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PROBLEMS IN THE STUDY OF WITCHCRAFT ERADICATION
MOVEMENTS IN SOUTHERN TANZANIA

by

L.E. LARSON

The Problem of Research

In that area of southern Tanzania bounded in the north by the Central Railroad, in the west by the Southern Highlands, and in the east by the Indian Ocean, four individuals achieved widespread prominence during the twentieth century as initiators of large-scale witchcraft eradication movements.¹ They were Kinjikitile Ngwale in the 1905-1907 Maji Maji rebellion, Ngoja bin Kimeta in the 1920s, Amri bin Makwela (alias 'Songo') in the 1940s, and Nguvumali Mpangile in the 1950s.

Historians of Tanzania have long been aware that major studies of these witchcraft eradication movements would be an invaluable contribution to the social history of that country. Yet little has been done. Gwassa has dealt with Kinjikitile Ngwale but has been remarkably little concerned with the anti-witchcraft potential of the *maji* medicine and its parallels with later eradication movements. I have dealt with the Maji Maji rebellion, Ngoja and 'Songo' in a recent article, and will examine Nguvumali in this one.³ In this issue Lee takes a fresh look at the activities of Ngoja bin Kimeta. Yet all of these articles, unfortunately, are only initial gropings in the dark.

Such inadequate treatment is not the fault of researchers. Oral research is absolutely essential for such studies and this has been largely impossible until 1975. Southern Tanzania had long been a 'closed' research area while the M.P.L.A. was waging its liberation struggle from this area against Portuguese Mozambique. Another major problem concerns documentary evidence. From the 1930s almost all correspondence concerning witchcraft eradicators was placed in *Secret* or *Confidential* files. All *Secret* files were destroyed by the British in 1960; *Confidential* files are not in the Tanzania National Archives and are very difficult to locate and use at the relevant administrative headquarters.⁴

The following study will relate these problems to a specific study of the career of Nguvumali Mpangile. Our only source of information for this remarkable figure has been the fascinating poem *Swifa ya Nguvumali* by Hasani bin Ismail with its equally fascinating Introduction by Peter Lienhardt.⁵ The poem itself, as we shall see, has limitations as a historical document. Lienhardt's treatment also has its limitations in the sense that he never indicates what access he had to official sources.⁶ To these sources I have added

the correspondence taken from a *Confidential* file. No oral research was possible in the early 1970s.

Collective Evil: the Covens of Southern Tanzania

Binti Jizi insisted:

*'I will tell you
your very nearest and dearest
the coven demands her.*

*'It could be one's child,
it could be brother or sister,
but not simply a neighbor--
they will not serve.*

(The Medicine Man, stanzas 22-23)

Modern historians of witchcraft eradication movements in this area, while freely admitting the existence of witchcraft beliefs, almost automatically tend to dismiss the actual existence of witches. This tendency is reinforced in southern Tanzania since the "smelling-out" of witches rarely seems to have been the flashpoint for a witchcraft eradication movement. The identification of individuals during an eradication movement also seems rare. Yet the contrary case of Nguvumali suggests that the above generalizations may be too facile.

After all, the poem *Swifa ya Nguvumali* is not primarily concerned with Nguvumali; its central theme is the actions and psychology of an association of witches (Swahili pl. *wachawi*). Such an association is referred to as a *chama* in Swahili. I have used the more specific term of *coven* below. Only four documented cases of covens are known to me from southern Tanzania. They all occur in the post-1945 period. The first two cases are from the Ngindo area of the southern Ulanga district. In 1946 twenty-one women were apprehended and accused of ritual murder, desecration of graves and cannibalism. Many of the women confessed and seven were eventually sentenced to prison terms. Three other people were arrested the following year in the same area under similar circumstances; they were charged with murder.⁸ The subsequent operations of two covens in the Rufiji district have been described in greater detail. The detection of the first of the covens--in 1954--was part of a rather spectacular operation by Nguvumali Mpagile, and it was to provide the inspiration for Hasani bin Ismail's epic poem.⁹ The coven in question had eight members, seven women and one man. In later judicial investigations members of the coven were to admit that they had committed murders and desecrated graves on previous occasions. At the time when they had been uncovered one member of the coven, an old woman, had sacrificed her husband to the demands of the coven. He had been waylaid in the bush and rendered unconscious by the use of drugs. After some

