had little difficulty in asserting negative control over both individual athletes and sports organisations in the implementation of policy objectives, particularly, the foreign ones.

Although the TANU government has used modern sport for the implementation of both domestic and foreign policy objectives, there has been concern, especially among politicians, that foreign sports were replacing indigenous ones. The existence of such concerns may be traced back to the time of independence in the 1960s. The feeling was that the diffusion of modern sport during the colonial era and the popularity of these games before and after independence compromised the nation's own indigenous sports culture.

At the outset of independence, some organisational adjustments were made which involved the creation of a national body responsible for culture. A sector of culture was created under the Special Act of Parliament, No. 48 of 1962, leading to the formation of the Ministry of National Culture and Youth.[69] For the last four decades, presumably to improve implementation or because of the problems of implementation, the sector of culture has been moved over ten times – from the original Ministry to, among others, the Prime Minister's Office, and finally to the present Ministry of Education and Culture.[70]

It was not until 1975, that the government took significant steps aimed specifically at the restoration of indigenous culture. It attempted to revive and promote those indigenous games, discussed in Chapter Two, which were considered to have been popular among the tribes before the coming of the Europeans. A National Association of Traditional Games (abbreviated in Swahili as CHAMIJATA) was formed. Four games were chosen to form the basis of this association - the sedentary game of *bao*, the combat sport of wrestling, [traditional] spear throwing and archery. These games were considered to be widely representative of the national culture as many tribes in the country practised them. The first National Championships in Traditional Games were held in Dodoma in 1975. For the next few years, the Championships were held, in rotation, at different regional capitals in the country. The participation, however, remained poor year after year. For example, less than half of the regions were represented at the inaugural Games.[71] A few years later the Championships collapsed.

The obvious reasons for the discontinuation of the Championships included lack of facilities, resources and expertise. In my opinion,[72] there was also the technical difficulty of the lack of national norms for playing the chosen games, and this made the games less than appealing across the twenty regions. For example, although sport like wrestling was (and still is) common among many tribes in the country, different rules, techniques and tactics – handling and 'attacking' and 'counter-attacking' the opponent – applied to contests in the various tribes. Therefore, it was difficult to either adopt any one set of norms or set national ones, nor indeed was there the will,

expertise or resources to do so. Consequently, the National Championships in Traditional Games never attracted many regions as evidenced by the poor attendance from the start, and the subsequent dwindling participation. The essence of the games remained localised, that is, they were practised in the different regions and districts according to the norms of the respective places. While CHAMIJATA still exists to this day, since the cessation of the National Championships, it appears to have little or no function.

A policy document on sport was issued in 1995.[73] One of its aims is to promote research into indigenous games in order to revive and develop them.[74] In the preface of this document the then Minister of Education and Culture commented:

> Although modern sport has helped the country gain recognition on the international arena, it has done so at the expense of the national heritage. The most damaging development is that the growth of modern sport has resulted in the indigenous games being disregarded and neglected to an extent that most of them are now extinct, and this, has made our nation look like a nation without a cultural identity.[75]

What effects the implementation of this new policy will have on the revival of the indigenous sports remains to be seen.

Conclusion: Adoption, Adaptation and Modernisation

Adoption, adaptation and modernisation perfectly symbolise the introduction of modern sport into the Tanganyika Territory, the process of diffusion of modern sport into Tanganyika, and the eventual use of modern sport by the indigenous people in the process of modernising Tanzania.

Colonial administrators and the armed forces constituted the earliest principal disseminators of this modernising agent. While sports clubs may be seen as the major channels through which modern sport, mainly football, was diffused, the flourishing of the National Football League and the various football cup competitions may be

considered as the clearest manifestations of the growth of modern sport in the country, and this may be viewed in turn as a manifestation of modernisation.

A. Guttmann once wrote:

> The adoption by one group of a game popular among another is only partly the result of recognising the intrinsic properties of the game. In the long run, a modern sport like soccer may become so thoroughly naturalised that the borrowers feel that it is their game, an expression of their unique national character... in which the intrinsic ludic properties are jumbled together with cultural associations.[76]

There is not enough evidence to suggest that football in Tanzania is thoroughly naturalised although some Tanzanians may feel that it expresses their national character. But certainly some aspects of football – competition, 'national building' and national image improvement - are integrated into the cultural fabric of Tanzania's society and as such, football commands support as a national game. This support, however, is based on the popularity of the game rather than anything else. For example, during the FAT crisis of the 1970s, when the government newspaper complained about the FAT 'bringing the *national game* to its lowest ebb', the newspaper was clearly referring to what it had earlier singled out as *Tanzania's major and most popular sport.* Undoubtedly, it is this popularity of football that inspired Tanzanian leaders to adopt modern sport as a political medium, a means of national bonding and an instrument of modernisation.

Both TANU and the ASP used the Young Africans and *Wananchi* Sports Clubs' meetings to chart liberation strategies during their respective struggles for independence. After independence had been achieved, the leaders of the newly independent states saw sport as a valuable means of communicating political messages to particular groups, such as sports enthusiasts. The Young Africans and *Wananchi* were also pioneers of the now legendary annual sports festivals between Tanzania mainland and Zanzibar. From the humble beginnings of a bilateral sports contact between two clubs, a mass cultural bonanza of a national scale developed. However, for many people a love of sport more than anything else seemed to have

been the driving force behind the festivals, despite the Party's wish to use them to strengthen the political union between the mainlanders and the Zanzibaris.

In contemporary Tanzania, many functions may be ascribed to modern sport. Some of these functions have been discussed earlier in the chapter as illustrations of the use of sport in the process of the modernisation of the country, particularly in accordance with the country's ideology of socialism and self-reliance, adopted in the 1960s.

The term modernisation can be defined as follows: "modernisation presupposes that a society can be transformed from a pre-modern state to a modern one."[77] It is a transformation of the human consciousness which depends primarily on two processes – technological production and bureaucratisation.[78] In his '*The Role of Sport in the Process of Modernisation: The Kenyan Case*', P. Mahlmann, referred to the two processes as 'primary carriers of modernity' which are correlated with structures of the consciousness, singular institutions and institutional systems.[79] Following Mahlmann's concept of 'carrier of modernity', sport appears, in many ways, to be connected with what he described as 'the secondary carriers of modernity'.[80] By secondary carrier, Mahlmann was referring to the indicators of modernisation, some of which he identified as urbanisation, nation building and mass education.[81]

Mahlmann rightly considers the sport system itself to be another secondary carrier of modernity, primarily because of the way it is institutionalised, organised and bureaucratised which in turn helps its participants to internalise a 'modern' consciousness.[82] "Such consciousness is oriented towards competition, high performance, rivalry,"[83] and perhaps towards socialisation, fair play, co-operation and integration, all of which may be considered indicators of modernisation. A good athletic performance may reflect a country's degree of modernisation, where athletes strive for records with their new concepts of time (symbolised by the stopwatch) and standardisation through fixed rules.

Tanzania has not had much success in her sports performances on the international arena. In football, for example, she has the poorest record in annual East and Central African competitions. Since the inception of the series in 1926, she has won only three of the thirty five competitions staged between then and 1964.[84] She has not won again since. The country may claim some success in athletics where her athletes[85] won a gold medal in the 1974 Commonwealth Games, another gold medal in the 1978 Commonwealth Games, two silver medals in the 1980 Olympic Games and had remarkable performances in other international competitions, especially in long distance running. However, it is evident that the country has some way to go in the modernisation process.

Mahlmann has further noted that, more often than not, the process of modernisation is equated with that of westernisation.[86] "Such an equation arises from western cultural imposition, which is almost an automatic consequence of the developed industrialised countries' functioning as dominant centres in relationship to the developing world,"[87] indeed in relationship to colonised countries. Almost always, the industrialised western countries serve as a 'model' in the context of the modernisation process.[88] It may be argued, however, that the 'westernisation' concept does not sufficiently reflect the view that modern norms and values connected with sport synthesise with those of other systems. It is with this in mind that, in the discussion, attempts have been made to view the process of modernisation in a value-free context, as it is difficult to verify empirically if the process is always for the better,[89] thus making it even more difficult to assign any value to it. In this context, the process of modernisation was taken to mean that existing social institutions were to be transformed into a more efficient order, which would bring a better quality of life to the people.[90] The United Nation's adopted indicators, such as Gross National Product, life expectancy and literacy rate can measure the efficiency of a country.[91] In Tanzania, this efficiency was viewed in the context of a communally transformed attitude of mind,[92] that would help produce self-reliant socialists, and it was because of this that Tanzania's developmental policy makers considered the instrumentalisation of sport as, among other things, a 'way towards discipline'.

On the domestic policy front, the TANU government made several attempts and adopted different measures to gain overall control of both sports organisations and individuals – players and fans - as an act of policy implementation. It also wanted to pave the way for further implementation of other policy aspects. The control of sports organisations was sought through the organising body of the most popular game in the country, football. The FAT was under constant criticism by both the government and the ruling party for gross incompetence. The public, in addition, frequently blamed the Association for 'not producing a winning team' for quite some time. The government adopted managerial and organisational strategies in order to gain an 'upper hand', and then tried to use this advantage to improve the image and the working ability of the FAT. It sacked officers, screened candidates for office and adopted more controlled legislation. Disappointedly for the government of the day, not much control was achieved despite all these measures. Indeed the government appeared to be able to impose only negative control over both sports organisations and individuals. As a result, Tanzania's efforts to use modern sport to mould communal behaviour and produce disciplined socialist Tanzanians failed miserably.

National integration was at the heart of Tanzania's efforts to build a socialist state. As sports competitions often led to heightened hostility among players and fans with sports fields turning into 'battle fields', not much progress was made in this area either. Furthermore, the split between Dar es Salaam and other parts of the country may have been exacerbated by the favoured position of sports in the capital, thus creating 'social distances' between the urban and rural populations.

With only limited control of organisations, players and fans at home, major difficulties confronted Tanzania in her endeavour to promote African unity through sport. Very little was achieved in this particular aspect of foreign policy. For example, where sports competitions were expected to harmonise relations between countries the same competitions often created hostility. Sometimes these competitions did not even take place, thus diminishing further the chances of improving relations through such contacts. The underlying difficulties may be

attributed to the fact that what happened on the sports fields was usually independent of or unrelated to the political relations between those countries involved.

Tanzania has had more success in the international politics of sport. The country, in collaboration with other countries, in her bid to fight apartheid, used boycotts of the Olympic Games to successfully isolate South Africa and Rhodesia from the international arena. Her involvement can be summarised by D. E. McHenry in his article '*The Use of Sport in Policy Implementation: the Case of Tanzania*', as follows:

> Tanzania bitterly attacked the International Olympic Committee when it appeared that South Africa would be allowed to compete in the 1968 Olympic Games; she vigorously criticised the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa when it accepted Rhodesian participation in the 1972 Games; and she was one of the first to withdraw from the 1976 Games because of New Zealand's participation.[93]

At home again, although there was support for the government's use of sport in the implementation of various policy objectives, it was felt by many that modern sport displaced indigenous games. The government, through the Ministry of National Culture and Youth, the formation of CHAMIJATA and the adoption of the 1995 sports policy, made various attempts to rectify the problem. However, as yet, no real progress has been made in this area.

Some of the choices available to Tanzania in her pursuit of cultural restoration through sport are rejection and the adoption of modernity, the restoration of tradition or a combination of tradition and modernity. In many respects, sport is an integral part of the process of modernisation in Tanzania. "On the one hand, it helps to push the process forward and influences the norms and values of the participants and the society as a whole; and on the other hand, the process of modernisation is itself moulded by the traditional norms and values."[94] However, in terms of modernisation there is a major problem. In Tanzania, many of the infrastructures built during colonial times have not been maintained and have fallen into disuse. Westernisation is

continuing to take place, essentially without modernisation, and bureaucracies modelled on western experience are becoming more and more corrupt. Financial scandals often occur to the detriment of sport sportsmen and sportswomen. In short, although specialised and differentiated organisations have been created, new efficient structures have not yet been fully established and institutionalised to cater for them.

As far as the restoration of traditional or indigenous values is concerned, it is fair to say that even if the collapse of modern structures leave less complicated ones intact this will not necessarily lead to a complete return to traditional forms. Very probably, the efforts to revive traditional games may not result in the restoration of the traditional sports culture. Mainly because, to do this successfully, traditional structures of consciousness will have to be simultaneously revived, and this is virtually impossible.

To sum up, a restoration of the traditional sports culture is unlikely, while at the same time, the modernisation of the country by adopting *in toto* the modern sport culture is ambitious. Both cultures, however, offer potential values and hopefully they can be combined and expressed in Tanzania's own cultural development through sport in the future. On the whole, sport is pursued and valued not only as an end in itself, but also because it represents a complex of meanings in connection with cultural restoration and modernisation. And there is one glimmer of a light in a dark tunnel, as the characteristics of the modern sport culture are similar all over the world, this surely will assist the eventual integration of Tanzania into the 'global village of sport'. Politicians, in the interest of their own prestige, will try to see to that.

Notes

1 See for example, A. Kirk-Greene, 'Imperial Administration and the Athletic Imperative: The Case of the District Officer in Africa', in W. J. Baker and J. A.

Mangan (eds.) Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History, Africana Publishing Company, New York, 1987, pp. 81-113; A. Clayton, 'Sport and African Soldiers: The Military Diffusion of Western Sport throughout Sub-Saharan Africa' in W. J. Baker and J. A. Mangan (eds.) Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History, Africana Publishing Company, New York, 1987, pp. 114-137; A. Guttmann, 'Our Former Colonial Masters: The Diffusion of Sports and the Question of Cultural Imperialism'; P. Rummelt, 'Sport im Kolonialisus, Kolonialismus im Sport, Koln, 1986, p. 115 and p. 274.

2 Letter from the Governor of the Tanganyika Territory to the Colonial Secretary of March 04, 1926, CO 691/85/9.

3 A. H. Kirk-Greene, 'The Sudan Political Service: Profile in Sociology of Imperialism', in International Journal of African Historical Studies, Vol. 15 (1), 1982, p. 28.

4 Letter from the Governor of the Tanganyika Territory to the Colonial Secretary of March 04, 1926, CO 691/85/9.

5 Letter from Treasury Chambers to the Under Secretary of State of Colonial Office of April 15, 1926.

6 Dar es Salaam Association Football League, Herald Publishing Works, Dar es Salaam, n.d., p. 1.

7 Ibid., p. 1.

8 Ibid., p. 1.

9 Ibid., p. 1.

10 Ibid., p. 1.

11 Ibid., p. 1.

12 Ibid., pp. 1-4.

13 Ibid., p. 1.

14 Ibid., p. 1.

15 Ibid., p. 2.

16 Ibid., p. 2.

17 H. Konde, Young Africans: Story of Champions of Soccer, Tanzania Standard Newspapers, 1974, passim.

18 Dar es Salaam Association Football League, Herald Publishing Works, Dar es Salaam, n.d., p.2.

19 Ibid., p. 2.

20 Ibid., p. 2.

21 A. Dick, 'Outdoor Sports', in A Pocket Guide to Tanganyika, Tanganyika Travel Committee, 1955, n. p.

22 The country did not have a Television station at that time. The first ever TV station in the country was built in Zanzibar in the early 1970s.

23 See the Prologue.

24 A. Guttmann, 'Our Former Colonial Masters: The Diffusion of Sports and the Question of Cultural Imperialism', n.d., p. 56.

25 See H. Konde, 'Young Africans: Story of Champions of Soccer', Printpak, Dar es Salaam, 1974, passim.

26 Ibid., p. 4.

27 Ibid., p. 4.

28 The formation of *Jangwani* aroused the interest of many workers of the then East African Cargo Handling Services (EACHS) at the port of Dar es Salaam who enthusiastically supported the team. Eventually many players of the club came from the EACHS. Probably that is why the club changes its name to Navigation. However, when they were working at the port the players of Navigation Club came into contact with some Italians and learned from them that the Italians were good football players. And that may explain why the club adopted the name *Taliana* after playing as Navigation for sometime. See H. Konde, 'Young Africans: Story of Champions of Soccer', Printpak, Dar es Salaam, 1974, passim.

29 The Afro-Shirazi Party is a reunion of African Association and Shirazi Party concluded on February 05, 1957. Back in 1934 indigenous African Zanzibaris formed the African Association. But in 1938 a Shirazi Association, with the majority of the members coming from the second largest Island of Pemba, broke away from it. In 1957, apparently due to the political changes which were taking place on the Isles, Shirazi Association rejoined African Association to form Afro-Shirazi Party. For detailed discussion of this see J. Iliffe, 'Tanzania Under German and British Rule' in

B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Study of East African History, East African Publishing House, 1968, pp. 308-310.

30 Zanzibar became a British Protectorate in November, 1890. On December10, 1963 the British granted independence to Zanzibar but left the power in the hands of the Sultan, an Arab. This was unacceptable to the majority indigenous African people. A month later, the dynasty of the Sultans was overthrown and the ASP established a revolutionary government. For the background to the African revolution in Zanzibar see Haroub Othman, 'Zanzibar's Political History: The Past Haunting the Present?', Centre for Development Research Working Papers, No. 93.8, CDR, Copenhagen, 1993, passim. See also J. Iliffe, 'Tanzania Under German and British Rule', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani; A Study of East African History, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968, pp. 290-311.

31 H. Konde, 'Young Africans: Story of Champions of Soccer', Printpak, Dar es Salaam, 1974, p. 7.

32 For detailed discussion of the emergence and growth of the nationalist movements in the 1940s and 1950s, both in Tanganyika and on the Isles of Zanzibar, and the use of the meetings of sports and dancing clubs for political purposes, see J. Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, African Studies Series 25, Cambridge University Press, 1979, Chapter 13. Also see H. Konde, 'Young Africans: Story of Champions of Soccer', Printpak, Dar es Salaam, 1974, passim.

33 H. Konde, 'Young Africans: Story of Champions of Soccer', Printpak, Dar es Salaam, 1974, p. 7.

34 D. E. McHenry, 'Use of Sport in -Policy Implementation: The Case of Tanzania', Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 18 (2), 1980, p. 239.

35 In Zanzibar, except for the ASP, the activities of all other political parties were suspended following the 1964 revolution. The Zanzibar Revolutionary Council became the supreme legislative body on the Isles.

36 In theory, Tanzania was a one-party state. In practice, however, two main parties operated, TANU in mainland and ASP on the Island. TANU and ASP united in 1977 and formed the revolutionary party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM).

37 The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance, The Arusha Declaration, 1967.

38 The United Republic of Tanzania, National Sports Council Act, Number 12 of 1967.

39 Ibid., p. 3.

40 See The National Sports Council of Tanzania (Amendment) Act, No. 6 of 1971 (Section 28): Sports Association Regulations, passim.

41 See The United Republic of Tanzania, The National Sports Council Act, No. 12 of 1967, p. 7.

42 Ibid., p. 7.

43 D. E. McHenry, 'The Use of Sports in Policy Implementation: The Case of Tanzania', The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 8 (2), 1980, p. 240.

