

ETHNOLOGICAL NOTES ON TANGANYIKA AND DAR ES SALAAM

By R. GAYRE OF GAYRE

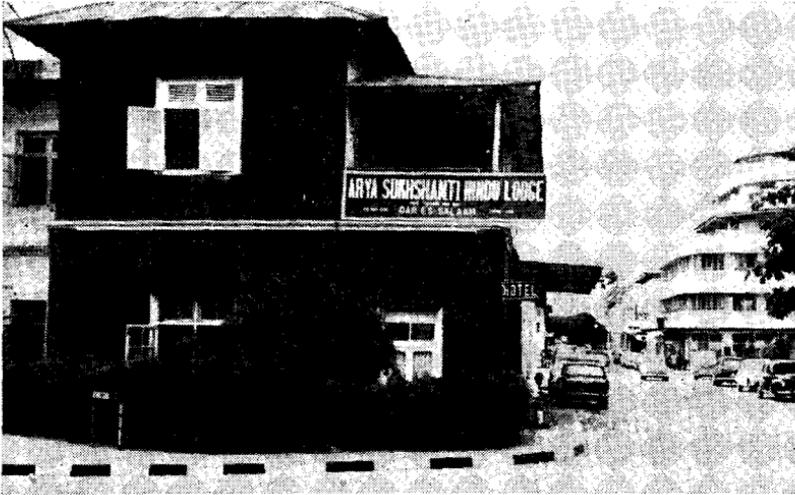
Dar es Salaam—Arabic for “Haven of Peace”—arose out of a small fishing village, Mzizima, a hundred years ago. In 1857 the Sultan of Zanzibar created here a port and trading station, and it was on this Arab foundation that the German East Africa Company subsequently developed the city. Like the whole country of Tanganyika, the capital is in the process of being handed over from White to Negro rule. The police, most of whom travel about in motor cars, are Negro, as presumably are the administrators and all or most of the officials of the Government. This was, therefore, an interesting time to visit Tanganyika, a time when independence had just taken place and the new administration with its native Negroid cadre was assuming full control of the country.

On arrival at Dar es Salaam airport, in June 1963, I found that the Negro officials were still working to some extent under European advisors. The former were, however, in charge of the administration. They were not efficient and there was trouble with them over my tickets, until the White advisors intervened and told them they were in order. How far this state of affairs is solely due to inexperience or indicates a more permanent lowering of standards, only time will show.

The people of the city of Dar es Salaam are a mainly polyglot population. Most of the Negroes themselves are Swahilis and speak Swahili, the language which acts as a *lingua franca* in much of eastern Africa. In addition there are Zulu elements brought in by the Germans, Hamites from further north, and Nilotic people as well. Most of the Africans in Dar es Salaam itself are Muslims. While the tribal basis of society is the dominating factor in most of Tanganyika, religion is a more potent influence in Dar es Salaam and along the coast, because of Arab influence. The main tribe, however, in this coastal region is the Wazaramo, and the fishing interests are largely African.

Nevertheless, the trade of Dar es Salaam seems to be substantially in the hands of Indians, as all the traders and shops, with very few exceptions, are Indian. One sees Hindus, Sikhs and Pakistanis everywhere. Indian institutions, such as temples and the like, are very evident throughout the city. A considerable number of Arabs are also to be seen, although most of those I

saw were more of the Negro type—being Moslem converts in origin—rather than pure Arabs. However, there are Arab types as well. Thus, in the city we find Indians, Pakistanis, Sikhs, Arabs, and varying degrees of cross breeds, in addition to Europeans and Negroes. Dar es Salaam reflects in its streets the complex ethno-



HINDU LODGE IN DAR ES SALAAM

logical history of the country, and constitutes a useful open air laboratory for anthroposcal investigations.

Dar es Salaam and its neighbourhood—particularly Bagamoyo, immediately opposite Zanzibar—was the centre of the slave trade which did not end until quite late in the nineteenth century, under British pressure. The slaves who were captured by the Arabs were brought to the coast, here or in the vicinity, or were taken across to Zanzibar and sold in the slave markets. This is, therefore, a region of Africa which typically reflects the impact of the Arabs on the continent. The Arab expansion, dating from the sixth century or even earlier, and stretching from the Persian Gulf and north east India right down to the east coast of Africa, created Moslem settlements, as well as Moslem populations resulting from intermarriage with the indigenous population, and conversions on what must have been a relatively large scale when the small numbers of the Arabs is taken into consideration. As a result of the activities of these Arab traders we find Chinese porcelain, dating from the eleventh century, along this east coast of Africa, with glazed pottery from Persia, beads from India, and other exotic imports.