the entire coven had gathered to murder the drugged man. They removed parts of his body which they either ate at a common banquet or set aside for the future preparation of medicines. Three years later a similar murder occurred in the same district. Again, a coven of seven women and one man was involved. Again, a man was killed and parts of his body either eaten or used to make medicine.¹⁰

Leinhardt has summarized the nature of the coven thus:

*The sorcerers par excellence are those who are believed to do supernatural evil unprovoked for the sake of their own pride and malevolence, and they are said to form secret covens whose members apart from other viciousness, take it in turns to surrender members of their own families to be killed....This family murder is the bond that holds the coven together. It is a contract to set aside the deepest and most binding of status relationships, to destroy the group in which normal moral existence is centered in favour of a cabal contracted and dedicated to the secret vanities of individualism.*¹¹

A similar analysis was made by the District Commissioner, Rufiji in 1958 who in addition specified that the activities of the coven were directed towards "destroying fertility, causing illness and death, causing drought, destroying crops, and multitude of others [sic]."¹² But is it enough to dismiss the covens as a group of individuals prepared to "sell their souls" for the power to exercise evil indiscriminately? Or, as Lienhardt suggests in passing, are there thought to be positive economic benefits from having access to the medicines of the coven, for example, to increase the fertility of crops or to offset the effects of drought?¹³ Does coven activity increase in the post-1945 period? Is it associated with periods of economic stress? It will also be essential to examine the changing social status of women for, with few exceptions, the members of covens were female.¹⁴

The career of Nguvumali Mpangile

....Nguvumali
the authentic medicine-man
even from under a mountain
he can bring sorcery to light. (The Medicine Man, stanza 294)

Nguvumali Mpangile died in a motor accident in 1957. We still know little about his antecedents and earlier career. (A similar state of ignorance exists in regard to other witchcraft eradicators.) In 1954 he told a District Commissioner that "many years ago he went mad, and attempted to kill his father with a spear. Frightened by his terrible illness he ran into the bush where he remained for about six months; it was when he returned that he found he possessed

strange powers..."¹⁵ Lienhardt points out that Nguvumali was the pupil of another medicine-man, an Ngindo by the name of Hemedi Matoroka. He also notes that Nguvumali was the initiate of an *uliro* cult, a fascinating but little researched territorial cult whose initiates are devoted to the destruction of witchcraft.¹⁶ Perhaps it was during his six-month sojourn in the wilderness that Nguvumali met his tutor (who probably treated him for his illness) and was introduced into the mysteries of the *uliro* cult. Certainly by the early 1950s, Nguvumali had an established reputation in the Kilwa district as "having the power to detect witches, counter black magic, and find people who had been hidden by witches."¹⁷

It is important that the life histories of medicine men like Nguvumali be reconstructed. It would then almost certainly be demonstrated that the role of witchcraft eradicator was an occasional one. To take an analogy from Western medicine, Nguvumali was like a general practitioner who is at times called upon to deal with an epidemic by means of mass immunization. It might be suggested moreover that his work as a "G.P." will throw as much light on the ills of society as his work in epidemiology. Indeed, in the event that was to establish his reputation with the colonial government in 1954, Nguvumali's talents as witchcraft eradicator were not initially utilized.