44 Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, Wizara ya Elimu na Utamaduni: Sera ya Maendeleo ya Michezo, 1995, p. iv.

45 D. E. McHenry, 'The Use of Sports in Policy Implementation: The Case of Tanzania', The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 8 (2), 1980, p. 242.

46 *The Nationalist*, October 07, 1967, p. 4. Also see D. E. McHenry, 'The Use of Sports in Policy Implementation: The Case of Tanzania', The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 8 (2), 1980, p. 240.

47 D. E. McHenry, 'The Use of Sports in Policy Implementation: The Case of Tanzania', The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 8 (2), 1980, p. 240. See also *The Daily News*, November 21, 1975, p. 1.

48 D. E. McHenry, 'The Use of Sports in Policy Implementation: The Case of Tanzania', The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 8 (2), 1980, p. 242. Also see *The Nationalist*, April 13, 1968, p. 4.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid.

51 D. E. McHenry, 'The Use of Sports in Policy Implementation: The Case of Tanzania', The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 8 (2), 1980, p. 243. See also *The Nationalist*, April 13, 1969, p. 4.

52 Ibid.

53 The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance, 1967.

54 Although some forms of professional boxing existed since the early 1980s, professional sports were officially allowed in Tanzania in 1995. See Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, Wizara ya Elimu na Utamaduni: Sera ya Maendeleo ya Michezo, 1995, p. 33.

55 The author remembers the crisis as it unfolded day by day as it was widely reported in the media and the resultant political, social and cultural implications of this crisis. See also *The Daly News,* September 24, 1975, p. 8, September 26, 1975, p.8, September 29, 1975, p. 8 and October 01, 1975, p. 14.

56 See *The Daily News,* September 24, 1975, p. 8, September26, 1975, p.8, September 29, 1975, p. 8 and 1 October, 1975, p. 14.

57 The author recalls the angry tone of the government. See also *The Daily News*, September 24, 1975, p. 8, September 26, 1975, p. 8 and September 29,1975, p.8.

58 D. E. McHenry, 'The Use of Sports in Policy Implementation: The Case of Tanzania', The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 8 (2), 1980, p. 240.

59 D. E. McHenry, 'The Use of Sports in Policy Implementation: The Case of Tanzania', The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 8 (2), 1980, p. 245. See also *The Nationalist*, May 06, 1967, p. 4.

60 *Sunday News*, February 14, 1968, p. 4.

61 *The Nationalist,* April 25, 1968, p. 4.

62 See D. E. McHenry, 'The Use of Sports in Policy Implementation: The Case of Tanzania', The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 8 (2), 1980, p. 246. Also *The Daily News*, 21 August, 1972, p. 1.

63 The author was one of the members of Tanzania's athletic team to the Games.

64 D. E. McHenry, 'The Use of Sports in Policy Implementation: The Case of Tanzania', The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 8 (2), 1980, p. 255.

65 D. E. McHenry, 'The Use of Sports in Policy Implementation: The Case of Tanzania', The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 8 (2), 1980, p. 248.

66 *The Daily News,* 28 October, 1974, p. 8. See also D. E. McHenry, 'The Use of Sports in Policy Implementation: The Case of Tanzania', The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 8 (2), 1980, p. 249.

67 See D. E. McHenry, 'The Use of Sports in Policy Implementation: The Case of Tanzania', The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 8 (2), 1980, p. 249. See also *The Daily News* July 25, 1975, p. 16.

68 Ibid.

69 P. M. Sarungi, 'Sera ya Maendeleo ya Michezo' (Policy of Sports Development), Wizara ya Elimu na Utamaduni, 1995, p. 2.

70 Ibid.

71 As a Sports Officer from the host region in 1975, I was involved in the organisation of the first Championships, therefore, I have first hand information on this point. Future descending trend was confirmed by the National Chairman of CHAMIJATA, E. Sulus, during my field work in February, 1997.

72 As a Sports Officer in the Dodoma region between 1976 and 1979, I was directly involved in the preparation of the region's team for the Traditional Games, the preparation of the Championships and all that was involved. Based on this experience I have an informed basis for this opinion.

73 See 'Sera ya Maendeleo ya Michezo' (Policy of Sports Development), Wizara ya Elimu na Utamaduni, 1995.

74 Ibid. p. 8.

75 P. M. Sarungi, 'Sera ya Maendeleo ya Michezo' (Policy of Sports Development), Wizara ya Elimu na Utamaduni, 1995, p. 2.

76 A. Guttmann, 'Our Former Colonial Masters: The Diffusion of Sports and the Question of Cultural Imperialism', .n.d., p. 49.

77 P. Mahlmann, 'The Role of Sport in the Process of Modernisation: The Kenyan Case', Journal of East African Research and Development, Vol. 22, 1992, p. 120.

78 Ibid., p. 120.

79 Ibid., p. 120.

80 Ibid., p. 128.

81 Ibid., p. 128.

82 Ibid., p. 128.

83 Ibid., p. 128.

84 *Tanganyika Standard*, Dar es Salaam, September 15, 1964, p. 6.

85 Tanzania's best known runner Filbert Bayi set a world record in the 1,500 metres in 1974. Others included Suleimani Nyambui, Olympic silver medalist in 5000 metres in 1980, Gidamis Shahanga, gold medalist in marathon in the Commonwealth Games of 1978.

86 P. Mahlmann, 'The Role of Sport in the Process of Modernisation: The Kenyan Case', Journal of East African Research and Development, Vol. 22, 1992, p. 128.

87 Ibid., p. 128.

88 Ibid., p. 128.

89 Ibid., p. 121.

90 Ibid., p. 121.

91 Ibid., p. 121.

92 See J. K. Nyerere, Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism, Dar es Salaam, 1968, passim.

93 D. E. McHenry, 'The Use of Sports in Policy Implementation: The Case of Tanzania', The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 8 (2), 1980, p. 255.

94 Ibid., p. 130.

Epilogue

Traditionalism, Colonisation, Modernisation

9.1 The Triple Heritage of Sport in Tanzania

The central argument of this thesis has been that modern sport has been a composite consequence of educational, social, cultural, economic and political evolution embracing the diverse societies of pre-colonial East Africa, colonial German East Africa, mandated Tanganyika and independent Tanzania. The major interface has been between indigenous custom on the one hand and imported culture on the other.

Indigenous tradition, Islamic custom and Western colonialism have all exerted their influence on the history of sport in Tanzania. This is the triple heritage[1] of the culture of sport in Tanzania. With regard to this triple heritage, it is appropriate in the Epilogue to briefly consider once again in the form of a summary the fundamental issue raised in the Prologue, namely the place of physical activity[2] in the evolving social fabric of Tanzania, past and present. This is set out in Table 9.1 below.

The table depicts an evolutionary progression through three legacies. It encapsulates the cultural transformation of a national community. It is a distinctive African model of continuity and change in which change is superordinate and continuity is subordinate. However, it is more. In a very real sense, it symbolises modern Africa in its complex efforts to be at one with itself – its past, its present and its future. This point will be discussed further in due course but first, a recapitulation on the three legacies.

Table 9.1: Aspects of Sport in Different Periods in the Development of Tanzanian Society

Periods in time / Aspects	Traditional Sport Culture	Sport of the Colonialists	Sport of the Colonised	Sport in Independent Tanzania
Socio-integrative	-Integration -Identification through heroes	-Integration	-Culture of colonised -Interaction -Adaptation	-Interaction -Integration -Adaptation -Identification through successful athletes
Socio-Emotional	-Acceptance (honour, prestige, praise) -Competition	-Status symbol -Competition -Esprit de corps	-Competition -Esprit de corps	-Status symbol -Channelling of aggression -Competition
Economic	-Acquisition of food			-Financial gain – prizes, advertising -Employment
Educational	-Development of physical abilities -Preparation for life -Conveyance of traditional norms and values -Pastime	-Development of physical abilities -Character formation through 'team games' -Leisure	-Development of physical abilities -Cultural specific conveyance of norms and values -Leisure	-Development of physical abilities -Cultural –specific conveyance of norms and values -Leisure
Politico-Military	-Communication between clans -Selection of group leader -Preparation and maintenance of military force	-Enforcement of segregation policy -Race discrimination -Superiority ideology -Readiness for defence-(Army)	-Readiness for defence (K.A.R.)	-'National building' -Image improvement - Readiness for defence (Army)
Cultural	-Continuation of the tradition in connection with rites and ceremonies	-Continuation of the tradition of the monarch's and empire day	-Diffusion -Adaptation	-Restoration of past traditions -Fraiming of public holidays through sports festivals

After: P. Mahlmann, The Role of Modern Sport in the process of Modernisation: The Kenya Case (1992).

9.2 The Traditional Legacy

From time immemorial, the various tribes of the geographical and political entity now called Tanzania were governed prior to the colonial period through their traditional kings, like the coastal people with their *Waklimi*,[3] the Chagga with their *Mangi*, the Masai with their *Laibon* or the Waha with their *Abami*, or through their clan elders. These peoples lived by growing crops or by herding cattle or they did both. They stayed in one place or they wandered with their herds through the terrain of tropical Tanzania outlined in the opening chapter of this study. They hunted. They made war. They had their individual cultures which invariably and without exception included various types of physical activity for both children and adults. These physical activities, which have been variously described by ethnographers[4] as 'play', 'games', 'sports', 'pastimes', 'physical education', 'recreation' and 'dances' and "generally classed together as extensions of human aesthetic and ludic capabilities,"[5] were part of the education and the social life of all young members of the community. They were manifestations of personal development as well as instruments of socialisation. Of course, they were not static. They evolved in response to changing circumstances – particularly imposed or borrowed political systems (colonialism and post-colonialism) and in reaction to the processes of diffusion, assimilation, adoption and adaptation.

Many of the physical activities that the children of pre-colonial East Africa played, like children everywhere, involved simple and spontaneous actions such as running, leaping, hopping, jumping, tumbling, and singing and dancing. Many of these were performed around the fire in the evenings. Most of these physical activities are still practised today, especially in rural areas, and coexist with contemporary physical activities, but incidentally, especially in urban areas, in a secondary role. In general terms, both sets of activities provide personal opportunities to strengthen the body, to improve the mind, to develop the personality and to acquire social competence.[6]

As in other societies across the world, physical activities also had social functions. Games, for example, were linked with warfare, provided socially approved outlets for feelings of rivalry, afforded opportunities for groups and individuals to gain prestige and honour through victory and ensured social intercourse of a friendly and enjoyable nature through which group unity was promoted. Above all,however, physical activities were an effective and socially sanctioned mechanism of locating leaders among different peer groups. As described in Chapter Two, martial activities, such as wrestling, for example, were an effective mechanism of locating leaders among the Chagga boys. Similarly, the young Gogo of Central Tanzania had to 'prove their manliness' through participation in the game of *naga*. In the pre-colonial period, boys competed in wrestling, stick fighting and ball games while girls practised mostly non-competitive rhythmical dances associated with future domestic tasks. These gender differences reflected gender roles.

Children's physical activities in early childhood mimicked life in a playful way. However, in later life, a demand for high performance dominated these activities and incorporated such serious characteristics of adult life as responsibility, rivalry and ambition. For boys, the skills of warfare were perfected through the specific competitive amusements of spear throwing, bow and arrow shooting, stick fighting and combat sports such as wrestling. Physical strength, endurance and agility, which were essential for success in games, were also essential for success in war – boys went from the 'playing fields' to the battlefields.[7] Pre-colonial East African boys engaged in these activities during many of their social gatherings – initiation ceremonies, inter-village contests and gatherings of boys who met while herding their livestock. This was not accidental. It was part and parcel of the search by the communities for security. As young men took on their new role as warriors they felt a strong moral obligation to prove themselves. It is well known that in some tribes in pre-colonial East Africa, and even in colonial Tanganyika, a young man could not marry until he had proved himself successfully in a major hunting or military expedition. A Masai *morani*, (young man), for example, could not be considered for marriage until he had killed a beast.

As far as girls were concerned, as in many societies in Africa, their activities were restricted to those connected with horticulture, foraging and nurturing. Girls usually learnt these activities through rhythmical dance, in contrast to the directly competitive activities required of their male counterparts. Instruction through dancing appears to have had a special place in their education. Dancing, accompanied by songs, provided an attractive medium for expressing the values of society and thus an effective means of passing on those values to the next generation of women. Of course, young women were not expected to prove themselves in comparable heroic performances as those outlined above for young men. However, physically strong, healthy young women, capable of covering long distances carrying supplies of firewood and water, were the most sought after for marriage.

Some of the physical activities such as stick fighting and stone slinging that the young people participated in have now disappeared. In addition activities such as spear throwing and bow and arrow shooting still exist in recreational form in some tribes but have mostly lost their traditional hunting and warfare functions. Modernisation is the major factor responsible for this. Firearms have replaced native spears and bow and arrows. Moreover, modern sport, football especially, has to a great extent replaced traditional recreational physical activities. Today in Tanzania, as in many other countries in Africa, in both urban and rural areas, it is quite common to see boys, as young as five, playing *chandimu*, an adapted form of football. Urbanisation is another factor that arguably has contributed to the disappearance of certain traditional activities, such as the singing and dancing performed by children. In the first instance, urbanisation has brought together various ethnic groups with varying customs. Consequently, except for football, it is difficult to find a common physical activity. Moreover, the metropolitan predicament – close houses, flats and congested streets – does not allow for the organisation of traditional physical activities such as those performed around the fire in the evening. Furthermore, the modern 'glitz' culture, in urban areas, of television[8] games and sports, as elsewhere in the world, has captivated the young population and keeps them indoors.

It could be argued with good reason that the traditional sporting culture of early pre-colonial East African society was "closely tied to daily life, in fact, it stood symbolically for life."[9] The functions of the sporting traditions were inextricably interwoven with those patterns, norms and values that promoted the abilities necessary for living. However, things began to change gradually when the overseas foreigners came and lived among the indigenous people.

9.3 The Islamic Legacy

Chapter Three covered the arrival of the Arabs[10] to eastern Africa in detail. The Arab traders, associated with the Islamisation of eastern Africa, were the first overseas foreigners to come to eastern Africa, at the end of the eighth century,[11] and for hundreds of years they lived among, and mixed with the indigenous people. They made their 'homes' on the coast, in towns such as Kilwa, Mombasa, and Malindi, and on the Island of Zanzibar and introduced the religion of Islam to the people there.[12]

The Islamisation of the coast of pre-colonial East Africa took place in several phases. The earliest phase, which lasted roughly from the tenth to the end of the thirteenth century, was marked by an initial concentration of Islamic culture in a few trading centres.[13] This phase involved a process of internal cultural change that was the result of externally introduced ideas. The next phase, which extended from the beginning of the fourteenth century to the end of the fifteenth century, was characterised by the intensification of the changes that took place rather than their character.[14] During this time Islamisation itself intensified among the coast Africans. It also expanded inland along the trade routes. Trade and overseas contacts were also intensified. The net effect of these changes was the emergence of a new, initially coastal, culture, which was somewhat different from both the indigenous culture and the foreign one from which it sprang.[15] This new culture was also different from the neighbouring African cultures. It

was an Islamised culture imbued with Islamic custom, which slowly influenced the attitudes of the Islamised indigenous people towards physical activity.

The amount of documentary, or other archival material that is available for this period, is limited and offers little evidence to state with any great precision the extent of the effect of Islamic culture on the traditional physical activities. It did, however, have an effect. Islamic culture did inhibit certain aspects of traditional physical activity. For example, it discouraged some indigenous erotic dances associated with traditional rituals asking the gods for fertility. Islamic culture considered such dances unholy. Dance was a significant part of the culture of the indigenous population and thus this influence of Islam may well have been quite extensive. In general terms, though, for many centuries, a situation of 'peaceful co-existence' appears to have characterised relations between the indigenous recreational traditions and Islamic custom.

It was not for quite some time, indeed until the arrival of modem sport, that the long term impact of Islam on pre-colonial East Africa manifested itself. Today, under the Islamic moral code of conduct, a practising Muslim must refrain from wearing sports clothing which are considered 'indecent' and must comply with the *sharia* law and its insistence on punctual prayer times. Furthermore, orthodox Muslims consider modern sport to be a force of Satan. As such, in the eyes of these Muslims, it is deemed un-Islamic for a Muslim to engage in sport. All this clearly militates against participation in sport.

Indeed, by the second half of the twentieth century, restrictions on sports clothing spread beyond Islamic culture and were incorporated into national moral requirements. In the 1970 physical education curriculum for schools, it was written... "it is obligatory that when performing physical exercises, pupils should wear clothes that conform with the *national moral code of attire* (emphasis added). They should avoid indecent exposure."[16] Although the guidelines are vague on the matter, they provide grounds for examining aspects of the 'national educational policy' on sports clothing for pupils. In the eyes of

the makers of educational policy, exposing some parts of the body, especially the leg from the knee upward, was unacceptable. In this connection, at least, it is clear that, although Islamic culture destroyed only certain aspects of traditional physical activity, Islamic culture significantly pervaded and influenced (and still influences) participation in modern sport in many ways. By way of illustration, as mentioned in Chapter Three, only recently, in July 2000, a Muslim football player refused to participate in the National Football League Tournament on the grounds that the league was being used to advertise alcohol.[17] The player believed that participating in the league and wearing a jersey advertising alcohol, was synonymous with accepting alcoholic consumption – something he claimed that was contrary to the Islamic faith, and therefore, unacceptable.

While Islam exerted, and still exerts, its influence on what is now Tanzanian society, the greatest impact on the indigenous sporting culture, however, came with the German colonisation of pre-colonial East Africa in the late 1880s and the British mandate of Tanganyika in 1920. Both these events resulted in the introduction of western sports and games, the Western Legacy of the triple heritage of sport, to Tanzania. Chapter Four examined physical education in Germany in the nineteenth century. Chapters Five and Six, respectively, dealt, in detail, with the emergence of team games and the ideology of Athleticism in the British public schools and the provision of drill and the adoption of Athleticism in British elementary and grammar schools and provided a consideration of the sources of the English legacy in Tanzania.

9.4 The Western Legacy

The earliest Europeans who reached the coast of eastern Africa at the end of the fifteenth century were the fortune seeking Portuguese. Their earliest voyages, in 1482, brought them to what is now modern Ghana where they traded in gold. Later, they sought a direct sea route to India and its rich trade in spices.[18] On their way to India, in the 1500s, the Portuguese landed and eventually established settlements on the coast of eastern

Africa[19] Although they remained on the coast of 'Portuguese East Africa' for two hundred years (1498 – 1698), no evidence has been found to link them to the dissemination of any Western sports.

It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century, that another cluster of Europeans arrived in eastern Africa. These new comers wandered through the country asking to be shown rivers, lakes and mountains and enquiring as to their names. Some were 'explorers'. Others were 'missionaries'. However, strict distinctions cannot be made between exploration work and missionary work as many of the Europeansdid both. For example, the renowned David Livingstone, was both an explorer and a missionary. Johann Krapf and Johann Rebmann who became the first Europeans to see the snow-capped Mount Kilimanjaro in 1849, were also bothexplorers and missionaries.