In the course of their development of the slave trade, the Arab traders laid the foundations for the trade routes into the interior from the coast of Tanganyika. In spite of the nefarious activities of the Arabs as slave raiders and traders till as late as less than a century ago, the Negroes have, in the recent past, not appeared



SIKH TEMPLE

to have had as great a hostility to them as they have had—at least among their politically conscious sections—for the Whites, who suppressed the slave trade. This may, in part, be due to the fact that a large proportion of the so-called Arabs of today are no longer really Arabs, but are cross-bred with Negro and so considered “blacks” by the Bantu, when thought of in a context which involves comparisons with Europeans, although they are no doubt recognised as a distinctive group which can attract hostility to itself once the Europeans are out of the way. This we have, in fact, seen recently in the overthrow of the Sultanate of Zanzibar and its Arab dominated coalition government in January 1964. This event, which was brought about by a Negro revolution, was followed by mob violence against Arab shopkeepers in which many Arabs were killed.

As a consequence of this complex ethnological situation the Moslem population not only includes Pakistanis of recent historical settlement, but also Moslems of Arab type and physique, wearing the fez and the loose trousers typical of the Semitic world, as well as the individuals of distinct and unmistakably Negroid appearance who are dressed in the same manner. Needless to say Islamic

Mosques are in evidence quite as much as Indian temples. The Moslems are generally of the Sonni sect.

The influence of Caucasoid blood, whether from Arab sources or from even earlier and more remote origins through Hamitic contacts, is reflected in a less prognathous, less Negroid appearance



OUTRIGGER CANOE ON THE BEACH AT DAR ES SALAAM

of the features of many of the Africans and, generally speaking, in the tendency to lighter, yellower skins.

No doubt it is from the miscegenation between the Arab settlers in particular on the east coast of Africa and the indigenous Negroes that a substantial proportion of the Caucasoid genes, which are observed in some of the Negroid (Bantu) tribes right down into South Africa, have come—quite apart from any crossing with European Caucasoids at a much later period in history.

Another reminder that influences from across the Indian Ocean have beaten upon the eastern shores of Africa long before the relatively recent settlement of Indians, Pakistanis and Malays (which, in the south at any rate, dates from the time of the Dutch), is provided by the indigenous boats which may be seen drawn up on the shores at Dar es Salaam. These have outriggers on them—a feature which must have been imported from the east just as much as were the twin and triple hulls of the catamarans and trimarans now being built in Europe and America. The neighbouring ruling classes of the island people of Madagascar are Malays and so is their language. The outrigger probably indicates a similar ethnic infiltration among the fishing folk of Tanganyika.

The writer strongly favours separate national development of all

ethnic groups, whether they constitute distinct racial types (such as the Bantu and the Whites in South Africa) or nationalities (as the Scots, English or Irish), and is consequently in no way opposed, as a matter of principle, to the concession of independence to Tanganyika. Therefore, when we draw attention to the meagre

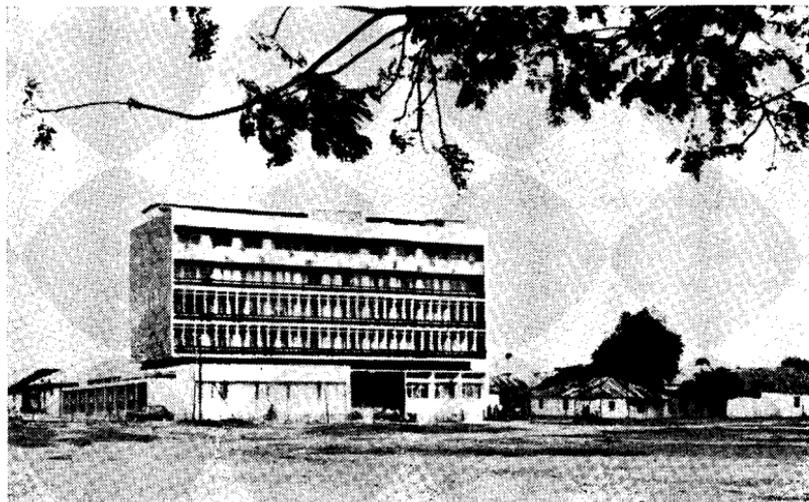


FISHING BOAT WITH OUTRIGGERS

resources on which that independence is founded, this must not be construed as evidence of hostility to its having been granted. For the purpose of objective reporting of facts it should, however, be pointed out that when compared with those of Scotland, to take for example a small country which is not an independent state, the resources of Tanganyika are infinitesimal. This is illustrated by, for instance, the University and the Museum in Dar es Salaam. When we think of the great national and, indeed, world seats of learning provided by Edinburgh, St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities, and the great museums in these centres, the contrast is simply astonishing. Whatever may be the potential qualities of this ethnic conglomeration, they have a long way to go before they can be said to have developed to the condition of a small provincial county in any European country, or to that of the most retarded North American state—no matter how backward it may be.