The circumstances which led to Nguvumali being summoned to the Rufiji district in 1954 were as follows. An old man had disappeared near the village of Mohoro; the Native Authority concerned launched an intensive investigation into his whereabouts. Suspicion eventually narrowed on three women who confessed to the ritual murder of the missing man. They and four others they implicated were taken into custody while the search for the *corpus delicti* went forward. After several months little corroborating evidence had been found and it was feared that preferred murder charges would fail in the High Court of Tanganyika. Local displeasure with this indecision and inaction was beginning to worry the district administration. Under pressure from African leaders, the District Commissioner "agreed that Nguvumali should be consulted. The step was taken not in order to find additional evidence for the prosecution in the murder inquiry but as an administrative measure in order to check the panic that was quickly growing in Mohoro. An unusual step was taken in an unusual situation."¹⁸

Nguvumali arrived in Mohoro to begin his operations. The first phase of his investigation--the *witch detection* phase--was carried out briskly and with little ceremony. The seven accused who had been in police custody, five other suspects, and--at Nguvumali's insistence--the *wakili* (the head of the Native Authority) were arranged before him. A large crowd including local

succumbed to his drugs. They had now revived and he ordered four of the women searched. This was done by a local woman who found human teeth in the vaginas of all four women. Some of the teeth were found to fit the skull identified as that of the recently missing man.

That was the end of Nguvumali's investigation. He demanded 210 shillings for finding the skulls. (His standard fee for finding a person alive was 150 shillings.) Officers from the Criminal Investigation Division and the District Commissioner were absolutely convinced of Nguvumali's powers. "Nguvumali is not a witchdoctor; he is a charming and very much respected person with phenomenal mediumistic powers." It was certainly an impressive demonstration considering that Nguvumali hadn't set foot in that area for ten years, and that his mode of operation limited the possibility of sleight-of-hand and advance staging.

Two points should be made concerning the above account. First, it differs in important respects from the poem of Hasani bin Ismail, notably in the description of the victim detection phase. In the poem, it is the witches who undergo physical changes (mucous streaming from their nostrils); it is they who go into a trance and who go to uncover the remains of their victims and their articles of witchcraft.²⁰ It appears that Hasani bin Ismail has allowed poetic license to override historical facts which, after all, is a poet's prerogative! The second point is that Nguvumali has not yet engaged in a witchcraft eradication movement; he only identified individual witches and their victims.

Little more than two weeks later, another old man disappeared from the village of Kilingogo, two miles from Utete, the administrative headquarters of the Rufiji district. Investigations proved fruitless and the police again called in Nguvumali to assist in the search. Going into a trance, he said that the missing man "had been taken by a crocodile after he had been driven into the water by a *djinn* sent by a witch." He was unable to name the witch unless he was provided with some of the remains of the deceased which was impossible under the circumstances. He also added "that there [were] many witches [sic] in Kilingogo but they [sic] were not in the habit of killing."

Only now does Nguvumali become witchcraft eradicator. The combined *wakili* of the Rufiji district asked that Nguvumali be permitted to "cleanse" the entire population of the district. Permission was granted. During November and December of 1954 Nguvumali moved through the district applying his medicines and calling upon witches to surrender their articles of witchcraft. A total of 704 people surrendered various paraphernalia.

officials and police were watching intently. Cooking a mixture of sesame and water, Nguvumali then poured this into a flat tray where he added a white powder. In a glass tumbler, small portions of the liquid were fed to the thirteen people. The seven accused and one other suspect became giddy after ten minutes, and eventually fell into a coma, the sign of guilt. The remaining five people were completely unaffected.

Leaving the eight in a comatose state, Nguvumali moved into the *victim detection* phase, the most spectacular demonstration of his powers. He now discarded his ordinary clothes and garbed himself in a white gown, a colobus monkey headress and an array of beads and gourd containers. He seated himself in a circle with his assistants. They swayed from side to side to an insistent and unvarying rhythm of tin rattles occasionally interrupted by a chant. From time to time Nguvumali sniffed at a small gourd he held in his hand. After half an hour Nguvumali was seen to go into a trance.¹⁹ Mucous streamed from his nostrils; his facial features and his voice had altered drastically. Appearing to recognize no one, he said, "Who has called me and for what reason?" The *wakili* explained that a man had disappeared under mysterious circumstances and he wanted him found.