In their book East Africa: A Century of Change 1870 to 1970, W. F. Ward and L. W. White described these Europeans, especially the missionaries, as people who had confused ideas even though they seemed kind and well meaning.[20] They loathed the slave trade, but would never sell firearms to the Africans in order that they could defend themselves against slave traders. These strangers, Ward and White added, "condemned many African customs almost as much as they condemned the slave trade. Above all, they preached a new religion, which seemed to regard African customs as evil,"[21] including the African custom of dancing. Because these Europeans travelled widely throughout the land, the local people innocently called them *Wazungu*[22] (the wanderers) (singular *Mzungu*[23]): "some [African] people indeed thought that they had no home of their own and were constantly wandering to look for a home."[24] Although the term *Wazungu* was used to describe both the explorers and the missionaries, and indeed all other Europeans thereafter, it best describes the explorers. Notwithstanding titles, individually and collectively, the explorers and the missionaries paved the way for the eventual colonisation, Christian proselytisation, acculturation and the modernisation of Tanzania.

However, there was another potent source of alien influence – European nations' ambitions for empires. As already discussed, in the European 'Scramble for Africa', in 1885, Germany colonised pre-colonial East Africa and named the area German East Africa. By the time of the colonisation of pre-colonial East Africa, physical education had become an instrument of patriotic nationalism in Germany.[25] Essentially, it embraced an assertion of superiority of everything German over everything foreign. By way of example, when training in the *Turnhalle* (indoor gymnasium), the *Turners*, influenced by Frederich Jahn,[26] were prohibited from wearing non-German clothes, and after training they ate only German food. This was intended to prepare young Germans, both physically and psychologically, for the task of unifying the homeland and ensuring its survival.[27] By 1885, gymnastics had long followedthe politics of the nation. Initially, the Napoleonic wars were a strong stimulus to the development of gymnastics in Germany. By the end of the nineteenth century, gymnastics was based on the broader foundation created earlier in the century by the patriotism of Johann Ludwig Jahn,[28] the pedagogics of Adolph Spiess[29] and the therapeutical, military and aesthetic Swedish Ling system of gymnastics, advocated by Hugo Rothstein.[30] Finally, it came to combine the political, educational and militaristic elements of the country. These elements were to characterise physical education in schools in German East Africa.

In the early 1890s, German missionaries introduced German formal education into German East Africa. They established schools, through which German cultural values, embedded in the German system of physical education, infiltrated the indigenous cultures by way of gymnastics, marching drill and parades. This was the beginning of the introduction of modern sport. Initially, the spectacular marching parades performed in the earliest formal schools in the country, such as Tanga Central School, were designed to entice the children to join the schools. Once the children had joined, the marching drill, the parades and the gymnastics collectively became a powerful instrument of imperial cultural indoctrination, an effective medium for training obedient low-ranking civil servants and an equally effective means of developing, at an early age, physical and psychological qualities suitable for future service in the military. As

discussed in Chapter Four, government schools, such as Tanga Central School and Mpwapwa Central School, trained clerks, *jumbes* and messengers, but more importantly perhaps, these schools were centres for the preparation of young Africans for service in the imperial forces. Eventually these youths comprised a not insignificant number. The exact number of Africans who fought and died on the German side in the African struggles of the Great War is hard to establish. The reason for this is that the Gemans either destroyed or took with them most of their documents at the end of the war. However, J. Iliffe estimates that at the outbreak of the war, Germany had over 2,542 *askaries* (African soldiers) in the Defence Force.[31]

Oral evidence strongly supports the contention that German gymnastics, drill and marching parades became basic elements in the physical education curriculum of schools in German East Africa, and, indeed, appropriately modified in later British Tanganyika and independent Tanzania. In particular, gymnastics became the core activity of the physical education curriculum of primary and secondary schools, as well as teacher training colleges.

Following the defeat of Germany in World War I and the subsequent loss of her colonies, Imperial Britain, under the auspices of the League of Nations, took over the administration of the defunct German East Africa, and renamed it Tanganyika. Among other things, in the 1920s and 1930s, the British introduced modern team games to Tanganyika.

During the late nineteenth century, of course, the British public schools developed a unique system of physical education. It took the form of mainly team games and athletic sports. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, these activities occupied a place of honour, and absorbed much time and energy, in these schools. They developed into an influential British public school ideology widely known as 'Athleticism'.[32] At the beginning of the twentieth century, in tandem with drill, 'adapted Athleticism' emerged as "characteristic of at least some British elementary schools in the late

Victorian and Edwardian period,"[33] and an increasingly common phenomenon in grammar schools.[34]

Athleticism had as one purpose, the inculcation of 'manliness'.[35] The perception of manliness changed as the nineteenth century wore on. "As interpreted by the early Victorians it represented the virtues of seriousness, self-denial and rectitude: as understood by the late Victorians, it denoted robustness, perseverance and stoicism."[36] By the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, Athleticism had come close to the heart of the British imperial culture.[37] It formed a distinct and significant cluster of cultural traits, possessed a coherent structure and definite purpose in empire and had many cultural functions, including that of 'civilising' the natives of colonial, and mandated territories like Tanganyika.

Chapter Seven reviewed the spread of Athleticism in adapted form in Tanganyika. In the guise of educator, in the 1920s and the 1930s, the British middle class educationalists and missionaries from public schools and ancient universities successfully introduced elementary school drill and the prominent features of Athleticism – house systems, team games and the accompanying inter-house sports competitions – into schools in Tanganyika. At about the same time, colonial administrators, in a personal attempt to alleviate the tedium of harsh working conditions, serendipitously brought to the notice of the indigenous people, the game of tennis. The imperial armed forces, for their part, were also instrumental in promoting the wider aspects of modern sport, especially football, not only among soldiers, but also among the civil population.

Collectively and cumulatively, overtime the agents of Western culture effected dramatic change. Colonial educationalists, both German and British and missionary and government, were influential in bringing about major transformations in the general sporting practices of the indigenous people primarily through the medium of education. Hand in hand with the introduction of formal education went the introduction of modern sport – Western exercises, sports and games. These activities were influences that

appeared to be just as important to the educator as class-room instruction. Physical training, of course, invariably included drill. It consisted of exercises in the form of marches and group gymnastics, all performed on command and with uniformity, and thus it was intended to be a powerful instrument of instilling discipline, order and the 'instinct' of obedience.

Team games were considered especially instrumental in inculcating moral virtues. The formation of the new patterns of disciplined co-operation and a 'new perception' of manliness, characterised by the playing of team games, greatly reduced and largely replaced the traditional exploits designed to inculcate traditional manliness. Historically, as mentioned earlier, the Africans had educated their young men by teaching them, among other things, the skills of spear throwing and bow and arrow shooting as essential skills for hunting food and for warfare. The new team games and sports in schools disrupted social pastimes typical of the traditional, such as clans and tribes, and became a new form of social pastimes. Furthermore, the organisation of sports clubs and district and regional teams for various games and sports was certainly instrumental in shaping new allegiances, a new order and a new unity in the social fabric of the indigenous Tanzanians. Football, now unquestionably the most popular game in the world, became the game that anyone could play anywhere in the country. In time, it became a national bond – a form of patriotic cohesion.

Missionary educationalists sought not merely to replace, but also to suppress the African way of life insofar as the latter did not conform to Christian values, and to impart their own form of 'civilisation'. Suppression as well as replacement was to have a marked impact on the indigenous sporting culture. Generally speaking, as already mentioned, the missionaries opposed certain aspects of traditional physical activities, such as those dances performed in initiation ceremonies and various rituals. They argued that to a great extent such dances largely simulated the sexual act.[38] However, there were some attempts made by moderate missionary educationalists, such as the Rev. A. Dick at the Alliance School, to encourage modified, purged or purified traditional dances as part of

physical education. In general terms, though, the overall assault by missionaries on important traditional social institutions and their accompanying rituals and symbols certainly led to considerable changes in the culture of traditional physical activity.

9.5 Consequences and Implications

When the different cultures clashed, mostly traditional physical activities were destroyed, modified or westernised. Only occasionally did they survive in the form of traditional dance.[39] Although the traditional Tanzanian customs and beliefs were substantially transformed and eroded with the influx of Western cultural forms, it would be naïve to overlook the adaptive powers of the indigenous Tanzanians and their ability to bend imperial culture to their values and purposes.[40] The colonialists imposed a new sport culture on the colonised Tanzanians which they eventually accepted but not without 'chipping in' their own beliefs and practices, for example, the use of *juju* (magic) to 'ensure' victory in football matches.[41] Furthermore, certain aspects of football and its characteristics – popularity, *esprit de corps* and status – were integrated into the social fabric of Tanzania's society in such a way that football came to command respect as a national game and was used for, among other things, patriotic socialisation, nation building and image improvement. Thus modern sport was certainly adopted and adapted to the needs of the Tanzanian.

Ultimately, in independent Tanzania, as in many other developing countries in Africa, adapted modern sport became mostly an instrument of modernisation. However, in fact, Tanzania attempted a synthesis. It is useful once again in this context to reflect on sport firstly as a basic component of national education and secondly as an integral element of national development, national identity and national unity by means of a fusion of 'new' and 'old'.

Nowhere are these dimensions of sport more apparent than in the late 1960s policy of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR). In March, 1967, as discussed in Chapter Eight, the government announced the new aims of physical education and sport in schools and stated the overall objectives as:[42]

1. To enable pupils to achieve physical fitness and smartness.
2. To build a spirit of self-reliance and confidence among the pupils.
3. To train the pupils in the Philosophy of Socialism and Self-Reliance, by playing and dancing together and making improvised physical education equipment together.
4. To help the pupils achieve high standards of technique and skill in different sports and games.
5. To train the pupils to become good athletes and sportsmen and sportswomen who could represent Tanzania in international competitions.
6. To promote and maintain traditional culture.

Collectively, the objectives represented the government's major educational goals of physical education and sport in schools – the harmonious development of the physical and mental abilities of the pupils. Individually, each objective reflected the overall politico-ideological ambition of the country contained in the major political reforms of 1967 – the creation of a healthy self-reliant socialist Tanzanian. The chosen medium for the fostering of these objectives in the first three years of primary schooling was gymnastics and a variety of elementary exercises performed with and without apparatus. In their fourth year, among other activities, the children were introduced to what was described in the syllabus as "the fundamentals of the big games that are played all over the world."[43] Football and athletics were particularly emphasised. The process of perfecting the necessary skills for playing the different games to a high level began at this stage and continued into secondary school. It was at this level also that there was the greatest intensity of political purpose in an attempt at the systematic creation of socialist Tanzanians.

The secondary school physical education syllabus adopted in 1971 comprised five major groups of physical activities: "all major team games, athletics, gymnastics, traditional games and dance, and military drill."[44] As recommended in the syllabus,[45] more time was spent on the major games and sports, notably football, netball (exclusively for girls) and athletics. Tanzania consciously and deliberately had become one with a global sports culture. This state of affairs was heralded by the earlier events.

At the outset of the policy of ESR, in an apparent attempt to determine the place and contribution of physical education and sport in the process of modernisation of the country, the Ministry of Education called a meeting of all physical education teachers. Subsequently, these teachers met annually to discuss various ways of improving the teaching of physical education and sport in schools. At their second meeting, held in 1968, the teachers resolved that the best way to ensure the adequate provision of physical education and sport in schools was through games and athletics.[46] These teachers also proposed that national schools' championships in games and athletics should be held annually. As a result, the first National Secondary Schools Games were held in 1969, followed by those of the teacher training colleges in 1971 and those of primary schools in 1974.

To improve school facilities nationally the policy was now to rotate the championships around the country. There were lucrative spin-offs to be gained by the school that hosted the championships. Every year, the Ministry of Education made funds available to whichever school was the national centre for that year. The money was used to purchase facilities and equipment or to construct new playing fields where necessary. The facilities remained the property of the host school after the games. This was viewed as one way of spreading facilities among schools. The practice of rotation still operates today. Many schools have benefited from this arrangement. The championships also acted as training workshops for physical education teachers of all levels. They learnt at first-hand about the organisation of large sports events. In addition, various seminars

were organised immediately prior to each championship where the theory and practice of physical education and sport were taught. The introduction of these championships was not only a significant impetus to the growth of sport in schools but also 'a spring board' for advanced sports performances – clearly a desirable component of modernisation. National status is in part the handmaiden of national success in sport.

The connection between the adoption of modern sport in schools and the processes of modernisation and globalisation is explicit in the policy statement. Some of the objectives of the physical education syllabus demonstrate this relationship, in particular objective five – "to train the pupils to become good athletes and sportsmen and sportswomen who could represent Tanzania in international competitions," thus improving the image of the country abroad.[47] However nostalgically powerful traditional dance might be, it cut little ice on the international scene. Modern sport was the key to open the door to global esteem. Subsequently, there was a remarkable government sponsored improvement in the performances by Tanzanian sportsmen and sportswomen at international level throughout the 1970s and the early 1980s. Most of the national sports teams were comprised of athletes from secondary schools[48] and colleges revealing the importance of education in the pursuit of a global image. It was during this time that a Tanzanian athlete, Filbert Bayi,[49] set a world record in the 1500 metres, and that Tanzania won her first Commonwealth gold[50] medal and two Olympic silver medals.[51] Tanzania took great pride in these performances. A good performance by an athlete on the international scene was considered indicative of his/her country's relative level of modernisation and global recognition and acknowledgement. Sport was *the* passport for underdeveloped nations for entry to the global community.

This being the case, the seriousness attached to modern sport in the overall national developmental plan and national identity was unsurprisingly underscored in TANU's 16th conference of 1973, where it was resolved that sport should be afforded the same status as any other developmental project. The implementation of this resolution coincided with, and was clearly reflected in, the country's Third Five-Year Development

Plan (1975-1979). This implementation manifested itself in various forms. In the first instance, the government consolidated the structural organisation of sports administration units from village level to national level. Administratively, Tanzanian society was to be organised so as to embrace modern sport activities from grassroots level by the Village Sports Councils to the national level by the National Sports Council. The main intention was to engender in the whole of Tanzanian society the habit of engaging in modern sport. The accruing benefit of participating in sport was perceived as 'living a long, happy and healthy life'. By extension, a healthy society would be highly productive, able to defend the socialist homeland and confident in its successful visibility through sport in Africa and beyond.

International visibility through sport was high on the Party agenda. The Party was of the view that, by promoting the Village Sports Councils, potentially talented sportsmen and sportswomen, who might represent the country in international competitions later, could be found anywhere in the country. It was understood that the success of a Tanzanian athlete in the international arena was a powerful demonstration of national success. The athlete would display his or her 'national colours' to the world – flag, emblem and anthem. While much modernity in the technologies of industry, commerce and warfare was beyond the power of the Party to deliver, a global successful athlete was not. Such an 'exhibition' represented the kind of success that was within the reach of Tanzanians. As one writer has put it, "sport like athletics was 'labour intensive' rather than 'capital intensive'" and was thus available to most underprivileged Tanzanian young men and women.

As dealt with in Chapter Eight, Tanzania achieved international successes through distinguished athletes such as Filbert Bayi, Suleiman Nyambui, Juma Ikangaa and Gidamis Shahanga. These became unofficial ambassadors for Tanzania in international competitions where they received global exposure and prestige. A Tanzanian Director of Sport once referred to Filbert Bayi as "a roving ambassador, showing the strength and determination of our people."[52] The Director further noted that "what cultural

ambassadors and African representatives to the United Nations attempted, athletes achieved with apparent ease: they projected an image of strength and success rather than one of poverty and instability."[53] Encouraged by these achievements, in the 1970s Tanzania embarked upon an ambitious national programme to promote sport throughout its society.

Following TANU's guidelines of 1973, in an unprecedented development, there was a mass re-organisation of institutional sports clubs during the Third Five-Year Development Plan. The armed forces played a leading role in this 'movement'. The military offered athletes an opportunity to become almost full-time career athletes. There was a seemingly 'conspiracy' on the part of the government to weaken the popular 'public' sports clubs such as *Yanga* and *Simba* in favour of the then newly formed military ones like *Ngome* (Defence), *Jeshi* Stars (Army), and Prisons.[54] This was done by ordering the transfer of the best players from these 'civilian' clubs to the military ones. Furthermore, some distinguished sports administrators and coaches were transferred from the Ministry of Sport to the Ministry of Defence in order to strengthen the military teams.[55] Such a move was a calculated one and had much to do with the crisis of the 1970s discussed earlier in Chapter Eight. It was one way of exerting government control over sport in an attempt to integrate it into the country's developmental plan in the name of national development, national identity and national success – at least in sports arenas. After all, the military provided conditions – time and resources – conducive to the development of excellence. Strengthening military teams was an attempt to achieve this. Indeed, Tanzania, like many former socialist-oriented countries in Africa at that time, Ethiopia in particular,[56] was influenced in this regard by the former Soviet Union and East European communist countries and their socialist sports systems.[57] In the Soviet Union, for example, military teams such as the well-known Dynamos dominated the nation's 'professional' sport.

Other government institutions that suddenly embarked upon the formation of sports clubs for the same reason were the regional and district administrative offices. In

accordance with the country's policy of decentralisation adopted in 1972, the implementation of the nation's development plans at regional and district levels was vested in the Regional Development Directors (RDDs) and the District Development Directors (DDDs). The country's Third Five-Year Development Plan was chancterised by the mass creation of sports clubs, popularly known as *Kurugenzis*.[58] Within a short time, almost every district and regional administrative office around the country had formed a *Kurugenzi* team. The aim of the *Kurugenzi* sports clubs was to popularise modern sport among its members. Initially, all the players of a Kurugenzi team had to be employees of the respective administrative office.

The appearance of *Kurugenzi* teams was undoubtedly a manifestation of the effort made by the various regional and district development agencies to promote national development and a distinctive national identity. For about a decade, *Kurugenzi* teams, especially netball teams, flourished all over the country. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the *Kurugenzis* became an instrument of local political propaganda. They were means by which regional politicians and development directors 'demonstrated' their efficiency in implementing the state policy of promoting national sport. The strength of the *Kurugenzi* team reflected this efficiency. The *Kurugenzis* came to represent local success, local prestige *and* the political shrewdness of local leaders since they were seen as a measure of the competence of a region's or district's development 'team'. So much so, that as sporting competitions among the *Kurugenzis* intensified, shrewd political leaders encouraged their sports clubs to start recruiting players from elsewhere – hardly the purpose for which they were created.