The Negroes of this state are composed of about 120 different native tribes, and this, combined with the large coastal populations of Moslems (Arabs and others), and the Indians in the trading centres, must be a factor making for immense difficulties in

attempting to achieve national cohesion. The fact, however, that the now much abused *indirect rule* was applied under the colonial regime means that it has allowed for a more responsible political development than where direct rule has been applied. This development—based on the advancement of the tribes by the evolution



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of their own cultures, laws and customs—has, no doubt, been arrested by the imposition of a “Westminster type” of constitution, which is suitable for hardly any people other than the English—let alone the Africans.

The Negroes themselves are mostly of Bantu origin, with, towards the north, elements of Hamitic—another strain carrying Caucasoid genes, the influence of which is seen in distinctly Hamitic types as far south as south-west Africa.

In 1954 the Negro population of the whole of what was then called the Tanganyika Territory was eight million, the Asiatic population was sixty-nine thousand, the Europeans numbered twenty-two thousand (which can be considered largely transitory), and there were also about fifteen thousand Arabs.

The European influence in this territory was formerly principally German, later supplemented, and to some extent replaced, by British. Even today, however, much German is still spoken in the capital, Dar es Salaam—in the big hotel, formerly built for the Kaiser’s visit and in those days called the Kaiserhof, this was the only language one heard spoken among the guests in the outdoor restaurant of the hotel. But the majority of these German speakers were young officials and technicians from the Democratic German

Republic. Other Europeans from east of the Iron Curtain, such as Czechs, were also in evidence in the hotels. Thus the decline in the numbers of Europeans may well not be so marked as the emigration of British colonialists might indicate, as their numbers must be in process of replacement by officials and representatives



DAR ES SALAAM MUSEUM

(from east of the Iron Curtain) of what might well constitute some form of neo-colonialism, if their presence does not prove to be of a purely transitory character.

The European community of Dar es Salaam at the time of independence was estimated at about 5000. After the British (which probably included those of German origin, by then British subjects), the Greeks appear to form a sizeable community. The Greeks and Asians between them control many of the Tanganyikan sisal estates. The Asiatic community in the city amounts to about 25,000. Among the Indians there are about 2500 Goans. The Arabs, despite their potent influence in the history of Dar es Salaam and the coast, as well as in the spread of their religion, amount to no more than about 2000 persons.

The prosperity of Tanganyika in no small measure relies upon the sisal industry (it accounts for exports worth £13 million or \$38 million per annum), which was introduced in 1892 by the Germans. The sisal is chiefly exported to Britain, the U.S.A., the Commonwealth, and Europe, although some goes to the Far East.

Although the modern trade with Tanganyika is carried on by steamers, Arab dhows still arrive from the Persian Gulf and India, carrying Persian rugs, Mangalore tiles, dates, and other eastern products. Their crews reinforce the Arab influence in the culture of this extremely heterogeneous people.

KLINEBERG'S 'NEGRO-WHITE DIFFERENCES IN INTELLIGENCE TEST PERFORMANCE'

BY HENRY E. GARRETT

Dr Klineberg's paper on Negro-white differences in intelligence test performance¹ is as persuasive as are Klineberg's earlier writings on the same subject. And unfortunately it is as specious as it is disarming. I offer three comments:

1. MATCHING GROUPS.—It would be impossible for an experimenter to meet the criteria for comparability of racial groups laid down by Klineberg. In addition to measurable socio-economic variables, he lists, for example, such factors as "motivation, self-confidence, opportunity for wider experience and other related factors," plus "caste as well as class differences." These subjective factors are not controlled, of course, when members of the same race (*e.g.*, boys and girls) are compared, nor when two individuals are contrasted on a profile. Strictly speaking, therefore, if comparability of this sort is demanded, *all* comparisons, including racial, are ruled out or their interpretation severely limited.

I doubt if this extreme view of matching is tenable. In children, at least, inner factors are often nebulous and ill-defined, and are quite variable in their effect. More importantly, we want to compare two groups as we find them in the real world and not in some Utopia where all attitudes and emotional variables have been made constant. Moreover, many group differences belong to the group identification, and hence are part of what we want to measure. Thus, men and women do not have the same motivations because they are men and women.

2. OVERLAP.—I do not believe that Klineberg rightly interprets overlap. He writes that his Instructor at Columbia University stressed the importance of the *range* (his italics) in comparing two distributions. As I recall, the same Instructor also stressed the value of the mean or median as being the typical measure in the distribution and hence the only statistic to be used in a fair comparison of two groups. I have pointed out elsewhere that

¹Klineberg, Otto, "Negro-white Differences in Intelligence Test Performance: A New Look at an Old Problem," *American Psychologist*, Vol. XVIII, 1963, pp. 198-203.