Nguvumali said that this was a very bad area and that many of the locals had been killed by witches as had two travellers. He said that most of the bones had long since either been taken by the Hyenas or thrown into the river but that three skulls remained, two underground and one in a tree. Were these the skulls wanted? The Wakili said they were.

Nguvumali then proceeded at a run to Mohoro village. He pointed to a hole in a mango tree and asked a police constable to search there. Under layers of leaves compressed and hardened by rain and sun (and therefore undisturbed for a considerable period of time.) Proceeding further to where the missing man had last been seen, he pointed to a spot where he said a skull had been buried and subsequently removed. Some distance away he was able to locate the removed skull. It was found to be of relatively recent origins and was packed with "articles of witchcraft." It was identified--by means of a uniquely deformed tooth--as that of the missing man.

Returning to his original starting point, Nguvumali rejoined his assistants who again took up an insistent rhythm on their rattles. After about thirty minutes Nguvumali fell unconscious but his assistants continued to play for another half hour. Then they stopped, removed his ceremonial regalia, administered a drug, and massaged his body until he regained consciousness. Nguvumali then removed himself to a hut where he rested for a short period. Later he turned his attention back to the eight suspects who had originally

The articles included four more skulls, more human teeth, various human bones and other parts of the human body, gourds, bottles and tins containing arsenic (pig poison) and locally brewed poisons and oils alleged to have been prepared from corpses.

There is at present little detail of the cleansing ceremony used except that it nullified the ability to perform witchcraft for eleven years. A fee (sixty cents in this case) was collected from each person who received the medicine.

It was Nguvumali's emphasis on training other medicine-men which ensured that his techniques spread over an extensive geographical area and persisted long after his death. At the time of his Rufiji operation (or shortly afterwards) his trainees were operating in the depths of the Ngindo area.²¹ By 1956 they had extended their activities farther south, and Nguvumali's son (nephew?) was operating northwards in the vicinity of Dar es Salaam.²² In 1958, "Nguvumali" medicine-men began operating in the Ulanga district, and two years later were producing their own students.²³ As late as 1968 an "Nguvumali" witchcraft eradicator was working in Dar es Salaam.

Authority, Witchcraft and Witchcraft Eradicators

*...Bwana Nguvumali
the complete master of medicines
recognized even by the Government*

(The Medicine Man, stanza 303.)

Arising out of a Legislative Council debate in 1956, an *ad hoc* Committee on Witchcraft was created to assess the state of witchcraft in Tanganyika Territory, and to review the methods of dealing with it. The Committee met twice in 1958 and submitted its report in 1959. The report produced nothing that was new and startling—which is not surprising considering the composition of the committee and the brevity of its investigations.²⁴ Yet it gave the Government an opportunity to circularize Provincial Commissioners pointing out the methods which had been used for dealing with witchcraft in the past and recommending strategies which could be used in the future.

The Government saw three ways in which the problem could be approached—education, legal action and "white magic - cleansing" techniques. It saw education as a long-term solution where little immediate advice could be given. Official enthusiasm was reserved for the legal approach. In most cases this involved invoking the Witchcraft Ordinance, particularly Section 8 which, with the approval of the Governor, allowed for extra-judicial deportation and detection of those "causing fear, annoyance or injury by means of pretended witchcraft." Section 8 was used when there were "evi-

dential difficulties" in initiating prosecutions. In the 1946 and 1947 Ulanga witchcraft cases, it was invoked to prevent those prosecuted from returning to the district. In the 1954 Rufiji case the five suspects not prosecuted for murder were deported indefinitely to central Tanganyika, and exactly the same thing was done in the 1957 case.