The life of the *Kurugenzis* was short lived. By the mid 1980s, after flourishing for less than a decade, the *Kurugenzis* began to disappear. By the end of the 1980s, most had ceased to exist. By the early 1990s one commentator announced "all *Kurugenzis* are now dead."[59] Why was the life of the *Kurugenzis* so short? The formation of the *Kurugenzi* teams was politically instigated, politically motivated and financially impractical.[60] They were formed in response to the 'sports crisis' of the 1970s, discussed earlier in Chapter

Eight, and more to the point perhaps, as a political response to the Party's resolution of 1973. This was a way of bringing sport in the regions under the control of the government and integrating it into the overall socialist development plan of the country. The *Kurugenzis* were a political gesture – but a hopelessly inadequate one. The totally insufficient resources (see appendix 18) provided by the government for sports development could not even support *existing* sports activities, let alone finance these ambitious, entirely new endeavours. A former administrator of a *Kurugenzi* team has stated, "as an organiser of a *Kurugenzi* team you did not have to worry how much money you had in your budget. You simply listed all that you required for the team for training and competition, took the list to the 'boss' (RDD's or DDD's Office) and the money was provided in the *short* term.[61]" Here is to be found the major reason for the sudden rise and subsequent fall of the *Kurugenzis*. Obviously, *ad hoc* state finances could not fund a project of this scale on a long-term basis and so, in the absence of an adequate central government budget, the project was doomed to failure. The collapse of the *Kurugenzis* was yet another indication of the impracticability of the Tanzanian policy of socialist development.

9.6 Nationalism, Modernisation and Globalisation

In summary, modern Tanzanian sport has been subjected to both socialist and post-socialist systems. In its contemporary form it is also an outcome of three legacies. It also reflects recent trends – that in time, will constitute further legacies associated with its evolution – nationalism, modernisation and globalisation. Prior to this, of course, as one response to colonialism, nationalist political leaders used sports clubs and dancing groups meetings as forums to discuss liberation strategies. The Young Africans and the *Wananchi* Sports Clubs' meetings of the mid-1950s are good examples of this. In 1961, Tanganyika achieved political independence, but to an extent it could be argued imperialism remained in the form of Western games and sports. Of course, it could be argued with equal, if not greater validity, that these games and sports had 'gone global'

and no longer symbolised any specific geographical area and certainly no longer represented any past global political connotations of any great significance. Furthermore, it has become glaringly apparent that former colonies have taken the games of the colonialist to new heights and made them clear manifestations of their own identities. If in the past England, in particular, taught the world to play in the modern idiom, then it is abundantly obvious that England in the present has been taught how to play, particularly in the chosen medium she valued so hugely in the past, namely cricket.

Nevertheless, independence brought a fresh evaluation of indigenous games and pastimes and an understandable desire to revisit the past and bring it forward into the present. If change is an integral part of history, no less so is continuity. Thus, in the 1970s, in response to past cultural imperialism and with a desire to merge past and present to ensure a distinctive identity, Tanzania embarked, through the Traditional Games Association, *CHAMIJATA,* upon the restoration of those traditional physical activities considered to be characteristic and representative of the nation's traditional culture. Sadly, as outlined in Chapter Eight, for economic as well as cultural, technical and practical reasons these attempts at restoration failed miserably. In a sense they celebrated a mythical Golden Age. The reality prior to colonisation was cultural heterogeneity not uniformity.

Concomitant with cultural restoration, as mentioned on several occasions earlier, Tanzania adopted and adapted modern sport for, among other things, educational purposes. Modern sport is now the major component of the physical education curriculum in schools at all levels in Tanzania. It is also the main extra-curricular activity of these institutions.

In addition, as discussed in the concluding chapter of this study, Tanzania has used modern sport to implement both domestic and foreign policies. Disappointingly, very little has been achieved on the domestic front. Control, as a means of policy implementation, has never been positively exerted on any sport, its organisations, its

players or spectators. The government has attempted, unsuccessfully, to exert its control through managerial and organisational approaches. Similarly, the goals promoted by the socialist TANU government, facilitating national integration and the shaping of communal behaviour have not been achieved through participation in sport. In fact, sports competitions have often led to conflicts among fans and players. This was clearly seen in the 1970s and early 1980s in the intensity of factional support for either *Yanga* or *Simba* football clubs. The rivalry between these two football giants almost divided the population.

On a larger stage, to her credit, by applying the policy of 'withdrawal' rather than 'participation', Tanzania played a leading role in the late 1960s and 1970s in preventing the former repressive white-minority regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia from participating in the Olympic Games. However, the efforts by Tanzania to promote pan-Africanism through sport, in particular football, have not been successful, primarily because competitions between some African countries inevitably ended up in disarray. Indeed, matches often have led to animosity between countries which, at the time, had reasonably cordial political relationships. For example, in October 1968, a Kenyan team was stoned at a match in Dar es Salaam and refused to finish the game or to play again next day. When this team sought, on its way back home, to play a team in Tanga, the police virtually 'arrested' its members and escorted them out of the country.[62]

It may well appear inconceivable that attempts to construct sports systems and structures in order to foster nationalism were not linked to the economic capability of the country. It may well appear incongruous that attempts to incorporate adopted modern sport into a programme of modernisation and the promotion of national identity and image were not harmonised with adequate resources. Happily, however, lessons have been learnt. Recent developments may be considered as hopeful if small signs of a change in approach and may be viewed as positive steps in the development of Tanzanian sport.

One positive step was the establishment in 1993, of the Department of Physical Education and Sport, (PESC), at the University of Dar es Salaam. PESC prepares physical education teachers who, on completion, are sent to secondary schools and colleges around the country. These teachers will be of vital importance in laying the proper foundations for the development of sport nation-wide through the teaching of physical education and sport in schools. However, as already recorded, progress may well be gradual. Due to lack of facilities, inadequate numbers of qualified physical education teachers and sometimes simply negligence, physical education and sport had not been taught in schools for quite some time.[63] In 1995, when launching the new sports policy, the then Minister of Education and Culture admitted that the subject had not been taught in schools for *many* years.

There is clearly much to do. Among the objectives of PESC is the promotion of both modern sport *and* traditional physical activities. The Department has a strong research programme into traditional activities. Furthermore, its lecturers teach these activities to student primary teachers in the teacher training colleges. Due to the foresight of PESC, the country may still be able to revive some of these historic activities and include them in the national physical education curriculum.

Another positive step was the adoption, in 1995, of a new national sports policy. Encouragingly, this new policy, unlike recent previous policies on sport, includes constructive long-term development strategies. Among other things, the policy concentrates on the reintroduction of the teaching of physical education and sport in schools, which, as mentioned earlier, had been neglected for sometime.

The policy also encourages *both* amateurism and professionalism in sport. Mass sports participation, promoted by widespread school opportunities, as opposed to the limited promotion of 'government' clubs will allow for individual pursuit of excellence, hopefully resulting in eventual national representation, consequent national prestige and

national image improvement and a fit nation. However, a policy is one thing; its implementation is another. How successful this new policy will be remains to be seen.

In the past, the greatest challenge for Tanzania, like many other developing countries, has been to try to 'compete' significantly in competitions in the global arena, despite the fact that the country has been enmeshed in a 'vicious circle of poverty'. Tanzania did have some successes in athletics in the 1970s and 1980s but there has been very little success in any sport since then. If the economic situation of the country does not improve dramatically in the next decade or so, it seems that Tanzania is likely to lag behind in sports performance for quite some time. The economic backwardness of the country, with GNP standing at $210 (two hundred and ten)*per capita* and the fact that approximately fifty one percent[64] of the population live below the poverty line, will be the main hindrance to any significant performance at international level in the near future. Tanzania's economic constraints prevent the country from improving existing sports facilities, constructing new modern ones, supporting short and long term training programmes and from accessing modern technology in sports training - all essential ingredients for the attainment of meaningful sports performances. Furthermore, heretofore, the state has been the sole sponsor, promoter and financier of sport and sportsmen and sportswomen in Tanzania. Thus, economic underdevelopment has meant limited investment in sport even when there was a political will to improve the situation. For example, in the past there were attempts to elevate sport to the status of all other development endeavours, but these efforts were not backed by significant investment. Also, it must be borne in mind that there is no established private enterprise in Tanzania willing to invest in sport. In other countries, private investment and the commercialisation of sport, with its lucrative features of sponsorship, winning bonuses and transfer fees, motivates individuals to take up and succeed in sports 'careers'. Unfortunately, these opportunities are not yet available in Tanzania.

On the positive side, the market-oriented economic reforms introduced in Tanzania in the 1990s, allowing, for among other things, 'labour mobility in sport', will give talented

Tanzanian athletes the freedom,[65] like many other athletes from the developing world before them, to seek sponsorship in places such as the United States of America or Europe. Many American colleges offer scholarship schemes in most sports, though athletics scholarships would probably be the most attractive to young Tanzanians at present. European sports clubs, especially football clubs, are increasingly recruiting players from Africa. In addition, the oil-rich Gulf States, who are noticeably taking more interest in sports, in particular football, are contracting players from African countries, including Tanzania[66]. Such opportunities will not only give Tanzanian athletes international exposure and experience but also good financial rewards - all necessary elements for improvement. This in turn will encourage other young athletes to persist in their training, and possibly earn themselves a place in the world of global sport.

In his book, Global Sport: Identities, Societies, Civilisation, Joseph Maguire defines globalisation in general terms as "a process of mutual interaction among different power networks over a long period of time."[67] At the opening of the twenty first century the globalisation of sport has become a reality. What of Tanzania's integration into the world of global sport? Of course, Tanzania has been involved, in one way or another, in the world evolution of global sport for quite some time, both as recipient and contributor. The nation made its debut as an independent country at the 1964 Olympic Games. She is a member of many world sports governing bodies such as the International Olympic Committee (IOC), Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) and the International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF). This direct involvement with such international bodies guarantees Tanzania's participation in the various Games organised by these sports bodies. Her presence in the world of global sport is thus ensured.

Globalisation, for some, refers to the process whereby the world becomes a single place.[68] It certainly involves the development of a global culture. However, R. Robertson states "this culture is not a homogenous, binding whole, but refers to a general mode of discourse about the world as a whole and its variety ... [and] it is not a

single causal process."[69] This is a sensible caveat. With it in mind here, the intention is to highlight the key features of globalisation that link localities in such way that local happenings are shaped by external events and vice versa since globalisation involves some form of interdependence between local and wider elements.

As the third millennium progresses, it will be impossible and unpractical for Tanzania to ignore the influence of global sport on the lives of her citizens. A new phenomenon in Tanzania is the international exposure to global sport through the medium of television. Until the early 1990s, there were no television stations on the Tanzanian mainland. Today, many Tanzanians, especially those living in urban areas, have access to at least five national or private television stations. Now, vast numbers of Tanzanians, like the rest of the world population, can watch media coverage of international sporting events like the Football World Cup, the Olympic Games, the Commonwealth Games and the All Africa Games. Thus, potential future Tanzanian athletes can see for themselves the glamour and rewards that go hand-in hand with international success. This must surely spur them on in their own training and stimulate them to try to do well.

In addition, the expanding nature of commercialisation in global sport may motivate talented Tanzanian sportsmen and sportswomen to try and 'sell' their skills on the sports world market. As mentioned earlier, there are lucrative benefits – winning prizes, bonuses, transfer fees and advertising earnings - to be gained by successful sportsmen and sportswomen world-wide. These financial benefits should entice Tanzanian athletes to compete in world competitions, and hopefully with their natural talent in sports such as athletics, they will be successful in those competitions.

Global sport is, however, a dynamic and evolving process. Athletic standards are increasingly improving, of course sometimes with the aid of 'undetected' performance enhancing drugs, certainly with the aid of expensive technology, making training for and competing in international competitions even tougher. As such, it would be naïve to expect, even if the economic situation were to improve considerably, that Tanzanian

athletes will improve dramatically in the immediate future. However, the recent positive steps, outlined earlier, of the state reappraisal of sports development programmes; the revival of the teaching of physical education in schools and the encouragement of both amateurism and professionalism auger reasonably well for the future. The recent developments as discussed above, of market-oriented economic reforms, the commercialisation of sport and the increasing exposure of Tanzanians to global sport also hold promise for the future. The combination of these recent positive steps and developments, coupled with the natural talent of young Tanzanian sportsmen and sportswomen, could well create at least some favourable conditions for the production of world class athletes in the not too distant future.

There has been negative comment on the migration of African athletic talent to the more prosperous cultures and nations of the globe. There is justification for this. There are clearly dangers in the export of this talent.[70] However, it must be equally asserted that talent thrives in conditions where talent is adequately challenged and is stimulated to improve and considerable rewards can be earned in the rich areas of the world which can be brought back home. In addition, success on a world stage inspires the generations to come, gives them confidence and raises national morale. Thus migration has its advantages. And the talented do return and with their return bring their financial rewards, their inspiration and their skills back to their people to the advantage of their people. This should not be overlooked. Two outstanding examples illustrate the point with force and clarity.

After outstanding and successful amateur performances in two consecutive Olympics (1968 and 1972) and in other international competitions like the Commonwealth Games and the All Africa Games, the world famous middle distance runner, Kipchoge Keino of Kenya, turned professional in the mid 1970s and went to the United States of America. However, after a few years as a professional Keino returned to Kenya and invested his financial rewards there for the benefit, or at least some, of his people. Today Keino runs

a home for orphans in the Rift Valley Province and is his country's advisor on sports development identifying and developing young talents.

The former world record holder in middle distance running, Filbert Bayi of Tanzania, lived, trained and competed in the United States of America and in Europe in the late 1970s and early 1980s. After several years of athletic success abroad, Bayi returned home and invested his money in his country. Today Bayi owns a school, Filbert Bayi International School, which provides education for Tanzanian children. And the Filbert Bayi International School does more than simply provide general education. It concerns itself with encouraging children with sports talents. In one of his research trips to Tanzania, the author visited the school and gained valuable information about future plans for the development of such talented athletes. Incidentally, Filbert Bayi and the author were team-mates in the All Africa Games, Commonwealth Games and Olympic Games in the 1970s and were able to exchange mutually helpful ideas about the encouragement of talented Tanzanian athletes at the school and university.

It is difficulty to quantify precisely Keino's and Bayi's financial rewards from their sports career abroad and the subsequent investment into their respective businesses. What is clear, however, is that they are outstanding examples of athletes who migrated *and* returned home and invested their assets in their respective countries. And more than this, they have proved inspirational to the young and they have transferred their skills to the young. They have given themselves back to their nations. These men are not the exceptions. There are others.[71] And as more and more competitive opportunities are becoming available in Tanzania in the wake of the rejection of a former rigid socialist philosophy, more and more athletes will undoubtedly make careers beyond their homeland and eventually return home with financial rewards. And this will be one way of integrating Tanzania into the global world of sport.

In conclusion, modern sport in Tanzania has seen diffusion, adoption and adaptation. It has been subjected to both colonial and national types of systems. Under colonialism,

sport was a powerful element of colonial educational ideology and an instrument of cultural imperialism. Later, after independence, nationalistic sentiments resulted once again in government intervention and attempted control over sport - modern and traditional - for, among other things, reasons of socialist idealism and cultural reconstruction. However, the 'uncontrollable' nature of sport hasrendered it difficult for the government to exercise absolute control.

For Tanzania, the complete, and even considerable, restoration of her traditional physical activities is unlikely. At the same time, the modernisation of the country by the adoption *in toto* of a modern sports system is highly ambitious, as Tanzania, in many respects, is one of the poorest countries in the world. However, with increased international exposure and financial assistance, through sponsorship and individual scholarships, and improved conditions at home, the sports situation in Tanzania should improve. Both the approaches outlined above have their value and the revival of some traditional physical activities coupled with the general adoption of modern sport, seems to be a reasonable possibility. If Tanzania is to utilise sport as an important ingredient in her culture, such a culture will offer the country both a place in the 'global village' generally considered valuable to a modern nation's status and success and a link with the indigenous past considered valuable to a modern nation's need for a history and an identity.

Notes

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1. For a discussion on the triple heritage concept see A. Mazrui, The Africans: A Triple Heritage, BBC Publications, 1986, passim.

2. In the Prologue I adopted sport as a generic term embracing physical activities within education and culture of Tanzania society. Within education it was to embrace formal

physical education activities – games, sports and dance – intended to ensure physical, mental and health development. As a cultural artifact it was to cover games, sports and dance in society depicting the cultural processes of diffusion, assimilation, rejection and adaptation. Here I adopt physical activity as a generic term embracing all activities – games, sports and dance – which traditional Tanzanian society engaged in the pre-colonial period, *and* spontaneous games that the very young population of the pre-colonial Tanzania society engaged in to develop their body, mind and personality.

3. D. Killingray, A Prague of Europeans: Westerners in Africa since the Fifteenth Century, Penguin Education, Harmondsworth, 1973, p. 24.
4. See J. Blacking, 'Games in Pre-Colonial African Societies', in W. J. Baker and J. A. Mangan (eds.), Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History, Africana Publishing Company, New York, 1987, p. 3.
5. Ibid., p. 3.
6. M. D. Sheridan, Spontaneous Play in Early Childhood: From Birth to Six Years, Routledge, London, 1996, p. 14.
7. I am grateful to Professor J. A. Mangan for this expression.
8. In Tanzania, before the adoption of the political, economic and social reforms of the 1980s and early 1990s – Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP), Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) and Economic and Social Action Programme (ESAP) – television was considered a luxury and was discouraged. As a consequence a few people had access to it. Today, many especially urban households, possess at least a television set.
9. P. Mahlmann, 'The Role of Sport in the Process of Modernisation: The Kenyan Case', Journal of Eastern African Research and Development, 1992, Vol. 22, p. 124.
10. As already mentioned, the term Arabs is used to collectively describe the people who came to the eastern African coast from the Arabian Peninsular and the Persian Gulf from the eighth century and have lived among the indigenous there ever since. See for example, N. Chittick, 'The Shirazi Colonisation of East Africa', Journal of African History, Vol. 3, 275-294.

11. See H. N. Chittick, 'The Colonisation of East Africa', Journal of African History, Vol. 3, 1965, 275-294; R. Oliver and J. D. Fage, A Short History of Africa, Penguin Books, Chapter, 8.

12. D. Killingray, A Plague of Europeans: Westerners in Africa since the Fifteenth Century, Harmondsworth, 1973, p. 24.

13. R. Pouwels, 'The Medieval Foundations of East African Coast', The International Journal of African Historical Studies, 1978, Vol. 11, p. 206.

14. Ibid., p. 207.

15. Ibid., p. 206.

16. Ministry of Education Muhtasari ya Mafundisho ya Elimu kwa Michezo Shule za Msingi,Prntpak, Dar es Salaam, 1969, p. 1.

17. Tanzania Breweries Limited (TBL) was sponsored the National Football League. As it is usual with sports sponsorships, most items including the players' gear, bore the logo of sponsor during the tournament. See, *Burudani*, July 23, 2000.

18. A. E. Afigbo, *et al*, The Making of Modern Africa: The Nineteenth Century, Vol. 1, New York, 1986, p. 28.

19. See, for example, F. J. Berg, 'The Coast from Portuguese Invasion', in B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of

20. W. E. F. Ward and L W. White, East Africa: A Century of Change 1870 - 1970, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London 1971, p. 3.