The majority of the Committee on Witchcraft had reacted positively towards "white magic" and "cleansing" movements, but the Government saw the need to side with the minority view that "although there may be powerful arguments in favour of 'white magic', especially when the Rufiji successes are borne in mind, on the whole it is suggested that it would be wise for Government and its officers never to *encourage* recourse to it."²⁵ This was merely a reiteration of an official policy which had been in effect for the previous three decades. The most fundamental objection by the colonial authorities to witchcraft eradication movements was that the latter developed into mass movements which transcended existing political, social and religious divisions and organizational structures. This left the colonial authorities with no structural apparatus of control other than the police and military, leading to potential (and actual)²⁶ armed confrontations. There was always a fear that eradication movements would become unequivocally anti-colonial; references to the Maji Maji rebellion (1905-07) continually cropped up in official correspondence. Only when witchcraft fears themselves became disruptive of the colonial order, were witchcraft eradicators officially sanctioned.

Official hostility was particularly marked in the district comprising the territorial capital of Dar es Salaam. Almost invariably, a witchcraft eradicator who had made his reputation in the south extended his operations to this urban center. Almost invariably they were eventually refused permission to operate in the city. Nguvumali was no exception.

The District Commissioner of Dar es Salaam had received several petitions in September, 1955 asking for permission to invite Nguvumali's son (hereafter referred to as 'Nguvumali') to Dar es Salaam. The District Commissioner had grave doubts about the wisdom of allowing 'Nguvumali' to operate within his jurisdiction. He was suspicious about a possible alliance between witchcraft eradicators and mass nationalist politics. "T.A.N.U. [Tanganyika African National Union] have already evinced considerable interest in his activities, and I am fairly sure that they are proposing to make some capital out of his work though how they propose to do so I do not know."²⁷ His superior was not particularly worried and advised "that as long as you can explain to the people concerned that Government takes no official responsibility for Nguvumali in any respect, they are at liberty to invite him on their own

initiative provided his visit leads to no disturbance of law and order."28 Within five months, however, official attitudes had soured. The operations of 'Nguvumali' had proved to be "no small source of embarrassment to the District Commissioner and police in the Kisarawe and Dar es Salaam boundary areas." Exactly what 'Nguvumali' had done to provoke this reaction is not clear. He was placed on a Kilwa-bound steamer by the police and banned from future operations within the Eastern Province.29

The removal of 'Nguvumali' from Dar es Salaam also threw light on another aspect of colonial control and coercion. The *Tanganyika Standard* had planned to print a story about the expulsion of 'Nguvumali' with the comments of Julius Nyerere, then President of the Tanganyika African National Union. At a meeting with the District Commissioner, the Public Relations Officer, and the Acting Assistant Commissioner of Police, the newspaper editor was asked to drop the story. The object, the officials argued, was to "minimize interest and hope that the matter would die a natural death." They were to be disappointed, for the editor was "emphatic that the reasons advanced for withholding publication were not such as would carry weight in the newspaper world, and that his article would be published..."30 This defiance infuriated the District Commissioner who demanded of his superior,

Should we accept the press rejection of our view that publicity of Nguvumali's operations is against public interest or should we invoke the aid of higher authority in suppressing the views of the editor of the Tanganyika Standard?31

No further action was taken on this matter, but it is an indicator of the emotion aroused among certain officials by witchcraft eradicators.

T.A.N.U. also had little sympathy for the banned medicine-man. When 'Nguvumali' and delegations of his supporters had approached Julius Nyerere and asked him to intercede with the Government they had received little support. As reported by the *Tanganyika Standard*,

Mr. Nyerere said that the witch-doctor had appealed a few days earlier for T.A.N.U. support, but he had told him that T.A.N.U. could not concern itself in any way with such matters.