21. Ibid., p. 3.

22. Ibid., p. 3.

23. The Swahili word for a wanderer is *mzungukaji*. It is most probable that *mzungu* is a shortened form of *mzungukaji*. The Swahili Dictionary Kamusi ya Maana na Matumizi, however, defines *Mzungu* by his nationality and race. It defines a *Mzungu* as a European, a white man.

24. W. E. F. Ward and L W. White, East Africa: A Century of Change 1870 - 1970, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London 1971, p. 1.

25. P. McIntosh, *et al*, Landmarks in the History of Physical Education, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1981, p. 4. See also J. G. Dixon, 'Prussia, Politics and Physical Education, in P. McIntosh, *et al*, Landmarks in the History of Physical Education, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, p.119.

26. R. N. Singer, Physical Education: Foundations, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1976, p. 68.

27. Ibid., p.68.

28 .Ibid., pp. 112-155.

29.. Ibid., p. 132.

30. Ibid., pp. 112-155.

31. J. Iliffe, A Modern History of Tanganyika, African Studies Series, Cambridge University Press, 1979, p. 240.

32.. See J. A. Mangan, Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology, Cambridge University Press, 1981, passim.

33. J. A. Mangan and C. Hickey, 'English Elementary Education Revisited and Revised: Drill and Athleticism in Tandem', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), Sport in Europe: Politics, Class and Gender, Frank Cass, London, 1999, pp. 63-91. See also, H. S. Nde, 'Sport in Africa: Western Influences, British Middle-Class Educationalists and the Diffusion of Adapted Athleticism in Tanzania', in The International Journal of the History of Sport', Vol. 17, No.1, March 2000, p. 89.

34. J. A. Mangan, 'Imitating their Betters and Distancing themselves from their Inferiors: Grammar Schools and the Games Ethic in the late nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries', History of Education Society, Conference Papers, Decembers, 1982, passim.

35. J. A. Mangan, The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal, Frank Cass, London, 1999, p. 18.

36. Ibid., p. 18.

37. J. A. Mangan (ed.), The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society, London, 1992, p. 2.

38. P. Mahlmann, 'The Role of Sport in the Process of Modernisation: The Kenyan Case', Journal of Eastern African Research and Development, 1992, Vol. 22, p. 125.
39. Ibid., p. 126.
40. P. Darby, 'Football, Colonial Doctrine and Indigenous Resistance: Mapping the Political Persona of FIFA's African Constituency', 'Culture, Sport and Society', Vol. 3, No.1, Spring, 2000, p. 62.
41. For a discussion of the use of *juju*, see Anne Liseth, 'The Use of *juju* in Football: Sport and Witch in Tanzania', in G. Armstrong and R. Giulinotti (eds.), Entering the Field: New Perspectives on World Football, Oxford and New York, 1998, pp. 159-174. The word *juju* is preferred as a nickname for the Kiswahili word *uchawi* (witchcraft). In sports circles, especially in football, rarely is the rather academic distinction drawn between witchcraft, sorcery and evil magic. The term *juju*, therefore, is used interchangeably to refer to all three and it is widely applied to designate the employment of mystical power deployed to enhance a team win a game.
42. Ministry of Education, ' Muhtasari ya Mafundisho ya Elimu kwa Michezo Shule za Msingi', Printpak, Dar es Salaam, 1969, p. 1.
43. Ministry of Education, ' Muhtasari ya Mafundisho ya Elimu kwa Michezo Shule za Msingi', Printpak, Dar es Salaam, 1969, p. 1.
44. Ministry of Education, Physical Education Syllabus for Secondary Schools, Dar es Salaam, 1971, passim.
45. Ibid., passim.
46. Physical Education Committee: Minutes of the Second Meeting of Physical Education Experts, 1968.
47. Ministry of Education, ' Muhtasari ya Mafundisho ya Elimu kwa Michezo Shule za Msingi', Printpak, Dar es Salaam, 1969, p. 1.
48. Including the author. While in secondary school as a student he was the member of national team of track and field for the Commonwealth and Olympic Games in the early 1970s. Other athletes who were with the national team and who were secondary school

students at that time, included Gidamis Shahanga, Omari Abdallah, Obed Mwanga, Mwinga Mwanjala, Mary Chilamila, Genia Mboma and many others.

49. Although Filbert Bayi, was a soldier, he had just completed primary education a few years earlier.

50. Filbert Bayi won a gold medal in Christchurch, New Zealand, in 1974, followed by Gidamis Shahanga, in Edmonton, Canada, in 1978. Shahanga was a student at Mazengo (formerly Alliance) Secondary School Dodoma.

51. Filbert Bayi and Suleiman Nyambui each won a silver medal in the 1500 meters and 5000 metres, respectively, in the 1980 Moscow Olympics.

52. W. Baker, 'Political Games: The Meaning of International Sport for Independent Africa', in W. Baker and J. A. Mangan (eds.), Sport in Africa: Essays in Social History, Africana Publishing Co., New York, 1987, p. 273.

53. Ibid., p. 273.

54. The 'conspiracy theory' about the government's intention was unveiled by J. Nkongo in an interview with the researcher during the latter's fieldwork in 1997. Nkongo, now retired, is one of the former directors of sport in the 'Ministry responsible for Sport' (the ministerial responsibility for sport has changed hands from time to time and from one ministry to another).

55. For example, K. Abdallah, the then Director of Sport in the Ministry of National Culture, Sport and Youth was transferred to the Ministry of Defence while distinguished football coach, Paul Gwivaha, who was coaching *Simba* Sports Club, was made the coach Ngome Sports Club.

56. See, for example, R. Chappell, and E. Seifu, 'Sport, Culture and Politics in Ethiopia', in Sport, Culture, Society, Vol. 3, No.1, Frank Cass, London, Spring, 2000, 35-47.

57. Ibid., passim.

58. *Kurugenzi* came from the noun *Mkurugenzi* (the Swahili word for Director). Therefore, *Kurugenzi* was impersonation of Director. In accordance with the country's policy of decentralisation, adopted in 1972, the implementation of the nation's development plans at the regional and district levels was vested in the Regional

Development Directors (RDDs) and District Development Directors (DDDs). See Tanzania: The Decentralisation of Government Administration Act of 1972, Dar es Salaam Printer, 1972.

59. In February, 1997 when asked to comment on the plight of *Kurugenzi* teams, P. Lyoka replied in those five words. Lyoka was a former District and Regional Sports Officer (and so was the author) at the height of *Kurugenzi* teams. By virtual of his position Lyoka was directly involved in all aspects – organizational, financial and welfare – of *Kurugenzi* teams.

60. P. Lyoka, former District and Regional Sports Officer was a sports administrator at the height of *Kurugenzis*. Lyoka explained to the author, "with the *Kurugenzi* team, you only had to listen to what the 'boss' (RDD or DDD) said and forgetabout other sports associations and teams." Others support this view. J. Nkongo, former Director of Sport in the then Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sport, admitted during an interview with the author that he could not foresee, even then as director, "the sustainability of such hastily and politically established clubs as they lacked concrete basis – reliable resources, leadership and overall vision."

61. P. Lyoka, the former District and Regional Sports Officer in Dodoma Region between 1975 and 1980.

62. See D. E. McHenry, 'Use of Sports in Policy Implementation: The Case of Tanzania', in Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 18(2), 248. See also *The Daily News*, October 31, 1968, p.10.

63. The recently published policy of sport development admits that physical education was not taught for quite along time. See Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania, Wizara ya Elimu na Utamaduni: Sera ya Maendeleo ya Michezo, 1995, p. 6. See also H. Ndee, A Tentative Model of Planning Physical Education for Tanzanian Primary Education, Master's Degree Studies from the Institute of International Education, Stockholm, 1993, Chapter Eight.

64. Tanzania Profile, http://www.newafrica.com, June, 2001.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Interviewees

Former and Present Headmasters of the Studied Schools

1. The Reverend Alex Dick: Alliance School (now Mazengo), Dodoma, between 1957-1967 (now retired and living in Devon, England): Interviewed in October, 1997.
2. R. Mazengo: Mpwapwa Secondary School: Interviewed in February, 1997.
3. S. Teti: Tanga Technical Secondary School: Interviewed in February/March, 1997.

Sports Administrators

1. J. M. Nkongo: Former Director of Sports, Ministry of National Culture, Youth Development and Sport: Interviewed in April, 1997.
2. L. Tadeo: Director of Sports, Ministry of Education and Culture: interviewed in April, 1997.
3. P. Lyoka: Former Regional Sports Officer of the Dodoma Region: Interviewed in April, 1997.

Sports Club leaders

1. Jabir Kitundu: Former official of Young Africans Sports Club: Interviewed in May, 1997.
2. E. Sulus: First Chairman of Traditional Games Association (CHAMIJATA): Interviewed in April, 1997.
3. S. Mziray: Former Coach of *Yanga* and *Simba* Sports Clubs: Interviewed in April, 1997.

Sportsmen

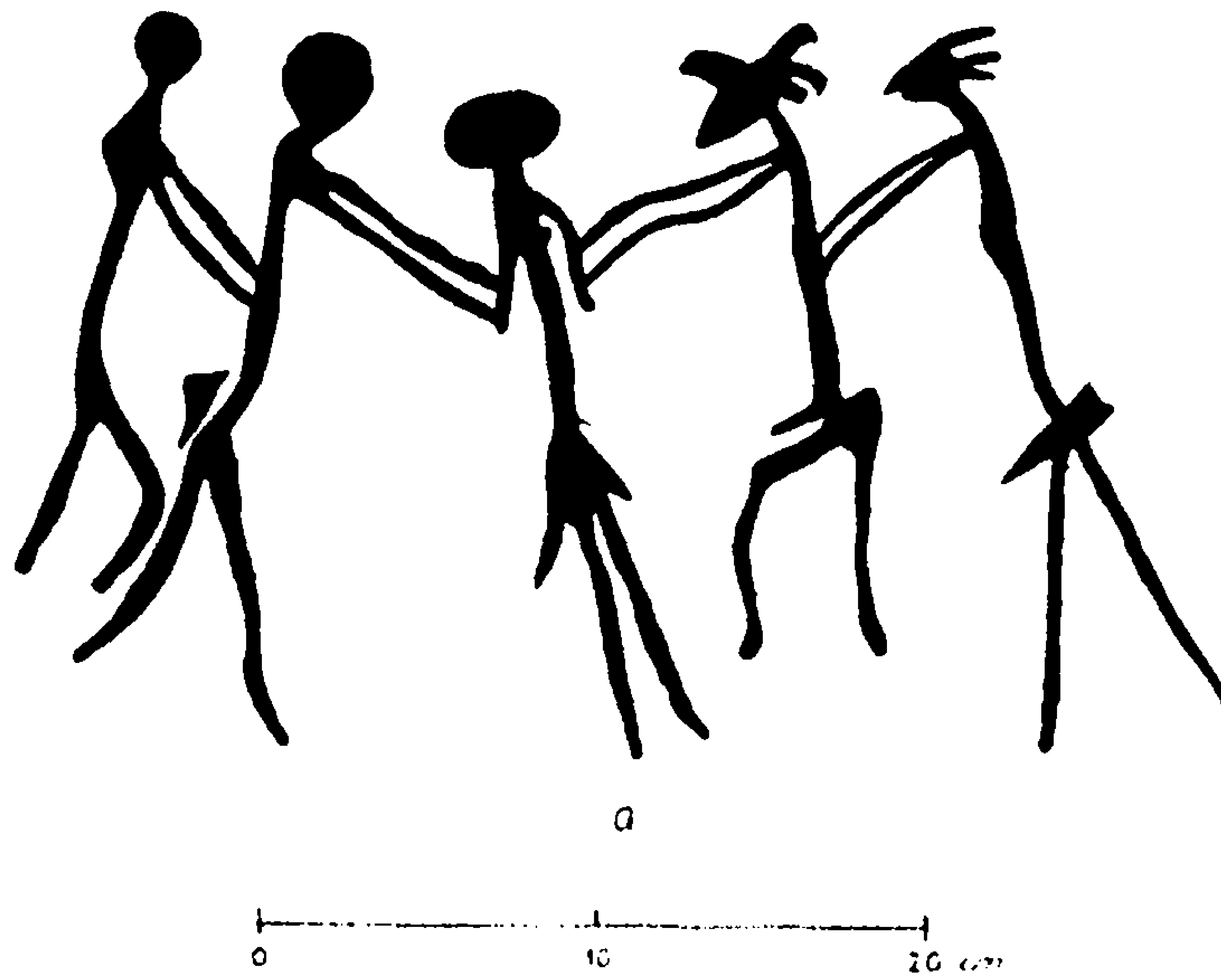
1. Ali Kaburu: Former (1951) player of Young Africans Sports Club: Interviewed in May, 1997.
2. Salim Ipande; Former (1950s) player of Young Africans Sports Club: Interviewed in May, 1997.

Others

1. Selemani Iboni: An elderly man from the Rangi Tribe of Kondoa: Interviewed in March, 1997.
2. Muhindi Isaka: An elderly man from the Rangi Tribe of Kondoa: Interviewed in March, 1997.

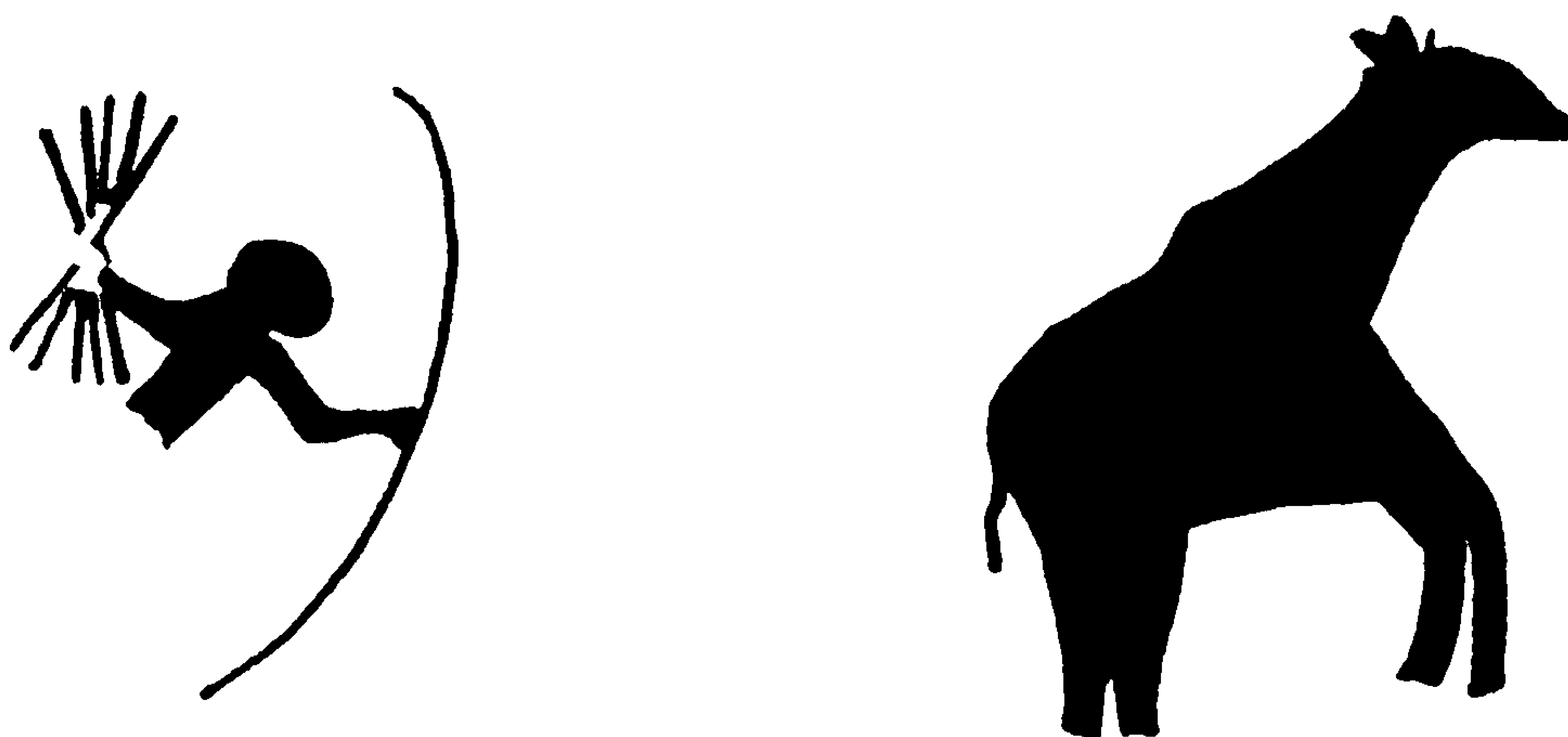
3. J. Bennett: Former (1940s and 1950s) colonial educationalist in Tanganyika (now retired and living in Devon, England): Interviewed in October, 1997.
4. Felicity Given: Archives - Glenalmond College, Perth, Scotland,; Interviewed in May, 1999.

Appendix 2 (A)



Late Stone Age rock painting of Kondoa in Central Tanzania, probably depicting 'tribal raids' and 'abduction'. From Fidelis Masao, *The late Stone Age and the Rock Paintings of Central Tanzania*, Wiesbaden, 1979, Figure 70.