He said that he had also told the deputation which approached him on Thursday night that it was a matter for officialdom to deal with, and that neither he nor T.A.N.U. could be concerned in it. 32

Part of T.A.N.U.'s desire for non-involvement appeared to be Nyerere's personal distaste for things 'witchcraft', the distaste of a staunch Roman Catholic, school teacher and university graduate.33 More important would seem to have been the desire to avoid a confrontation

with the colonial Government over what must have appeared a minor side-issue. Yet even in the post-colonial period the Tanzanian government has exhibited strong hostility towards witchcraft eradicators.³³

A relatively recent story in the Dar es Salaam newspapers also demonstrates that witchcraft continues to thrive in the Rufiji district. Early in 1974 an issue of the *Daily Times* (the successor to the *Tanganyika Standard*) carried a caption which read, "Grandmother denies kidnapping charges." (In fact she had pleaded guilty!) It was a short account of how "a grandmother...hypnotized her [sic] three year old grandson and hid him in a forest in Kitonga Village, Rufiji District". The child had been "hypnotized" by applying a drug. He had not been found at the time of the woman's trial. Another old woman was implicated by the accused but protested her innocence.³⁴ Rendered suspicious by the Nguvumali file I was reading at that time, I turned to *Uhuru*, the Swahili-language daily. Suspicions were confirmed. The *Uhuru* caption read "Seven Year Sentence for Bewitching Grandson" (*Jela Miaka Saba Kwa Kumloga Mjukuu*). The story related how the woman had drugged and hidden the child by means of witchcraft (*kwa njia ya uchawi*). At the end of the judicial proceedings, according to the newspaper, the prosecutor had "petitioned the court to issue a stiff sentence because--unless this was done--all the workers and peasants would be in a state of uncertainty in regard to acts of witchcraft against their children (*vitendo vya uchawi juu ya watoto wao*)."³⁵

Footnotes

1. Witchcraft eradication (or cleansing) movements are crisis phenomena. They are geographically extensive cutting across ethnic boundaries. They make use of simple ritual procedures which neutralize witches and offer continuous protection to the innocent. For a fuller definition (color by Central African experience) see R.G. Willis, "Instant Millenium: The Sociology of African Witch-cleansing Cults," in Mary Douglas (ed.), *Witchcraft Confessions & Accusations* (London, 1970), pp. 129-134.
2. G. Gwassa, "Kinjikitile and the Ideology of Maji Maji," in T.O. Ranger and I. Kimambo (eds.), *The Historical Study of African Religion* (London, 1972), pp. 202-217.
3. L.E. Larson, "Witchcraft Eradication Sequences among the Peoples of the Mahenge Ulanga District, Tanzania," in Sholto Cross and T.O. Ranger (eds.), *The Problem of Evil in East and Central Africa* (Forthcoming).
4. My method was to ask the Confidential File Clerk at Morogoro if any Confidential files on witchcraft existed for a certain period. He gave me the file number and I applied for a research clearance for that particular file.
5. Hasani bin Ismail, *The Medicine Man: Swifa ya Nguvumali*. Edited and translated by Peter Lienhardt. (Oxford, 1968).
6. Leinhardt did know John Young who was District Commissioner in the Rufiji district for many years.
7. I have certainly been guilty of this. See Larson, "Sequences".
8. District Officer Ulanga to Provincial Commissioner Eastern. 16 August 1946. Tanzania National Archives: 461/29/3/137; District Commissioner Eastern. 2 October 1946. Regional Office Morogoro [ROM] A.2/16/15; District Commissioner Mahenge to Commissioner of Prisons. 22 March 1948. ROM A.2/6/32.
9. See *The Medicine Man*, pp. 202-208; compare with W.H. Boyle, "Witchcraft in Rufiji District", ca. December, 1954. MRO: Confidential CA.2/6/28.
10. This case is described in *The Medicine Man*, pp. 190-202; and Superintendent of Police (R.T.L. Regan), "Summary: Utete Witchcraft: Tawi area: October 1957," 18 March 1958. MRO: Confidential CA.2/6/56.