Appendix 2 (B)



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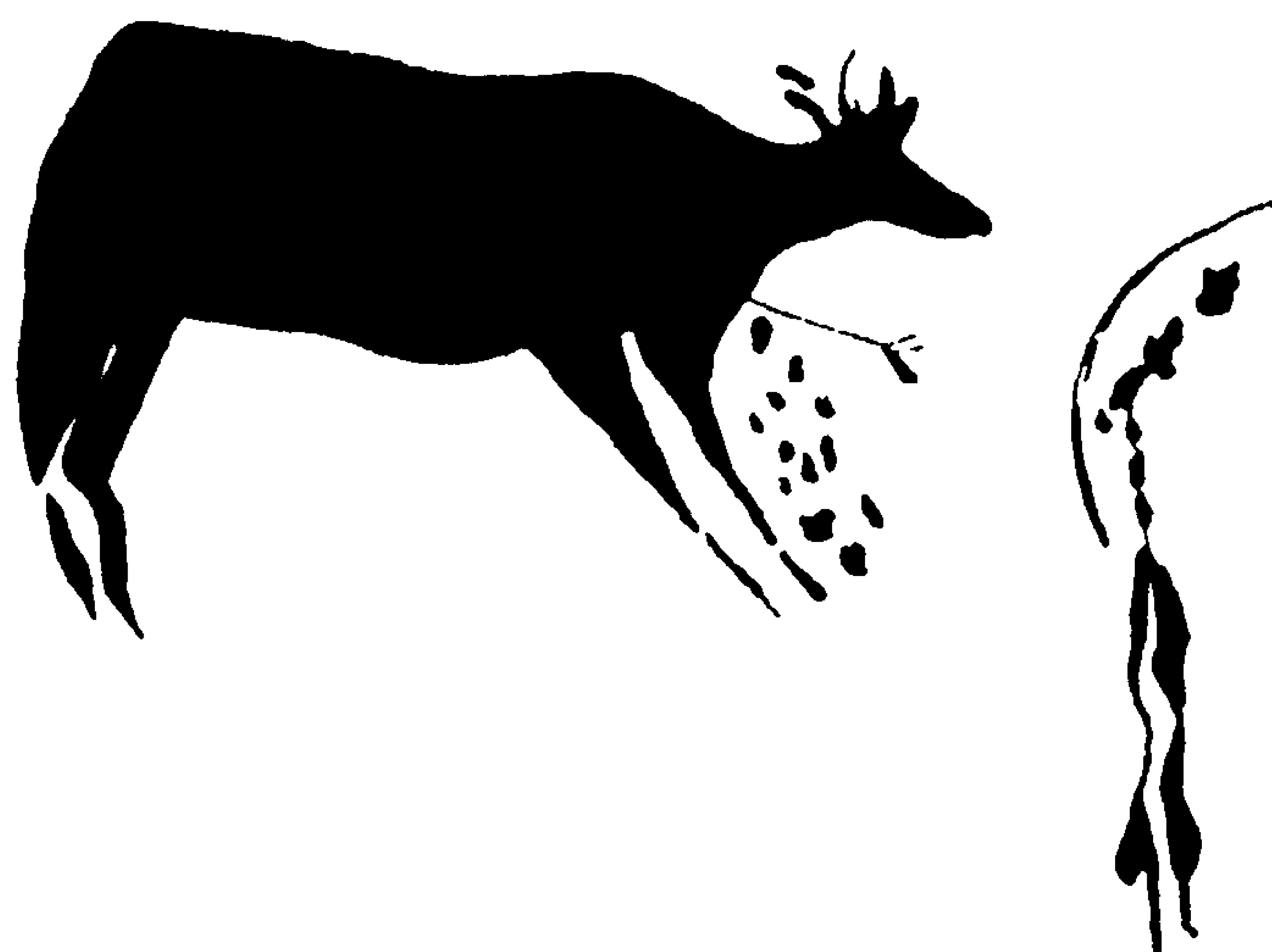

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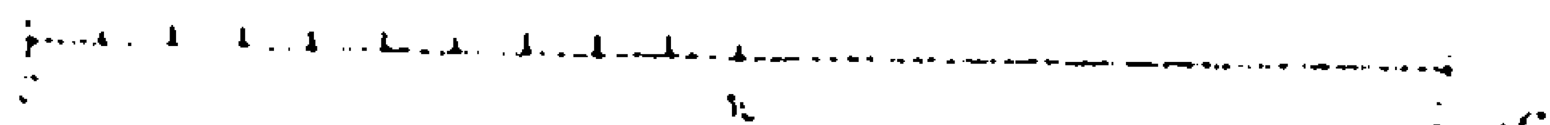


Hunting scenes from the late Stone Age rock painting sites of Kondoa in Central Tanzania: *Above* (a): Man with bow and arrows tracking an animal. *Below* (b): Animal bleeding after having been shot. From Fidelis Masao, *The late Stone Age and the Rock Paintings of Central Tanzania*, Wiesbaden, 1979, Figure 91.

Appendix 3

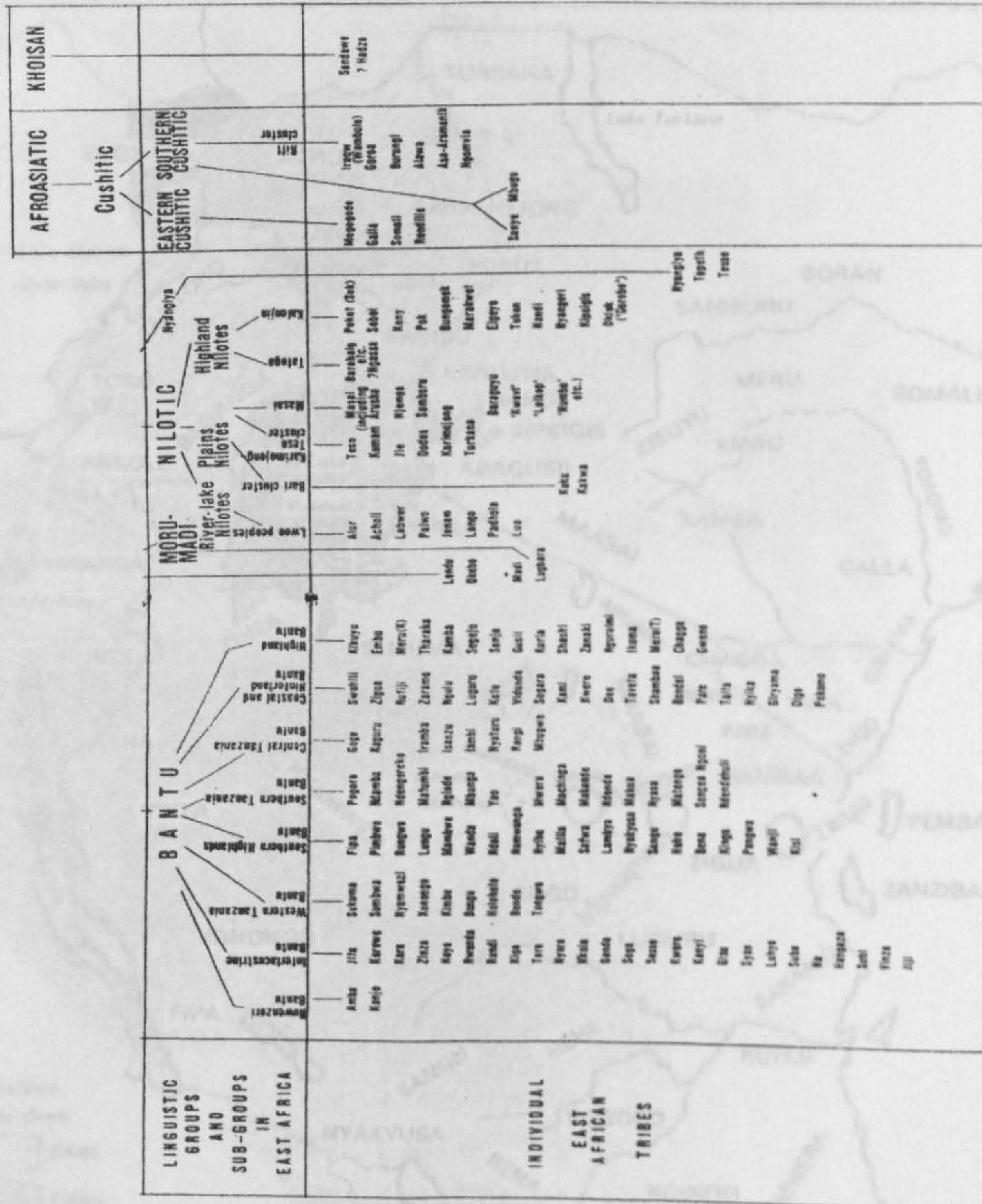
Ethnic group / Country	Africans	Europeans	Indo–Pakistani	Arabs	Others
Kenya	5407599	30800	100000	24400	3400
Uganda	4958520	3700	36300	1500	900
Tanganyika	7480429	11300	47500	11100	2200
Zanzibar	265000	300	16000	248700	290
East Africa	**18111548**	**461000**	**199800**	**285700**	**6790**

1960

Ethnic group / Country	Africans	Europeans	Indo–Pakistani	Arabs	Others
Kenya	811500	61000	169000	34000	4000
Uganda	6677000	11400	75100	2100	2200
Tanganyika	9237000	22300	87300	24000	4500
Zanzibar	300000	570	18900	287800	350
East Africa	**23224000**	**95270**	**350300**	**347900**	**11050**

Population of East Africa at the First Census 1948 and at Independence 1960. From B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, 1968, Tables 4 and 5.

Appendix 4



Peoples of East Africa: Major Linguistic Groupings. From B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran (eds.), Zamani: A Survey of East African History, Nairobi, 1968, Figure 10.

Appendix 5

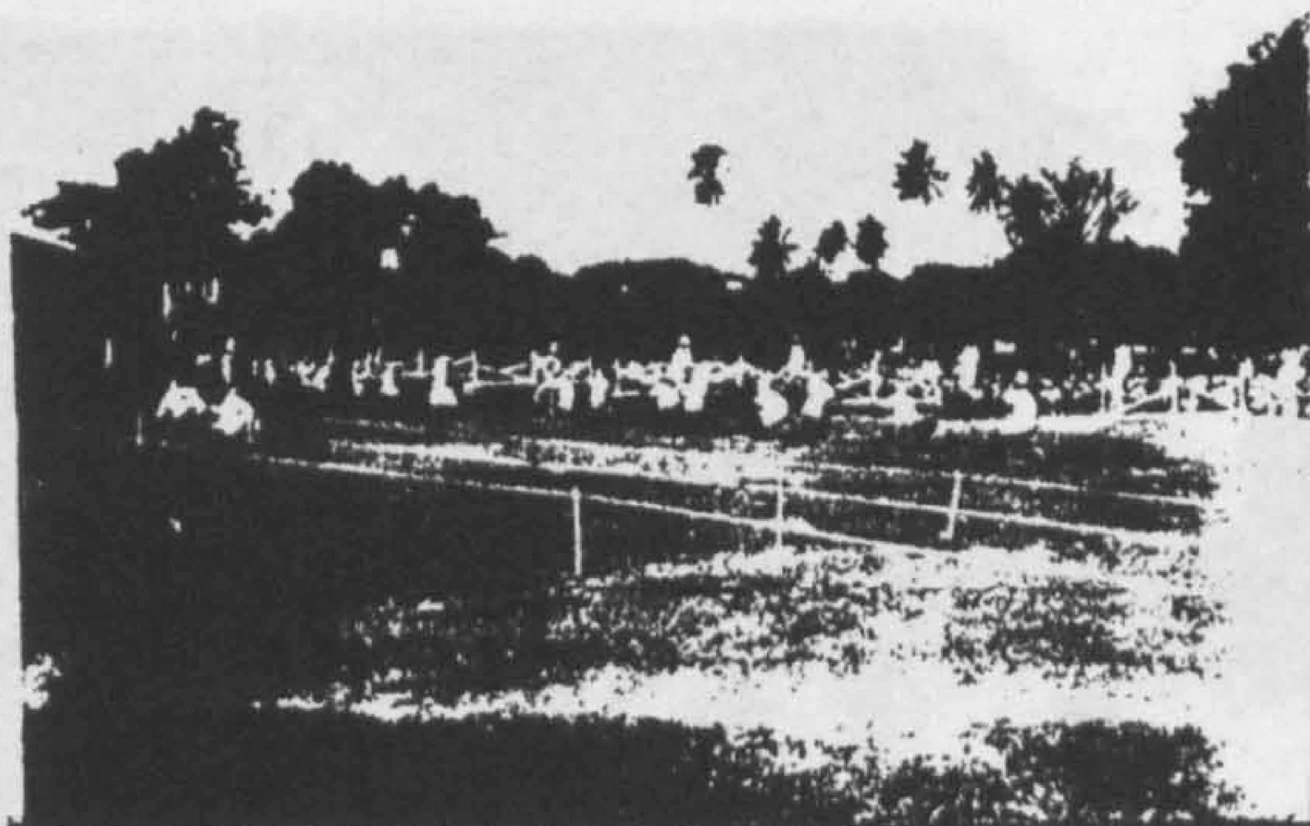
Geographical location of the major tribes of East Africa.

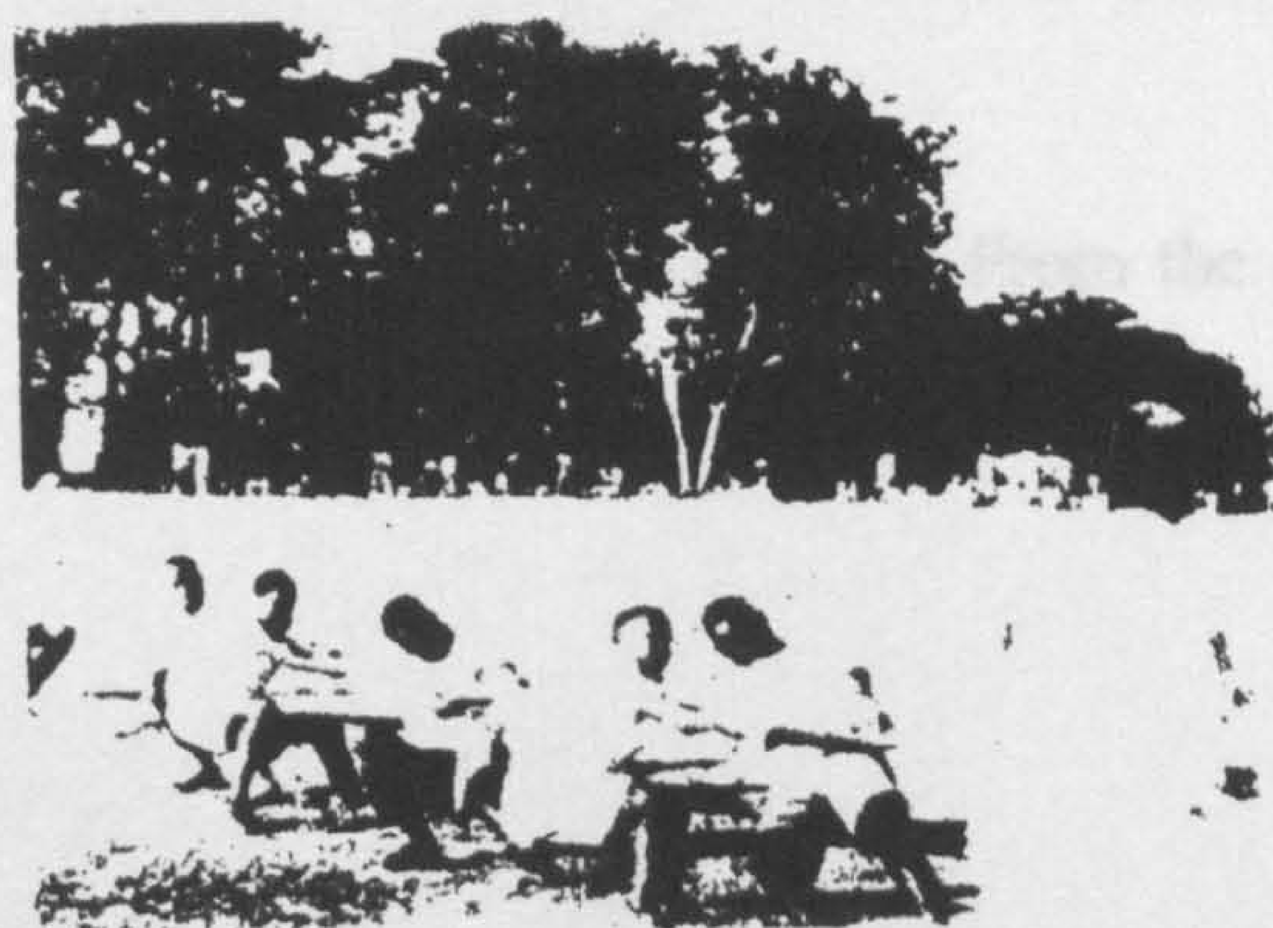
○ - :Location of studied schools

Appendix 6

The Game of Bao in progress.

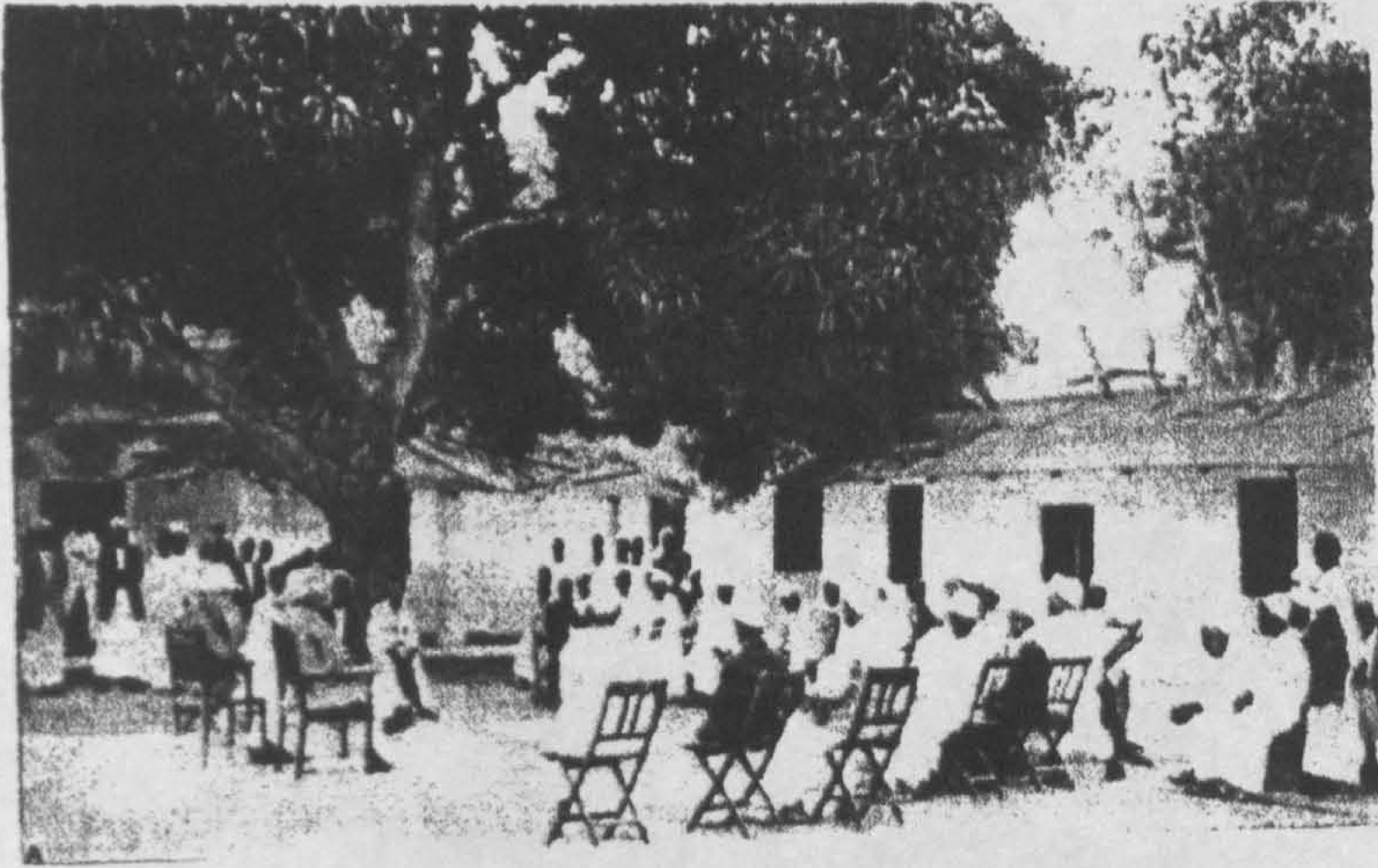
Appendix 7





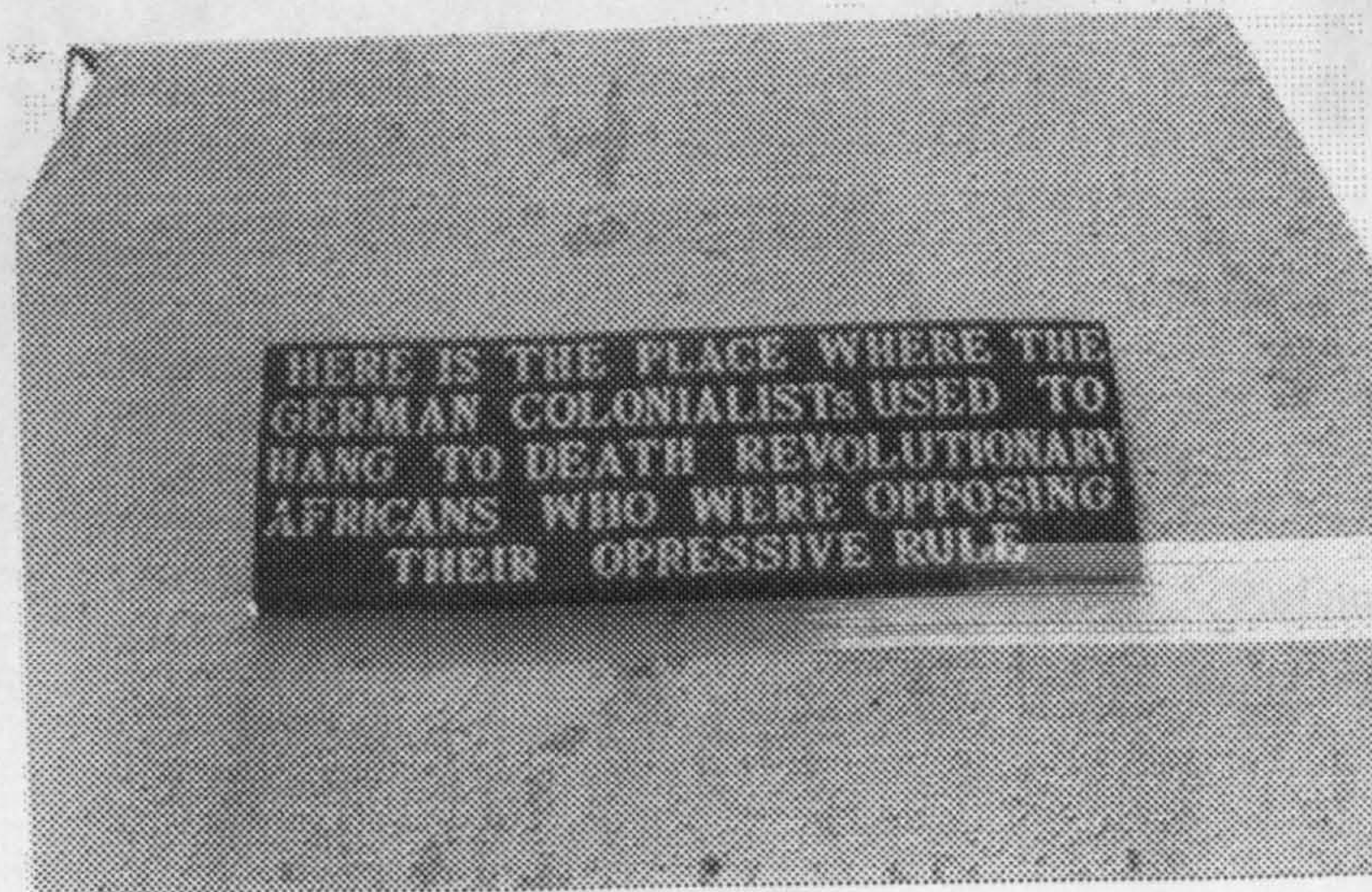
Tug of War competition in progress at Tanga Central School ca. 1905. From the archives of Tanga Technical Secondary School.

Appendix 8



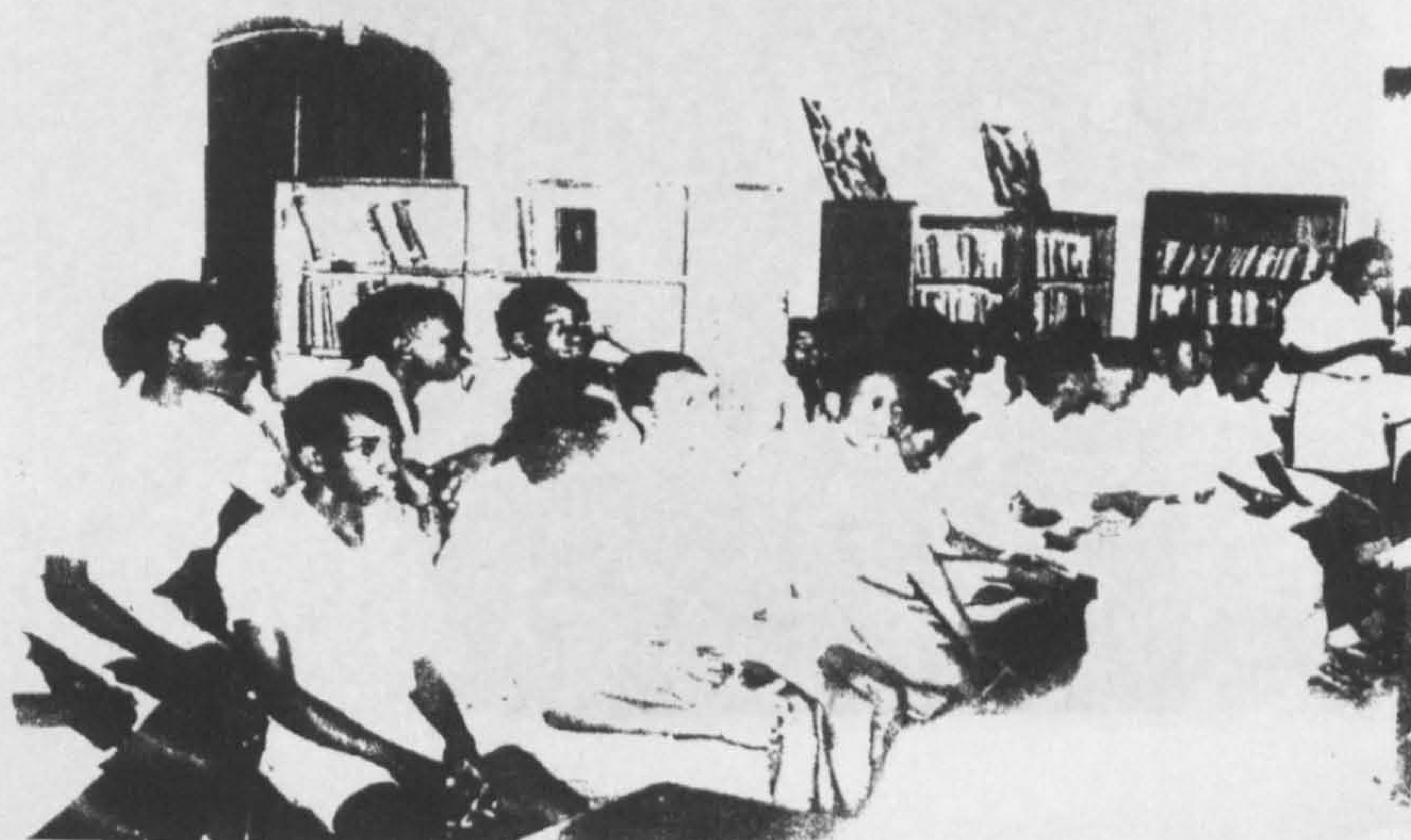
Parents Day – at Tanga Central School ca. 1905. From the archives of Tanga Technical Secondary School.

Appendix 9



Memorial grave of German Victims – Bagamoyo. The Germans brutally crushed any nationalistic resistance.

Appendix 10



TANGA SCHOOL PA LIAMENT IN SE SION

Above: The 'Speaker' of the Tanga School 'Parliament' entering the 'Parliament House'. *Below*: the 'Parliament' in session. From the archives of Tanga Technical Secondary School.

Appendix 11

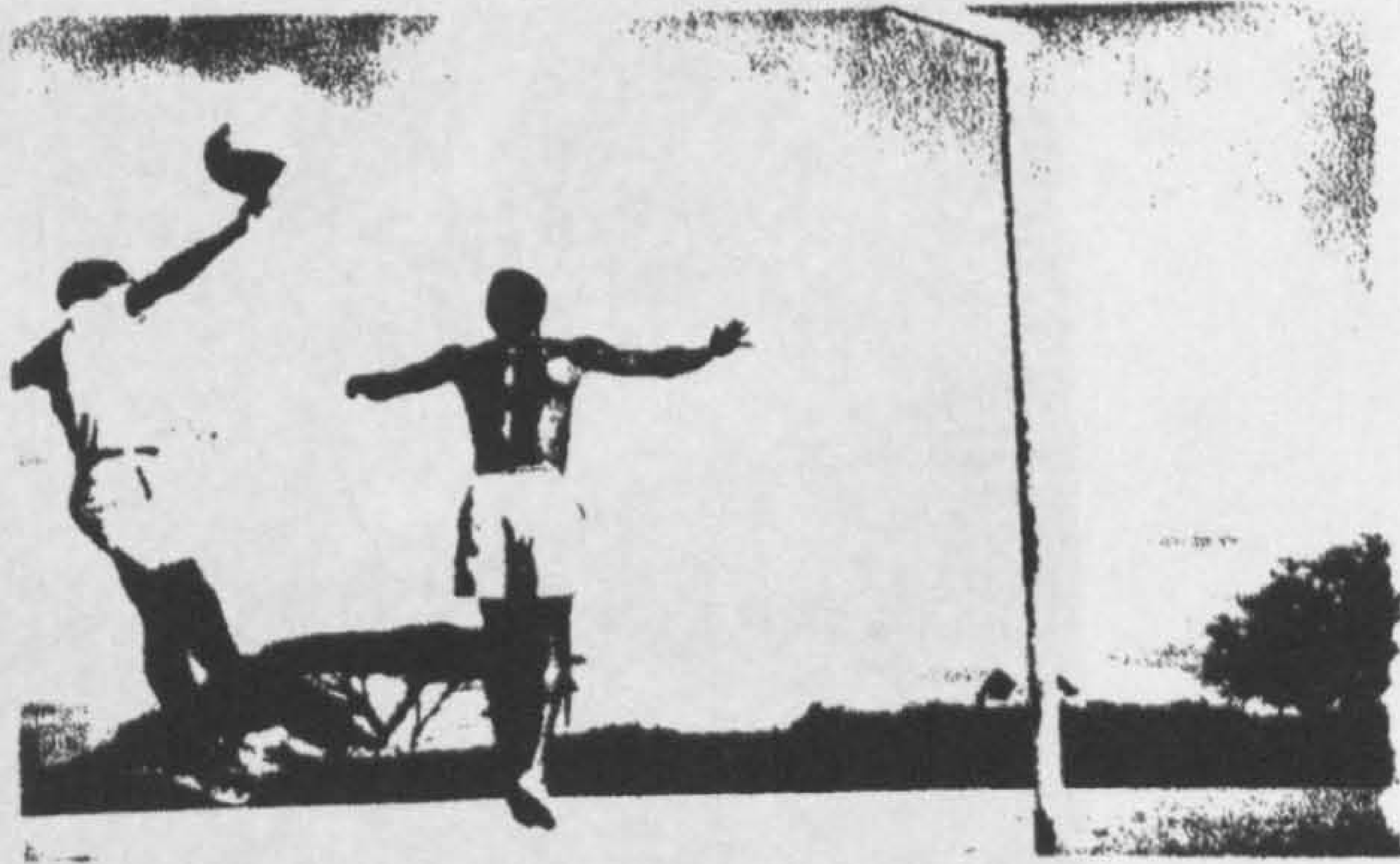
Legendary Association Football Shield at Tanga Technical Secondary School – the symbol of sporting house rivalry.

Appendix 12

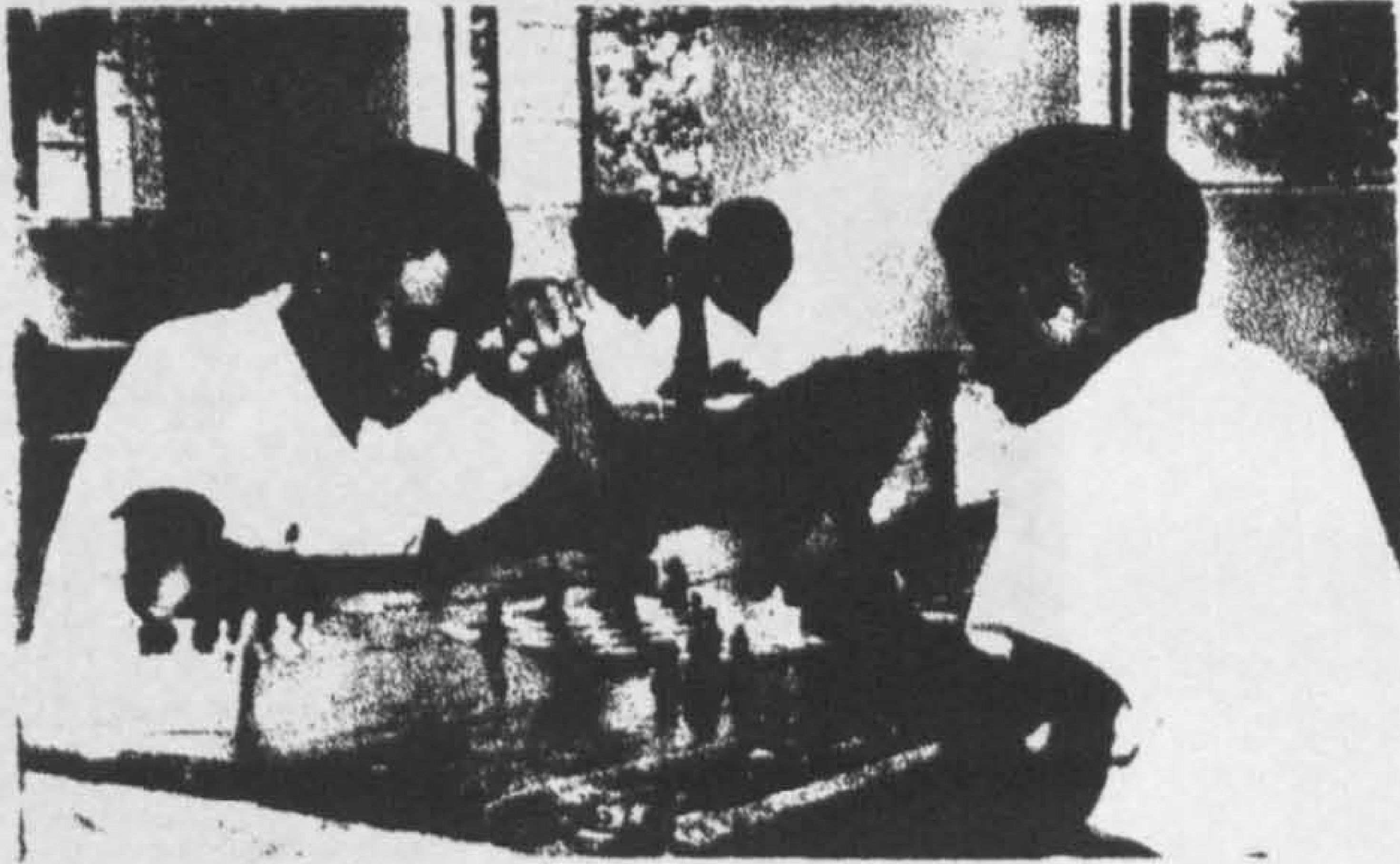
'Guard the Trust' – Symbol of evangelical education in Tanzania. From personal collection of The Reverend Alex Dick, Devon, Britain.