11. *The Medicine Man*, p. 53.
12. D.C. Rufiji (John Young) to P.C. Eastern. 22 May 1958. MRO: Confidential CA.2/6/56.
13. *The Medicine Man*, p. 26.
14. Crosse-Upcott, writing about the Ngindo in the 1950s, observed that, "Belief in the malevolence of women is universal, even among children..." A.R.W. Cross-Upcott, "The Social Structure of the ki-Ngindo-speaking Peoples" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cape, 1956), p. 293.
15. Boyle, "Witchcraft", *op. cit.*
16. Lienhardt says there is an *uliro* shrine at Ndende, twenty-five miles inland from Kilwa Kivinje. *The Medicine Man*, pp. 71-72; Gilbert Gwassa informs me that there is also a major *uliro* center at Mgende in the south of the Ulanga district.
17. Boyle, "Witchcraft", *op. cit.*
18. Boyle, "Witchcraft". The following description is also taken from this source.
19. It would probably be more appropriate here to talk of a state of spirit possession, although there is no mention of what spirit is being utilized. Nguvumali certainly appears to have recruited his apprentices from among those prone to spirit possession. *The Medicine Man*, p. 72; One of his pupils who operated in Dar es Salaam in 1968 utilized an Mbunga spirit, i.e. one originating from the Ulanga district. L.W. Swantz, "The Role of the Medicine Man among the Zarramo of Dar es Salaam" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, 1972), p. 41.
20. *The Medicine Man*, pp. 168-175.
21. Crosse-Upcott, "Social Structure", p. 297. Here it is described as a *luKuta* ceremony.
22. "Nguvumali's present whereabouts are not known because he has so many impersonators. Within the last ten days I have been told of his simultaneous appearance in Newala and Mikindani, and now you add Utete." Acting Provincial Commissioner Southern to Provincial Commissioner Eastern. 1 November 1956. MRO: Confidential CA.2/6/39.

23. Officer i/c Police Station Mahenge to Provincial Crime Officer Eastern. ? 1958. Area Office Mahenge A. 30/6/15; Ruaha Mission Chronicle. 1-18 January 1959, 13 September 1960; Mtimbira Mission Chronicle. 17 December 1959. The latter two references are located in the relevant parish offices of the Diocese of Mahenge.
24. When the Government asked Provincial Commissioners to suggest African members for the Witchcraft Committee, it pointed out that "it was agreed he should be a person of some education." Ministry of Local Government and Administration to all Provincial Commissioners. 1 August 1957. MRO: Confidential CA.2/6/40. Consequently the five African members appointed were prominent civil servants rather than acknowledged experts on witchcraft.
25. Circular. Ministry of Local Government and Administration (J. Bradley) to all Provincial Commissioners. 22 May 1959. MRO: Confidential CA.2/6/83.
26. Armed police were used to evict "Songo" from the Ulanga District in 1949. See Larson, "Sequences."
27. District Commissioner Dar es Salaam to Provincial Commissioner Eastern. 9 September 1955. MRO: Confidential CA.2/6/28.
28. Acting Provincial Commissioner Eastern to District Commissioner Southern. 3 April 1956. MRO: Confidential CA.2/6/33.
29. Provincial Commissioner Eastern to Provincial Commissioner Southern. 3 April 1956. MRO: Confidential CA.2/6/33.
30. This incident is detailed in District Commissioner Dar es Salaam (G.N. Clarke) to Provincial Commissioner Morogoro. 9 March 1956. MRO: Confidential CA.2/6/31.
31. District Commissioner Dar es Salaam to Provincial Commissioner Morogoro. 26 March 1956. MRO: Confidential CA.2/6/31. The phrase "suppressing the views" in this letter was crossed out and "trying to secure the co-operation of" was substituted.
32. Article entitled "'White' Witch-Doctor Barred From Town" in *Tanganyika Standard*, 10 March 1956.
33. See, for example, "Witch-doctor's expulsion sparks off protest at Soni", in *Daily News*, September 15, 1973; "200 Tanga women want medicineman", in *Daily News*, 9 October 1973.
34. *Daily News*, 14 March 1974.
35. *Uhuru*, 14 March 1974. The emphasis is my own.

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