Appendix 13

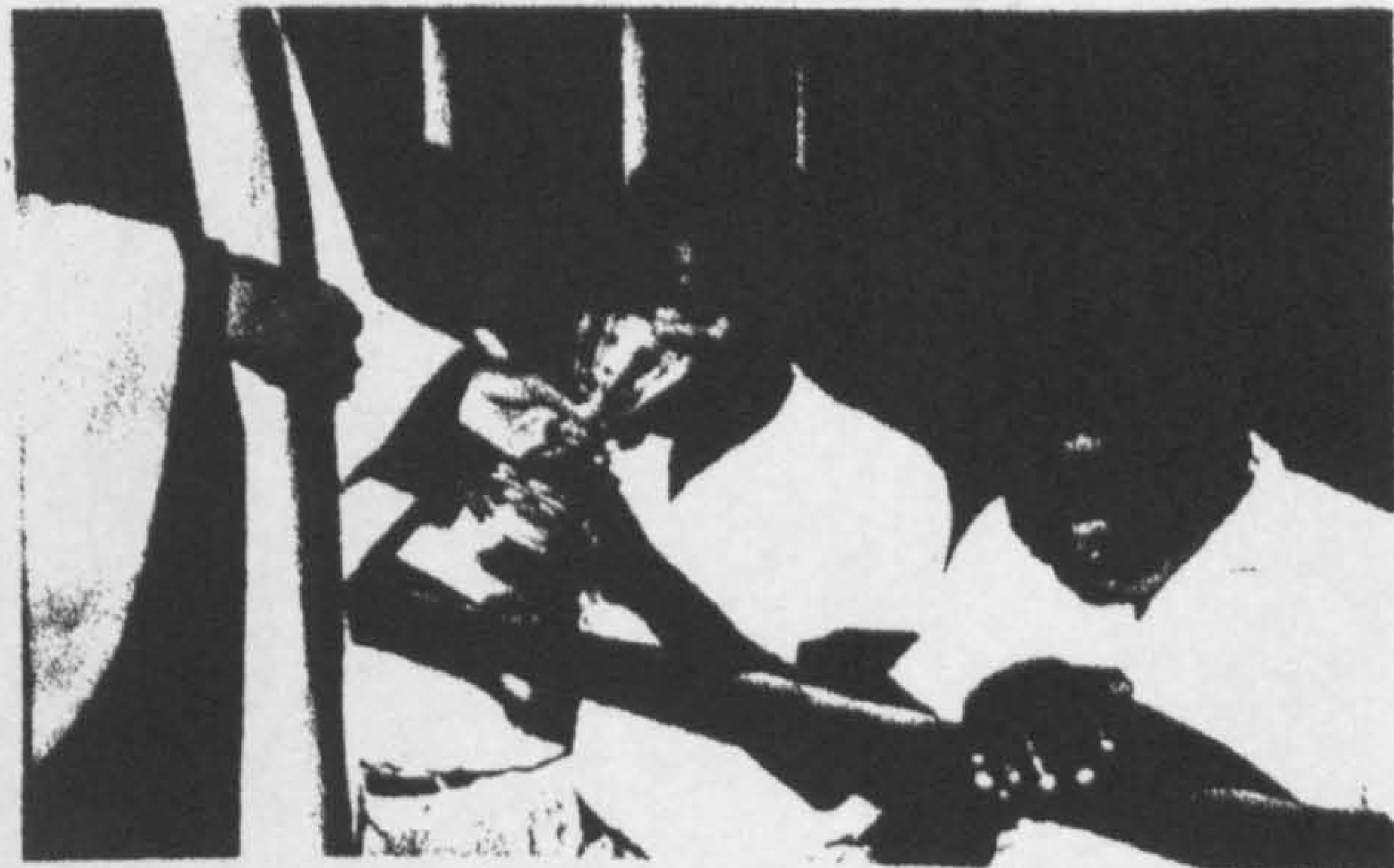
Boys are encouraged



to exercise



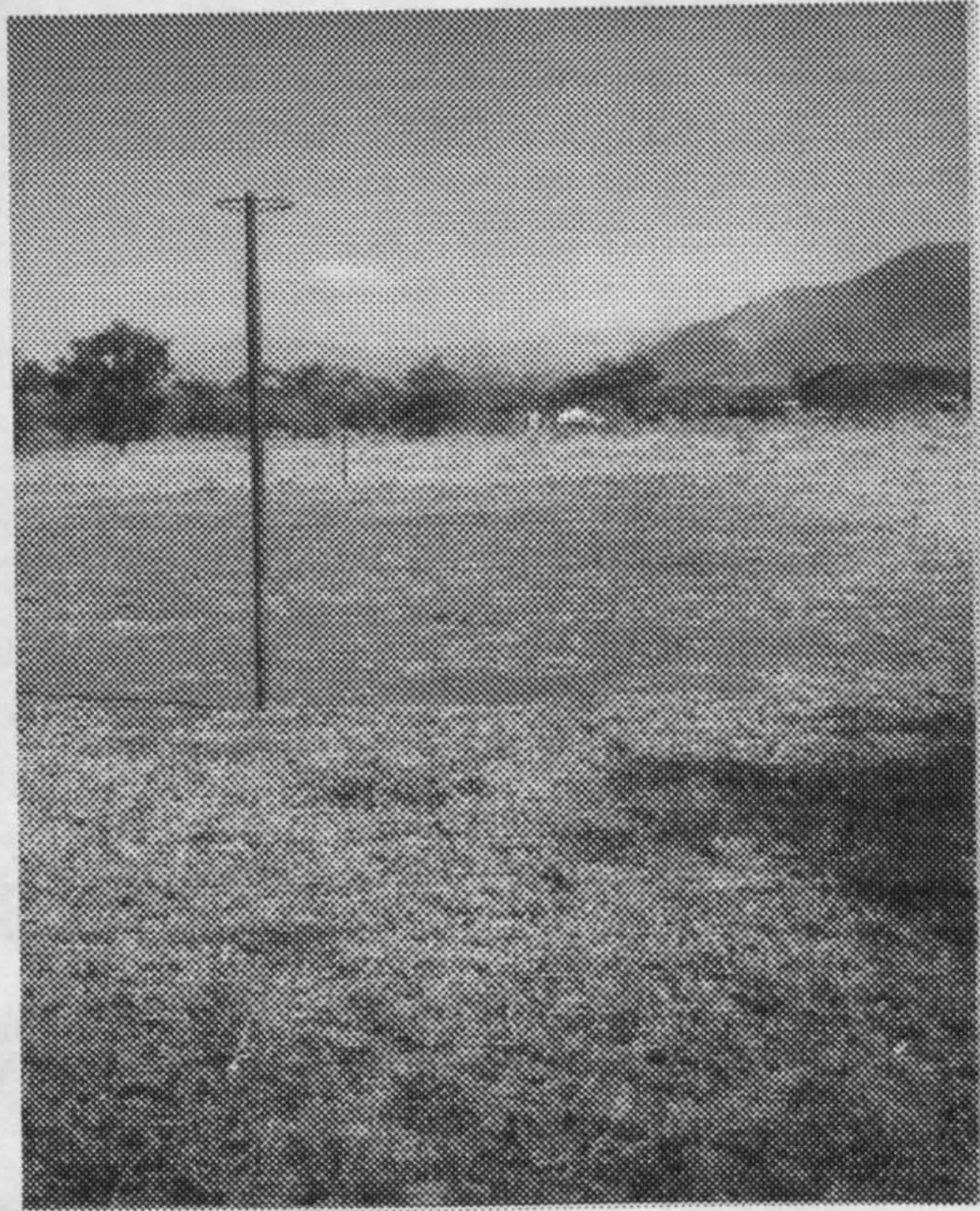
to think



to worship God

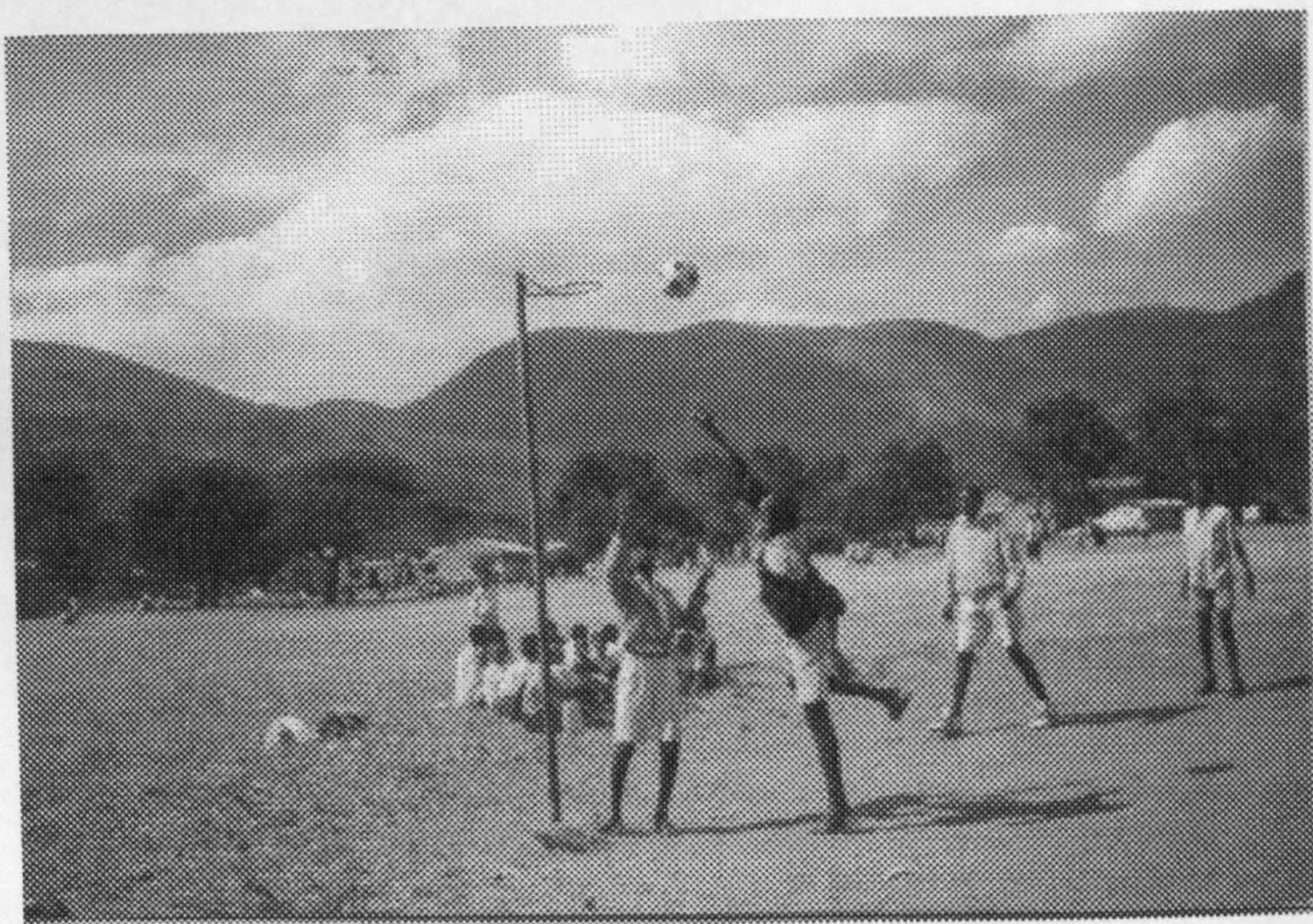
The boys were encouraged to exercise, to think, to worship God – evangelical athleticism at Alliance School, Dodoma. From personal collection of the Reverend Alex Dick, Devon. Britain

Appendix 14



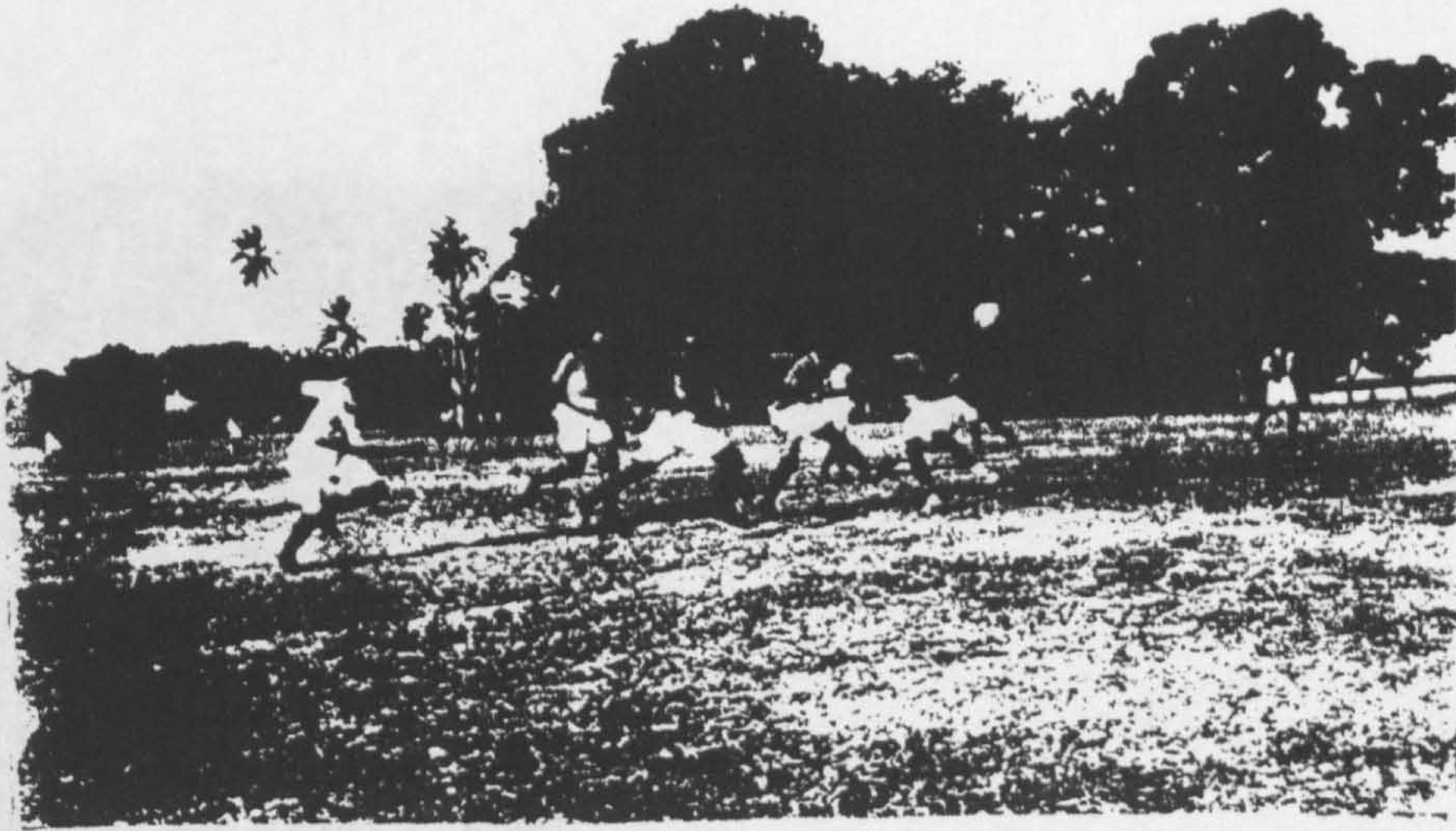
The girls' game: A netball goal post at a primary school in Mpwapwa.

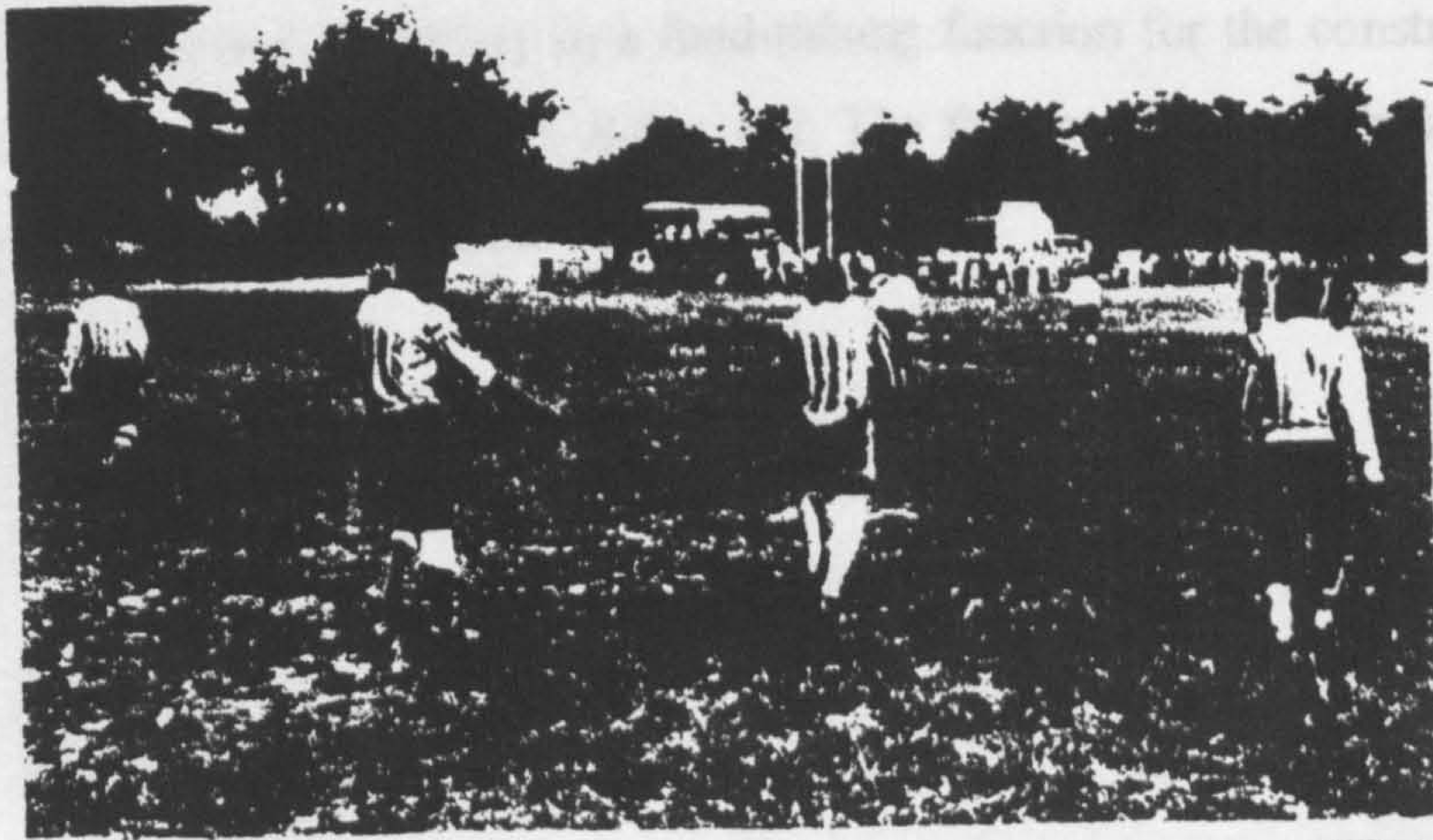
Appendix 15



Above: Boys and girls playing football in a primary school at Mpwapwa. *Below*: Boys playing netball in the same school. An androgynous society in the making?

Appendix 16





Association Football: *Above* – beginnings. *Below* – progression: Tanga Central School. From the archives of Tanga Technical Secondary School

Appendix 17

The President of the United Republic of Tanzania, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere (right), is shown round the Young Africans Sports Club building by the club's leader M.T. Mangara

The Secretary-General of the Afro-Shiraz Party, Sheikh Thabit Kombo, draws the lottery to help Yanga as the President of A.S.P. Sheikh Aboud Jumbe (left), looks on.

Football and politics: *Above right* – the then Secretary-General of the Afro-Shiraz party, the late Thabit Kombo draws the lottery in a fund-raising function for the construction of the Young Africans Sports Club's house. *Below left*: The first president of Tanzania, the late Julius Nyerere inspects the completed club house.

Appendix 18

Region \ Year	1974/75	1975/76	1976/77	1977/78	1978/79
Morogoro	37,000/-	5,000/-	10,600/-	5,000/-	5,000/-
	-	-	40,000/-	30,000/-	80,000/-
Mbeya	30,000/-	10,000/-	21,000/-	15,000/-	30,000/-
	535/-	3,000/-	1,631/-	5,000/-	10,000/-
Dodoma	28,000/-	20,000/-	46,000/-	5,000/-	5,000/-
	946/-	1,000/-	35,000/-	3,000/-	3,000/-
Singida	4,000/-	3,000/-	2,900/-	4,000/-	6,000/-
	-	-	4,026/-	7,000/-	8,000/-
Pwani	1,863/-	5,000/-	7,212/-	25,000/-	31,000/-
	15,000/-	5,000/-	15,000/-	11,000/-	41,000/-
Rukwa	10,139/-	5,000/-	26,123/-	3,000/-	5,000/-
	19,094/-	10,000/-	23,430/-	20,000/-	25,000/-

Central Government's Provision for the Development of Sport in the Regions during the Third Five-Year Development Plan (1975 to 1979). Source: Regional Administration Supply Books 1975 – 1979 (The figures are in Tanzanian Shillings (Tsh.). Officially the exchange rate was £1. 00 = Tsh. 20.00). The official exchange rate did not reflect the 'real value of the Tanzanian currency. On the 'black market' one paid twice as much for strong foreign currencies such as Sterling Pound and the American Dollar.